

# THE INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY IN ANCIENT ANATOLIA IN THE LIGHT OF NEW DOCUMENTS

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The oldest written documents of Anatolia, the so-called Kültepe tablets, which at present number more than 20.000, mostly deal with commercial subjects. Nevertheless these documents also give information on political, social, legal and geographical facts of that area and period (ca. 19<sup>th</sup> century B.C.), a few of them directly but most indirectly. Some documents provide us with at times detailed information on slavery and slave sales during that age. After earlier studies of single documents, recently these texts were studied and evaluated as a group and analysed statistically by Hecker<sup>1</sup> and in particular by Kienast<sup>2</sup>. Still later Sever<sup>3</sup> studied 8 new documents dealing with slaves.

In this contribution we publish 13 new documents in copy, transliteration, translation and with commentary. In addition we draw on 10 more documents as far as they relate to our subject. Evaluating the information of the previous publications, we pay special attention to new or interesting data contained in our texts.

We first present tables of the prices for which the slaves, but also some persons not explicitly qualified as such, were sold and of the amounts which had to be paid when the persons sold were (re)claimed or redeemed.

<sup>1</sup> Karl Hecker, *Zur Beurkundung von Kauf und Verkauf im Altassyrischen*, *Die Welt des Orients* 11 (1980); henceforth Hecker.

<sup>2</sup> Burkhard Kienast, *Das Altassyrische Kaufvertragsrecht* (Stuttgart; 1984); henceforth Kienast.

<sup>3</sup> Hüseyin Sever, *Köle Satışı Hakkında Yeni Kültepe Metinleri*. Unpublished paper read at 34th RAI (Istanbul; 1987) henceforth Sever.

**Sale prices:**

| <u>text</u>  | <u>person sold</u> | <u>sale price in shekels of silver</u> |                           |  |
|--------------|--------------------|--|---------------------------|--|
| no.3         | <i>amtum</i>       | 20                                     | shekels of silver         |  |
| kt s/k 22    | "                  | 20                                     | " " "                     |  |
| no.4         | "                  | 30                                     | " " "                     |  |
| no.1         | <i>amtum+child</i> | 45                                     | " " "                     |  |
| no.2         | <i>amtum</i>       | 60                                     | " " "                     |  |
| kt a/k 1134  | "                  | 60                                     | " " "                     |  |
| kt a/k 1277  | <i>wardum</i>      | 30                                     | " " "                     |  |
| kt a/k 952   | "                  | 30                                     | shekels of refined silver |  |
| kt v/k 65    | "                  | 37,5                                   | shekels of silver         |  |
| no.6         | "                  | 39                                     | " " "                     |  |
| kt a/k 898   | "                  | 45                                     | " " "                     |  |
| kt a/k 933   | "                  | 60                                     | " " "                     |  |
| kt 79/k 2    | "                  | 117,5                                  | " " "                     |  |
| no.11        | child              | 33                                     | " " "                     |  |
| no.10        | family             | 60                                     | " " "                     |  |
| no.12        | girl               | 15                                     | " " "                     |  |
| kt 88/k 1027 | boy                | 10                                     | " " "                     |  |
| no.13        | "                  | 20                                     | " " "                     |  |

**Prices to be paid in case of (re)claim or redemption:**

| <u>text</u> | <u>person sold</u> | <u>sale price</u>    | <u>price in case</u> | <u>rate</u> |
|-------------|--------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------|
|             |                    |                      | <u>of reclaim</u>    |             |
| no.1        | <i>amtum+child</i> | 40 shekels of silver | 40 sh. of silver     | 1/1         |
| no.2        | <i>amtum</i>       | 60 " " "             | 240 " " "            | 1/4         |
| kt t/k 32   | <i>wardum</i>      | -                    | 120 " " "            | -           |
| kt a/k 898  | "                  | 45 " " "             | 45 " " "             | 1/1         |

|            |               |                                   |                          |   |   |   |        |
|------------|---------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|---|---|---|--------|
| kt a/k 898 | <i>wardum</i> | 45 shekels of silver              | 90 shekels of silver 1/2 |   |   |   |        |
|            |               | (if <i>wardum</i> pays his price) |                          |   |   |   |        |
| no.11      | child         | 33 shekels of silver              | 45                       | " | " | " | 1/1,35 |
| kt v/k 125 | family        | -                                 | 60                       | " | " | " | -      |

The texts contain interesting information on slave sales and the institution of slavery which we summarize.

### Conditions for regaining freedom

In kt a/k 898 (Sever, no.2) Ištar-bāšti bought Šikuwa for 45 shekels of silver from Šubili, son of Hanuwa. If the creditor or somebody else claims Šikuwa back, he shall pay the original purchase price. If the slave himself wants to become free, he has to pay its double, 90 shekels. In kt v/k 65 (Sever, no.7) the native Inar, sold for 37,5 shekels of silver, can redeem himself by paying the same amount. In kt v/k 125 (Sever, no.8), where the native woman Labarša sold Šubianika and her daughter to an Assyrian, Aššur-bēl-awātīm, for an unstated amount those sold, have to pay Labarša 1 mina of silver if they raise a claim in order become to free. Other examples are Kienast, nos.11 and 12.

### Conditional sales

In kt v/k 65, it is stated that the child Inar was sold for the price of 37.5 shekels of silver by his elder brother, Hašui and his mother, Kudida under the condition that if he did not behave well in the house of Tarmana who had bought him, he would be taken back at the same price or otherwise would say as a chattel slave of Tarmana. In kt a/k 933 (Sever, no.3), it is stated that Ištar-malak was sold to Enlil-bani by Imdilum for 1 mina of refined silver for two years. At the end of this period Enlil-bani would pay back the same amount to Imdilum in order to get his slave back, otherwise the slave become Imdilum's property. Kienast, no.37 is another example of a conditional sale.

### Slaves taken as pledges

There are many examples of the taking of male or female slaves or servants as pledges for debts. For example, in kt 88/k 306, which is a legal document concerning a conflict between two Assyrians, it is recorded that as

security for his unstated claim Šū-Suen took from his debtor, Aššur-nada his two donkeys, a female slave and a servant as pledges. It is also stated that Šū-Suen would take these in case he suffered damage. Kt a/k 1163 records that for the 43 shekels of refined silver which Ela gave to Ili-emūqī as *be'ulātum* in Ashur, Ummī-ṭābat, the female slave of the latter, was taken as a pledge. In kt a/k 1224 it is recorded that since Ušur-ša-Aššur has a claim of 36 shekels of refined silver on Ennam-ilī, Ili-iddin was taken as pledge. When the debtor pays the money, the slave will be returned. Other published examples of taking slaves as pledges are Kienast p.93, 3 f.g and p.99, 2 y.

### **Slaves as part of *be'ulātum***

Our text no.5 records that among the goods belonging to Basā, the daughter of Idna-Aššur, given to Adad-rabi, the son of Kikazu, as *be'ulātum*<sup>1</sup>, also a slave girl figures. It is for the first time that a slave is part of a *be'ulātum*.

### **Sale of one of its members by a family**

There are some documents indicating that, presumably because of financial problems, families had to sell some of its members. In our text no.11 the native child Ilališkan was sold to Tepula for 33 shekels of silver by his mother Waniaalka and by Kanakana, daughter of Šezur, whose relation to Ilališkan is unknown. The text stipulates that the seller can get her child back by paying 45 shekels of silver, or 35% more. In kt v/k 65, mentioned above, it is recorded that a child, called Inar, was sold for 37,5 shekels of silver by his mother, Kudida, and his elder brother, Hašui. Kienast no.17 also deals with such a case.

