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ASPECTS OF OLD ASSYRIAN TRADE AND ITS TERMINOLOGY

LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL
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BY

K. R. VEENHOF

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PREFACE

My interest in Old Assyrian texts was first aroused during a seminar conducted by Prof. F. R. KRAUS and devoted to the reading of texts from S. SMITH-D. J. WISEMAN, *Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum*, Vol. V (London 1956). The subsequent study of P. GARELLI's *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce* (Paris 1963) made me choose this corpus of texts as the subject of my thesis. My original intention of publishing the group of ca. 120 Old Assyrian texts in the LIAGRE BÖHL Collection of the Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, was soon abandoned, since the edition of a random group of texts, all purchased from dealers, seemed less appropriate to serve as a dissertation. Then, in a later stage, the theme 'Old Assyrian Caravan Texts' had to be given up due to the publication of M. T. LARSEN's *Old Assyrian Caravan Procedures* (Leiden 1967), which I was fortunate enough to read in manuscript. Hence evolved my decision to treat some aspects of Old Assyrian trade and its terminology, which linked up with problems discussed by GARELLI, LARSEN, and others, and still needed further clarification.

I am happy to acknowledge the help and co-operation I received from various sides during the past years. Dr. A. A. KAMPMAN, director of the Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden, kindly allowed me to make use of the unpublished texts in the LIAGRE BÖHL Collection, which I plan to publish in the next few years as a volume in the *SLB* and *TLB* series. The library of the aforesaid Institute has proved to be an indispensable tool in the course of my studies. Mag. M. T. LARSEN, Copenhagen, most helpfully provided me with his transliterations of unpublished texts in Berlin and elsewhere, and made me benefit from valuable observations and critical remarks. During a short stay in the U.S.A., which was made possible by grants from the University of Leiden and from the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, I could take cognizance of unpublished copies of texts in Berlin, by means of microfilms, in keeping at the Oriental Institute. Prof. I. J. GELB, Chicago, greatly obliged me by placing at my disposal his transliterations of unpublished texts in Istanbul and Kayseri. Prof. S. N. KRAMER, Philadelphia, was kind enough to grant me permission to study unpublished texts (from the HILPRECHT bequest) in the University Museum, which quite recently have been published in *HUCA* 39 and 40-41 in copies prepared by the late Mrs. LEWY. Prof. R. FRANKENA, Utrecht, who read the manuscript, deserves my warm thanks for a number of critical remarks and

valuable suggestions. I am also grateful to Mr. M. STOL, Leiden, for a number of references, and for his occasional help in checking literature. Mr. C. B. F. WALKER of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities of the British Museum, London, was most helpful in collating a number of texts published in the *CCT* series.

The gratitude I owe to Mrs. and Mr. POSTGATE, London, for readily accepting and skillfully performing the laborious task of correcting the English of my voluminous manuscript, can hardly be expressed in words. Their numerous corrections of mistakes, flaws, and inconsistencies have greatly contributed to the readableness of the book. Some more material improvements, kindly suggested by Mr. J. N. POSTGATE, have also been adopted. Any mistakes still to be found in the English are solely to the account of the author, who could not resist the temptation of making some last-minute changes.

I gratefully acknowledge the never fading interest and help of my teacher, Prof. F. R. KRAUS, who even went as far as translating Turkish articles for me. The impact of his stimulating observations, his sound and critical judgment, and his great accuracy is present on many pages, though frequently not perceptible to the reader. Both the shape and the contents of this book have greatly profited from his guidance. This does not mean that he shares all the views expressed in the following pages; I alone bear the responsibility for them.

The editors of 'Studia et Documenta ad Iura Orientis Antiqui Pertinentia' deserve my sincere recognition for having accepted this dissertation in their series, even though its subject matter is not primarily of legal nature, and the book even contains a chapter on "smuggling". Finally I acknowledge a substantial grant from the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (Z.W.O.), which made the publication of this thesis possible.

Nijmegen, May 1971

ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

In quoting Assyriological literature and text-editions the abbreviations used in the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* (*CAD*) have been followed. Note the following abbreviations of some recent publications, not yet mentioned in the *CAD*:

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In quoting the *CAD* and W. VON SODEN, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch* (*AHw*) a and b after the page-number are the left- and right-hand column of each page. When the manuscript was finished *AHw* had reached the word *pessû(m)* (fasc. 9), the volume of the *CAD* last published was A/2. The following abbreviations are used for frequently quoted studies and text-editions in the OA field:

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L-29-numbers — texts in the University Museum, Philadelphia, now published in H. LEWY 1968 and 1970.

	Quoted by museum number and page of the edition.
LB-numbers	unpublished texts in the BOHL Collection of the Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden; quoted according to my transliterations.
VAT-numbers	unpublished texts in the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Staatliche Museen, Berlin. Partly quoted in publications of B. LANDSBERGER, H. LEWY and J. LEWY, partly used according to transliterations kindly provided by Mag. M. T. LARSEN, Copenhagen.
Istanbul Kayseri	Unpublished texts from the museums in Kayseri and Istanbul, without museum-numbers, are quoted according to transliterations kindly provided by Prof. I. J. GELB, Chicago.

INTRODUCTION

Old Assyrian trade with Anatolia flourished and is epigraphically best documented during the 19th century B.C. (middle chronology; archaeologically speaking during Kültepe-*kārum* level II). During that period Assyrians imported large quantities of tin and woollen textiles into Anatolia by means of donkey caravans, and were actively engaged in the internal Anatolian trade in wool, woollen fabrics and copper, with the ultimate goal of acquiring silver and gold to be shipped back to Aššur. Our only source of information about this trade is the archives of the Assyrian merchants, buried in the ruins of their houses in level II of the commercial settlement, called *kārum* by the Assyrians, at the foot of the city-mound of Kültepe, ancient Kaniš, which lies ca. 20 km. north-east of modern Kayseri, south of the river Kızılırmak (ancient Halys), in central Anatolia. The discovery of the settlement at Kaniš and its archives is particularly fortunate, because *kārum* Kaniš was the administrative centre of a network of commercial settlements, scattered over ancient Anatolia, and attached as a rule to the capitals of the local kingdoms or to other cities important for economic or strategic reasons. Of the some 20 such settlements mentioned in the ancient texts, only two have been identified besides Kaniš-Kültepe: those at Boğazköy (Ḫattuš) and Alişar (most probably Amkuwa), but they have yielded only a few dozen tablets in fragmentary condition, which are moreover slightly later than the main body of texts from Kültepe-*kārum* level II.

For a reconstruction of Old Assyrian trade we can now use some three thousand texts, the majority of which is only available in cuneiform copies, without accompanying transliterations, translations and commentary (this holds good especially for the letters); the original tablets belong to a great number of public and private collections all over the world. They have been acquired and have become available for study in increasing numbers since the last decades of the nineteenth century. Apart from some 600 texts, excavated at Kültepe in 1925 by B. Hrozný and published as ICK 1 and 2 (ICK 3 is to follow in due time), all the tablets come from illicit excavations by local inhabitants. They represent the widely scattered remains of probably originally complete merchants' archives, which according to the findings of modern excavators could comprise several hundreds of texts each. The systematic excavations undertaken annually since 1948 at Kültepe by the Turkish Historical Society and the Turkish Department of Antiquities, and directed by

T. Özgüç, have unearthed many new archives, comprising texts which by now must approach fifteen thousand in numbers. Unfortunately almost none of these have been published after more than twenty years, so that we can use only the material discovered by clandestine tablet diggers and subsequently published, and about two thirds of the texts found by Hrozný.

The interpretation of the excavation reports and the inscribed material confronts us with a great variety of problems of archaeological, historical, political, juridical, economic and linguistic nature. As the present study is mainly concerned with the trade proper and its terminology, no attempt is made here to give even a brief introduction to the whole range of problems of Old Assyrian studies. The reader is referred to a number of recent studies, well suited to this task, as A. Goetze, *Kleinasien*[2] (64-81), P. Garelli, *AC* and L. L. Orlin, *ACC*, Garelli's book being the most comprehensive and informative.

As for the trade itself, we may state that there now exists a fair degree of unanimity about the identity of the goods traded, especially after Garelli *AC* (269ff.) and Landsberger 1965 have shown *annukum* to be "tin" and not "lead"; only the exact nature of the metal *amūtum*/*ašium* and the textile *kutānum* are still in dispute. Also the economic function and commercial role of the various items making up the merchandise has become much clearer, though especially the metallurgical and commercial aspects of the copper trade and the mechanism of the imports of tin into Aššur require further study and additional textual data. But there exist many unanswered questions as to the structure of the trade, the organization and methods of the trading companies or "firms", the structure and functions of the official body called *kārum* and the operations performed in and by the "*kārum*-house" (*bīt kārum*), and the measure of influence exercised by the Assyrian and Anatolian governments and their representatives. The powers and tasks of the various persons engaged in the trading process—the principals or financial backers (*ummeānum*), the (licensed?) merchants proper (*tamkārum*), the transporters (*kaṣṣārum*), the "commission-agents" (*mer ummeānim*, *tamkārum*), and the representatives of the traders (*ša kima PN*, *šazzuztum*)—and the meaning and role of the "houses" or "firms" (*bītum*), still need much further study. Equally complex are the problems concerning the various taxes, the ways of financing business, the methods of settling accounts, dividing profits and paying dividends, and the financial dealings in the *bīt kārim*, both in connection with what seem to be collective commercial enterprises and in carrying out book transfers for its members and between Assyrian merchants and the local Anatolian palaces.

Problems of a different nature have been raised by the late K. POLANYI and his school. They maintain the non-existence of markets during the period under discussion, and opt for the 'port-of-trade system' instead. Merchants, moreover, in their view, are not private, 'capitalistic' entrepreneurs but rather government officials. Finally they deny to silver the function of money, in the sense that it serves as "an indirect means of exchange", and stress the nature and importance of book transfers and a kind of banking system as "administrative devices designed to make barter more effective and therefore the developing of market methods unnecessary" (POLANYI, 1968, 188).

A solution of all these, basically interrelated questions can, if ever, only be achieved by a comprehensive, systematic and structural approach to the material. The great number of texts excavated—though for the greater part still unpublished—, all dated within a relatively short period of time (some three generations), all originating from a relatively small group of people, and almost all dealing with some aspect of the trade, foster the hope that eventually a very detailed knowledge and understanding of Old Assyrian trade may be achieved, yielding a picture which may prove to be unique in ancient economic history. The text material, moreover, may well be substantially increased by new discoveries: the size of *kārum* Kaniš recently has proved to be much bigger than expected, covering some dozens of acres; the discovery of the *bīt kārim* and its archive could add essential new data; the identification and excavation of one of the other settlements in Anatolia could provide information from a different angle; and, finally, there may even come a day when the Old Assyrian levels in the home town of Aššur, hitherto untouched, may yield their secrets and texts, complementing the picture in an essential way. This is of course futuristic thinking and not yet reality. Nevertheless these circumstances, and the fact that some fifteen thousand tablets are still awaiting publication, call for an extremely detailed analysis of the textual material. An attempt is made in this study to give such an analysis, in order to reach a better understanding of certain types of texts, of some of the terminology and a number of aspects of the trade more or less well documented in the material. It is my experience that data and phenomena which at first seem to be atypical or isolated may eventually turn out to be exponents of a more general trend or pattern, yielding welcome information, which has to be fitted into the general picture.

For the time being each detailed analysis is confronted with a number of problems. As already stated we can use only the remains of scattered archives. This makes a reconstruction e.g. of the activities of one single "firm" or a comparison between the methods and preferences of various

"firms" extremely difficult; the observation of certain developments in the trade during the period covered by the archives is still nearly impossible. Large-scale prosopographic studies may contribute to a reconstruction of the archives and to answering the question of who is who, but the results, even with the help of a computer, are for the time being not very rewarding.

A fruitful approach is the systematic analysis of specific types of texts, which owe their existence to the fact that many phases and operations of the trading process required the drawing up of contracts, the keeping of accounts and the exchange of letters; moreover in many cases copies of such documents were sent from Aššur to Anatolia and vice versa. LARSEN's analysis of the "caravan texts" (*OACP*) is a fine example of this method of textual interpretation and shows the results which may be obtained in this way. This procedure might be applied to other categories—though the "Sitz im Leben" of other texts is not always as clear—in order to cast light on further stages of the trade.

Apart from the sad state of the archives, problems of prosopography, and the complicated structure of the trade, we are at almost every step confronted with the difficulties of the Old Assyrian dialect. Fortunately the purely grammatical problems have been substantially reduced by the publication of K. HECKER's *Grammatik der Kültepe Texte* (1968; AnOr 44). Only the peculiarities of the rather limited Old Assyrian syllabary create from time to time problems of interpretation, as groups of syllables may be read in various ways. A more serious obstacle is the idiom, the argot, the Assyrian traders used to describe, in rather few words, their commercial and financial transactions. Notwithstanding the most helpful contributions by the two Akkadian dictionaries and various special studies many technical terms and expressions are only imperfectly understood, and often the real difference of meaning between seemingly synonymous words still escapes us. We are also hindered by their habit of using rather technical words both in a well-defined, rather stereotyped context with a specific meaning, and elsewhere with a more general, less clear-cut one, a feature already observed by LARSEN *OACP* 171f.

The present study deals with a number of problems of the structure of the trade and its terminology, connected with topics treated and issues raised by LEWY, GARELLI, LARSEN et al. in recent studies[1]), which however

[1]) Only occasional references to ORLIN *ACC* (1970), which appeared when my manuscript was finished, could be inserted. This is hardly a serious deficiency because ORLIN's main interest is in the political relationship between the Assyrian colonies and the indigenous Anatolian administration, so that our studies have relatively few points of contact (ORLIN does not discuss smuggling, though it is a feature bearing on the relationship he is interested in); moreover his manuscript

had received only passing notice there, or whose treatment I had found to be insufficient or (partly) wrong. It tries to combine a systematic study of certain types of texts and of certain specific procedures and features described in these texts, with an analysis of the meaning and use of a number of key words. Unlike LARSEN's *OACP*, texts are not normally quoted and edited in full, but selected passages are presented and discussed, which shed light on some feature or contain a word to be analysed; in this way it was possible to use most of the textual data available.

At times it proved difficult to single out specific problems or aspects, for the more one approaches the central questions relating to the structure of the trade, the more features prove to be intimately related. In the course of a discussion of some problem other, related ones at times could only be touched on (e.g. the questions concerning accounting and banking in the *bīt kārim*, and the operational procedures of collective undertakings organised by the *kārum*, in which individual merchants could partake by investing in or subscribing to an enterprise) for reasons of space, or because I have not arrived at a more or less satisfactory solution. In most cases nevertheless some preliminary remarks had to be made on these matters, and I hope to be able to continue the study of these rather difficult, but certainly important aspects of the trade. It requires the treatment of a large number of textual data, and for that reason alone if for no other could not be incorporated in this book.

It seems superfluous the summarise here the main contents of all the chapters which follow; a consultation of the table of contents and the conclusions will provide sufficient information. I recognise that not all topics treated in this study are of equal importance for an understanding of the nature and structure of the trade. Some sections deal with the more material aspects (donkey harness, terminology of packing, names of textiles), others are more concerned with operational devices and structural features, dealing with taxation, investments in the funds of the *kārum*, the textile trade, smuggling, and with questions of supply and demand, market and prices. The analysis of the textile production sheds some, much wanted, light on the situation in the home town of Aššur, still rather obscure in many respects.

The analysis of the terminology plays, as the title indicates, a rather important role in various chapters. This is based on my conviction that a structural approach, however valuable and necessary in itself, should go

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dates from before the publication of GARELLI *AC* (1963), who had already discussed the political relationship in considerable detail, and whose conclusions are not affected by ORLIN's results. A review of ORLIN's book will be published in a forthcoming volume of the journal *Anatolica* (Leiden).

hand-in-hand with an adequate understanding of the technical vocabulary. The imaginative, tentative reconstruction of the trade, given by POLANYI 1957 contains a number of factual mistakes, owing to a misunderstanding of the texts and their terminology, and serves both as a warning and a challenge. We would do better to approach the central questions step by step, starting from aspects where both the textual material at hand and our understanding of it look promising, and trying to incorporate the results obtained into a general picture, which, for the time being, will of course continue to include numerous dark patches. Rather than start a completely new investigation, I have deliberately tried to build on the results already obtained in recent studies, thus gradually widening the extent of our understanding of the trade. This decision must also account for the composition of the book, which at first sight may give the impression of being a somewhat haphazard collection of separate studies on Old Assyrian texts. I trust they nevertheless show enough inner coherence, and hope they help to pave the way to a better understanding of the trade and of the archives as a whole, and in this way may stimulate the edition of the many unpublished texts, preserved in Ankara.

At various places in this study, especially in the last chapters, I have discussed and analysed a fair amount of linguistic facts. Some of the results obtained in this way have certainly consequences for our reconstruction and understanding of the trade (e.g. the analysis of *maḫīrum* and data bearing on the function of silver as money); others do not have that pretention. They are almost exclusively of a linguistic nature, being semantic and grammatical facts established by analysing the technical vocabulary and its use. They show how rich and flexible the Old Assyrian dialect was, and how it was used and adapted to meet the requirements of the merchants and their scribes, developing into a kind of professional argot of a type which may have belonged to the curriculum of the Babylonian school[2]).

Whatever aspect of Old Assyrian trade one tries to analyse, one is invariably confronted with a wealth of textual material. The number of texts one has to discuss is always substantial, whether one tries to reconstruct archives, or concentrates on certain types of texts or on key words. Moreover, as stated above, the majority of these texts are only available in cuneiform copies, so that references to and quotations from

[2]) Commercial terminology of course was included in both *ana ittišu* (*MSL* 1) and in ḪAR-ra = *ḫubullu* 1 and 2 (*MSL* 5); that Babylonian students had to study the speech or jargon of the various crafts and professions is clear from some é.dub.ba-texts (K 2459 // DT 147 // *LKA* 66; cf. *ZA* 4, 434 f.; C. J. GADD, *Teachers and Students in the Oldest Schools*, 1956, 20 f.; idem, *BSOAS* 20, 1957, 255 ff.), though the speech (*lišānum*) of the merchant is not mentioned in the texts preserved.

sources should as a rule appear in the form of transliterations accompanied by annotated translations. Besides, the nature of the texts and the problems discussed frequently call for more extensive quotations. This makes the argument at times rather circumstantial and cumbersome for the reader. As this could not be avoided I have tried to present the texts (often numbered consecutively) in logically arranged paragraphs, following the development of the argument. It is to be hoped that the future publication of a corpus of Old Assyrian letters will make the use of texts much easier.

The nature of this study calls for rather extensive indexes. A thematic index has not been prepared; the table of contents together with the list of Akkadian words will serve as such. Quotations from studies on Old Assyrian texts are also not tabulated, though I have of course used, at times with great profit, recent studies of BALKAN, GARELLI, LANDSBERGER, J. and H. LEWY, MATOUŠ et al. The index does contain references to HECKER *GKT* and to VON SODEN *AHw* and *CAD*; these publications will naturally be used as authoritative sources on matters of OA grammar and vocabulary. I have therefore listed all those references where I consider their treatment unconvincing, incomplete or wrong. This mere listing of some shortcomings should not obscure the fact that I am greatly indebted to the authors of these handbooks, which I have consulted with great profit; it only shows that they merit special attention and at times correction from specialised studies.

PART ONE

THE DONKEYS AND THEIR LOADS

CHAPTER ONE

THE EQUIPMENT OF THE CARAVAN DONKEYS

Numerous texts, dealing with caravans provide information on the equipment of the donkeys, the packing and the loading of the merchandise, the units of transport and the composition of caravans which travelled from Aššur to Anatolia. It is the purpose of this chapter to analyse these data, not only to describe the material aspects of caravan transport, but also to discover how facts and figures which emerge function in the commercial process, and even, to some extent, may condition the mechanics of the trade.

Two types of texts provide the information we need. Firstly a relatively small group of texts which describes in some detail one or more of the points mentioned above, acquainting us with the terminology the Assyrians used for these rather technical matters. Secondly a much bigger number of texts—most important among which are those called "notifying messages" and "caravan accounts" by LARSEN—mentioning almost exclusively numbers of asses, textiles, tin, wrapping material, bags etc[1]). By means of comparative statistics these texts yield precious information on methods of packing, loading, units of transport and the composition of the donkey-loads and the caravans. While texts of the first group will normally be quoted *verbatim* in the following pages, those of the second will as a rule be represented by their figures, quoted according to the number given to a particular text in the appendix on p. 69ff. where all pertinent texts have been summarized in a table.

I. THE DONKEYS

Merchandise was normally transported on asses. Only in Anatolia, and mainly for the transport of large quantities of copper, carts were occasionally used[2]). The asses, called simply *emārum*/ANŠE or *emārum ṣallāmum* (denoting some kind of black coloured animal)[3]) apparently were available

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[1]) LARSEN, *OACP*, 6ff.

[2]) GARELLI, *AC*, 299[1]; cf. for the exceptional use of horses LEWY 1950, 396[150].

[3]) *ṣallāmum* (or *ṣalāmum*; but neither a *parrās*- nor a *parās*-form as such yield a satisfactory meaning) is treated as a substantive, not receiving the adj.plural ending, not even in BIN 4, 25, 7 which alone uses *ṣalmum* instead: *4* ANŠE.ḪI.A *ṣa-al-mu* (cf. *zappū ṣa-al-mu-tim*, quoted in BALKAN, *Obs.*, 43; note also *kalbum*

in unlimited quantities. We almost never read about a lack of caravan donkeys. There is no clear information about the provenance of these animals, which may have been bred and trained by the Assyrians themselves[4]). Two texts mention that asses were kept in a "paddock" (*? gi/u-gamlum*; cf. *CAD* G 67a s.v.)[5]). TC 1,16 mentions the "return" of donkeys to such an installation, which should be located near Kaniš; TC 2,7 shows that donkeys could be bought in a "paddock", this time located near Aššur. The last text mentions "10 or 20 donkeys", which indicates that the supply of animals was not unimportant. A regular supply of donkeys in fact was essential for the commerce. Normally donkeys were sold in Anatolia after the arrival of a caravan, because they were not needed for the shipment of (relatively small) quantities of silver and gold back to Aššur. As the purchase price of a donkey was about 20 shekels of silver[6]) the turnover of the persons or body which ran the paddock should have been substantial.

TC 3/2,192 acquaints us with two types of donkeys: ANŠE *up-qú-um* and ANŠE *ki*-IB-*šum*, without, however, informing us about the differences between them. We only note that *upqum* and *kib/pšum* remain in the sing, even when preceded by *2* (or a higher number) ANŠE; both words apparently are appositions used without number congruence. TC 1, 16, 4ff. teaches us that the *muttātum*, "halves", the bags or containers which a donkey carried in pairs on its flanks (cf. below p. 13 and 25), could be qualified as *ša kib/pšim* and *ša upqim* (the first combination also in CCT 5, 29a, 4), thereby showing that both ANŠE *kib/pšum* and ANŠE *upqum*[7]) were used as pack-asses.

The meaning of *kib/pšum* and *upqum* (both verbal abstracts) is difficult

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ṣa-al-mu-um in an OA incantation, quoted in HIRSCH *UAR* 82 *ad* p. 71, lines 2-3). Note the writing 1 ANŠE *ṣa-lá-a-mu-um* in GARELLI 1965, 164 no. 27, 11. I do not understand what A. L. OPPENHEIM, *Letters from Mesopotamia*, 1967, 74 no. 4 means with his translation "*ṣallam* donkey"; the problems of the word have been mentioned in *CAD* Ṣ 74a discussion. One could in addition point to ANŠE *ṣal-lam* in Nbk. 13, 1. LANDSBERGER, *WdO* 3, 247 b) with note 7 equates *ṣallāmu* with *ṣulāmu*, which should denote a "negro"-species (cf. *MSL* 8/2, 148 ad 320).

[4]) J. LEWY's hypothesis (LEWY 1961, 74 and notes 238-239) that the donkeys used by the Assyrians should be of western origin (especially Damascus) cannot be proved, and seems unlikely. Even if the asses originally were imported from the West (cf. also the data mentioned in *JCS* 22, 1969, 58ff.), there is no reason to assume the Assyrians depended on imports for their supply of donkeys. LEWY's thesis that the place near Aššur where the "paddock" was located according to TC 2,7 was called Amurrum and had Amorite inhabitants (cf. LEWY 1961, 48f., 62f., 72f.) lacks proof.

[5]) Cf. also LEWY 1961, 72 with note 238/9.

[6]) GARELLI *AC* 315f.

[7]) TC 1, 16, 4ff. reads: *20 mu-ta-tum ša ki*-IB-*ší-/im* [5] *8 mu-ta-tum ša up-qí-im* [6] *16 e-li-a-tum i-a-tum* [7] *1 e-li-tum ša kà-ṣa-re-e* [8] *1 iš-té-et ša A-na-lí* [9] *1 e-li-tum ša*

to establish. The combination *muttātum ša kib/pšim* may indicate *kib/pšum* was a kind of pack-saddle, to which the *muttātum* were attached, or even a packet of special type, to which the *muttātum* in question were adapted. If this were true we would have to assume that ANŠE *kib/pšum* is an abbreviation for ANŠE *ša kib/pšim*, and in fact means something like: "a donkey with a *kib/pšum*-load". In general one has tried to explain *kib/pšum* and *upqum* as qualifications of the donkeys themselves. LEWY, acknowledging both were used as pack-asses, describes *upqum* as "a donkey ordinarily used as a pack-ass but trained in such a way that it can at any time be put to a wagon or a cart". For *kib/pšum* he refers to Arabic *kabbasa*, "to train a pack-animal" (but the element "pack" is not essential in this verb, which primarily means "to tame, to break, to train")[8]). *AHw* 472a proposes "Jungesel?" for *kib/pšum*, without suggesting any etymology[9]). Both *CAD* E 183b and *AHw* 222b mention *upqum* as a derivative of the verb *epēqum*, "to be massive, solid"; the use of the verb suggests that *upqum* applies rather to the packet or load than to the donkey itself, whose strength is elsewhere described by means of the adjective *dannum* (CCT 3, 44b, 19; opposite: *raqqum*)[10]).

Starting from the meaning of *epēqum* we suggest that ANŠE *upqum* denotes a donkey equipped to carry massive, heavy loads, i.e. loads relatively small in volume, but rather heavy. Confirmation for this interpretation can be found in CCT 5, 29a (quoted below on p. 25); the text mentions a caravan of 8 donkeys, two of which were loaded with tin (*4 šuqlātum*),

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A-šur--i-dí [10] ŠU.NIGIN$_2$ *3 e-li-a-tum ku-nu-a-tum* [11] *ša-ni-a-am* KU-*ul*-KU-*lam i-ṣé-er* [12] ANŠE.ḪI.A *lá ta-na-dí-a*.... [15] *13 na-r*[*u*]-*q*[*á-tim*] [16] [*š*]*a* KU-*ul*-KU-*l*[*i-ku-nu*] [17] *a-ṣé-er e-li-a-tí-*[*a*] [18] *tù-ra-dí-a-ni-ma* ANŠE.ḪI./A-*ri* [19] *tù-qá-lá-lá-ni-ma*, "20 half-packs of *kib/pšum*-donkeys, 8 half-packs of *upqum*-donkeys, 16 top-packs of mine; 1 top-pack of the transporters, 1 of Anali, 1 top-pack of Aššur-idi, in all 3 top-packs of yours. Don't load another roll (?) on the donkeys.... If you add (another) 13 bags containing [your] rolls to my top-packs, you maltreat the donkeys." Cf. for KULKULLUM below ch. III, 5, b).

[8]) LEWY 1946, 397[2]; LEWY 1950, 379[64].

[9]) *CAD* E 184a, 2 translates KTS 9b, 21: *30 ma-na-šu-nu e-pì-iq-ma* with "make an *upqu*-load of the mentioned thirty minas". The text deals with the shipment of three packets (of 30, 10 and 11 minas of silver) by a certain Puzur-šadū'ē from Anatolia to Aššur. In case he is held up, measures should be taken that the first packet (called "their 30 minas", *30 ma-na-šu-nu*; the translation of *CAD* would require *šu-nu-tí*, cf. HECKER *GKT* § 48b) nevertheless reaches Aššur without delay. For that reason *uppuqum* is necessary, and this action precedes the commitment of the silver to a special transporter (*mer ummeānim*). The verb may denote a special way of packing, but we do not know whether this transporter used an ass, or carried this relatively small weight on his body. This isolated text therefore does not help us to discover the meaning of *upqum*.

[10]) *AHw* mentions *kib/pšum* neither under *kabāšu I*, "Mütze aufsetzen", a derivative from *kubšu* (416a), nor under *kapāšu(m)*, "?" (443b).

while the remaining six carried in all 157 *kutānū*. The latter six donkeys apparently were equipped with the *12 muttātum ša kib/pšim* mentioned in line 4, which suggests *kib/pšum* is connected with the transport of textiles. Unfortunately TC 1,16 contains no information about the merchandise shipped, and hence we cannot confirm this tentative conclusion, nor substantiate a possible relation between *upqum* and transport of tin. Anyhow KTS 9b, 21, quoted above in note 9, does use the D of *epēqum* in connection with a transport of another metal, silver.

The mere existence of *kib/pšum* alongside *upqum*, according to TC 3/2 192 a not uncommon, though rarely mentioned feature, warns us not to generalise easily, when speaking about "one donkey-load"; the carrying capacity and the ways of packing and loading may have been different for various donkeys or types of goods.

2. THE HARNESS: *unūtum*

The harness of the donkeys was called *unūtum*. This word originally has a more general meaning, "utensils", also "furniture", both in OA and elsewhere[11]), and is sometimes used as a word for commercial goods, merchandise[12]). But frequently it clearly means "harness"[13]), mainly in texts which describe how much silver was spent in Aššur for the purchase of donkeys and their harness. Various formulations are used in these contexts, e.g. after stating the purchase price of the donkey(s): *x* GÍN KÙ. BABBAR *ú-nu-sú(-nu)*, "x shekels (of silver) its/their harness", cf. CCT 3, 27a, 21 = KTS 38a, 21f. (LARSEN, *OACP*, 12f.); CCT 4, 7a, 15-16; TC 2, 6, 15; etc. Also: *x* GÍN *u-nu-ut* ANŠE, "x shekels the harness of the donkey(s)", cf. TC 3/1, 43, 31-32; CCT 2, 2, 38. In these cases we receive exact information about the cost of the harness. This is not the case when the price of the harness is not mentioned separately, as in the phrase: *x* GÍN KÙ. BABBAR *šīm* ANŠE *ù ú-nu-sú*, "x shekels of silver the purchase price of a donkey, with its harness", cf. e.g. BIN 6, 65, 12-13.

The price of one donkey harness fluctuated between 2 and 3 shekels of silver, as computed by GARELLI and LARSEN (below note 13). The

[11]) Cf. SALONEN, *Möbel*, p. 16.2; *Hausgeräte* I, 12, 9; cf. my comments in *BiOr* 22, 1965, 36a a.l.; TC 3/3, 266, 5; CCT 4, 20a, 15; EL 4, 3 ff.

[12]) The meaning "merchandise" is frequent when the texts make mention of "going up to" (*elā'um*) and "coming down from" (*warādum*) the palace of *unūtum*, in connection with the payment of taxes, cf. CCT 2, 6, 23ff.; 5b, 6ff.; 25, 15ff.; 4, 11a, 25 ff.. In other contexts: BIN 6, 14, 7; CCT 2, 18, 8.

[13]) Cf. GARELLI *AC*, 299ff., LARSEN *OACP* 151. In Ḫg I 94 (*MSL* 6, 76) giš.sa.al. kad$_5$ is equated with *azamillum* = *zurzu ša unūti*, "*zurzum* (a kind of small bag, see below *sub* c) as part of the harness". Cf. also *PRU* VI, 1970, 118 no. 155, 8.

exceptional higher prices they mention are wrong; the texts they quote require a different reading or interpretation.[14]).

Two or three shekels of silver represent a considerable amount of money, and this proves a harness was a valuable item. It consisted of several parts, probably mostly of leather and cloth, which should have been strong and well made, to be used for heavy loads during long periods of time.

Like the present day donkey harness in the Near East it most probably consisted of a pack-saddle, on which rested or to which were attached the pair of sacks or containers, called *muttātum*. Furthermore leather straps and belts to tie up the saddle and the sacks, and perhaps some additional smaller pouches for keeping smaller items. Several texts provide information about the parts of the harness, and they will be analysed in this section. A discussion of the *muttātum* will be postponed to the second chapter, because most of the information bears on their contents and therefore requires treatment in connection with questions about packing, loading and standard units of merchandise. It may suffice here to state that the main reason for considering them part of the harness is that we never meet separate prices for the purchase of *muttātum*. Combinations like *muttātum ša kib/pšim/upqim* (quoted above sub 1) and *muttātum ša* ANŠE[15]) moreover indicate they more or less belonged to the donkeys. On the other hand the leather bags called *naruqqātum* (see ch. III, 5, a) do not belong to the harness, as shown by VAT 9218, 12 ff., which mentions a payment for *naruqqātim ù unūt* ANŠE, "bags and donkey harness". Indeed several texts mention separate purchase prices of these bags.

Besides the *muttātum* we meet the items called *matliḫšum/matlišḫum*, *ukāpum* and *zurzum*.

a) *matliḫšum/matlišḫum*

Mentioned in CCT 1, 39b, 8; 5, 33b, 3; 41a, 32; TC 3/2, 113, 19; OIP 27, 58, 36 and in two unpublished texts called C 44, 5ff. and Ankara 7, 28ff.

[14]) LARSEN mentions one price of 5 shekels, but as he suggests on p. 152 we should rather supply *waṣītum*, "export tax" in CCT 3, 5a, 12. In TC 2, 14 (LARSEN "Type 3:9", p. 114f.) the number of asses in line 13 surely has to be emended to 4 as the loading figures and other considerations show (cf. LARSEN 148); this yields ca. 3 shekels as cost of the harness for each donkey. TC 3/2, 139, 5′, mentioned by GARELLI, requires another interpretation; we have to read: "4 minas loose tin (costing) $^1/_3$ mina of silver; 3 shekels (price of) the donkey harness." A price of 3 shekels can moreover be found in CCT 3, 2a, 15ff.: 9 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR [*ú-nu-ut* 3] ANŠE (cf. line 13); TC 3/1, 36, 40 (Larsen "Type 3:3"). An unpublished text in the BÖHL Collection, LB 1200, 16, mentions harness of 13 shekels for 6 asses. In KTB 17,7 one has to read [½ *ma*]-*na* 6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *unūt* ANŠE, 36 shekels for 11 donkeys (line 5). GARELLI's lowest figure is 1 shekel; one might moreover compare GARELLI 1965, 164, no. 27, 12-13: 1 ½ shekel; ICK 1, 82, 15: 1 $^2/_3$ shekel apiece.

[15]) kt d/k 5, 10, cf. BALKAN 1967, 408e.

quoted by BILGIÇ *App.* 73 and 78. The meaning proposed by BILGIÇ, loc. cit., "eine Holz- od. Brettsorte, mit der Stühle und sonstige Gegenstände hergestellt werden" (probably based on the occurrence in TC 3/2, 113) is unacceptable. LEWY 1956, 32[113] wrote: "it is uncertain whether this term denotes "straps(?) of leather(?)", but its Hurrian character can hardly be questioned" (though the word is unknown at Nuzi). *CAD* Z s.v. *zurzu* leaves the word untranslated; *AHw* 633b refers to LEWY (loc. cit.) and translates "ein Riemen".

CCT 1, 39b, 6ff. writes in connection with a caravan: *šīm* ANŠE. ḪI.A [7] *zu-ur-zi* [8] *ú-kà-pí ma-at-⟨li⟩-iḫ-ší* [*-im/i?*] [9] *wa-ṣí-sú-nu* [10] *mimma šūmšu* [11] *ulā ṭaḫḫī*, "the purchase price of the donkeys, the *z.*, *u.*, *m.* and their export tax had not at all been accounted for". These items are again mentioned in connection with a donkey or donkeys in CCT 5, 33b, 1ff.: *6 u-kà-pí* [2] *zu-ur-zi* [3] *ù ma-at-li-iḫ-ša-am* [4] *ù zi-ku-ḫi* [5] *ša 2* GÍN KÙ. BABBAR [6] *it-bu-lu* [7] *A ilqī* [8] *ina ēlā* ANŠE-*ri-šu* [9] *alaqqē*, "6 *u.*, *z.* and a *m.*, besides *zikuḫū*, which cost 2 shekels of silver, A took; when his ass appears I will take (them back)." This text is important because the writing ANŠE-*ri-šu* (without ḪI.A) could point to a singular[16]), just as the price paid supposes the harness for one donkey. The text deals with a private dispute in which one single harnessed donkey seems to be involved. If this is correct this means that the harness consisted of 6 *zurzū* and *ukāpū* and only one *matliḫšum*, in which case the translation proposed by LEWY is hardly acceptable. This would make *matliḫšum* a candidate for the meaning "pack-saddle". Also TC 3/2, 113, 19 could point to this meaning. The text reads: [18] *ku-tal-lu-um ša ku-sí* [19] *ša ma-at-li-iḫ-ší-im*, and might be translated with "the back of the seat of (mounted on) the packsaddle". In this connection it is important that *kussīum ša emārim* does occur (BIN 4, 164, 30 = OIP 27, 55, 19; CCT 2, 18, 29) with the meaning "donkey saddle", and that asses were sometimes used as riding-animals (cf. *CAD* I/J 133a, d).