### **Sale of whole families**

For this type of transaction no.10 is a good example. It records (in line 2 of the envelope) that 1 mina of silver was paid for Šubiahšu and his wife Kabzia to Zaha, the brother of the *rabi simmiltim*, by Puzur-Aššur. Line 11 of the tablet (line 13 of the envelope), reveals that the children of the married couple sold, were included in the sale. Kt v/k 125 (Sever, no.8), already discussed above, records that Labarša sold Šubianika, the wife of Habia,

<sup>1</sup> See for the *be'ulātum*: Kienast, JCS 41 (1989), pp. 86-95 and AKT I p.22 on line 10.

together with her daughter Šarika to Aššur-bēl-awātim. Texts nos.18 and 37 in Kienast are other examples of this type of sale.

### **Status and role of wardum**

The Akkadian *wardum* may have two meanings. It designates not only "slave", but is also used for "servant, officer" e.g. when a person is called a *wardum* of his king or god, or calls himself, humbly "your *wardum*". In our text no.8, Tūram-ilī, against whom a suit is brought by Kasuka, is designated as "*wardum* of the house(hold) of Kura". Tūram-ilī is ready to pay the silver after he has got the records. This could indicate a status of servant rather than one of chattel slave. In AKT I,33 (Sever, no.1) Ištar-pilah, designated as *wardum*, "took 40 shekels of silver belonging to Susa as his wages" and hence he may have been a "servant". This is also likely for kt a/k 1112, where Ennam-ilī, *wardum* of Idī-abum owes a debt of 2 minas of silver to Ušur-ša-Aššur and has to pay interest if he does not pay within 15 weeks. See also the text studied as Kienast p.95 1 d.

### **Anatolian officials occurring in the slave and house sale documents**

In the texts published here and in the other documents used or discussed, we meet various Anatolians, who are identified by their titles or professions. Since some of the texts are records of court cases, the question arises whether in these texts they perform an official function. In other documents they occur as private individuals and their titles or professions are mentioned to identify and to distinguish them from others, perhaps also because they were commonly known with their titles. If a text mentions a man with his title there are three possibilities:

1. PN+title, to identify the person instead of *DUMU* PN or *ahi* PN. Such identifications may occur with all persons, witnesses, sellers, buyers etc.; it does not imply an official function.

2. Title or indication of some function, among those persons who might "come back concerning ..." (*aššumi ... tuārum*). There we usually have no PN's but only a designation like *tusinnum*, not a particular man or official, but a term which defines his role, perhaps his relation to the seller, the slave sold etc. Similar is *upatinnum*, whatever that may be.

3. Persons who occur in an official capacity, e.g. in the so-called "notarization"

*iqqāti...rubā'im/rabi simmiltim*; they authorize or approve the transaction. The *rabi mahirim*, "market overseer", may play a comparable role in slave sales.

We present in alphabetical order the titles or professions which occur in the slave or house sale texts:

*alahhinnum*, "miller, major domo"

The title occurs in Kienast no.23 as the title of a man, named Ašed. In some texts he has a function in collecting cereals and money<sup>5</sup>.

*rabi alpātim*, "chief of the cowherd" (?)

The title belongs to the witness Kulakula in Kienast no.16:21 f., and is translated as "Oberrinderhirt".

*barullum*, "police" (?)

Occurs in kt a/k 952 (Sever, no.4). It is not frequently used and in the dictionaries it is translated as "police" cautiously.

*rabi ezzi/eši*, "?"

This is the title of Aluthuharša, who gave testimony in Kienast no.16, where it is translated as "Oberziegenhirt, Oberster der Baume".

*gallābum*, "barber"

Occurs in Kienast no.38. See for other texts where this title is used and for the suggestion that it might be a personal name: Bilgiç-Bayram, AKT II no.2:10 and Çeçen, Dissertation no.18:19.

*gubabtum*, "(high) priestess"

Used in no.3, as qualification added to a personal name.

<sup>5</sup> CAD A I 296a; K.R.Veenhof, Festschrift T.Özgüç p.525.

*rabi kalbātīm*, "the one in charge of dogs"

This title occurs in kt v/k 65 (Sever, no.7). It was also examined by Günbattu<sup>6</sup> who explained it as "probably the chief of the people taking care of the dogs in the palace", which would mean a functionary of the palace. The person is recorded as a witness and does not figure in an official capacity.

*rabi mahirim*, "chief of the market, market overseer"

The title occurs in Kienast no. 15:2, which deals with the sale of pigs, and in no.29:5 which deals with the sale of a slave. It occurs also in kt s/k 53:3, which deals with the sale of wool, as the title of Pirwala.

*rabi nappāhim*, "chief of the blacksmiths"

This title occurs in Kienast no.14 as simple *nappāhum*, "blacksmith" and in no.37 as *rabi nappāhim*. The persons in question do not act in an official capacity.

*rabi paššūrē*, "chief of the tables"

Title of witness Kulakula in Kienast no.16:20" and translated as "Truchsess".

*rabi rē'i*, "chief of the shepherds"

This title occurs in no.2 and belongs to Peruwa. He performs no official function in the transaction.

*rabi simmiltim*, "chief of the staircase" (?)

The designation "brother of the *rabi simmiltim*" occurs in no.10, where it only serves to identify an Anatolian, as is the case in TCL 21,254 (Kienast, no.37), instead of the common "son of PN". An official function of the *rabi simmiltim* is attested in Kienast, no.18, where he occurs together with the ruler (*rubā'um*) in the so-called "notarization" of the transaction *iqqāti* ... "under the authority of ...". This is also the case in Kienast, no.9.

<sup>6</sup> C.Günbattu, Kültepe Metinlerinde Geçen İki Yeni Ünvan, Xth Turkish Congress of History (Ankara;1986), p.465.

*rabi šābim*, "commander of the soldiers" (?)

This is the title of Hanu, which occurs in kt v/k 65. He is mentioned among the *upatinnum*'s of *rabi sikkatim*. Hence the *rabi sikkatim* is his superior. This title also occurs in KKS 21 (Kienast, no.23) as one of the *upatinnum*'s of Ašed who is an *alahhinnum*. It shows that the *alahhinnum* is superior to the *upatinnum* and the *rabi šābim*.

*rabi šukkallim*, "head of the viziers"

Occurs in kt v/k 152, studied by Donbaz and Veenhof<sup>7</sup>, where the title identifies a witness in line 4. According to lines 13-17, the price for the Anatolian slave, Ašed, was paid to the *upatinnum* of the *rabi šukkallim*, and lines 19f. mention "gentlemen of the *upatinnum* of the *rabi šukkallim*". The *rabi šukkallim* himself sealed the record because he somehow represented or was linked with the sellers. The title is difficult to translate, since "great vizier" would be *šukkallum rabium*; *rabi šukkallim* perhaps means "head of the viziers".

*tusinnum*, "redeemer" (?)

Occurs frequently as one of the persons that might raise claims concerning the slave sold, see Kienast, nos. 5,7,9,19,29 and 32. We do not know whether persons in question acted in an official capacity or not. It occurs also in kt k/k 35:13 (tablet) and 16 (case) and in Kienast, nos. 16 and 22, all dealing with house sales, as one of the persons that might "come back" on the transaction, "because of the house".

*tusinnum ša rabi sikkatim*, (?)

In kt a/k 1263:4f. by Günbattu, he apparently ranged below and belonged to the *rabi sikkatim*. He also occurs as one of the *upatinnum*'s of the *rabi sikkatim*.

*upatinnum*, (?)

Occurs in kt v/k 152<sup>8</sup> as *upatinnum ša rabi šukkallim*, "the *upatinnum* of the viziers" and in Kienast, no.23 (KKS 21). In the first text, the lines 15f.,

<sup>7</sup> This title is discussed in detail by the scholars in *Anatolica* XII (1980). Later on Günbattu discussed it in *Bulleten* 206 (1989), pp.51.

<sup>8</sup> See above n.7.



the title is used of the persons selling the slave, and in lines 19-21 of the persons to refund the buyer Tarmana when the slave is claimed by a third party.

### THE TEXTS

#### No.1:kt 90/k 120

This is a contract about the sale of a female slave between two Assyrians. The buyer is a woman and it is stipulated that in case of vindication the sale price shall be refunded.

- |      |     |   |
|------|-----|---|
| Obv. | 1.  | Nu-hu-ša-tum a-ma-sú<br>Ku-ru-ba-na-a i-dí-nu-š <sup>9</sup><br>ša Nu-hu-ša-tí-im<br>Nu-hu-ša-tum a-na<br>ší-mì-im i-dí-in<br>ú A-áb-ša-lim<br>2/3 ma-na 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR<br>ta-áš-qú-ul ú am-tám<br>Ku-ru-ba-na ú |
| E.   | 10. | ma-ra Áb-ša-lim   |
| Rev. |     | ta-áš-a-am šu-ma<br>ma-ma-na-a a-na<br>am-tím <sup>10</sup> ú ma-ri-ša <sup>11</sup> i-tù-wa-ar<br>2/3 ma-na 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR  |
|      | 15. | a-na Áb-ša-lim<br>i-ša-qal IGI E-na-A-šur   |

<sup>9</sup> In the text: šu

<sup>10</sup> In the text: tám

<sup>11</sup> In the text: šu

## DUMU Dan-î-lî IGI Me-ra-lî

&lt;DUMU&gt; En-um-A-šur

<sup>1</sup>Nuh(u)šatum gave his female slave Kurubana, <the slave> of Nuh(u)šatum, Nuh(u)šatum sold (her). <sup>6</sup>And (Mrs.) Ab-šallim paid 45 shekels of silver, and Ab-šallim bought the female slave Kurubana and her child. <sup>12</sup>If anyone claims the female slave and her child, he shall pay 45 shekels of silver to Ab-šallim. <sup>16</sup>Before Ennam-Aššur, son of Dan-ili, before Merali, <son of> Ennum-Aššur.

L. 1,3,4: *Nu-hu-ša-tím* must be the name of a male person according to the text. But *Nu-ùh-ša-tim* in BIN 6,104:2 is female. The name must be derived from *nuhšu*: CAD N II p.320b; AHW p.801b.

L. 2,9: *Ku-ru-ba-na* could be an Akkadian name and be analysed as *Kurub-Anna*, but it may as well be native.

L. 10,13: The word *mer'um*, "son", rarely occurs as *mar'um* in Old Assyrian.

L. 12: *mammanā* is a variant of *mamman* "somebody, anybody", cf. CAD M I p.200b; AHW p.601a.

**No.2: kt 88/k 990**

This is a document about the sale of a native woman by Peruwa to the wife of an Assyrian. Whoever (re)claims the slave girl shall pay the fourfold of the purchase price to the new owner.

|      |    |  |
|------|----|--|
| Obv. | 1. | 1 ma-na KÙ.BABBAR ší-i[m]<br>Za-pi-za-pi A-na-na<br>a-ša-at E-na-ah-DINGIR<br>iš-tí Pè-ru-wa |
|      | 5. | GAL re-i-im<br>DUMU Ta-pu-ša<br>ta-áš-a-am-ší<br>lu Pè-ru-wa                                 |

- E. 10. lu ma-ma-an  
 Rev. a-na Zi-pì-zi-pì  
 i-tù-wa-ar  
 4 ma-na KÛ.BABBAR <a-na>  
 A-na-na i-ša-qal  
 L.E. 15. GA RU BA ŠĀ

<sup>1</sup>1 mina of silver is the price of Zapizapi, Anana the wife of Enah-ili bought her (for it) from Peruwa, the chief of the shepherds, the son of Tapuša. <sup>8</sup>If anyone, either Peruwa or anybody else, reclaims Zipizipi he shall pay 4 minas of silver <to> Anana. <sup>15</sup>?

L. 2,11: The text makes it clear that Zapizapi and Zipizipi refer to the same person. One might compare Zi-BE-zi-BE, the wife of Aššur-āmaram, daughter of Aššur-bēli in EL no.276.

L. 2,14: The name Anana occurs also in BIN 4,165:1,2,3; Liv. 8:14; CCT 5,216:6 and AKT 1,76:2 (tablet), 8 (case) as the wife of Idī-Adad.

L. 15: There are traces of erased writing on the reverse, but they offer no clue for the interpretation of this line.

### Nr.3: kt n/k 1772

This document refers to the sale of a slave-girl belonging to an Assyrian household. It is a kind of quittance stating that a third person, Idī-Aššur, has received the sale price in Kaniš in the name of a daughter of the previous owner and seller, from the buyer, Kura. She hence promises not to raise any future claims.

- Obv. 1. KIŠIB Bu-kà-nim DUMU Šu-Sú-en<sub>6</sub>  
 ša 1/3 ma-na KÛ.BABBAR  
 ša-ru-pá-am ší-im GÉME<sup>tim</sup>  
 ša É Na-áp-li-is  
 5. ki-ma  
 DUMU.MÍ Na-áp-li-is gu<sub>5</sub>-ba-áb-tim

- E. I-dí-A-šūr DUMU Ba-ba-lim  
i-na Kâ-ni-iš KÛ.BABBAR
- Rev. il<sub>5</sub>-qé-ú
10. DUMU.MÍ Na-áp-li-is  
a-na Ku-ra ú-lá  
ta-tù-ar

<sup>1</sup>Sealed by Bukānum, son of Šū-Suen, to the effect that 1/3 mina of refined silver, the price of a female slave belonging to the household of Naplis, <sup>5</sup>in the name of the daughter of Naplis, *gubabtu*-priestess, that Idī-Aššur, son of Babālum took the money in Kanish. <sup>10</sup>The daughter of Naplis shall not come back on Kura.

L. 7: The same persons occur in CCT 2,8:7.

**Nr.4: kt 75/k 35**

This is a personal memorandum recording the payment of silver to a person and the gift of an expensive piece of textile to the same person.

- Obv. 1. 1/2 ma-na KÛ.BABBAR  
a-na ší-im GÉME  
ša Ša-ba-na-tim  
áš-qúl 1 ku-ta-nam
5. SIG<sub>5</sub> a-na  
Ša-ba-na-tim
- E. a-dí-in

<sup>1</sup>I paid 1/2 mina of silver for the slave-girl of Šabanātum; I also gave 1 kutānu-textile of good quality to Šabanātum.

**Nr.5: kt 76/k 2**

A slave-girl figures among the items put at the disposal of an Assyrian as *be'ulātum*. We assume that he received the goods from the owner, a girl, to trade them which would imply the sale of the slave-girl.

- Obv. 1. 1/3 ma-na 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR  
 6 TÚG.HIA ku-ta-nu  
 2 GÚ 5 ma-na ša-áp-tám  
 1 am-tám 4 pì-ri-kà-ni
5. 1 GÚ 5 ma-na URUDU  
 ma-sí-a-am  
 3 e-ma-re-e  
 ša-lá-ma-<<lá>>e  
 mì-ma a-nim
10. ša Ba-sà-a
- E. me-er-a-at
- Rev. Id-na-A-šur  
 a-na <sup>d</sup>IM.GAL  
 DUMU Ki-kà-zu
15. a-be-a-lim a-dí-in  
 IGI A-šur-ma-lik  
 DUMU Li-ba-a  
 IGI Ú-šur-pá-kà  
 DUMU MAN-Ištar IGI Pè-ru-wa
20. DUMU<sup>12</sup> A-šur-mì-tí

<sup>125</sup> shekels of silver, 6 pieces of *kutānu*-textile, 2 talents 5 minas of wool, 1 female slave, 4 *pirikannu*-textiles, 1 talent 5 minas of purified copper, 3 black donkeys <sup>9</sup>all this belonging to Basā, the daughter of Idna-Aššur, I put at the disposal of Adad-rabi, son of Kikazu.<sup>16</sup>Before Aššur-malik, son of Libā; before Ušur-paka, son of Puzur-Ištar; before Peruwa, son of Aššur-(i)mitti.