According to the text C, 44, 5 a *m.* costs only 9 shekels of copper, and this is very little for a pack-saddle. Perhaps it was only a part of the pack-saddle. Ankara 7 mentions in line 32 [*x ma-at*]*-li-iš-ḫu* after an amount of wool and *4 ukāpū*, and CCT 5, 41a, 32 mentions a *m.* after *5 išrātum* ("belts"). But these texts do not prove a *m.* was made of wool or cloth. We will have to wait for more informative texts.

b) *ukāpum*

The word is mentioned together with other parts of the harness in the

[16]) But a plural could sometimes be written without ḪI.A, cf. *10* ANŠE-*ri* (CCT 4, 12b, 15), ANŠE-*ri-a* (TC 3/1, 28, 5) and *2* ANŠE *e-ma-ri* (VAT 13514, 11).

texts CCT 1, 39b, 8; CCT 5, 33b, 1 and Ankara 7, 31 (quoted sub *matlihšum*). The text kt c/k 465, 1-9 (BILGIÇ *App.* 78) reads: *ana A qibīma umma B ana* SÍG.ḪI.A *u ú-kà-pi ša Šimalā'ēm 1* ⅙ GÍN *a* SÍG.ḪI.A 22 ½ ŠE *a-na ú-kà-pi dināšum*, "speak unto A thus (says) B: as payment for the wool and the *u.* of the man from Šimala, give him 1 ⅙ shekel (of silver) for the wool and 22 ½ grains for the *u.*" Also some other texts mention *u.* beside wool: Ankara 7, quoted above; ICK 1, 37b, 17: SÍG.ḪI.A *ù ú-⟨kà⟩-pí-im*, cf. ibidem 19: SÍG.ḪI.A *ú ú-kà-pí-šu*; CCT 4, 20a, 17: *7 ú-kà-pu ša-pí-ú-tum*. BILGIÇ's conclusion from this, that the word denotes "Spindel", is unacceptable however. LEWY 1956, 32[113] points to evidence from Nuzi (HSS 14 540, 1ff.) [17]) according to which an *u.* was made from sheepskin, and to Syrian *'ukkāfā*, meaning "saddle". The relation with wool in fact means that *u.* were made from woollen fleeces, as the combination *ukāpū šapiūtum*, meaning "thick (woolly and soft) *u.*" shows (cf. ch. IX, 2 below for *šapium*, frequently used of hides). Confirmation for this view is found in the text GARELLI 1965, 35 no. 14; while lines 13ff. speak of *a-na ší-ni-šu* [14] *ma-áš-ki ša-áp-ú-tim ša Kà-ni-iš* [15] *ú ša-al-ša-at* [16] *ší-it-ri-im* [17] *ša ku-ta-nim*, "a double set of woollen fleeces from Kaniš and one third of a veil (?) made of *kutānum*-cloth", line 24 summarizes with the words *ú-kà-pì-kà ú ši-it-ra-am*, "your *u.*'s and veil (?)". That *u.*'s could occur in great quantities is proved by an unpublished fragment in the BÖHL Collection (LB 1263, 7), which mentions [*x*] *me-at 60 ú-kà-pí*.

LEWY (*loc. cit.*) translated "saddles", and GARELLI 1965, 37 ad 14 thinks of "des peaux de moutons, dont on faisait peut-être des selles". The first translation causes problems, if one accepts that CCT 5, 33b (quoted above sub *matlihšum*) indeed mentions the harness of one donkey, which comprised 6 *u.* The most probable solution is to think of some kind of saddle rugs, made of sheepskin (woollen fleeces), to be placed on the back and the flanks of the donkey to prevent damage or irritation caused by the pack-saddle or the heavily loaded *muttātum*. Perhaps several *u.* were needed in case the donkey carried additional smaller bags or a very heavy load[18]).

[17]) HSS 14, 540, 3ff.: *5* KUŠ UDU *ana 1 ú-ka$_4$-pì e-pè-ši*, "5 sheepskins for making 1 *u.*"

[18]) The translation "straps" tentatively proposed in *CAD* Z 167b s.v. *zurzu*, 1 is less likely, in view of the Nuzi-text quoted in note 17, which shows an *u.* could be rather big. One has to admit that "straps" could account for the fact that several *u.* belong to one harness. From HSS 14, 544, 3ff.: *ša 2 ú-ka-pi$_4$-na*^{meš} *ša 1* UDU *ša-ra-az-zu-nu A ilteqē*, "A received hair from 1 sheep (enoguh for making) 2 *ukāpū*" we learn that an *u.* could also be made from wool alone. In that case it should be a kind of coarse blanket. The text just quoted mentions *u.* beside "hides" (*maškū*) and *zijanātu*, "a type of blanket" according to *CAD* Z 109a, which could be made as well from wool as from a woollen fleece.

The younger Aramaic derivatives seem to support this suggestion, though a minor shift in meaning is not improbable[19]).

c) *zurzum*

CCT 1, 39b and CCT 5, 33b, quoted above sub *matliḫšum*, show that one or more *zurzū* formed part of the harness. The only other text where the word is to be found is BIN 6, 218, 6: *1 zu-ur-zu-um ša* DUB-*pé-e*, "1 *z.* with tablets". LEWY 1956, 32[114] translates with "pouches"; *CAD* Z 167b starting from the lexical equation *zurzu ša unūti* = *azamillum* and some Nuzi-texts proposes "double pack sack made of goat hair"[20]). HSS 15, 219, 11 shows that one pair of *zurzū* could be made from two minas of goathair, which was less than the amount of wool needed for other types of bags mentioned in the same text. It probably was not very big. It is impossible to decide whether "double" and "made of goat hair" also applies to the OA occurrences. It probably was a pair(?) of smaller bags or sacks in which smaller goods could be transported, and which could be added to the main load, consisting of the two *muttātum* and the "top-pack" (*ēlītum*)[21]).

There are a few occurrences of *azamillum*, "sack, packing net" (*CAD* A, 2, 525a), but this item was apparently not part of the normal donkey harness. Twice it is used for the transport of agricultural products (straw, BIN 4, 146, 26; *dulbātum*, "?", OIP 27, 58, 32). Only once it is found among equipment bought for a caravan: VAT 9218, 17, where its price is 1 shekel of silver.

The meaning of the word ZI-*ku-ḫi* in CCT 5, 33b, 4 is unknown. Cf. for *masradum* below p. 11 sub *sarādum*, and for *ēb/pišum*, below p. 145f.

3. SOME VERBS: *sarādum* AND OTHERS

A number of different verbs is used to describe the harnessing of the donkeys and the loading of the merchandise. It is not easy to decide which of these two aspects is primarily meant by the verbs, because the distinction between harnessing and loading is more theoretical than real: both normally happened at the same time. None of the verbs is moreover

[19]) Late-Aramaic *'ukkāfā*, "saddle", cf. JASTROW, *Dictionary of the Talmud Babli*....., New York 1950, vol. I, 25 b; *'akaf*, "to ride on a saddled ass", *'akfā*, "load, weight", also "handbasket", *ibid.* 65b.

[20]) It occurs besides two types of sacks called *patnu* and *parakku*.

[21]) Cf. for the meaning of *zurzu* also Late-Aramaic *zarzā*, *z^{e}rāzā*, Middle-Hebr. *zèrèz*, meaning *inter alia* "belt, belt-saddle", to be connected with the verb *zrz*, "to tie around, to harness, to saddle", cf. JASTROW, *op. cit.* (note 19), vol. I, 412b.

constructed with a double acc. "to load somebody with something", so that only one object can be mentioned in each case.

rakāsum

CCT 2, 18, 8ff. "(if textiles and tin are available) *ú-nu-tám ra-ki-is-ma* [9] *bi-lá-at e-ma-ri kà-i-in-ma* [10] *ma-lá e-ma-ru i-na-ší-ú-ni* [11] *ù té-er-ta-kà ar-ḫi-iš* [12] *li-li-kam-ma*..., "bind on the harness, fasten the ass-loads and then let information come to me how much the asses are carrying". If *unūtum* in fact means "harness" and not simply "the goods" (cf. above note 12), then *rakāsum* (D in this case) applies to the harness primarily. But cf. BIN 6, 100, 5: *2* ANŠE *ar-ku-ùs-ma*, "I tied up two asses".

sarādum

This is the main verb used for harnessing and loading. In CCT 2, 18 (just quoted) the verb occurs without direct object: 15ff.: ANŠE.ḪI.A *ù ú-nu-sù-nu* [16] *lu er-sú-a-at a-dí* [17] *té-er-tí lá i-li-kà-ku'-ni* [18] *lá ta-sá-ri-dam* [19] *i-nu-mì té-er-tí i-lá-kà-ni* [20] *ar-ḫi-iš sé-er⟨-da⟩-dam*, "let the donkeys and their harness be ready. Don't load up before my instruction has reached you. But when my instruction arrives, you should load up quickly!" Sometimes the donkeys are the object: TTC 28, 13ff.: *lu i-na sí-sá-im* [14] AN.NA *i-ta-ší?* [15] *ú-lá e-ma-re-e sé-er-da-ma*, "either carry the tin away by horse, or load the donkeys." Cf. also *emārū sardūtum* in TC 3/1, 28, 6 and *emārūa sardū* in EL 296, 18. In the majority of cases however the merchandise is the object. Cf. L 29-589—H. LEWY 1970, 58f.—, 21ff.: ANŠE.ḪI.A *ú-šé-ra-ma* URUDU-*a-kà i-sà-ri-du-nim*, "I will let the donkeys go free, so that they can load your copper"; TC 2, 37, 23ff.: *1* ANŠE [24] *a-na lu-qú-ut A* [25] *sà-ra-dim ak-lá*, "I kept back one donkey to load the merchandise of A (on it)". In the following two texts *unūtum* should denote not the "harness", but "goods, merchandise": TC 1, 43, 9ff.: ... [*inūmi?*] [10] *ṣú-ḫa-ri a-na ú-nu-tim* [11] *sá-ra-dim a-ša-pá-ra-ni* [12] *iš-tí ú-nu-tí-ma* [13] *pí-ri-kà-ni lu-ub-lu-nim*, "[When] I send servants to load up the goods, let them bring *pirikannu*-textiles along with the goods". CCT 4, 6c, 5ff.: *šu?-ma a-na* [6] *sá-ra-dim i-ša-pu-ru* [7] *té-er-ta-kà li-li-kam-ma* [8] *ú ṣú-ḫa-ri a-ṣé-er* [9] *ú-nu-tim lá-aṭ-ru-ud* [10] u_4*-ma-am šu-ma* [11] *sá-ra-dum i-ba-ší* [12] *té-er-ta-kà li-li-kam*", if they send the order to load up, let a message from you reach me, in order that I can send my servant towards the goods. Even if the loading up takes place to-day, your message should reach me!". Packing and loading means the start of a caravan trip, and *sarādum* may be used to indicate the moment when a service contract becomes effective: EL 159, 7ff.: *iš-tù* [8] *wa-dí i-sà-ri-du-ni* [9] *a-dí 5 ša-na-at* [10] *iš-tí A* [11] *ú-ša-áb*, "from the moment he in fact loads up (= starts working as a donkey-

driver; the verb may be used without an object, cf. TC 3/1, 23, 43 (quoted below) he will remain in A's service for five years"[22]).

That *sarādum* was a word typical for donkey transport may be learned from Ḫḫ 13, 361 (*MSL* 8/1, 51; cf. OB Forerunner, 88, 251): anše.bár.lá = *imēr su-ru-du*. Sumerian bár.lá means "with a sack tied up", ready for transport of a load[23]). *sarādum* D means "to bind up, to bandage" in a medical text from Mari (A. FINET, *AIPHOS* 14, 132, l. 10; ref. M. STOL).

The verbal adjective *sardum* is used of merchandise: ATHE 17,9: *2* ANŠE.ḪI.A *ṣa-lá-mu ù ú-nu-sú-nu sà-ri-tám*, "two black donkeys with their goods still packed up" (cf. HIRSCH 1961, 48 a.l.; BALKAN *AS* 16, 1965, 162b[6]); KTS 1a, 18: *bābtam sà-ri-tám*, "outstanding goods, still packed up".

The verb *sarādum* provided the base for the name of the donkey-driver and transporter (GARELLI *AC*, 301: "l'ânier proprement dit"; cf. LARSEN *OACP*, 79-80), called *sāridum*. He normally was hired for a certain period of time or for a certain lap of the journey; as such he was distinguished from the caravan personnel who had more lasting relations (by means of a long term service contract) with a merchant or a firm, and who was called *kaṣṣārum*. There are however some inconsistencies in the use of both terms, as LARSEN *OACP*, loc. cit. pointed out. He mentions the text CCT 3, 2a, 18-19 where a *sāridum* does not receive a wage as a hired labourer (*igrū*) but a "working-capital" (*be'ulātum*), normally received by *kaṣṣārū*. Perhaps the work of a *kaṣṣārum* could also be described by using the verb *sarādum* (*kaṣārum* is not used in this connection). In EL 159, quoted above, *sarādum* was used in the formulary of a five year contract. TC 3/1, 23, 4off. reads: *1/3 ma-na 5* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR [41] *be-ú-la-[at]* [42] *A* DUMU *B ša iš-tí C* [43] *is-ri-du*, "25 shekels of silver, working-capital of A son of B who worked as caravan servant with C." In this case *sarādum* does

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[22]) *EL* I translated: "Nachdem sie die Geschirre angeschirrt haben werden", and takes *wu-dé* as equivalent of OB (cf. VS 16, 191, 20) and later *udū* (discussed in MEISSNER, *BAW* I, 8, and SALONEN *Landfahrzeuge*, 126: *udē ša narkabti*), perhaps also a more general word for the equipment, cf. the equation *bašāmu* ("sack") = *udū* (*CAD* B s.v. *bašāmu*, 137b). As however this word is so far unique in OA, the writing with initial *w-* is not found elsewhere and the absence of a *plene* writing in the plural of a noun *tertiae infirmae* is uncommon, I tentatively prefer a reading *wa-dí*, taking it as the interjection "sure, indeed". In BIN 4, 54, 8 (mentioned in EL p. 149[b]) we have to read *wa-dí-ú-tim*; the two references mentioned by SALONEN, *Hippologica*, 199 *sub udē imēri* most probably have nothing to do with the (*w*)*udū* under discussion.

[23]) cf. lá, "to bind", = *rakāsum*, and bár = *bašāmu* or *saqqu*, "sack"; bár is the typical outfit of a donkey, cf. GORDON, *Sumerian Proverbs*, coll. I, no. 73 and KRAMER *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta*, lines 279-283. A late Forerunner of Ḫḫ 13, 361 (cf. *MSL* 8/1, 98, IV, 42) has anše.íb.lá, perhaps indicating that the harness or sack was bound around the middle of the animal (cf. túg.íb.lá = *nēbeḫu*, "Gürtel, Binde", *AHw* 773b).

not simply mean "to harness and to load", but rather the job of travelling with a donkey caravan.

Finally mention should be made of the nominal derivative *masradum* found in CCT 1, 31a, 8-9, listed after expenses for the hire of a harnessor (*sāridum*) and the purchase of a bag (*naruqqum*): *1/4* GÍN *a-na* [9] *ma-as-ri-/dim*. LANDSBERGER (*ZANF* 4, 1928, 277) took it to mean "¼ shekel for harnessing and/or loading up". The meaning "pack-saddle" proposed by *AHw* 619a s.v. is to be preferred as being more concrete, the word being a *mapras*-form.

[*kaṣārum*]

As stated above the verb as such is not used in connection with caravans. The verbal adjective *kaṣrum* however does occur in CCT 4, 12b, 15ff.: *10* ANŠE-*ri ka-aṣ-ru-tim* [16] *ša* bi_4-il_5-*tim šé-ri-a-ma* [17] URUDU-*a-kà ša i-ba-ší-ú* [18] *lu a-na Kà-ni-iš* [19] *lu a-na Bu-ru-uš-ḫa-tim*.... [21] *lu-ub-lu*, "send me ten harnessed pack-donkeys, that they may transport your copper, as much as is available, either to Kaniš or to Burušḫanda"[24]).

Just as was the case with *sarādum*, so also from *kaṣārum* a profession is derived: *kaṣṣārum*, "harnessor, freighter". The name itself does not necessarily connect him with donkeys, as ARM 8, 94, 10 shows that also a ships steersman could be called a *kaṣṣārum*.

ka'unum

In CCT 2, 18 ,9 (quoted above sub *rakāsum*) we read: *bilāt emāri kà-i-in-ma*, "fasten (tie up) the ass-loads"[25]). I know of no other occurrences of this verb in this meaning.

emādum

CCT 3, 49b, 12ff.: *i-a-ú-tum* ANŠE.ḪI.A [13] *sú-ri li-id-ni-nu-ma* [14] *i-a-tim-ma* ANŠE.ḪI.A [15] *e-ma-ad*, "if my own donkeys have indeed recovered strength, I will load my own asses". Cf. *CAD* E 140a, 2, a where OB occurrences of the meaning "to load" are mentioned.

e'ēlum

TC 3/1, 51, 23ff.: *12 ku-ta-ni* [24] *ú ki-lá-le-en-ma* [25] ANŠE.ḪI.A [26] *e-'i*(ḪI)-*lá-ma li-li-ku-nim* [26] *šu-ma ša-áp*-DAM *a-lá-qá-im* [27] *a-ḫu-ra-at e-ma-ri e-'i-il*$_5$-*ma* [28] *ú ṣú-ḫa-ri ṭù-ur-dam*, "tie up the 12 *kutānū*-textiles and both

[24]) *EL* 97[a] translates "ausgerüstete Esel"; this seems better than "bepackt" (*AHw* 458b s.v. *kaṣrum* 3), because the donkeys still have to be loaded with copper.

[25]) Perhaps a meaning "fix the loads", i.e. divide the merchandise over the donkeys, and fix how much each animal will have to carry, is not excluded here.

donkeys and let them come hither. In case the wool cannot yet be taken, nevertheless tie up (harness?) the donkeys and send my servant hither." *CAD* E 40 s.v. does not mention these forms, but lists them in I/J 113a sub c as "to harness"; *AHw* 189a s.v. "(an)binden". Both forms are to be taken as imp. D, this stem being used perhaps in view of the plural object[26]).

mallū'um

KTH 1, 20ff. "(buy several kinds of textiles and) ANŠE.ḪI.A [21] *ma-li-a-ma* ANŠE.ḪI.A [22] *ra-qú-tum lá i-lu-ku-nim*, "provide the donkeys with a full load; unloaded ("empty") donkeys should not come hither." Also KTS 13a, 24: ANŠE [24] Ì.GIŠ *ma-li-a-ma* [25] *šé-bi-lá-nim*," give the donkey a full load of oil and send it here"[27]).

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[26]) Cf. for the form HECKER *GKT* § 29a (not mentioned in § 90b). The use of ḪI for *'i* is exceptional as stated by HECKER, but cf. also *i-mì-'i*(ḪI)-*id* in CCT 4, 3b, 6: "it became much" (and not to be read *i-mì-dí-id*, "it was measured").

[27]) Cf. the use of the same root in BIN 4, 226, 7-8: *e-ma-ra-*[*am*] [8] *ma'-al-a-ma*, "a fully loaded donkey", where *mal'amma* stands for *maliamma*, according to a well-known orthographic OA convention (cf. HECKER *GKT* § 27a and § 16f. foran example in a verb *tertiae infirmae*, and for this phenomenon in adjectives of similar roots, below note 305).

CHAPTER TWO

THE LOADS OF THE DONKEYS

The merchandise to be transported on donkey back was placed in the *muttātum*, which the animals carried in pairs on their backs; moreover there were *ēliātum*, "top-packs", probably of smaller size, to be placed on top of the *muttātum* or the pack-saddle; finally the (leather) bags called *naruqqātum*, which could be handled like the *ēliātum*, but more often seem to have been put in the *muttātum*. They will not be considered therefore in this chapter, but in the next, dealing with the packing of the merchandise.

In this section the figures of the table in the appendix on p. 69ff. will play an important role in establishing the way in which donkeys were loaded. To get a clear picture it is necessary to distinguish between a load of tin and a load of textiles. The two articles are so different, both in nature, volume and value and, consequently, in the way they were packed, that a separate treatment is in order.

1. Tin

a) *muttatum*

Tin is normally transported in *muttātum*; a donkey load of two such "half-packs" could sometimes be supplemented by an *ēlītum*, "top-pack". Three texts deal *expressis verbis* with a *muttatum* full of tin or copper:

BIN 4, 47, 21ff.: *4 mu-ta-tum 5* GÚ AN.NA *ku-nu-ki-a*," 4 half-packs (containing) 5 talents of tin under my seal".

VAT 13521, 6ff.: *2* GÚ AN.NA *6½ ma-na*.TA [7] *mu-ta-tum wa-at-ra* [8] *pá-ni-um ù 4* GÚ [9] *10 ma-na*.TA *mu-ta-tum* [10] *wa-at-ra* [11] *ša šé-ep A* [12] *ša iz-ku-ni*, "in the first place 2 talents of tin, with the half-packs (containing) each 6½ minas (of tin) extra; furthermore 4 talents of tin, the half-packs containing each 10 minas extra; transported by A and available after clearance".

Ankara 2806 (H. Lewy 1964, 182; = Bilgiç *App.* 52[125] "Ank. 17"), 5ff.: *16 mu-ta-tim* (sic?) *ša 1* GÚ.TA [6] *7 e-li-a-tum ša 30 ma-na*.TA, "16 half packs of each 1 talent; 7 top-packs of each 30 minas ([7] besides one of A [8] and 8[!] black asses)".

In these texts a half-pack contains resp. 75, 66½, 70 and 60 minas. In VAT 13521 one starts from a "standard" weight of 60 minas, but the

half-packs prove to contain resp. 6½ and 10 minas of tin extra. Other texts mentioning *muttātum* do not give exact figures: EL 146, 12: 8 *muttātum* copper; ATHE 46, 3: 6 *muttātum* tin. But they prove that *muttatum* was used as a kind of standard measure of capacity or weight, the exact contents of which had not to be specified in each case. The fact that *muttātum* nearly always occur in even numbers, and the original meaning "halves", shows that each donkey carried two *muttātum*, as anticipated above[28]).

The figures collected in the table of the appendix show a marked uniformity. The amounts of sealed tin transported by one donkey or a caravan, are:

130 (or 65) minas of tin or its multiple: ca. 50 times
120 (or 60) minas of tin or its multiple: 15 times
140 (or 70) minas of tin or its multiple: 10 times
150 (or 75) minas of tin or its multiple: 5 times.

Furthermore we have once each quantities of 117½, 122, 123, 125, 126, 127, 131, 134, 136½, 141, 144, 155 and 157 (or its multiple) minas. If we take into account that the quantity of loose, unsealed tin (*annak qātim*), added for covering expenses on the way (cf. below, ch. XI, 6) is not always mentioned separately but is sometimes included in the total amount, it is clear that the standard load of tin carried by one donkey was 130 minas, distributed over two half-packs. This is nicely confirmed by the fact that the import-tax on tin, to be paid to the local palace in Anatolia (*nisḫatum*; GARELLI *AC* 188; LARSEN *OACP* 157) amounted to 2/65, a figure which obviously starts from this standard load of 130 minas. It in fact means 4 minas on each donkey-load of tin. This shows a *muttatum* normally or ideally contained 65 minas of tin.

b) *šuqlum*

The number of times we meet *muttatum* is rather small. Instead of it the texts use very frequently the word *šuqlum*. Very often a shipment of tin is described as consisting of *x šuqlātum ša* AN.NA, in which expression *x* is nearly always an even number. The word *šuqlum* is derived from *šaqālum*, and denotes something concrete, which has been weighed out, a unit of weight. One might compare *kubd/tum* (from *kabātum*) denoting a heavy

[28]) The meaning of *muttatum* was established by B. LANDSBERGER, *AfO* 10, 147[39]. In OA it is never used with the meaning "half", for which the texts use *mišlum*. *AHw* 690 s.v. 4 translates *muttatum* with " "Halbbehälter" an einer Seite des Packesels". Perhaps there was a connecting piece of cloth between the two "halves", which rested on the pack saddle or the saddle rug, made of sheepskin.

lump, sometimes also with a standard weight (30 minas in Mari, cf. ARM 13, 3, 6 and p. 157 a.l.; *AHw* 489a, s.v. 2). In EDZARD 1970, nos. 193-196 *šuqlum* denotes a special shape or type of copper ingots, apparently used for the best quality, as *šuqlum* normally precedes *ḫussurum* and *ḫušū*. Text no. 197 probably refers to the prices of the various ingots or qualities, the *šuqlum*-shape/quality coming first, "2 talents 47⅓ minas 3 shekels" of it "amounting to" (*ikšud*) 1 mina of silver (ca. 1:167,5). There is no indication here that one *šuqlum* had a standard weight.

A number of texts specify the weight of a *šuqlum*. It amounts to:

65 minas: CCT 1, 39a, 19; KTS 28, 20 and 31; GARELLI 1964, 112, Sch. 12, 6; CCT 5, 29a, 1 and 8. Also in BIN 4, 29, 13 one starts from this weight, though something is lacking. A number of texts stating how much tin had to be paid as *nisḫatum* on a load described as x *šuqlātum*, take a weight of 65 minas as granted: BIN 6, 79, rev. 14′ (12 minas *nisḫatum* on 6 *šuqlātum*); CCT 5, 38a, 9 (4 minas on 2 *šuqlātum*).

60 minas: TC 1, 18, 4ff.; ICK 1, 58, 2 (the total amount is 120 minas); L 29-567—H. LEWY 1968, 22 f.—4ff. (where it is called *šuqlam wassumtam*," a fair *šuqlum*"); cf. also Ist. 12480, 13 (H. LEWY 1964, 188[2]).

62 minas: BIN 4, 29, 13; 173, 37 (65 minus 3 minas).

63 minas: BIN 6, 79, 11′; CCT 4, 11b, 3.

63½ minas: BIN 4, 65, 41ff.

72 minas: ATHE 76, 4ff.; TC 3, 2, 3ff. (6 *šuqlātum* weigh 7 talents 13 5/6 minas).

75 minas: BIN 6, 252, 5ff. This amount is very high, but cf. lines 6ff.: *ina pāni šuqlim ištēt riksum ša 15 mana* AN.[NA] *ša*[*knat*], "on top of the š. one packet of 15 minas of tin had been placed". Also ATHE 76 starts from this weight, but 3 minas are missing.

This list shows the same variations in weight as attested for *muttatum*: ideally a *šuqlum* weighs 65 minas, but there are numerous small deviations. We may conclude that in fact *muttatum* and *šuqlum* describe the same reality: a standard packet of tin weighing roughly 65 minas. While *muttatum* primarily refers to the (shape of) the bag or container in which the tin was packed, and to the way it was loaded on the back of a donkey, *šuqlum* points to the fact that such a packet contained a standard weight of tin shipped by a donkey caravan.

The fact that such a bag or packet normally weighed ca. 65 minas or slightly more than one talent (60 minas) gave rise to the habit of describing a load as consisting of *x bilātum*, "x talents". This use of GÚ/*biltum* should not be explained by assuming a special meaning "pack of merchandise of standard size or weight" (*CAD* B 230b, 2′). Rather *biltum* is more or less

a synonym of *šuqlum* and *muttatum*, all having about the same weight; it means something like "one-talent-pack", and hence belongs as a special entry under *CAD* B 231a, 2. When describing a load in general terms one could for sake of brevity use *biltum* and neglect the few minas by which a *šuqlum* surpassed the weight of one talent[29]). Cf. the following texts:

BIN 4, 65, 41ff.: *3* GÚ AN.NA *kunukkī ša ālim*^{ki} ^{42} *nipṭurma 1* GÚ *3½ mana*.TA, "we opened the three (packets of one) talent of tin, sealed in the City, and each proved to weigh 63½ minas".

BIN 6, 79, rev. 11'ff.: "We gave one talent of tin to the representatives of A; we divided the *šuqlum* in two" and the remainder of the text shows it weighed in all 63 minas.

CCT 4, 9a, 9f. mentions "one talent of tin" (AN.NA *biltim*), but line 11 talks of "1 talent 3 minas".

CCT 4, 11b, 2'ff.: *6* GÚ AN.NA *kunukkū* $^{3'}$ ŠÀ *1 šuqlam apṭurma* $^{4'}$ *1* GÚ *3 mana asniq*, "6 talents of tin with seals; thereof I broke open 1 *šuqlum*, and checked its contents: 1 talent 3 minas".

CCT 4, 23a, 3ff. mentions "4 talents of tin with seals from the City", but continues in 6f.: *1*^{1} GÚ-*tim 1½ ma-na*.TA ^{7} *i-tí-ir*, "on each talent there was 1½ mina extra", words comparable to those used in VAT 13521 (above p. 13) of the *muttātum*.

GARELLI 1966, 127 (AO 11216), 1ff. makes it clear that the "four talents and its overweight", mentioned in BIN 4, 19, 11f. (see for this text below sub c) in fact are 4 talents and 2 minas.

c) *itertum* and *uturrā'ū*

BIN 4, 19, 11-12, just mentioned, writes *4* GÚ AN.NA ^{12} *ù it-ra-sú*. The word *itertum*, plur. *itrātum*[30]) is a *terminus technicus*, which denotes, with LEWY 1956, 32[112], "the "extra" amount of lead by which a *šuqlum* (i.e. a load of "sealed" lead, weighing roughly one talent)... exceeded the weight of one talent." This interpretation is in line with the use of the permansive (*watrā*) of *watārum* in similar context in VAT 13521, 7 and 10 (above p. 13 *sub* a).[31]) The existence of this term shows they were well aware of the use of approximations in describing the weight of a donkey load. The word is

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[29]) Cf. the use of the phrase "x asses (assloads)" when the quantity of goods was denoted roughly: TC 1, 28, 8ff.: *3* ANŠE.ḪI.A *kutānū 1* ANŠE AN.NA *u liwissu kua'ūtum 2* ANŠE.ḪI.A *ša* DAM.GÀR *aḫamma* ½ ANŠE AN.NA *1* ANŠE *kutānū*; BIN 6, 22, 4ff.: *4* ANŠE.ḪI.A *ša* URUDU; BIN 6, 70, 3ff.: *4* ANŠE.ḪI.A *kunukkika*; BIN 6, 90, 11: *mišal* ANŠE; TC 3/2, 192, 7ff.: *4* ANŠE.ḪI.A *pirikannī illūkī*.

[30]) Cf. for the various forms of this word HECKER *GKT* § 26d and 32b.

[31]) The translations of *AHw* 403b s.v. "Beiladung" and *CAD* I/J 294a (s.v. *itartum*) "additional pack" accordingly are wrong for OA.

mainly found in the combination: *x* GÚ AN.NA *ù itrassu* (variant: *itirassu*), already quoted from BIN 4, 19. Cf. moreover BIN 4, 13, 3ff.; CCT 5, 7a, 10off.; KTH 18, 3ff.; KUG 37, 4ff.; OIP 27, 58, 1; and CCT 3, 17a, 20 where one has to read: *it-ra'-sú*. The plural is found in CCT 4, 42b, 6ff.: *a-šu-ma 2* GÚ.TA-*ma*[!?] *al-pu-ta-ku-nu* [7] AN.NA *2* GÚ *3 ma-na* [8] *a-ḫi a-ta* AN.NA [9] *a-na A sà-ni-iq* [10] *i-it-ra-tí-ma* [11] *a-ta le-qé-ma*, "while I noted you down[32]) for 2 talents each, (there is in fact) 2 talents 3 minas. Be so kind as to weigh out (litt.: "check") the tin to A, but do take the overweight yourself."[33])

This last text may be compared with BIN 4, 173, 37ff. where *uturrā'ū* is used instead with a similar meaning: *šu-uq-lam ša A* [38] *nu-sà-ni-iq-ma 1* GÚ *B* [39] *il*$_5$*-qí 2 ma-na ú-tù-ra-e* [40] *a-na-ku al-qí* "we checked (the weight of) the *šuqlum* of A and thereupon B took one talent, while I myself took 2 minas, the overweight." The word occurs also in CCT 4, 11b, 12-13: after from line 2 onwards amounts of 6 talents, 4 talents and 2 talents 10 minas have been enumerated, these are summarized as ŠU.NIGIN$_2$ *12* GÚ *10 ma-na* [13] *ù ú-tù-ra-ḫ-šu*, "in all 12 talents 10 minas and the overweight". This "extra" is meant in line 3f.: "I opened one *šuqlum* and on checking it proved to contain 1 talent 3 minas" (the text was quoted above p. 16). An unpublished text from Kayseri, a transliteration of which I owe to the kindness of Prof. GELB (his "no. 9"), has in line 19-20: *i-na 5* GÚ *ú ú-tù-ra-e* [20] AN.NA, "from 5 talents—plus the overweight—of tin".[34])

d) *muṭā'ū*

The texts not only mention "extras, overweight" but also "deficiencies", called *muṭā'ū*, derived from the verb *maṭā'um*, "to (prove to) be missing" (cf. *AHw* 691b, where also some OB and MA occurrences are listed). The verb is used in connection with a load of tin in L 29-556—H. LEWY 1968, 21f.—22: *šu-uq-lá-an lá i-ma-ṭí-a*, "both š.'s should not

[32]) *al-pu-ta-ku-nu* is a curious form, with ventive ending before acc.suffix; one would expect *alputkunu* or *alputakkunuti* (cf. ATHE 39, 19; BIN 6, 63 rev. 11'). The verb *lapātum* may be construed with dat. and acc. suffix, the first meaning "to write to somebody", the second "to note down somebody, to credit somebody (for an amount)". Cf. for the use of the ventive with suffixes HECKER *GKT* § 78 c.

[33]) The context is not quite clear. One would expect a subjunctive following the conjunction *aššumma*. Perhaps one should emend to *na!-al-pu-ta-ku-ni!* (or take the final *-nu* as a variant form of the subjunctive ending with HECKER *GKT* § 79e), "as I am booked for..".

[34]) Other occurrences in a different context of *itertum* and *uturrā'ū* are: KTS 24, 27 ("extra profit" (?)); EL 181, 12 and BIN 6, 30, 24 (twice *uturrā'ē* with the meaning "surplus"; in the first text after settling accounts, in the second the amount of gold which is left over after fashioning a votive gift). The verb *watārum* is found in VAT 13521, 7 (quoted above p. 13 *sub* a) and CCT 4, 23a, 7 (cf. above p. 16 and for the form HECKER *GKT* § 93b); a D-stem in BIN 4, 47, 24 (below p. 19).

have too small a weight", "should have no underweight"; and in ATHE 76, 7f.: *6 šu-uq-lá-tù-kà* [8] *3 ma-na*.TA *im-ṭí-a*, "your 6 *šuqlātum* each showed a deficit of 3 minas".

In connection with tin *muṭā'ū* is first used in the phrase: *x* GÍN/*mana muṭā'ū*, which is found together with other items to be deducted from the original amount of tin after the arrival of the caravan in order to compute the amount of tin available for sale (*zakā'um*). Cf. BIN 4, 27, 19f.; 61, 16f.; 159, 4f. (= 6, 231, 4f.); 6, 255, 4'f.; ICK 1, 58, 5f.

Next the word is used in a *status constructus* with words like *biltum*, "talent", *šuqlātum* "packages of standard weight", and *annak qātim*, "loose tin". In these combinations *muṭā* + nomen gen. denotes what is missing from the talent etc. The following examples may be quoted:

a) with *biltum*: CCT 1, 33a, 3ff.: *1 ma-na* [4] AN.NA *a-ḫa-ma* [5] *a-na šu'-mì mu-ṭá* [6] bi_4-il_5-*tí-in a-dí-šum* [7] *5* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR [8] *i-na 10⅔ ma-na* [9] KÙ.BABBAR *a-na mu-ṭá* [10] bi_4-il_5-/*tim* il_5-*qí*, "I gave him separately 1 mina of tin because of (to make good)the underweight of the two talents; 5 shekels of silver he took from 10⅔ minas of silver to cover the underweight of a talent". An unpublished text from Kayseri, "no. 9", quoted according to Prof. GELB's transcription reads in line 19ff.: *i-na 5* GÚ..... [20] AN.NA .....*lu* [21] *ni-is-ḫa-tum lu mu-ṭá* GÚ-*tim* [22] *ù ú-ku-ul-tum iṣ-ḫi-ru*, "from 5 talents of tin.... were deducted both the import-tax and[35]) the underweight of (each) talent and (the expenses for) food"[36]). TC 3/2 165, 39f. mentions 12 minas of tin, *mu-ṭá* [40] bi_4-*lá-tim*.

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[35]) The context and comparison with similar enumerations of negative entries to be deducted make it clear that *lu*....*lu*... does not mean "either....or", making the items mentioned alternatives. As the sequence *lu*.....*lu*.....*ù* suggests all the expenses mentioned are to be taken into account. OA scribes apparently use *lu*....*lu*....(*lu*.....) in enumerations to introduce a variety of items, all of which may be reality or available; especially in sentences of the type: *mimma*.....*lu*.... *lu*.... (etc.), "all....., either... or...", *lu* introduces the various components making up a whole, and we could translate "whether....or". A similar use of *lu*, not mentioned in *GAG* § 117d, nor explicitly stated in HECKER *GKT* (but cf. § 104e, 136a, 140a) is attested in TC 2, 27, 6-7: "all merchandise which his brother left behind, whether textiles, or tin, or wool, or donkeys..."; EL 261, 4f. (quoted ch. VIII, no. 14); ROSENBERG tablet, 31f. (quoted ch. IX, 4, no. 26); BIN 6, 212, 18' f. (quoted ch. XI, 5, c, 1). A real alternative is expressed by *ūlu*....*ūl* in BIN 6, 36, 10ff. (quoted ch. VIII no. 7).

[36]) *CAD* B 230b, 2' takes *biltum* in these texts as "pack of merchandise of standard size or weight". In fact the meaning is "talent" even in our texts, used as a deliberate approximation. One cannot operate in these texts with the general meaning "pack (of the donkey)" (*CAD* B loc. cit., 3') like in ANŠE *biltim*, because this would mean that *biltum* is equivalent to ca. 2 talents (the normal donkey-load) Revealing is CCT 1, 33a, 6 which uses *muṭā biltīn*, "deficiency on the two 'talents'", making up one donkey-load. The translation of BIN 4, 48, 24ff. in *CAD* loc. cit., 2' is wrong, as *šallumum* here does not mean "make up one full (pack)", but "to deliver

b) with *šuqlātum*: BIN 4, 29, 12ff.: *11⅓ ma-na* [13] *mu-ṭá šu-uq-lá-tí-kà* [14] *ù* AN.NA *qá-tí-kà*, "11⅓ minas deficiency on your š. and your loose tin" (on a total of 4 talents 30 minas of tin, cf. line 15); BIN 6, 79, rev. 16'ff. *5⅓ ma-na a-ṣé-er* [17'] AN.NA *qá-tí-šu a-na* [18'] *mu-ṭá šu-uq-lá-*[*tí-šu*] [19'] *A il*$_5$*-qí*, "A took 5⅓ minas in addition to his loose tin, to make up for the deficiency on his š.".

c) with *annak qātim*, besides the texts quoted under b), TC 3/1, 24, 28ff.: *12* GÍN [29] *mu-ṭá* AN.NA *qá-tim iš-tù* [30] *12 ma-na* AN.NA *qá-tim iṣ-ḫi-ru*, "12 shekels, the deficit of the loose tin, after the 12 minas of loose tin had been deducted"[37]).

muṭā'ū alone, without further specification, is used in KTS 55a, 1f.: *1* GÚ *25 ma-na* AN.NA [2] *qá-dum mu-ṭá-e ša Tur*$_4$*-ḫu-mi-id*, "1 talent 25 minas of tin, including the deficit arisen/established in T.". BIN 4, 47, 21ff.: *4 mu-ta-tum 5* GÚ [22] AN.NA *ku-nu-ki-a ša ki-ma* [23] *i-a-tí ù* DAM.GÀR *lá-ap-ta* [24] *mu-ṭá-e a-na-kam-ma ú-té-er*, "4 half-packs (containing) 5 talents of tin under my seal have been credited to my representatives and the "merchant"; the deficiencies I have added extra here"[38]).