<sup>12</sup> In the text: IGI

L. 10: The woman, a daughter of Idna-Aššur, whose goods were given as *be'ulātum*, must be the same woman as the one in kt b/k 105<sup>13</sup>, to whom 1/3 mina of silver was given as *be'ulātum*.

**Nr.6: kt b/k 136 b, a**

This text is a deposition by witnesses before *kārum* Kanish. Their testimony deals with a disagreement about a slave belonging to an Assyrian, Ennum-Aššur, taken and retained (as pledge) by Lulu. Lulu refuses to submit, as ruled by judges, to an oath, but instead promises to return the slave within one month. If not, he will pay Ennum-Aššur ca. The double of purchase price, 81 shekels of silver.

**tablet:**

|      |     |  |
|------|-----|--|
| Obv. | 1.  | En-um-A-šur a-na Lu-lu<br>iṣ-ba-at-ni-a-ti-ma<br>um-ma En-um-A-šur-ma<br>a-na Lu-lu-ma ba-a-am   |
|      | 5.  | ma-lá dí-in <sub>4</sub> da-a-a-ni<br>GÍR ša A-šur ta-am-a-am<br>um-ma Lu-lu-ma lá a-ta-ma-a-kum<br>wa-ra-ad-kà a-dí<br>wa-ra-ah ú-ta-ra-kum |
|      | 10. | um-ma En-um-A-šur-ma<br>šu-ma a-dí wa-ra-ah  |
| E.   |     | ÌR <sup>dí</sup> lá tù-ta-e-ra-am<br>2/3 ma-na lá 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR  |
| Rev. |     | [ší]-im ÌR <sup>dim</sup>  |
|      | 15. | i-bi <sub>4</sub> -ší-ma 1 1/3 ma-na 1 GÍN   |

<sup>13</sup> Çeçen, Master thesis, no.48.

- KÙ.BABBAR ta-ša-qá-lam  
 um-ma Lu-lu a-hu Ha-da-a-ma  
 a-ša-qá-lá-ku-um  
 iš-tù ha-mu-uš-tim
20.    ša <sup>d</sup>UTU-ba-ni ú A-šur-iš-[tí-k] al  
 <a-na a-wa-tim a-ni-a-tim>  
 kâ-ru-um Kâ-ni-iš<sup>[ki]</sup>  
 i-dí-ni-a-tí-ma IGI GÍR  
 ša A-šur ší-bu-tí-ni  
 ni-dí-in IGI <sup>d</sup>UTU-ba-ni
- E.       25.    DUMU A-ha-tim
- L.E.       IGI Ú-šú-ra-nim  
 DUMU Ku-da-a

<sup>1</sup>Ennum-Aššur seized us (as witnesses) against Lulu. Ennum-Aššur said to Lulu: <sup>5</sup>"Come, swear to me by Ashur's dagger in accordance with the verdict of judges!". <sup>7</sup>Lulu answered: "I am not going to swear to you! I will return your slave to you within a month". <sup>10</sup>Ennum-Aššur said: "If you have not returned my slave within a month, where the price of the slave was 39 shekels of silver, you will pay me 81 shekels of silver". <sup>17</sup>Lulu, the brother of Hadā, said: "I will pay (it) to you". <sup>19</sup>From the week of Šamaš-bani and Aššuriš-[tikal]. <For this case> *kārum* Kanish gave us (as witnesses), and before the dagger of Ashur we gave our testimony. <sup>24</sup>Before Šamaš-bani, son of Ahātum; before Ušurānum, son of Kudā.

**case:**

- Obv.       1.    KIŠIB <sup>d</sup>UTU-ba-ni DUMU A-ha-tim  
 KIŠIB Ú-šú-ra-nim DUMU Ku-da-a  
 a-na a-wa-tim a-ni-a-tim  
 kâ-ru-um Kâ-ni-iš<sup>ki</sup>

5. i-dí-ni-a-tí-ma IGI GÍR  
 ša A-šur ší-bu-tí-ni  
 ni-dí-in

**Nr.7: kt n/k 1295**

This deposition records a disagreement between Idi-Suen and Mannu-ki-Aššur about a slave which belonged to a certain Rabi-Aššur, but whom Mannu-ki-Aššur had seized because he would have brought him.

- Obv. 1. Ma-nu-ki-A-šūr  
 ÌR ša GAL-A-šur  
 iṣ-ba-at-ma um-ma  
 I-dí-Sú-en<sub>6</sub>-ma ÌR
5. wa-ší-ra-am um-ma  
 Ma-nu-ki-A-šūr-ma  
 ÌR áš-a-am ú-lá ú-ša-ra-kum  
 um-ma I-dí-Sú-en<sub>6</sub>-ma  
 DUMU I-ba-a-ma ÌR
- E. 10. wa-ší-ra-am-ma  
 Rev. ma-ša-ku a-na-ku  
 ÌR ú-ta-ra-kum  
 šu-ma ÌR lá áp-qí-id-ku-um  
 KÙ.BABBAR ma-lá ta-áš-qú-lu
15. a-ša-qá-lá-kum a-na a-wa-tim  
 a-ni-a-tim kâ-ru-um  
 Hu-ra-ma i-dí-ni-a-tí-ma  
 IGI šu-ga-ri-a-e ša A-šur  
 ší-bu-tí-ni ni-dí-in



20.     ÌR ma-ah-ri-ni  
 E.             Ma-nu-ki-A-šur a-na  
                I-dí-Sú-en<sub>6</sub>  
 L.E.           ip-qí-id IGI A-šur-SA.TU  
                DUMU Šu-Be-lim IGI Šál-ma-A-šur  
 25.     DUMU En-na-nim

<sup>1</sup>Mannu-ki-Aššur seized the slave of Rabi-Aššur, but Idi-Suen said: "Release the slave to me!". Mannu-ki-Aššur answered: "I have bought the slave, I am not going to yield him to you!". <sup>8</sup>Idi-Suen, son of Ibā, said: Yield the slave to me! I take the responsibility, I will return the slave to you (later). <sup>13</sup>If I do not entrust the slave to you, I will pay to you as much as you paid (for the slave)". <sup>15</sup>For this case, *kārum* Hurama gave us (as witnesses) and we gave our testimony before the dagger of Aššur. <sup>20</sup>In our presence Mannu-ki-Aššur entrusted the slave to Idi-Suen. <sup>23</sup>Before Aššur-šadu'i, son of Šū-Bēlum; before Šalma-Aššur, son of Ennānum.

L. 11: See for the meaning of *mašā'um* Larsen, OACC (1976) p.256f.

#### Nr.8: kt 88/k 287

This testimony before the *kārum* records a confrontation between a certain Tūram-ilī, "slave of Kura"s household", and a certain Kasuka about a sum of silver, given to Tūram-ilī by an agent (*tamkārum*) and claimed by Kura. The situation seems to be that Tūram-ilī, a slave of the firm of Kura, had received money due to his boss by an agent of the latter. The action of Kasuka may imply that he had been authorized by Kura to collect this sum, either because he acted as Kura"s representative or because Kura had promised him that silver. Tūram-ilī is ready to pay if Kasuka submits written evidence (*našpirātum*) which proves that he is entitled to the money. Tūram-ilī, though a slave, could act for his boss by collecting debts owed to him.