It is clear from the texts quoted that the "deficit" was computed over the standard unit of weight of ca. 65 minas (*šuqlum* = the contents of a *muttatum* = roughly 1 talent). This is confirmed by ATHE 76, KUG 34, and the unpublished text LB 1227, which use the distributive TA when mentioning the "deficit":

ATHE 76, 7ff.: *6 šuqlātūka 3 mana*.TA *imṭiā*, "your 6 š. showed each a deficit of 3 minas"; KUG 34, 6ff.; *6* GÚ *2½ mana* [7] AN.NA *ina ṭuppim ḫarmim* [8] *ša kārim laṗit*.... [13] *ištu 3 mana*. TA *mu-ṭá-e* [14] *2 mana*. TA *nisḫatim uṣaḫḫirūninni*...., "6 talents 2½ minas of tin are booked in the tablet officially issued by the *kārum*... After they had deducted for me 3 minas each as deficit and 2 minas each as import-tax...". Line 26ff. add these figures: *5 mana*.TA *mu-ṭá-e ù nisḫatim* É *kārim uṣaḫḫirūniatima* .., "they deducted for us five minas each for deficiencies and import-tax and..."[39]). LB 1227, 10ff.: *i-na 2* GÚ *10 ma-na* AN.NA [11] *2⅔ ma-na 5* GÍN.TA [12] *mu-tá-ú 2 ma-na*.TA *ni-is-ḫa-tum* [13] *1 ma-na A il*$_5$*-qí ší-tí* AN.NA [14] [*1* GÚ] *59½ ma-na iz-ku-am*, "on 2 talents 10 minas of tin the deficit

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safely"; the text deals with smuggling (cf. below p. 312) and *biltam* means "1 talent".

[37]) CCT 4, 50a, 29 and VAT 9211, 17f. mention *mu-ṭá* KÙ.BABBAR; cf. for deficiencies with silver below *Excursus* I, 1.

[38]) *ú-té-er* must be a D-form of *watārum*, not recorded in HECKER *GKT* § 93f, where similar forms of *wašārum* are mentioned; cf. *lu-tí-ru-ma* in ICK 1, 84, 12.

[39]) The text poses a number of arithmetical problems, which I cannot solve, cf. my remarks in *BiOr* 24, 1967, 187b a.l.

amounted to 2 minas 25 shekels each, and the import-tax to 2 minas each. A took 1 mina; the rest of the tin which became available was 1 talent 59½ minas." The figures in the last two texts show that the distributive. TA refers to the unit of 65 minas as the basis of the calculation. That *muṭā'ū* and *nisḫatum* can be subsumed under the same heading arithmetically proves the *muṭā'ū* were computed over the same amount or unit, the *šuqlum*[40]).

What were these *muṭā'ū*, and how do we account for their occurrences? The first systematic analysis of the problem (besides the remarks of J. LEWY quoted in note 40) was H. LEWY's article 'The Assload, the Sack and other Measures of Capacity', already quoted as H. LEWY 1964. Her explanation is as follows: when a caravan was equipped in Aššur the *muttātum*, which had a fairly uniform capacity of 1 talent, were simply filled with tin, without establishing the exact weight. In Anatolia however, in the local palaces when the weight had to be established in view of the levy of the import-tax, their contents were carefully weighed. Then one could determine how much underweight or overweight there was compared to the expected quantity of 60 minas. This interpretation goes hand in hand with her understanding of the *muttātum*. She translates VAT 13521 (quoted above p. 13) *op. cit.* 186 as follows: "2 talents of lead (worth) 6½ minas (of silver) each, the *muttâtum*(-containers) not being included" (= *watrā*), and BIN 4, 47 (quoted above p. 13) as "4 *muttâtum* (-containers) (weighing) 5 talents, lead with my seals". She consequently distinguished between the gross weight of *muttātum* + contents, and the net weight of either the *muttātum* or their contents. From BIN 4, 47 she infers that one empty *muttatum*-container weighed 15 minas.[41]).

This interpretation is unacceptable to me. Not only because we have to start from a standard weight of the contents of a *muttatum* of 65 minas—this would only bring down the weight of the empty container to 10 minas —but also for other reasons. It does mean that the two loads of tin in VAT 13521 would have quite different values: the first lot 6½ minas of silver each talent, the second lot however 10 minas of silver, prices which cannot be reconciled with what is known about the purchase price in

[40]) Other occurrences of *muṭā'ū* are: TC 2, 69 (EL no. 204), 8, where we have to read with *EL* II 182/3 (corrigendum): [4] *ina* ²/₃ *mana 4* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR [5] *ša fA ina GN* [6] *ana B a-ši-a-ma-tim* [7] *ta-di-nu da-tám* [8] *ni-is-ḫa-tim ú mu-ṭá-e* [9] *iṣ-ḫi-ru-ma*; cf. for a translation below p. 254, 8. *CAD* Ṣ 123a, 1d missed LEWY's correction. For other occurrences of *muṭā'ū* in a different context, see *Excursus* I to this chapter. Previous remarks on *maṭā'um*, *muṭā'ū* and *uturrā'ū* are to be found in *EL* 100[6].

[41]) In her opinion *muttātum* were rather heavy, and of standardized size. In her calculations she does not take into account the fact—to be discussed in ch. III, 1-2—that the tin was wrapped in textiles before being placed in the *muttātum*, and consequently she neglects their weight.

Aššur (normally ca. 4 minas of silver) or the sale price in Anatolia (normally somewhat less than 10 minas; cf. GARELLI *AC* 280-281). In Mrs LEWY's hypothesis *muṭā'ū* could only be mentioned in case the net weight of the contents of a *muttatum* was less than 1 talent. But from the texts quoted above it is clear that even if some 62 or 63 minas remained there still could be *muṭā'ū*. Even if we start from the "standard weight" of 65 minas her interpretation is wrong. In BIN 6, 255 after deduction of the *muṭā'ū* still 65½ minas remain. This shows the basis of her theory is wrong. The *muttātum* of course were not simply filled in Aššur and carefully weighed only after arrival in Anatolia. The mentioning of the exact amounts of silver paid on purchase in Aššur, to which there should correspond carefully weighed amounts of tin, disproves her theory. CCT 3, 27a for example mentions quantities of 135 and 40 minas of tin bought at a rate of exchange of 13¼ against 1, and a total purchase price of 13 minas 53¾ shekels of silver. That nevertheless the amounts of tin shipped from Aššur normally show round figures is a consequence of the fact that the Assyrians as a rule purchased standard quantities of tin, upon which the amount of silver to be paid had to be computed.

The reason why deficiencies are mentioned is simple. After the purchase in Aššur had been made, the agents in Anatolia were informed about the shipment by means of a letter (a kind of way bill) sent along with the leader of the caravan[42]). This letter stated in detail the amount of tin and number of textiles purchased. If on arrival the amount of tin proved to be less than stated in the letter, there was a question of *muṭā'ū*. A reference to such a letter—called caravan account by LARSEN; L 29-568—H. LEWY 1968, 13f.—21 gives the Assyrian name: *ṭuppum ša šiamātim*, "letter informing about the purchases"—is found in TC 3/1, 44, rev. 5′: *ana luqūtim* 6′ *ša ištu ālim*^{ki} *īlianni* 7′ *aḫḫēšu nisniqma* 8′ 9½ GÚ AN.NA 9′ *ù mē'at 50* TÚG *iškunū umma* 10′ *ninūma našparātim* 11′ *ša ištu ālim*^{ki} 12′ *tušēṣiāni alē*, "we checked his 'brothers' on the merchandise which came up hither from the City, and they deposited 9½ talents of tin and 150 textiles. We asked (them): "the letters, which you took along from the City, where are they?"". The letter accompanying the shipment and to be handed over on arrival apparently also served as a check on the transporters. How a deficiency could be established by means of such a letter is shown in TC 3/1, 36, which concerns a shipment of silver from Anatolia to Aššur: 18ff. *šīti* 19 *nēpišim isniqūma* 20 *14½ mana 7* GÍN-*ma* 21 *1 mana* KÙ.BABBAR *ana našpartika* 22 *batiq ammakam ina šaqqulim*

[42]) Occasionally such a letter was sent to Anatolia ahead of the caravan, by means of a messenger; cf. the remarks of K. HECKER in *OLZ* 65, 1970, col. 357f. *ad* VAT 9220. In this case the caravan itself also brought along a "notifying letter".

ētašū, "they checked the rest of the packet (of silver), and it proved to contain 14½ minas 7 shekels. This was 1 mina of silver less than (compared with the amount mentioned in) your letter. (Apparently) they have erred[43]) there in weighing it out". Cf. line 7f.: "Thus you wrote (me):" 15½ minas 7½ shekels of silver... Kuzizia is bringing you under my seal".

If it is clear how a deficiency could be established, how it arose is a question difficult to answer, the more so as the tin in question was normally transported "under seal" from the City, so that it seems excluded that tin somehow disappeared *en route*. Moreover the opening of the sealed packets took place in front of witnesses (cf. for this procedure in Aššur, LARSEN *OACP* 141-2), so that malversations or fraud can be ruled out.

Let us first consider how big these deficiencies were. The following list expresses them in percentages of the shipment of tin:

0,6%: CCT 2, 24, 4 (½ mina on 72½ minas)
0,8%: CCT 1, 33a, 5 (1 mina on 120 minas)
1,1%: CCT 1, 33a, 7ff. (5 shekels silver *ana muṭā biltim*)
1,7%: TC 3/1, 24, 28 (12 shekels on 12 minas)
2,0%: BIN 6, 39, 2 and rev. 18′ (5⅓ minas on 390 minas)
2,5%: BIN 4, 61, 17 (9⅔ minas on 390 minas)
3,0% (±): TC 3/1, 72, 8 (1½ mina on 40 minas); ICK 1, 58, 5 (4 minas on 120½); ATHE 76, 7 (18 minas on 520 minas); KUG 34, 6 ff. (3 minas each *šuqlum*)
4,0%: LB 1227 10off. (5½ minas on 130 minas); BIN 4, 39, 13 (11⅓ minas on 280 minas)
5,2%: BIN 4, 27, 20 (ca. 14 minas on 256 minas)[44]).

The deficiencies accordingly are by no means unimportant in the majority of cases. One might compare them with those occurring with other metals shipped in Anatolia (copper) or from Anatolia to Aššur (silver). Those for copper are substantially smaller, ranging from 0,25% to ca. ca. 2,2% (the lowest figure is exceptional; the next highest is 0,7%); those for silver from 0,3 to 6% (the highest figure being exceptional; the next

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[43]) I derive the form *e-ta-šu* from *ēšūm*, "to confuse"; *CAD* and *AHw* do not mention OA occurrences of this verb. Besides this form I see it also in BIN 6, 219, 11, in the Gtn-stem: [10] *a-ta ki-ma a-wa-tí-ni kà-ša-dim te$_4$-ta-na-ší-a-ni ú sí-ki-i* [12] *tù-uk-ta-na-al*, "instead of promoting our interests, you are constantly causing me trouble and keep me on the leash". The Š-stem may be found in ICK 1, 1, 59: *tù-šé-ša-ni*, unless it is to be taken as *tuššišanni*, from *ašāšum* D (not in *CAD* A, 2 s.v. or *AHw* s.v.).

[44]) Not included BIN 4, 159, 5: a deficiency of 36 shekels on 535 minas (ca. 0,01%); 535 minas denotes the value of the whole shipment and it is unknown how much of it consisted of tin.

highest is 2,2%). The deficiencies on copper and silver will be treated in *Excursus* I.

One could suggest two possible explanations for these deficiencies: a) they originated somehow *en route*; either by natural causes, due to the form or the way in which the tin was shipped, or because some tin was somehow removed from the *muttātum*; b) the weights or standards of capacity at the various places where the amounts of tin were established were poorly coordinated; hence differences in the weights as calculated by the various persons or authorities.

The first solution seems very unlikely. As stated above the tin was shipped in sealed packages, put in the *muttātum*, and breaking these seals to remove tin from the *šuqlātum* was severely forbidden (cf. below p. 31f.). Though there is hardly any information about the state and the form in which the tin was transported, it is very unlikely that some loss of weight occurred due to the impure state in which it was shipped from Aššur. Nor is there any indication that the tin was purified in Kaniš, before being weighed. A few texts make mention of *annukum zakūm*, "pure tin", but in a different context (cf. *CAD* A, 2, 127b, 2', b')[45]).

The second solution is more probable, both on account of the long distance between Aššur and Kaniš, and in view of the fact that the weighing in Aššur was done by Assyrians, and in Anatolia most probably by the local authorities. The texts contain a number of indications that both private merchants and the *bīt kārim* had their own weights, and that there were certain (small) differences in weight between them; only the latter apparently were considered as official. The texts bearing on the problem of the weights have been analysed in *Excursus* II.

Though tin was also packed in and shipped as *ēlītum*, "top-pack", this word will not be discussed in this paragraph, because its occurrences with tin are relatively few, and those with textiles much more numerous and informative. It will be treated in the next paragraph dealing with textiles.

2. TEXTILES

a) *"A donkey-load of textiles"*

From the figures of the table in the *Appendix* on p. 69ff. one may easily conclude that a donkey load of textiles comprised between 20 and

[45]) Cf. for other references to corroded (*šaḫḫuḫ*) or inferior (*massuḫ*) tin *CAD* A, 2, 127b, 2', b'. But these occurrences hardly prove anything for our problem, because, even if this deterioration of quality somehow took place *en route*, it should not cause a loss of weight. The fact that tin was carefully packed in the so-called *ṣubātū ša liwītim*, "textiles for wrapping" (see below ch. III, 1) does not favour the possibility of loss of weight *en route*.

30 pieces[46]). To narrow down this variation we have to look at the composition of caravans transporting no sealed tin. In these cases the number of textiles carried by one donkey ranges from about 20 to 30, with a standard average of 25-26 pieces (both attested seven times). The fluctuation may have had various reasons. First the differences in carrying capacities of the donkeys (cf. above p. 3f.). Secondly the fact that in some cases more additional items (personal belongings of the caravan personnel, food, "loose tin", merchandise of the *kaṣṣārū*) had to be taken along. In the third place not all textiles may have been equally heavy or have occupied the same space. The better qualities were perhaps more carefully packed (e.g. in the leather bags, *naruqqātum*), and the mere occurrence of the names *raqqutum*, "thin textile" and *ṣubātum kabtum*, "heavy textile" indicates different weights. In general however the textiles were rather standardized as to size and weight, as will be shown below.

A careful reading of the table in the *Appendix* reveals some other facts about the way the Assyrians loaded their donkeys. Looking at caravans with a mixed load (tin and textiles), and deducting one donkey for each amount of 130 minas of tin, one may compute the average number of textiles carried by the other donkeys. This is—even if we deduct from that number four textiles for each donkey-load of tin; the so called *ṣubātū ša liwītim*, "textiles for wrapping", always used for packing the tin (cf. below ch. III, 1), and consequently not carried by the donkeys loaded with textiles—more than the average of 25-26 pieces mentioned above, and ranges from 25 to 35. For small caravans of two or three donkeys, one of which is loaded with tin, this figure even fluctuates (after deduction of four "textiles for wrapping") from 27 to 36 pieces a donkey (cf. nos. 64, 73, 137, 145-6, 157, 162, 163, 173 of the table)[47]). The reason for this fact may also be gathered from the table. Several texts (nos. 21, 54, 54, 67, 82, 93, 108, 147, 153, 155, 160, 183) show that they used to combine a standard load of tin (130 minas + ca. 10 minas of loose tin) with some 4 to 10 textiles. After again deducting the "textiles for wrapping" in those cases where they are not mentioned separately (as is done in nos. 21, 56, 67 and 183) we may conclude that one added in fact some 4-6 textiles to a standard load of tin. This is confirmed by nos. 14, 60, 105, 134 and 177 of the table, which describe half a donkey-load[48]), consisting of 60-70 minas of

[46]) Cf. for the reasons for using the word "textiles" instead of "garments", below ch. II, 2, a.

[47]) In no. 158 (TC 2, 14) the number of asses (2) has to be emended to 4!, carrying 90 textiles (cf. on this text above note 14).

[48]) Half a donkey-load probably was rather a unit of accounting than a real entity. Its occurrences may show that merchants used to combine their loads for transport, but kept them apart in the accounts. "Half a donkey (load)" is also found

tin plus 3-6 textiles (two of which again may have been used for wrapping, as mentioned in no. 105) [49]).

On the other hand we meet several times a "standard load" of tin supplemented by a small amount of tin (to be distinguished from the "loose tin"), ranging from 12-14 minas (nos. 2, 6, 25, 101 ,138) but sometimes also more (18 minas in no. 70; 26 minas in no. 24; twice 40 minas in no. 62 and 116) [50]).

b) *muttatum and elītum*

Like tin, textiles were normally shipped in *muttātum*. VAT 9256, 1ff. mentions: *5 me-at 94* TÚG [2] *i-na 36 mu-ta-tim* [3] *ù 26 e-li-a-tim* [4] *dar-ku-ú*, "594 textiles packed in 36 half-packs and 26 top-packs". CCT 5, 29a, 1 ff. describes a load as consisting of: *4 šu'-uq-lá-tum* [2] *ša* AN.NA *12 ku-ta-nu* [3] *ša li-wi-tim* [4] *12 mu-ta-tum ša ki-ib/p-ší-im* [5] *3 e-li-a-tum* [6] *1 me-at 57 ku-ta-nu dar-ku* [7] *8* ANŠE *ṣa-lá-mu*, "4 *šuqlātum* with tin, 12 *kutānū*-textiles for wrapping, 12 half-packs of *kib/pšum*-donkeys, three top-packs, 157 packed *kutānū*-textiles, 8 black asses". In the latter text two donkeys carry tin, the remaining six textiles, apparently packed in the twelve half-packs *ša kib/pšim* and perhaps in the three top-packs [51]). Other texts which mention *muttātum* in connection with textiles are not informative [52]).

The *ēliātum*, "top-packs" (a translation proposed in *CAD* E 98a, 1),

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in BIN 6, 90, 11 (*mišal* ANŠE) and TC 1, 28, 11 (½ ANŠE AN.NA). In no 126 of the table (GELB, Kayseri "no. 9") mention is made of 7½ donkeys: *i-7½* [15] *1* ANŠE *me-et* [16] *6½ iz-ku-ú-nim 2 ma-na* [17] KÙ.BABBAR-*áp-šu-nu*, "of the 7½ donkeys one has died; 6½ are still available; their value in silver is 2 minas". This text betrays joint ownership of a group of asses. Half a donkey is also mentioned in TC 3/1, 22, 11f., and—in view of the load—implied in BIN 6, 140, 17f.

[49]) No. 44 is not included because the text deals not with transport (verb: *paqādum*) but with credit-sale (verb: *tadānum*). When this text later on mentions "one donkey" this does not mean the merchandise constituted one donkey-load, but that part of the load was sold with the animal. A similar case in GARELLI 1965, 161, no. 26, 5ff.

[50]) Of these 40 minas 15 and 7 minas resp. are "loose tin". The copy of no. 116 has in line 8: *4* ANŠE, but the load and the amount of loose tin demand an emendation to *2*! ANŠE (cf. the similar figures in no. 62). Other texts do not allow a similar reconstruction of the load, like nos. 23, 61, 75, 89 and 107 of the chart. No. 75 and 107 mention quantities of 35 and 32½ minas of tin, i.e. half a *šuqlum* or *muttatum*, or perhaps an *ēlītum*.

[51]) Because the tin and the wrapping textiles are mentioned first and separately, there is reason to believe that in this case the *muttātum ša kib/pšim* were especially meant for the transport of textiles (whose weight was probably smaller than that of tin).

[52]) TC 1, 16 has been quoted in note 7. KTH 18, 17ff. mentions: *10 e-li-a-tim* [18] *ù 4 mu-ta-tim a-ta-ší-a-tim* [19] *i-dí-nu-ma*, "they provided 10 top-packs and 4 half-packs for transport". However these constitute only part of the equipment needed for the transport on 11 donkeys, so that no conclusions can be drawn from these numbers. CCT 4, 3a, 11ff. reads: *i-na GN* [12] *iš-té-et mu-ta-tám* [13] *A* [14] *ùḫ-ta-li-iq-ma*, "A caused the loss of one *m.* in GN.". According to BIN 6, 132, 1ff. also *dulbātum*

probably placed on top of the half-packs, are more frequently attested with textiles. An indication of their size or contents is provided by the text Ankara 2806 (H. LEWY 1964, 182; cf. above p. 13), where top-packs contain half a talent (30 kg.) of copper, against half-packs of one talent, and each donkey carries two half-packs and one top-pack[53]). In other texts however the number of half-packs is not twice that of the top-packs, cf. VAT 9256 and CCT 5, 29a (just quoted) and TC 1, 16 (quoted above, note 7) mentioning in all 28 half-packs and 19 top-packs.

The following data are available concerning top-packs filled with textiles:

TC 3/1, 77, 3ff.: *i-na e-li-tum* 4 *ša kà-ṣa-ri-im* 5 *2* TÚG *ša A* 6 *2* TÚG *ša kà-ṣa-ri-im 1* TÚG *i-a-um* 8 *10 ma-na* AN.NA *qá-tim* 9 *ša-ak-nu*, "in the top-pack of the freighter have been put 2 textiles of A, 2 of the freighter himself and one of mine, besides 10 minas of loose tin."

TC 3/2, 128A, 9ff.: *6* TÚG *ku-ta-nu* 10 *1* TÚG *ša a-kà-dí-e* 11 *e-li-tum ša A*, "6 *kutānū*-textiles, 1 Akkadian textile, the top-pack of A".

TC 3/2, 158, 22f.: 5! TÚG SIG_5 KI *A* 23 *e-li-tám it-ba-/al*, "5 textiles of good quality are with A; he took away one top-pack."

VAT 9212,15: *13* TÚG *li-wi-tum ù e-li-tum*, "13 textiles, both those for wrapping and a top-pack"; deducting 4 pieces for wrapping, the top-pack would have contained 9 textiles.

LB 1221, 10′: *2 e-li-tí-in 10* TÚG *ku-ta-ni ša šé-pí-a*, "2 toppacks, containing 10 *kutānū*-textiles, belonging to my transport."

Accordingly a top-pack normally contained some 5-6 textiles, which represents about $^1/_5$ or $^1/_4$ of the standard load of textiles (25-26 pieces). This is the same number of textiles as were sometimes added to a standard load of tin, as shown on p. 24. There is reason therefore to assume that these small quantities of textiles were normally shipped in the form of top-packs. The top-pack in these cases may also have contained the "loose tin" as in TC 3/1, 77 quoted above. The same text shows that the freighters (*kaṣṣārū*)—who earned their wages by carrying on some private trade, with funds put at their disposal interest free (called *be'ūlātum*)—could ship their private small quantities of merchandise in a top-pack, a conclusion corroborated by TC 1, 16, 7ff. (quoted above in note 7). The top-pack, probably not being sealed in these cases, and easily accessible,

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(*CAD* D 172a) could be shipped in *muttātum* and *ēliātum*. Cf. finally GARELLI 1964, 59, Sch. 4, 4.

[53]) TTC 30, 16ff.: *35 ma-na* AN.NA-*ak qá-tim 30 ma-na ḫu-ša-e* [*x*] *e-li-a-tum* unfortunately allows no conlcusions about the contents of a top-pack. BIN 4, 214, 3′ only confirms that copper was transported in them.

was a good place to keep their private possessions and the "loose tin", which had to be used *en route*.

Starting from top-packs containing 5-6 textiles, and half-packs of a double capacity, the load of VAT 9256 (quoted above) would have consisted of 36 half-packs with each 12 textiles, and 26 top-packs of each 6 textiles. The same relation holds good for CCT 5, 29a[54]).

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[54] The "top-pack" is moreover found in KTH 18, 17 (cf. note 52); BIN 6, 132, 11 (ibid.); CCT 2, 35, 25ff.: AN.NA *liwissu u ēliātim ša A*, "tin, its wrappings and the top-packs belonging to A"; TuM I 28c (Jena 308) in broken context: 2′ *4 e-li-a-tum* 3′ *ša 6. TA x-*[ ], "4 top-packs, containing each 6 [textiles?]". TC 3/2, 176, 14 mentions "two top-packs with straw".

CHAPTER THREE

THE PACKING OF THE MERCHANDISE

Having established the meaning, contents and capacity of *muttatum*, *šuqlum* and *ēlītum*, and the way these units were loaded on the donkeys, we now turn to the question (already touched upon) of how the merchandise was packed, before being loaded on the animals in the ways described above.

1. *ṣubātū ša liwītim*

These "textiles for wrapping" have already been mentioned several times, as we had to anticipate the conclusions reached in this paragraph. The evidence for the translation and their function will be summarized now.

liwītum is derived from the verb *lawā'um*, "to surround, to envelop, to wrap". It is found a few times in OA texts in connection with tablets and merchandise. L 29-574—H. LEWY 1968, 32f.—33f.: DUB-*pá-am i-na qá-nu-e la-wi-a-ma* [34] *da-am-qí-iš a-na* DUMU *um-me-a-nim* [35] *ke-nim pí-iq-da lu-ub-lam*, "wrap the tablet in reed (?) and be so kind as to entrust it to a reliable messenger, that he may bring it to me". VAT 9254, 4 ff.: *maš-ki ù pí-ri-kà-ni* [5] *ku-nu-ki ša A-šùr*--SIPA [6] *ša i-na qá-ra-bi-tim* [7] *e-zi-bu na-ru-qam* [8] *ù maš-ki iš-té-ni-iš* [9] *li-il$_5$-wi-ú-šu-nu-ma* [10] *a-na a-li-ki-im* [11] *pá-ni-im-ma* [12] *pí-qí-id-ma lu-ub-lu-nim*, "the hides (fleeces?) and *pirikannū*-textiles with the seal of A. which I left behind in the interior of the house—let them wrap the bag (with textiles) and the hides together, entrust (them) to the first traveller (caravan?) that leaves, so that they may bring them to me". In both cases "wrapping up" prepares something for transport[55]).

In connection with textiles the verb is used in GARELLI-KENNEDY 1960 no. 4, 10f.: *30* TÚG *i-li-wi-tim al-wi*, which should not be translated with "I wrapped up 30 textiles", but according to the figures of the context, "I used 30 textiles for wrapping up (the rest of the merchandise)". Two texts use a permansive, to describe packed textiles: BIN 6, 127, 5: *3* TÚG *lá-wi-*[*ú*]; an unpublished text from Kayseri kindly made available in transliteration by Prof. GELB (his "no. 9") has in line 6: TÚG.ḪI.A *la-wi-ú*. In the first text the meaning is probably "3 textiles have been

[55]) We meet *lawūm* with the meaning "to surround", "to beseige" (well known from OB omina) in BALKAN *Letter*, 7, 31. Cf. for *laḫḫupum* below note 158.

used as wrapping" for the tin mentioned in the preceding line; in the second we have to translate "the textiles (122 pieces, 4 of which are TÚG *liwītum*, lines 1-3) have been wrapped up".

Normally the texts use *liwītum* in one of the following ways.

1. *liwītum* as apposition to a noun denoting a textile: besides the text from Kayseri just mentioned (*4* TÚG *li-wi-tum*), we mention: BIN 4, 24, 8: *4 šurūtum liwītum*; BIN 6, 50, 6: *30* TÚG *liwītum*; CCT 4, 36a, 20; BIN 6, 63, 3; VAT 9212, 5; GARELLI 1964, 112, Sch. 14, 8. Translation: "x textiles serving as wrapping".

2. *ša liwītim* as apposition to a noun denoting a textile. This is the most common construction. Cf. e.g. CCT 5, 25b, 4: *4* TÚG$^{ba\text{-}ti}$ *ša l.*; BIN 4, 29, 34: *8* TÚG *šurūtim ša l.*; CCT 4, 23a, 14: *2 kutānī ša l.*; GARELLI 1957, HG 74, 10: *4* TÚG SIG_5 *ša l.*; ATHE 51, 2′; *2* TÚG *kabtēn* [*ša l.*]; Cf. also EL 143, 18: *2 naruqqīn ša l.*

3. *ša liwītim* in the combination *x* TÚG (ḪI.A) *qādum ša liwītim*, "x textiles including those for wrapping": BIN 4, 27, 6; TC 3, 21, 5; ICK 1, 73, 4; 188, 5; 189, 11 etc. Twice *qādī* instead of *qādum*: BIN 4, 61, 4; TC 3/2, 134, 9′ [56]).

4. *liwītim* used independently: CCT 1, 24a, 19: *liwītim aššūmišunuma iḫalliq*, "the loss of the wrapping material is for their account". This use of *liwītum* alone is possible because in line 12 we already have AN.NA *ù liwītišu*, "tin with its wrapping". In some texts we have instead of *qādum ša liwītim* simply *qādum liwītim*: BIN 6, 180, 2; TC 2, 13, 4.

5. *i-li-wi-tim* used once in BIN 4, 65, 7: *7* TÚG *i-li-wi-tim* (cf. above *ad* GARELLI-KENNEDY 1960 no. 4), "7 textiles as wrapping".

6. *liwītum* with a pron. suffix 3rd pers., which normally denotes what is wrapped up. Most frequent is the combination *x* AN.NA *ù li-wi-sú*: CCT 1, 24a, 11; TuM I 24a rev. 3′; TC 2, 11, 17; BIN 4, 227, 4; BIN 6, 171, 6; 265 rev. 6′. But we also have *x* AN.NA *ù y* TÚG *li-wi-sú*: TuM I 2b, 5; BIN 6, 255, 8′; CCT 4, 11b, 5. Once: *1* ANŠE AN.NA *ù li-wi-sú*: TC 1, 28, 9. Sometimes we have a suff. 3rd pers. plur. fem., referring to *muttātum*: BIN 6, 267, 3′: [*x mu*]*-ta-tim ša* AN.NA *ù li-wi-sí-na*. CCT 5, 38c, 3f.: *2 šuqlān ša* AN.NA *ù li-wi-sú-nu*, uses the masc. plur. suff. In these two texts the wrapping is treated as belonging to the containers or packets (in which the tin was transported), which of course does not make much difference[57]).

[56]) It is not true, as said in HECKER *GKT* § 103i, that *qādī* only occurs with suffixes. Cf. also the alternation between *adī* and *adum*.

[57]) The last text is remarkable, because *šuqlum* normally is fem. (cf. the plur. *šuqlātum* and e.g. *šuqlam wassumtam* in L 29-567, 4). Did the absence of a fem. dual ending suggest the use of a masc. suffix, or is it somehow a *constructio ad sensum*, dominated by "tin" which is masc.?

2. THE PACKING AND SEALING OF THE TIN

The occurrences and numbers of the "textiles for wrapping" and especially the use of the prepositions mentioned *sub* 6) make it clear that they were systematically used for packing the tin. The chart in the Appendix clearly shows that one used 4 such textiles for each donkey-load of 130 minas[58]).

The relation which can be established, 1 *muttatum* contains 1 *šuqlum* (= ca. 65 minas) wrapped in 2 *ṣubātū ša liwītim*, makes it possible to calculate how many of the textiles of a given load were used for wrapping, when the texts do not provide this information (in the phrase "x textiles including those for wrapping")[59]). This knowledge is in some cases extremely useful as we know from a number of texts that no import-tax (*nisḫatum*) had to be paid on these "textiles for wrapping", as is clear from BIN 6, 50; GARELLI-KENNEDY 1960, no. 4; BIN 4, 65[60]).

The use of two "textiles for wrapping" for each packet (*šuqlum*) of ca. 65 minas could suggest that a *šuqlum* consisted of two smaller packets of ca. 32½ minas, each packed in one textile, and bound together and sealed to become one *šuqlum*. This is suggested on the one hand by occasional references to quantities of 30-35 minas (cf. no. 75 and 107 of the table) and on the other hand by the fact that a *šuqlum* is not an arithmetical unit, but a real one.

As is known from the frequently attested phrase "tin with the seals of/from the City" (AN.NA *kunukkū ša ālim*^{ki}) and many occurrences of "tin under my/your/A's seal", the packets of tin were sealed. As such they were distinguished from quantities of *annak qātim*, "tin of/for the hand" (for use *en route*), "loose tin", not sealed away. Opening a packet of tin consequently could be described as *šuqlam paṭārum*, "to break open a *šuqlum*", cf. CCT 1, 1b, 1[61]); 4, 11b, 3; 20b, 8; TC 1, 96, 6; TC 2, 3, 39; ICK 1, 95, 15. The verb *paṭārum*, which would suggest an object like "ropes" or the like, is also used with *kunukkī* as an object: CCT 5, 9b, 26; TC 3/1, 68, 10. One also used the expression AN.NA *ša kunukkī paṭārum*,

[58]) Cf. nos. 15, 22, 77, 78, 88, 104, 106 and 175, caravans shipping only tin. Also in a caravan with a mixed load there is a fixed relation (1:30-35) between the number of *ṣubātū ša liwītim* and the number of minas of sealed tin (nos. 9, 19, 21, 38, 64, 105, 134 and 177).

[59]) When the "textiles for wrapping" are not mentioned separately, one may easily infer their number. The textiles in nos. 29, 44, 67 and 108 (four times *kutānū*, once *šurum*) were used for wrapping.

[60]) Cf. already EL p. 221 note, and LARSEN *OACP* 156.

[61]) This text writes *šu-qú-lam* instead of *šuqlam*. Cf. for this phenomenon HECKER *GKT* § 32b; it is more frequent in imp. forms with ending, e.g. *šu-qú-li-ma*, CCT 4, 15a, 8.

"to break open the tin with the seals" (CCT 2, 24, 4) or simply AN.NA *paṭārum* (TC 3/1, 72, 7; cf. also kt d/k 5, 10f.: *muttatam ša* ANŠE *ipṭur*). These expressions and their abbreviations suggest that the *šuqlātum* were tied up with ropes, to which sealed clay bullas were attached[62]).

Some texts inform us that one could put something "in" (*ina libbi*) or "at the top of" or "on" (*ina pāni*) a *šuqlum*, in such a way that it was contained in the packet, cf. the texts quoted by GARELLI *AC*, 266[3]. I also refer to CCT 2, 2, 48 f.: *6½ ma-na 3* GÍN AN.NA *ri-ik-sú i-li-bi$_4$ šu-uq-li-kà* [49] *na-dí*, "6½ minas 3 shekels, a *riksum*, has been placed in your *šuqlum*"[63]).

Sealing the packets was of course meant to protect their contents against illicit manipulations *en route* by the freighters or other people. The seals were broken open on arrival in Anatolia, when the contents were weighed or checked (*sanāqum/sannuqum*) to determine their weight. This was done in the presence of witnesses (LARSEN *OACP*, 141-2). Opening a sealed *šuqlum en route* was considered illegal. TC 1, 96, 6f. mentions such a case in connection with a legal case[64]).

Two texts inform us about the circumstances under which exceptionally a *šuqlum* was broken open *en route*.

CCT 4, 20b, 1-18:

[u]m-ma A-[š]ur--ṣú-lu-li-ma		"Thus Aššur-ṣulūli,
*ạ-na A-mur--*DINGIR *qí-bi-ma*		speak unto Āmur-īlam:
a-ša-me-ma 55 ma-na		"As I hear they gave 55 minas of
AN.NA *ù* $^2/_3$ *ma-na* KÙ./BABBAR		tin and $^2/_3$ mina of silver
a-na qá-tí En-um--A-šur	5	to Ennum-Aššur as "hand-money".
i-dí-nu mì-šu ša a-ša-me-ú-/ma		Why should I learn that they
šu-uq-li i-na		break open my *šuqlum*
Pu-ḫi-tár i-pa-ṭù-ru-ni-/ma		in Puḫitar, without you
ù a-ta ta-áš-ta-pu/-ú		protesting against it?[65])
[a]-na 2 GÚ AN.NA	10	If he is worried about (= needs)
i-na-zi-iq		2 talents of tin,
[a]-pu-tum a-ma-kam		please show concern for him
[i]ḫ-i-sú-ma [š]u-ma		there and if he really

[62]) While *paṭārum* means "to loosen, to untie", and in fact applies to the packet or the ropes, the breaking of the seals or bullas is expressed by the verb *šarāmum*, "to cut, split": TC 3/2, 99, 11: *kunukkīšunu šu-ur-ma-ma 3-tumma liknukū*, "break the seals (on a *ḫuršum*) and let the three of them seal (anew)"; ICK 1, 149, 1ff.: *riksam kunukkīka nišrumma...* [13] *kunukkīka ša nišrumū nušēbilakkum*, "we broke open the *riksum* with your seals.. and we sent you your clay sealings (clay bullas) which we broke". The verb is also used in OA for cutting stones (CCT 4, 35b, 18; TC 3/2, 98, 7f.; VAT 9292, 13; cf. LEWY 1950b, 22[1]).

[63]) *riksu* without mimation nevertheless seems to be sing., according to the verb. Cf. TC 3/1, 68, 9 (*riksī*) compared with line 19 (*[rik]sam*); GARELLI 1965, 24 no. 5, 8: *1 ri-ik-sú*.

[64]) The text reads (= EL 323) [6] *1 šuqlum ina* [7] *ḫarrānim paṭrat*, "one *šuqlum* was broken open *en route*".

[65]) Lit. "you kept silent".

[A]N.NA *mì-ma i-ḫa-ša-/aḫ* needs any tin,
[a-t]a AN.NA *i-na* you should weigh out
[r]a-mì-ni-kà[-ma?] tin from your own funds,
[šu]-qú-ul-ma a-na-kam and I consequently will pay you
KÙ.BABBAR-*áp-[š]u lá-áš-qú-lá-/ku-um* back its value in silver here ".''