- Obv.     1.     Kâ-sú-kâ a-na Tû-ra-mî-ili<sub>5</sub>  
                ÌR ša É! Ku-ra iṣ-ba-at-ni-a-tí-ma  
                um-ma Kâ-sú-kâ-ma

- a-na Tù-ra-mì-ili<sub>5</sub>-ma
5. 1 1/2 ma-na KÛ.BABBAR  
tám-kà-ru-um  
i-dí-na-ku-ni KÛ.BABBAR  
šu-qú-ul um-ma  
Tù-ra-mì-ili<sub>5</sub>-ma
10. 3 na-áš-pì-ra-tim  
ša a-wi-lim bi<sub>4</sub>-lam-ma
- E. KÛ.BABBAR a-ša-qá-lá-[kum]  
[ . . . ]-ma
- Rev. [ú]-ša-ba-kà
15. a-na a-wa-tim  
a-ni-a-tim kà-ru-um  
Kà-ni-iš i-dí-ni-a-tí-ma  
IGI GÍR ša A-šùr  
ší-bu-tí-ni ni-dí-in
20. IGI MAR.TU-ba-ni  
IGI I-ku-nim

<sup>1</sup>Kasuka took us (as witnesses) against Tūram-ilī, a slave of the house-  
(hold) of Kura. <sup>3</sup>Kasuka said to Tūram-ilī: "Pay 1 1/2 mina of silver which  
the agent gave to you". <sup>8</sup>Tūram-ilī answered: "Bring me the three records of  
gentleman (boss), then I will pay [you] the silver and I will satisfy you". <sup>15</sup>For  
this case *kārum* Kaniš gave us (as witnesses) and we gave our testimony  
before the dagger of Aššur. <sup>20</sup>Before Amurru-bani, before Ikūnum.

#### Nr.9: kt t/k 9

This is a memorandum in which a man, speaking in the first person, lists  
the payments he has made.

- Obv. 1. 13 1/2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR a-na  
 Ša-bu-na-ah-šu  
 DUMU Kā-lá 6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR  
 a-na Šé-zu-ur áš-qúl
5. 4 GÍN a-na be-li-šu  
 ša Tù-[ú-]tù-ú áš-qúl  
 4 1/2 GÍN a-na Iš-me-DINGIR  
 áš-qúl 6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR  
 ší-im še-im<sup>14</sup> ša É
10. Ta-ar-ma-na nu-šé-ší-a-ni  
 ší-im ÌR
- E. 3 GÍN ší-im šé-im<sup>14</sup>  
 a-na na-pá-hi-im
- Rev. áš-qúl 1 1/2 GÍN a-na
15. A-ru-ba <1> lá 1/4 GÍN  
 a-ša-at I-na-a  
 1 lá 1/4 GÍN a-na Na-na-a  
 1 lá 1/4 GÍN a-na Ku-lá-na  
 2 1/2 GÍN a-na ší-im
20. GIG ša a-Ta-ar-kà-na-am  
 áš-qúl 2 1/4 GÍN a-na  
 UDU áš-qúl i-nu-mì GA-ar-ú-lam  
 ta-al-qé-i-ni  
 i-nu-mì ta-am-ri-ší-ni

<sup>14</sup> In the text: am

- E. 25. 1 lá 1/4 GÍN ag-mu-ur<sup>15</sup> 1/2 GÍN a-na  
 ki-ri-im i-nu-mì
- L.E. A-na-na ta-am-ru-šú  
 áš-qú-ul 2 1/4 GÍN a-na  
 NINDA áš-qúl

<sup>1</sup>I paid 13 1/2 shekels of silver to Šabunahšu, son of Kala; 6 shekels of silver to Šezur; 54 shekels (of silver) to the boss of Tūtū; <sup>7</sup>4 1/2 shekels to Išme-ili; <sup>8</sup>6 shekels of silver, the price of barley, we took out of the house of Tarmana, (was) the price of a slave, which <sup>12</sup>I paid to the blacksmith 3 shekels (of silver) as price of the barley; <sup>14</sup>1 1/2 shekels to Aruba; 3/4 shekel (to) the the wife of Inā; 3/4 shekel to Nanā; 3/4 shekel to Kulana; <sup>19</sup>I paid 2 1/4 shekels as price for wheat which was meant for Tarkanam. <sup>21</sup>I paid 2 1/4 shekels for a sheep. <sup>22</sup>When she took a ....., when she become ill, I spent 3/4 shekel. <sup>25</sup>I paid 1/2 shekel for a drink when Anana fell ill. <sup>28</sup>I paid 2 1/4 shekels for bread.

L. 20: See for the various kinds of grain called *aršātum*, *kibtum*, *še'um*, *uttatum* and for their meaning the comments on AKT 1,7:24.

L. 22: *GA-ar-ú-lam* is unclear for us.

#### Nr.10: kt a/k 805 b, a

The documents records that Zaha sold the native Šubiahšu with his wife Kabzia and their son (l.11) to Puzur-Aššur. The difficult lines 5-8 may indicate that Puzur-Aššur had acquired Šubiahšu before, but had not yet paid, or that Puzur-Aššur owed Zaha a sum of money for some purchase and that Zaha instead claimed Šubiahšu with his family, which made Puzur-Aššur decide to pay his debts, so that he got Šubiahšu back.

#### tablet:

- Obv. 1. 1 ma-na KÙ.BABBAR ší-im  
 Šu-bi-a-ah-šu ù Kà-áb-zi-a

<sup>15</sup> In the text: ru

- a-ší-tí-šu a-na Za-ha  
 Puzur<sub>4</sub>-A-šur iš-qú-ul  
 5. be-el ší-mì-šu<sup>16</sup> Za-ha  
 i-na i-tí-im  
 Šu-bi<sub>4</sub>-a-ah-šu i-ri-iš-ma  
 KÛ.BABBAR áš-qú-ul  
 E. šu-ma ma-ma-an  
 10. a-na Šu-bi<sub>4</sub>-a-ah-šu  
 Rev. a-ší-tí-šu ù me-er-e-šu  
 i-tù-ar Za-ha  
 a-na Puzur<sub>4</sub>-A-šur  
 ú-ba-áb-šu-nu  
 15. IGI Ha-ra-áš-ta-AN  
 IGI Lu-ùh-ra-ah-šu  
 IGI Ha-nu-nu  
 IGI Hi-kà-i Za-ha  
 E. a-na Šu-bi<sub>4</sub>-a-ah-šu  
 L.E. 20. ú-lá i-tù-a-ar

<sup>1</sup>Puzur-Aššur paid 1 mina of silver to Zaha as price for Šubiahšu and Kabzia, his wife. <sup>5</sup>When his creditor Zaha at the appropriate time asked (it) from Šubiahšu, I paid the silver. <sup>9</sup>Should anyone raise a claim for Šubiahšu, his wife and his children, <sup>12</sup>Zaha will clear them for Puzur-Aššur. <sup>15</sup>Before HaraštAN, before Luhrahšu, before Hanunu, before Hikai. <sup>18</sup>Zaha shall not reclaim Šubiahšu.