TC 2, 3, 4-11:

i-na lu-qú-tim "From the merchandise
ša šé-ep Ì-lí--áš-ra-ni transported by Ilī-ašranni
6 1/3 *ma-na* AN.NA *ù* 1/2 TÚG 6 1/3 minas of tin and 1/2 textile
iš-tí dNIN.ŠUBUR--*ba-ni e-ta-lu-tám* are under the custody of Ilabrātbāni.
e-pu-uš-ma šu-uq-li He acted high-handedly and
ip-ṭù-ur-ma AN.NA-*ki* il_5-*qí* broke open my *šuqlum* and took my tin.
a-pu-ùḫ a-wi-lim sà-ri-im Like a criminal he himself
šu-ut AN.NA *i-a-am* il_5-*té-qé* took my own tin!''[66])

The first text tells that the freighter, probably having spent the tin and silver received for covering expenses *en route*, and in need of another two talents of tin, took them out of the sealed *šuqlum*. The adressee, probably living in Puḫitar, should have prevented this and instead have provided him with the tin he needed, which the writer later on would pay him back in silver. The situation in the second text is less clear; presumably Ilabrātbāni took the tin to cover his own expenses or to indemnify himself for some outstanding credit. At any rate opening a *šuqlum* was considered a fraudulent act, to be attributed to an *awīlum sarrum*.

In some cases, when all the loose tin was spent *en route*, it was unavoidable to use tin from the *šuqlātum*. In that case the superior could give permission to do so, cf. L 29-556—H. LEWY 1968, 7f.—15f.: *17 ma-na* AN.NA *i-mu-ta-tim ku-nu-ki-ni le-qé*, "take 17 minas of tin from the half-pack with our seals". Sometimes the transporter was expected to advance tin from his own funds (as the agent was asked to do in CCT 4, 20b), in which case one uses *ina rāminišu raddū'um* (cf. BIN 6, 77, 40f.). Other possibilities were to sell one or more textiles *en route* or to send the transporter some additional "hand-money" (both solutions are found in CCT 1, 38a).

3. THE SHAPE OF THE TIN: *riksum*

Little is known about the shape of the tin or the form in which it was wrapped in textiles. The only other word we meet in this connection besides *šuqlum*, is *riksum*. There is no unnanimity about the meaning of the word, and various proposals have been made.

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[66]) The same incident is mentioned in BIN 4, 61, 17-19 and L 29-560—H. LEWY 1968, 14f.—4-7: *ina ṭuppim ša Laqīp* [5] 6 1/3 *mana* AN.NA *ina* [6] *šuqlika* dNIN.ŠUBUR-*bāni* [7] *ilqīma*..

EL I p. 112[c] writes: "'Bund' oder 'Bündel', vgl. unser 'Schlüsselbund'. Demgemäss stelle ich den *riksum* der Kültepetexte zu den 'Sammelringen' oder 'Pfahlbaubörsen' der verschiedensten prähistorischen Fundstätten... und sehe in ihm einen grösseren Metallring, in den eine Anzahl kleinerer hingehängt waren, denen Geldeigenschaft zukam.". GARELLI *AC* 265[4] (with previous literature) following a suggestion of J. NOUGAYROL, proposes "torque", "qui convient au sens général (lien, noeud, etc.) et représente une forme bien connue de petits lingots.".

riksū of gold and silver range in weight from a few shekels to nearly two minas (CCT 5, 41a, 19 and 41b, 8), and are always smaller than *nēpišū* containing the same metals, which may weigh between 2-3 and 30 minas (GARELLI *AC* 226; LARSEN *OACP* 55 *ad* 9). There are indications that *nēpišū* could consist of several *riksū*; one text, TC 3/2, 171, 9-11, states that a *riksum* was put within a *nēpišum* (*illibbi nēpišim nadī*)[67]).

Whatever *nēpišū* may have been—probably not ingots—they do not occur in connection with tin. In some way one may compare *šuqlātum* as units of weight, current with tin, with *nēpišū* made up of silver, though the latter are not standardized in weight.

This may have been caused by the fact that the amounts of silver shipped to Aššur were of course much smaller and—apparently not being determined by the carrying capacity of the donkey—irregular, also because merchants joined their shipments of silver for reasons of economy and safety. Nevertheless there is a tendency to arrive at a round figure, like 5, 10, 15 minas etc.

The functional parallelism between *šuqlum* and *nēpišum* is even closer. Both were sealed (cf. for *nēpišum* i.a. CCT 5, 40b, 2 and 5), and opening them was called in both cases *paṭārum* (cf. for *nēpišum* CCT 2, 2, 6-8; kt c/k 583, 33). One moreover could place a *riksum* "inside" (*ina libbi*) or "on (top of)" (*ina pāni*) both (cf. for *šuqlum* KTS 28, 30ff. and BIN 6, 252, 6f., cf. rev. 1' f.: *nadā'um/šakānum ina pāni*; CCT 2, 2, 48f.: *ina libbi*; for *nēpišum* TC 3/2, 171, 9-12: *nadā'um ina libbi*, and TC 3/3, 207, 8f.: *nadā'um ina pāni*).

riksū with tin weighed between 5 and 15 minas. Cf. BIN 6, 252, 5f., where we are told that the load consists of 2 *šuqlātum*, weighing each 75 minas (above average!); but in (each) *šuqlum* a *riksum* of 15 minas has

[67]) Cf. GARELLI *AC* 266[2]; LARSEN *OACP* 52 *ad* 1, with literature. Cf. also CCT 5, 40a, a text dealing with a *nēpišum* of 5 minas of silver; later on 11 *riksū* are enumerated, without information about their weight, and there is reason to assume they were the contents of the afore mentioned *nēpišum*. A further argument for considering a *nēpišum* as a compositite item is the occurrence of *nēpišam mal'am*, "a full *nēpišum*" in KTS 1a, 15; one might also quote KTS 29a, 24 f.: *2 ½ mana* KÙ.BABBAR *ša ana mu-lá nēpišim ša A*, "2 ½ minas of silver to supplement the *nēpišum* of *A*."

been placed. The use of the preposition *ina pāni* suggests they were packed in the *šuqlum*, and protected by its seals, but nevertheless formed a separate unit.

Important for our understanding of *riksum* is BIN 4, 48, 21f., a text dealing with smuggling, to be discussed later in detail (p. 312). In order to smuggle tin into the city of Ḫurrama, the load has to be broken up into smaller units. Two alternatives are suggested: either the natives of the town should be called in to bring amounts of 1 talent each within the walls, or the personnel of the caravan should "make" packets (*riksū*) of 10 or 15 minas each and smuggle these on their bodies (*ina sunātim*) into the city. The procedure described in these lines does not favour in my opinion the translations of *riksum* proposed by Lewy and Garelli. It would have been unpractical if a load of 2 talents of tin had been made up exclusively of "Sammelringen" or "torques"; in fact the tin was not meant to function as money, but to be processed in the metallurgical centres to produce bronze.

From EL 259, 5ff. we learn that a quantity of ¾ shekel of gold could be "placed within" (*nadā'um ina libbi*) a *riksum* of 71 shekels of silver, and that this *riksum* was sealed, as is known also from other texts (EL 263, 13f.; TC 3/3, 209, 5f.; and the texts quoted in Garelli *AC* 266[4]). EL 315, 5ff. even mentions *kunukkī ippāni riksim*[68]). This suggests *riksum* was some kind of a packet or bundle consisting of wrapped up tin. CCT 3, 29, 36-37 even shows that also other valuable items, somehow packed, could be called *riksū*. The text enumerates in line 25f. 21 shekels of gold, 5 shekels *ḫitū*, pectorals, a silver cup, 28 shekels of silver, 32⅓ (?) shekels of carnelian, and 8 shekels of silver, "(all) *ilū*", and summarizes in lines 36-37: *mì-ma ri-ik-sú a-ni-ú-tim*, "all these *riksū*"[69]).

riksum consequently simply denotes something "tied up, bound together". One might compare the use of *rakāsum* "to bundle together" in ARM 8, 89, 14, where the objects are silver items, and "silver scrap" (*ṣimittu*; *CAD* Ṣ 199b, 6). In later periods *riksum* is once used to denote a "bundle (of scrap metal)", cf. *CAD* Ṣ 174a s.v. **ṣīdu* (NB).

The use of *riksum* unfortunately does not tell us much about the shape or form of the tin. Not much later, in the Mari texts, we see tin being traded in the form of slabs or plaques, *le'um*; in this case it weighs about

[68]) TC 3/1, 68, 21f. (cf. Hirsch *UAR*, 23[114] and below p. 43) mentions a bag "in which are to be found *riksū* with my seals" (*ša ašar riksū kunukkūa ibaššīūni*), and the writer makes the request (line 29) "to mark the seals with my name" (*ippāni kunukkī šūmī uddīā*).

[69]) The text reads from line 25: $^1/_3$ *ma-na* 1 GÍN KÙ.KI $1^1/_2$ *ma-na* 5 GÍN [26] *ḫi-tù ù tù-di-na-tum* [27] 1 *kà-sú-um* $^1/_3$! *ma-na* 8 GÍN KÙ. BABBAR [28] $^1/_2$! *ma-na* $2^1/_3$? GÍN *sà-am-tum* [29] 8 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *i-lu-ú*. Cf. for *ilum*, below *sub* 5, c).

7 minas (ARM 7, 1957, p. 294). It is possible that the situation in the OA period was not much different. But there are other forms of small ingots possible, *inter alia* the "torques" suggested by GARELLI.[70]) Copper ingots of various shapes were found in the Bronze Age shipwreck discovered at Cape Gelidonya: "oxhides", bars, and slabs. G. F. BASS suggests that the numerous slabs, always weighing about 1 kilogram, functioned as standard ingots or a kind of currency (cf. G. F. BASS et al., *Cape Gelidonya. A Bronze Age Shipwreck*, New York 1967, (Transact. Amer. Phil. Soc., N.S. Vol. 57/8), ch. V).

4. FURTHER DATA ON THE "TEXTILES FOR WRAPPING"

In a number of texts *ṣubātū ša liwītim* occur without any connection with "sealed tin", or the number of these textiles surpasses that required on the basis of the relation "4 textiles for wrapping for each donkey load of tin". In these cases the loose tin may have been wrapped in a textile, as perhaps in no. 30 of the Appendix. In those cases where 4-6 textiles—perhaps making one toppack—were added to the tin, these may have been wrapped in the textile, together with the loose tin, as for example in no. 74. The function of the additional ones in no. 104 and 109 (in both cases there are 4 extra "textiles for wrapping") is not clear. In no. 109 they may have been used to form the three top-packs mentioned.

Three texts, BIN 6, 50 (no. 34 of the list), GARELLI-KENNEDY 1960 no. 4 (no. 109) and CCT 5, 36a, mention great numbers of "textiles for wrapping" while tin is not represented. The texts enumerate respectively 141, 342 and 462 textiles, of which respectively 30, 30 and 24 are for wrapping. It is unlikely that they were used for packing the other textiles, because the number of textiles packed in one "textile for wrapping" would vary from 3½ to 18. The texts in fact are not caravan accounts, showing the composition of the load, but rather secondary accounts, drawn up in connection with the paying of the taxes. The first two texts mention how many textiles had to be deposited as tax, and how many became available for sale. In this connection the "textiles for wrapping" are mentioned separately, because, as the second text tells *expressis verbis* in line 16f., these pieces were not liable to the import-tax. The third text is a personal memorandum, stating which textiles belong to or are kept by several persons. The

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[70]) Another candidate for a kind of ingot is *ruqqum*, "thin slice/slab", cf. NEUGEBAUER-SACHS, *MCT* 138-9 ("Excursus on *ruqqum*"). H. LEWY, *OrNS* 18, 1949, 161 believes *ruqqum* is the shape in which also tin was produced and traded; cf. A. GOETZE, *JAOS* 65, 1945, 234, *ad* 60. LANDSBERGER 1967, 193 with note 1 rejects this idea.

most natural explanation is that the "textiles for wrapping" had been used, as normal, for packing the tin, but after arrival of the caravan were simply added on the account to the remaining pieces, because both were eventually meant for sale. That "textiles for wrapping" were sold like other ones can be learned *inter alia* from BIN 4, 61, 28 f. (LARSEN *OACP* 122 f., "Type 3:11"). This leaves the problem of why these textiles, being sold like the other ones, were not liable to taxes unsolved. One can hardly imagine they were exempted from taxation because they were in general of less fine quality (*šurum*-textiles were taxed). Perhaps they were somehow considered as "second-handed", having been used for wrapping, which may have caused some damage.

Various kinds of textiles were used for wrapping, as is clear from p. 29 *sub* 2). Besides simple TÚG/*ṣubātum* we find:

kutānum: CCT 4, 11b, 6; 23a, 14; 5, 29a, 2; 39b, 14; TC 2, 13, 5; 3/1, 21, 5; 72,5; TuM I, 2b, 5; ICK 1, 188, 5; GARELLI 1965, 164, no. 27, 9. One might add those cases where the texts mention *x kutānū qādum ša liwītim* (nos. 5, 49, 117, 119, 140, 162 and 171 in the *Appendix*). This is clear from the addition made in BIN 4, 27, 22.

šurum: CCT 2, 4a, 6; 3, 4, 8; 4, 23a, 13; 5, 5a, 4; BIN 4, 29, 34; 6, 63, 3; 79, 4; 112, 6; TuM I, 26b, 3. Cf. BIN 4, 61, 4: *20* TÚG *šurūtum qādī ša liwītim*. This kind of textile was especially suitable for wrapping, as is clear from texts in which *šurum*, without further specification, serves for wrapping: nos. 7 and 85 in the *Appendix*; moreover CCT 3, 10, 10; EL no. 181, 19 (*2* TÚG *šurān* for 65 minas on tin); BIN 6, 255, 7′ (a similar case). CCT 3, 4, 7f. mentions *4* TÚG *šurūtum ša liwītim kabtūtum*, "4 heavy *šurum*-textiles for wrapping"[71]). Cf. ATHE 51, 2′: *2* TÚG *kabtēn* [*ša liwī*]*tim*.

GARELLI 1957, HG 74, 10 mentions *1* TÚG SIG_5 *ša liwītim*.

This enumeration shows that the most frequent types of textiles (*ṣubātū*; *kutānū*), were also used for wrapping purposes, besides the *šurum*-textile which in general was somewhat cheaper and perhaps somewhat coarser (cf. for this textile in detail below p. 154, 4). One may conclude that in general there was no great difference between textiles meant for sale from the beginning, and those used, temporarily, for wrapping. The latter also were eventually sold, as noted above. This provides a strong argument for considering the *ṣubātū* in general not as finished garments, but as more or less standardized sheets of textile, which could serve different purposes.

[71]) The word order shows that *ṣubātum ša liwītim* was considered as a unity, a kind of *compositum*, to which an adjective could be appended.

These conclusions are confirmed by the prices of these "textiles for wrapping" mentioned in some texts. Two texts mention purchase prices in Aššur: BIN 4, 30, 21: 6¼ shekels of silver for TÚG *ša līwitim*; GARELLI 1965, 164 no. 27, 9-10: 7 shekels for *kutānū ša liwītim*. The following sale prices are mentioned:
BIN 4, 61, 28: 15 shekels a piece for TÚG *šurū ša liwītim*;
BIN 6, 63, 7: 15 shekels for one (or two?) TÚG *šurum ša liwītim*;
CCT 4, 23a, 18: 13 minas of copper for one TÚG *šurum ša liwītim*;[72])
TC 3/1, 72, 14: 10 or 11 shekels for *kutānū ša liwītim*.
These prices do not differ substantially from those known for other textiles of the same type, cf. below p. 82ff.

5. BAGS AND CONTAINERS

a) *naruqqum*

naruqqum plays an important part in OA texts. It occurs in three different meanings: a) (leather) bag, in which merchandise is shipped; b) the bag in which the merchant kept his funds, a meaning evolving into "business-capital", "commercial funds", as such the equivalent of OB *kīsum*, and serving as a name for a typical OA form of commercial enterprise, called "*naruqqum*-enterprise"[73]); c) "sack, bag" as a measure of capacity for grain[74]). We are only concerned with the first meaning in this paragraph, because leather sacks were frequently used for packing merchandise, especially textiles.

naruqqātum were part of the equipment of a caravan, and could be bought for that purpose as the following texts show:

BIN 4, 226, 14: purchase of two "bags" (no price mentioned), followed by data concerning export-tax and loose tin;
BIN 4, 130, 6: 1 shekel for (2?) "bags" (besides payments for the rent of wagons and oil);
BIN 6, 65, 15: 1½ shekel for (3?) "bags" (besides purchase of a donkey, harness and payment of export-tax);

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[72]) This is equal to about 6 shekels of silver, cf. the calculation of GARELLI *AC* 287. More prices of textiles expressed in copper are found in BIN 4, 88, 11 (2 textiles for 37 minas); BIN 4, 148, 5f. (117 for 5½ talents) and CCT 5, 38a, 31 (one good textile for 30 minas).

[73]) Cf. LANDSBERGER 1940, 20f.; *EL* II p. 86f., 101[a], 102[a]; H. LEWY, *JAOS* 67, 1947, 308; W. F. LEEMANS, *The Old Babylonian Merchant*, 1950, 31[99]; GARELLI *AC* 251f.; LARSEN *OACP* 74[28].

[74]) H. LEWY, *JAOS* 76, 1956, 201; H. LEWY 1964, 190f.; LEWY 1959, 218[2].

CCT 1, 31a, 6: one "bag" for ½ shekel (besides hire of a donkey-driver and ¼ shekel for harness);
TC 1, 47, 9: one "bag" for ⅓ shekel (besides export-tax and loose tin);
VAT 9218, 12 f.: 26 shekels for "bags and donkey harness".
An average price of ½ shekel of silver for one bag emerges.

Bags were especially used for the packing of textiles:

BIN 6, 185, 1ff.: one bag for six textiles;
EL 145, 1f.: 51 bags for 317 textiles (263 *kutānū*; 31 extra fine; 23 *lubūšū* and Akkadian textiles), and 9 bags for 43 textiles (mainly *kusiātum*); this means 1 bag for 5-6 textiles;
ICK 1, 153, 13f. "I opened the bag.... and took your textiles"; according to line 7 it contained 5 textiles;
TuM I, 27c, 1ff.: 36 textiles packed in 7 bags; about 5 textiles each bag.
TC 3/2, 128A, 4f.: "one bag into which 15 Akkadian textiles had been stowed";
TC 3/2, 175, 1ff.: *8 naruqqātum* ² *6* [TÚG].TA *kutānū* ³ *1* TÚG *lu-bu-⟨šu⟩-um 13* TÚG *kutānū* ⁴ *4* TÚG *šurūtum aḫamma* (written between the lines) *darkū 1* TÚG *šurum* ⁵ ŠU.NIGIN$_2$ *60* TÚG *kutānū ù* 5 TÚG ⁶ *šurūtum*," 8 bags, containing each 6 *kutānū*-[textiles]; 1 *lubūšum*, 13 *kutānū*-textiles and 4 *šurum*-textiles have been packed separately (in?) one *šurum-textile*. In all 60 *kutānū*-textiles and 5 *šurum*-textiles." Thus bags with 6 *kutānū*.
LB 1268: ¹ *i-na iš-té-et* ² *na-ru-qí-im 10* TÚG *ṣú-ba-tù* ³ *ša qá-tim 1 ra-qú-tum* ⁴ *1 ku-sí-tum da-ar-ku* ⁵ *i-na ša-ni-tim na-ru-qí-im* ⁶ *3 a-bar-ni-ú 2 ku-ta-nu* ⁷ SIG$_5$ *i-na ša-li-iš-tim* ⁸ *na-ru-qí-im* ⁹ *4* SIG$_5$ *2 qá-ab-li-ú-tum* ¹⁰ *da-ar-ku* ¹¹ *i-na ḫa-mì-iš-tim* ¹² *na-ru-qí-im* ¹³ *3 bu-ra-ú* ¹⁴ *2 ni-ib-ra-ru* ¹⁵ *ša a-bi-im 1* DÍ-ZA-BU *ú* ¹⁶ *pi-ri-kà-nu-um* ¹⁷ «*1 pi-ri-kà*» *wa-dí-um* ¹⁸ *da-ar-ku*. We refrain from translating this text, and refer for the names of the various textiles to chapter VIII. The four bags mentioned in the text (it jumps from "the third bag", l. 5, to "the fifth bag" in line 11) contain respectively 12, 5, 6 and 7 textiles; those of the first bag are of "normal quality", the second and third bag contain expensive textiles, the fourth an assortment of various textile products, whose value and quality is not well known[75]).