**case:**

- Obv. 1. KIŠIB Ha-ra-aš-ta-AN

<sup>16</sup> In the text: ni

- KIŠIB Lu-ùh-ra-ah-šu KIŠIB Za-ha-a a-hu-ú ra-bi<sub>4</sub> sí-  
mì-il<sub>5</sub>-tim
- KIŠIB Ha-a-a-bi<sub>4</sub> KIŠIB Ha-nu-nu
- 1 ma-na KÛ.BABBAR ší-im Šu-bi<sub>4</sub>-a-ah-šu
- 5 ù Kâ-áb-zi-a a-ší-tí-šu
- a-na Za-ha Puzur<sub>4</sub>-A-šur
- iš-qú-ul Za-ha be-el ší-mi-šu
- Šu-bi<sub>4</sub>-a-ah-šu i-na i-tí-im
- E. i-ri-iš-ma Puzur<sub>4</sub>-A-šur
- Rev. 10. KÛ.BABBAR a-na Za-ha
- iš-qú-ul šu-ma ma-ma-an
- a-na Šu-bi<sub>4</sub>-a-ah-šu ù Kâ-áb-zi-a
- a-ší-tí-šu ú me-er-e-šu
- i-tù-ar Za-ha-a
15. ú-ba-áb-šu-nu
- Za-ha-a a-na
- Šu-bi<sub>4</sub>-a-ah-šu
- E. Kâ-áb-zi-a a-ší-tí-šu
- ú me-er-e-šu ú-lá i-tù-ar

L. 15f. and lf. (of case): The personal names also occur in AKT 1,39:14-16: *IGI Luhrahšu rādiu ša Haraštāl*. Cf. Also kt 84/k 16:4: *TÚG ša Ha-ra-áš-tal* and in line 11: *Ha-ra-áš-ta-al*. We hence believe that they are the same person and that Haraštan and Haraštāl are variant writings of the same name.

L. 1-3 (of case): HaraštAN, Luhrahšu and Zaha are the brothers of the *rabi simmiltim*, who is the crown prince and is highest authority after king and so probably the children of the king. In some documents, Anitta, the son and later successor of Pithana, occurs with the title *rabi simmiltim*: TC 3,214a:19-22; OIP 27,1:1; rev.:2-3. In kt s/k 3:19-20: *i-qá-tí Pi-it-ha-na ru-ba-im*

*A-ni-ta GAL sí-ki-tí-[im]*, Anitta occurs alongside his father and ruler Pithana with the title *rabi sikkitim*. Çeçen assumes that the crown prince raised for kingship had to acquire experience first as *rabi sikkitim*, later as *rabi simmiltim*<sup>17</sup>. But not all *rabi simmiltims*' are later attested as *rubā'um*.

**Nr.11: kt 88/k 1003**

This is a document about the sale of a native boy by his mother and by another woman whose relationship with the boy is unknown. It is stipulated that if a successful claim is raised for the boy, the sellers have to pay 45 shekels of silver instead of the purchase price, of 33 shekels, hence one third more.

- |      |     |   |
|------|-----|---|
| Obv. | 1.  | 1/2 ma-na 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR<br>ší-im I-lá-li-iš-kà-an<br>a-na Wa-ni-a-al-kà<br>um-mì-šu ù                       |
|      | 5.  | Kà-na-kà-na DUMU.MÍ<br>Šé-zu-ur Té-pu-lá<br>iš-qú-ul iš-a-am-šu<br>šu-ma ma-ma-an<br>a-šu-mì I-lá-li-iš-kà-an |
|      | 10. | a-na Té-pu-lá<br>i-tù-a-ar  |
| E.   |     | Wa-ni-a-al-kà   |
| Rev. |     | ù Kà-na-kà-na<br>2/3 ma-na 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR  |
|      | 15. | a-na Té-pu-lá<br>i-ša-qú-lu   |

<sup>17</sup> Salih Çeçen, Yeni Kültepe Metinlerine Göre Yerli Asurlu Münasebetleri. First International Hethitologie Congress Texts p. 143.

IGI A-zi-za-áš

IGI Hi-iš-ta-ah-šu

IGI Ša-at-A-na

20. DUMU.MÍ Da-da-nim

IGI I-ku-nim DUMU E-lá-lí

<sup>1</sup>1/2 mina and 3 shekels of silver, the price for Ilališkan, to Waniałka, his mother and to Kanakana, daughter of Šezur, Tepula paid (and) he bought him. <sup>8</sup>If anyone raises a claim for Ilališkan against Tepula, <sup>12</sup>Waniałka and Kanakana will pay to Tepula 45 shekels of silver. <sup>17</sup>Before Azizaš, before Hištahšu, before Šāt-Anna, daughter of Dadānum, before Ikūnum son of Elali.

L. 19: It is possible to analyse the female name Ša-at-A-na here and in CCT 5,20c:3; 39c:2,4 as šāt, det.rel. pronoun 3rd per.sing.fem+the name of the god Anna: "She of (the god) Anna", cf. Stamm, Namengebung p.263; AKT 1,1:4.

**Nr.12: kt a/k 554 b, a**

This text was studied by Balkan, Festschrift Güterbock (1986) p.30, n.13; by Hecker, WdO 11 (1980), p.66 and most recently by Kienast, AKv p.108f.

The text is about the sale of a girl and seller and buyer both are women. The sale price is not recorded but if the seller claims the girl, her daughter, back, she will have to pay 15 shekels of silver, perhaps the original sale price.

**tablet:**

|      |    |  |
|------|----|--|
| Obv. | 1. | Sà-sà-a šú-ha-ar-tám<br>ta-áš-a-am <<šu-ma>><br>Ni-wa-ah-šu-ša-ar<br>lá ta-tù-a-ar-ší-im |
|      | 5. | šu-ma ta-tù-a-ar-ší-im<br>15 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR   |



ta-ša-qá-al-ší-ma  
 me-er-a-sà  
 E. ta-ta-ru-ú  
 Rev. 10. IGI Ša-na-bu-ú  
 IGI Ba-dí-da  
 IGI Hi-iš-ta-ah-šu-ša-ar

<sup>1</sup>Sasā bought the girl and Niwahšušar shall not come back on her. <sup>5</sup>If she comes back on her she will pay 15 shekels of silver and take her daughter along. <sup>10</sup>Before Šanabū, before Badidā, before Hištahšušar.

**case:**

Obv. 1. KIŠIB Ša-na-bu-ú  
 KIŠIB Ba-dí-da-a  
 KIŠIB Hi-iš-ta-ah-šu-ša-[ar]  
 Sà-sà-tí-i šú-ha-ar-[tám]  
 5. ta-áš-a-am-ší <<šu-ma>>  
 Ni-wa-[ah-š]u-ša-ar  
 .....  
 .....  
 Rev. [lá ta-tù-a-ar-ší-im]  
 [šu-ma ta-tù-a-a]r  
 15 GÍN KÛ.BABBAR  
 10. ta-ša-qá-al-ma  
 me-er-a-sà ta-ta-ru-ú

L. 1. It is interesting that the lady recorded as *Sà-sà-a* in the first line of the tablet occurs as *Sà-sà-tí-a* in the fourth line of the case. The other personal names belong to Anatolians, so she also must be a native woman.

**Nr.13: kt s/k 42**

The text records that a claim of 57 shekels of silver, part of which was due as sale price of a boy from Idi-Kūbum.

|      |     |  |
|------|-----|--|
| Obv. | 1.  | 1/2 ma-na 7 GÍN<br>KÛ.BABBAR a-ha-ma<br>1/3 ma-na ší-im<br>šú-ha-ri-im |
|      | 5.  | iš-tí I-dí-Ku-bi <sub>4</sub> -im<br>DUMU ší-ip-ri-im                  |
| E.   |     | IGI Be-kà-a  |
| Rev. |     | IGI A-zi-a<br>80 a-nu-qú   |
|      | 10. | za-ap-ru-tu <sub>4</sub>   |

<sup>1</sup>37 shekels of silver and separately 20 shekels of silver, the price for a boy, is due from of the messenger. Before Bekā, before Azia. <sup>9</sup>80 inferior rings.

5.


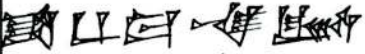
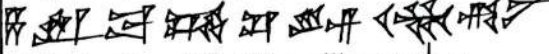


K. 10.



Ay.



15.




The image shows a grid of 15 rows of ancient script, likely Cuneiform. The script is arranged in a grid with some characters extending beyond the lines. There are some circular markings on the right side of the grid. The labels 5., K. 10., Ay., and 15. are positioned to the left of the grid.

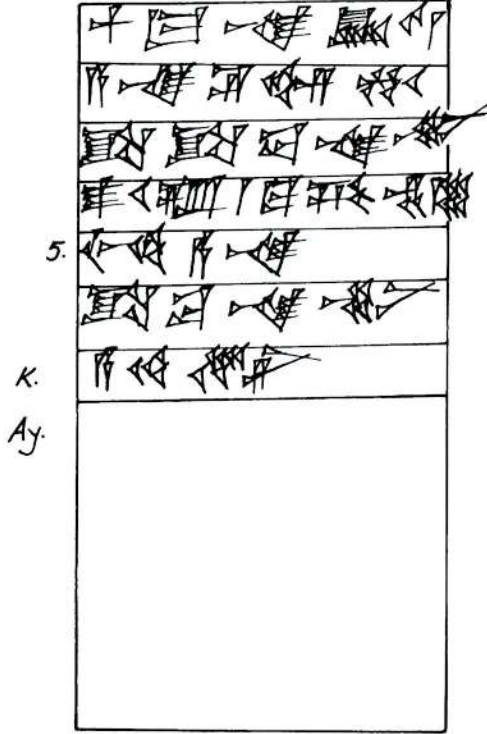


5. *A silindir mührü*  
  
  
  
  


K. *A silindir mührü*  
  


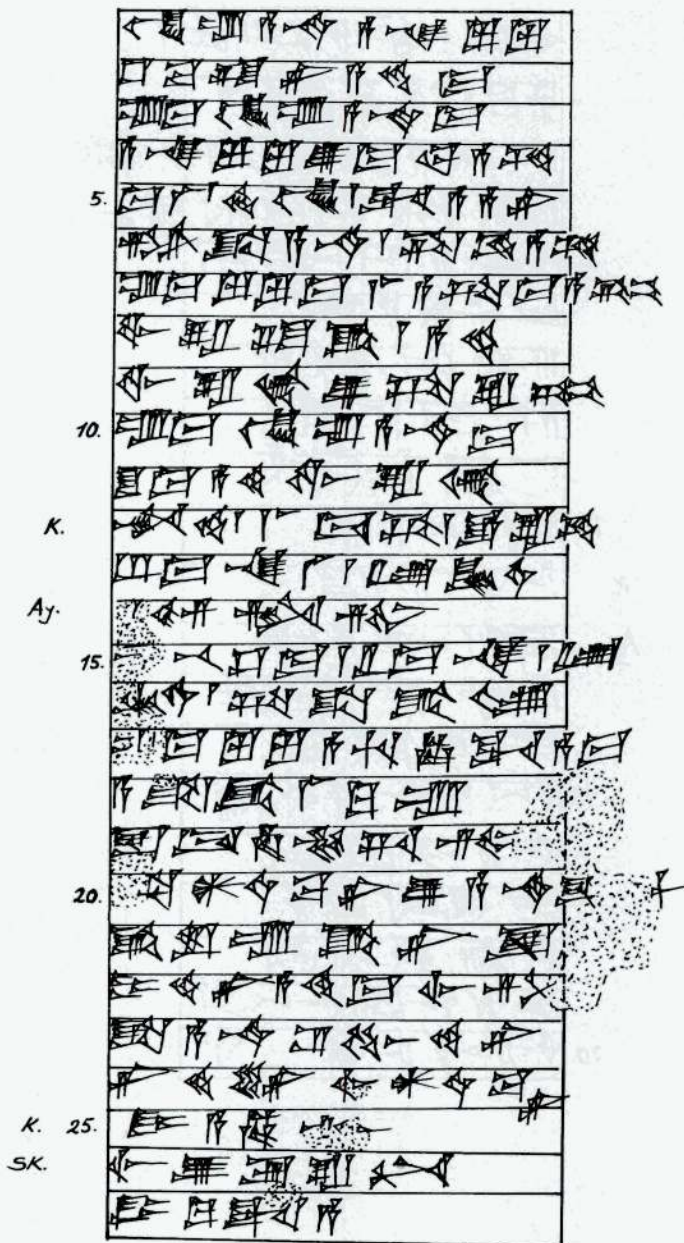
Aj. *A silindir mührü*  
  


10. *A silindir mührü*  
  
  
  
*A silindir mührü*



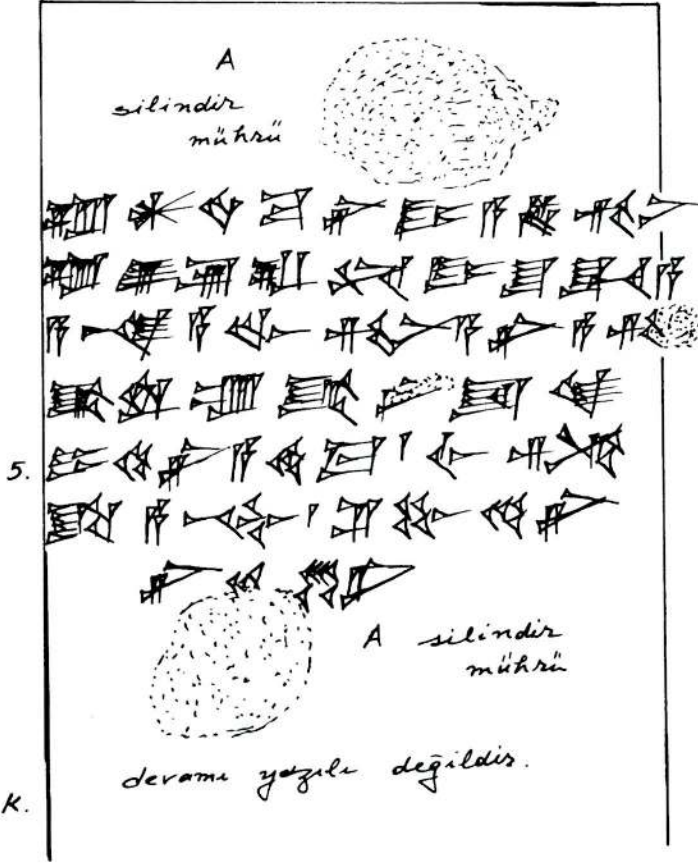
5. 10. 15. 20.

K.  
Ay.



No. 6, Kt b/k 136 tablet







5.

10.

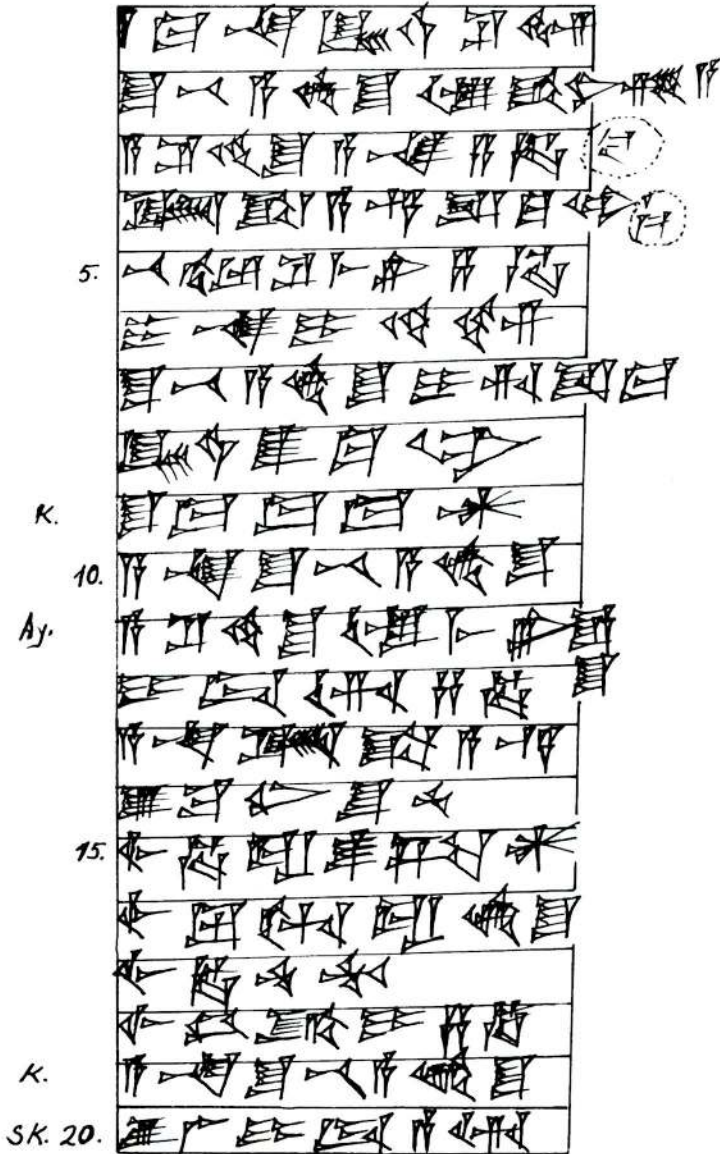
K.

Ay.

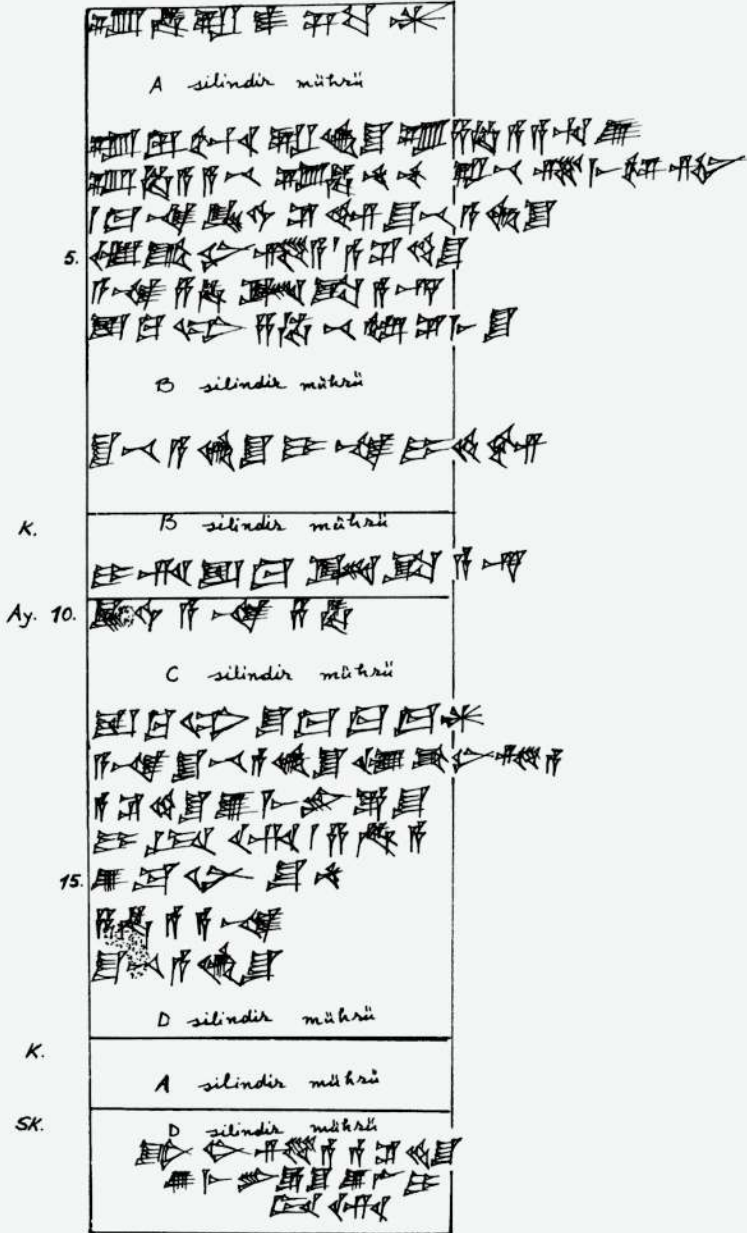
15.

20.





No. 10, Kr a/k 805 tablet



No. 10, Kt a/k 805 zarf

Handwritten musical notation on a staff, consisting of several lines of symbols and numbers. The notation is written in black ink on a white background. The symbols are stylized and resemble musical notes or rhythmic markings. The numbers 5, 10, 15, and 20 are written on the left side of the staff, indicating measures or sections. The letters 'K.' and 'Ay.' are also present on the left side. The notation is organized into a grid-like structure with horizontal lines and vertical markers.

5.

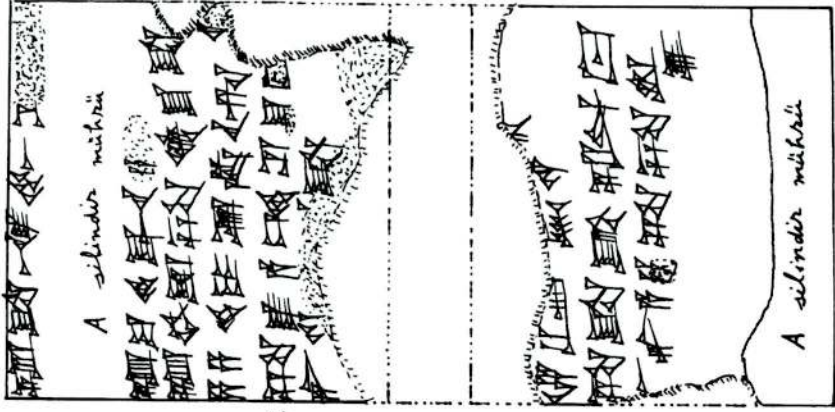
10.

K.

Ay.

15.

20.

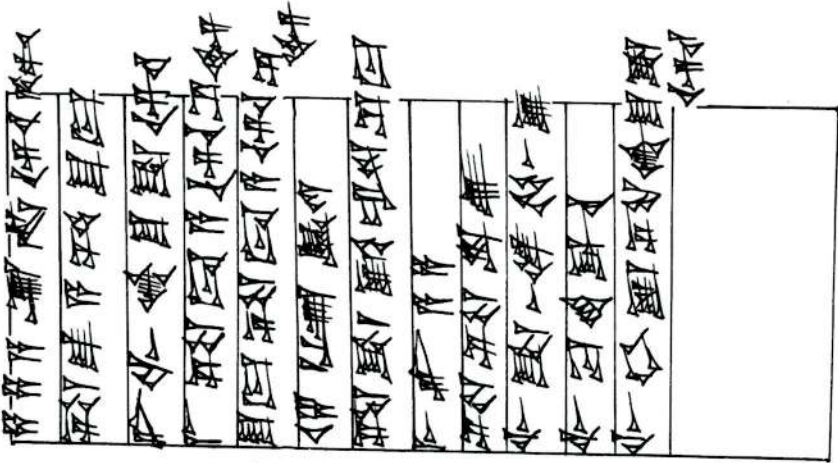


5.

K.

Ay.

K.



5.

K.

Ay.10.