[75]) Some other miscellaneous occurrences of *naruqqum* are: EL 143, 18: *2 naruqqīn ša liwītim*, qualifying them as packing material; ICK 1, 135, 13: *12 naruqqātim*, which have to be sealed and dispatched; KTS 59d, 11′: payment of 1 shekel of silver to smuggle a *naruqqum* (full of merchandise, presumably textiles). Various objects could be stored or shipped in *naruqqātum*: beerbread (*bappirum*): BIN 6, 6, 9; *libārum*-nuts, BIN 6, 218, 5f.; and *dulbātum*: CCT 4, 5a, 18; OIP 27, 58, 31; ICK 2, 299, 14′.

We may tentatively draw the conclusion that in general bags contained 5-6 textiles, with notable exceptions of 15 and 12 textiles. Were the latter bags of double capacity, or were the textiles in question smaller or thinner? A comparison between the texts BIN 6, 65 and TC 1, 47 (already quoted) is informative, showing what differences existed. Both texts (called a) and b) here) deal with one donkey-load of textiles. The figures are:

	textiles	price in silver	loose tin	export-tax	bags	price bags
a)	22	180 shekels	175 shekels	2 shekels	2+x	$1^1/_2$ shekel
b)	21	61 shekels	120 shekels	½ shekel	1	$^1/_3$ shekel

The main difference consists of the price and quality of the textiles. In b) these are textiles of various kinds: *raqqātum*, *šilipkīū*, *takuštā'ū* and *lubūšū*, with a (low) average price of ca. 3 shekels of silver; in a) they cost about three times as much. In b) only one bag is used, in a) probably 3 or 4 (the text simply mentions *naruqqātum*, which suggests at least three bags, but the price allows four). One is tempted to draw the conclusion that the more expensive textiles were packed more carefully, but we have to wait for more evidence.

Anyhow it is clear that bags were used for packing textiles on a large scale, just as "textiles for wrapping" were used for tin, but not so systematically. A text like VAT 9252 may mention in line 5 "hides and *pirikannū*-textiles", but goes on to speak of "the bag and the hides" in lines 7-8.

Mrs H. LEWY in her article of 1964, quoted above, p. 185, supposes that the cheaper textiles (by this she means the textiles qualified as *ša qātim*) were simply wrapped in *ṣubātū ša liwītim*, while the more expensive ones were put in bags. The texts quoted above disprove this hypothesis. Another question is how these bags were transported. There is no clear evidence to solve this question, but it seems likely they were normally put into the *muttātum*, or were shipped as *ēlīātum*. It is not clear what VAT 9254, just quoted, means when saying: [7] ...*naruqqam* [8] *u maškī ištēniš lilwiūšunuma*....*lublūnim*, "let them wrap the bag and the hides together (thus forming one pack) and bring them to me"[76]).

b) *k/qulk/qullum*

Some information about the way in which the textiles were put into the bags may be obtained by studying the word KU-*ul*-KU-*lu-um*. It occurs in TC 1,16, quoted above in note 7; in line 11f. the writer warns his addressees not to load another *k.* on his donkeys, and he continues in line

[76]) Probably the bag and hides (fleeces?) in this case made up one packet.

15ff.: "if you add another 13 bags with/consisting of your *k.*'s to my top-packs, you maltreat the donkeys" (cf. also line 24 where the author repeats these words, but omits *naruqqātum*, "bags", this time). The combination between *naruqqum* and *k.* also occurs in KUG 7 (= EL 146), 32: *2 na-ru-qí-in ša* KU-*ul*-KU-*li*; and TC 3/2, 113, 11f.: *2* TÚG *ša na-ru-qá-tim ša* KU-*ul*-KU-*li-a*. TC 1, 40 rev. 2′ (a letter from the "envoys of the City and the *kārum* Kaniš" to "our messenger") deals with the question of whether the local ruler "will give free the *k.*, yes or no" (KU-*ul*-KU-*li ú-šar lá ú-šar*).

The word is not mentioned either in *CAD* or *AHw* s.v. *gulgullum* or *gugull(ān)u*, but *AHw* s.v. *kulkull(ān)u* refers to *qulqull(ān)u*. I am inclined to regard this word (to be written with a double final *l*, on account of the writing KU-*ul*-KU-*ul-li-ku-nu* in TC 1, 16, 24) as derived from a stem *gll/kll*, "to go around in a circle", and propose as its meaning something like "roll"[77]). That textiles were put in bags and loaded after having been rolled would make very good sense, and could account for the use of *k.* alone without *naruqqum* in some texts.

c) *īlum*

Another container or (leather) bag was called *īlum* (*CAD* I/J 104a). Its contents could be of many kinds. Most informative is CCT 3,29, already quoted in note 69. We learn from it that an *īlum* was sealed (lines 22ff.: *īlam* [23] *kunukkī ša A u B* [24] *nipṭurma*; cf. lines 32ff.: *ašar* [33] *kunukkī ša īlim* [34] *ša A u B* [35] *iknukma*), that many precious objects of silver and gold were kept in *īlū*, and that they were locked away in the "sealed room" (*maknukum*, line 11) of the house. According to TC 3/3,273 two *nēpišū* with 40 minas of silver could only be deposited in somebody's house, after they had been placed in an *īlum*, and it had been sealed before witnesses (cf. *EL* II 114; the text is translated as EL no. 330a). Several texts show that copper could be kept or shipped in *īlū* (cf. *CAD* I/J *loc.cit.*; moreover CCT 2, 40a, 4ff. mentioning 3 *īlātum* with 5 talents of copper). According to BIN 6, 94, 8ff. *īlātum* belonged to a series of items like "donkeys, *īlātum*, harness, wagons" and the words ANŠE.ḪI.A [9] *i-lá-tim* [10] *ú-nu-sú-nu* might even suggest that *ilātum* belonged to the harness of the donkeys. In CCT 1, 15a, 7ff. we find them beside *naruqqātum* and a bag called *luppum* (cf. *AHw* 564a) in a curiously abbreviated writing: *7 lu-pu 4 na-ru-qá 7 i-lu*; together these bags contained 148 textiles [78]).

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[77]) Prof. FRANKENA refers me to YOS 10, 56, III 14: DIŠ *iz-bu-um ki-ma ku-ul-ku-ul-lu ša* [*x*]*-šu e-li-ḫa*; E. LEICHTY, *TCS* 4, 1970, 206[43] takes *kulkullu* as 'cassia'; cf. for the verb also *CAD* E 80a, 1. Theoretically *kulkullum* could be a reduplicated noun from the root *kūl*, but this yields only a general meaning like "container".

[78]) Cf. HECKER *GKT* § 65a, who takes *naruqqā* as stat. abs. plur. fem.

Important is the observation made by MATOUŠ 1969, 160[12] and 176 *ad* A 13, that while OIP 27, 57, 12f. and 19 uses the words *šitā īlīn ša* URUDU its parallels BIN 6, 220, 8 and LANDSBERGER 1940 no. 1., 9 write *šitā šuqlātim ša* URUDU [79]). Unfortunately we are not told how much copper the two packets or bags contained. There is a slight possibility that the alternation is due to the fact that in this particular case one *īlum* contained as much copper as a *šuqlum* normally tin. The capacity of one *īlum*, however, could be much bigger; in CCT 2, 40a, 4ff. one *īlum* contains 100 minas of copper.

6. THE SEALING OF THE BAGS AND THE TEXTILES

Bags with textiles could be sealed, like the packets of tin (*šuqlum*, above p. 30; *riksum*, above p. 33). For seals on *īlātum* I refer to CCT 3, 29, 22ff. and TC 3/3, 273, 8ff., mentioned *sub* 5, c. Seals on *naruqqātum* are attested in ICK 2, 151, 1ff.: *4 naruqqātim ša* [*x*] [2] *kutānī kunukkī ša A*, "4 bags with x *kutānū*-textiles, with the seals of A"; and in TC 2, 28, 22ff.: [*x*+] *1 naruqqātim A* [23] DUMU *B iṣbat* [24] [*a*]*šar C* [25] [*kunuk*]*kūšu ibaššiū*, "x+1 bags A, son of B, took; they are with C under his seals" (the bags contained 160 textiles according to line 18).

The sealing of the bags served the purpose of safeguarding their contents and identifying their owners. The sealing most probably consisted of attaching a clay bulla, on which a seal was impressed, to the rope(s) by means of which the bag was tied up.

Various texts simply state that textiles have been "sealed", and this may have two meanings: either the bags in which the textiles are shipped or kept are provided with sealed clay bullas, or the textiles themselves are somehow sealed.

The texts we have to quote in this connection not only use *kanākum*, "to seal" and *kunukkū'a*, "with my seals", *ša kunukkīšu*, "under his seals" etc., but also the verb *waddū'um* (inf. D), "to mark". Its meaning according to *CAD* I/J 30a, 4 is "to mark, to inform, to make known, reveal, to recognize, identify, to assign". LANDSBERGER (*JNES* 20, 1961, 175) narrows it down to "to determine" (Sum. zu . zu) and "to make recognisable by means of a characteristic sign (Merkmal)" (Sum. giškim . zu . zu, cf. LANDSBERGER, *WdO* 3, 1964, 69 [82]). The latter meaning obviously applies in our texts. The verb is used with a single acc. object and a prepositional adjunct: *šūmam waddū'um ina* (*pāni*) *x*, "to mark a name on (the surface/front of) object x" (cf. TC 3/1, 68, 29f., quoted below); but

[79]) Also BIN 6, 188—belonging to the same dossier, though not mentioned by MATOUŠ—has in lines 6′ and 11′ *īlīn*.

it is also construed with a double acc. object: *ṣubātam šūmam waddū'um*, "to mark a textile with a name, to mark a name on a textile" (cf. e.g. TuM I, 1c, 5ff., in a passive transformation), to be quoted below.

The simple "sealing of textiles" is attested in CCT 4, 50a, 49 (TÚG *ta-ak-nu-uk-ma*...) and KTB 2, 3ff. (3 TÚG *ku-ti-nu* [4] *ša A* [5] *ša i-na ku-nu-uk* [6] *B* [7] *kà-an-ku-ni*, "3 *kutīnū*-textiles of A, sealed with B's seal") [80]). Cf. also references for "textiles with the seals of PN" in CCT 2, 4b, 5; 26a, 11; TC 3/3, 201, 1, et al.

The expression "to mark textiles with a seal" is attested in KTH 13, 28ff.: *šu-ma*.... [29] ....*ṣú-ba-tù-a* [30] *i-ta-ar-du-nim* [*ku*]-*nu-ki* [31] *ú-dí-a-ma*, "if ... my textiles come down (from the palace), mark them with my seal"; also ICK 1, 2, 8ff.: *a-ma-lá dí-in kà-ri-im* [9] TUR GAL TÚG.ḪI-*tí ku-nu-ki-kà* [10] *ù-dí-ma a-na* DUMU *um-me-a-nim* [11] *lu ni-ip-qí-id-ma*.., "mark the textiles with your seal according to the verdict of the *kārum* in plenary session, so that we can entrust them to a commission-agent". One may compare CCT 5, 34c, 1f.: *66* TÚG *ku-ta-nu* [2] KIŠIB *A lá-áp-tù*!, "66 *kutānū*-textiles, impressed (lit. "inscribed") with A's seal".

"To mark a textile with somebody's name" is found e.g. in TuM I, 1c, 5ff.: *6* TÚG [6] SIG_5-*tim ku-nu-ki-a ša* [7] *šu-mì A* [8] *wa-du-ú-ni ša* [9] *A*, "6 textiles of good quality, with my seals, which are marked with the name of A as A's property". The text shows that *šūmam waddū'um* is not necessarily identical to *kunukkam waddū'um*, "to mark with a seal", as the textiles marked with a name in TuM I, 1c have already been provided with a seal. We have to assume that the clay bullas attached to the bag or the textiles themselves carried not only a seal impression of the person who had packed and sent them, but also the name of the merchant or owner involved, or even the name of the recipient or consignee of the lot. One might compare the use of the expression in connection with the address of a letter in TuM I, 3d, 4ff.: *našpertī panītam* [5] *ša A ú B* [6] *ú-du-ú-ni B* [7] *šašmēma*, "read my previous letter, which was marked with (the names of) A and B (as addressees) to B", cf. *CAD* I/J 30a, 4, a. Of course "marking with a name" should not necessarily be done by means of an inscription on a clay bulla; the expression is used in various contexts and frequently means that in a letter or deed a specific name should be written [81]). One might suppose that in the case of TuM I, 1c, "marked with

[80]) *AHw* 434b s.v. *kanākum* 1, b, mentions BIN 4, 5, 22ff.: *kusītum ina kunukkē* ... *kankat*; but in line 22 we most probably have to read: *ma-ṣár*!*-tum*, "the safe (... is sealed)", the sign ZUR (*Syllabar*^{2} no. 255) being used here in OA with the value *ṣur* or *ṣár* (only attested in texts from Syria). Cf. for the expression *maṣṣartum kankat* CCT 3, 30, 38-40.

[81]) Cf. the references in *CAD* I/J 30f. *sub* 4, a-c. Rather frequent is the expression *šūmi tamkārim waddū'um*, "to mark (with) the name of *tamkārum*", used whenever

A's name" in fact means that on the document accompanying the shipment (the way-bill or transport contract) A is mentioned as the owner. But there is evidence that one did write on the sealed clay bullas too, and that the textiles themselves were marked in such a way that the name of the owner could be identified.

For an inscription on a clay sealing I refer to TC 3/1, 68, 21ff.; the text deals with the 'seals' attached to packets of metal (*riksū*) : *na-ru-qam* [22] *ša a-šar ri-ik-sú* [23] *ku-nu-ku-a i-ba-ši-ú-ni* [24] *ku-um-ra-am er-ša-ma* [25] *ku-nu-ki-a am-ra-ma pu-uṭ-ra-ma* [26] *a-na tí-ri be-e-lim* [27] *ri-ik-sà-am ša* GUŠKIN [28] *šu-uk-na-ma ku-un-kà-ma* [29] *i-pá-ni ku-nu-ki šu-mì* [30] *ú-dí-a*, "ask the bag, in which (lit.: where) are the *riksū* under my seals, from the priest, and inspect and open my seals and place the *riksum* containing gold in the fund(?; or: under the watch?) of the "Lord" and seal it and mark my name on (the front of) the seals". In this case an inspection of the 'seals' makes it possible to select a special *riksum* from among a bigger group; and when this *riksum* after having been opened is sealed again the name of the sender of the letter has to be marked on the 'seals' (clay sealings), identifying him as the owner [82]). In this case the clay sealings should have contained information about the contents of the *riksum* (items, number, weight?) and the owner. When the *riksum* (after a check?) is sealed again the name of the owner is marked on the sealings, presumably because those who sealed it used their own seals, which did safeguard the contents, but failed to indicate clearly whose *riksum* it was.

The evidence that the textiles themselves were marked to identify their owners is contained in two texts. KTS 10, 12ff. reads: *sí-sí-kà-tim* [13] *ša* TÚG.ḪI.A *ku-nu-tí* [14] *ša ki-ma i-a-tí* [15] *wa-dí-a*, "mark the hems of the textiles with your names (lit.: yourselves; pers. pron. 2nd plur. acc. in a construction with a double acc.) as my representatives". BIN 4, 8, 8ff. states: *a-ma 6 ku-ta-nu* [9] *ša* [f]*A* TÚG-*ba-tù* [10] *ú-la ša* DUMU.SAL *B* [11] TÚG-*ba-tù ša C ù* [12] *i-na sí-sí-kà-at* TÚG-*ba-tí šu-mì-i* [14] *D* [15] *ú-la wa-du-ú* [16] *a-na E* DUB DAM.GÀR [17] *lá-áp-tù*, "(I told you): here are 6 *kutānū*-textiles of [f]A; these textiles are not the property of B's daughter (= [f]A); they belong

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the owner or creditor wished to remain anonymous (in view of the possibility of ceding debts and claims), when the ownership was in dispute because of unsettled claims or distress, or when the situation as to the ownership was complicated and one simply wrote "the (eventual) creditor". Texts in which this expression or its variants occur have been distributed by the *CAD* loc. cit. over three entries (a, b, c 1), but should all be grouped under one heading (cf. also the criticism of LANDSBERGER of the treatment of *waddū'um* in *CAD*, quoted above).

[82]) Cf. for this text HIRSCH *UAR* 23 [114]. I do not follow his interpretation of *ša ašar* in line 22; I take these words as a subjunction with a locative force, with a seemingly redundant *ša*, also occasionally attested in OB Mari, cf. FINET, *L'Accadien*.. 232, c. HECKER *GKT* § 150a does not mention this use of *ša ašar*.

to C, but as D's name (probably fA's agent or transporter) was not marked on the hems of the textiles, they have been recorded for E on the tablet of the *tamkārum*".

As it seems unlikely that *sissiktum* denotes the ropes by means of which a packet or bag of textiles was tied up, or even the "textiles for wrapping" in which at times also textiles were packed, we have to assume that the single pieces of textile were marked by means of a clay sealing (with a seal impression and/or the name of the owner written out), attached to their hems. In KTS 10 the expression is used in connection with a lot of 20 pieces, shipped for commercial purposes. It is not easy to make out whether in those texts which simply speak of "sealing textiles" the sealing of the packets or bags is meant or the treatment of the single pieces. The situation consequently is more complex than with regard to the packets of tin, and the reasons for "sealing" single pieces of textile, also when they were shipped as packets or in bags, remain obscure.

7. *darākum*

To describe the packing of textiles one normally uses the verb *darākum*, a verb which, except for a single D-form (*tudarrak*, cf. *CAD* D 108b), occurs only in OA. Most frequent is the permansive, which we have already met in texts describing the contents of the *naruqqātum*. It may be stated that a number of textiles have been "packed" in a bag, as LB 1268, 1-10 and TuM I, 27c, 1-8 put it. The latter text reads: *36* TÚG.ḪI.A 2 *ša A* 3 *ša iš-tù* 4 *Za-al-pá* 5 *ub-lu-ni-ni* 6 *i-na 7* 7 *na-ru-qá-tim* 8 *dar-ku*, "the 36 textiles, belonging to A, which one brought hither from Zalpa, are packed in 7 bags" (cf. for LB 1268 above p. 38). VAT 9256, 1-4 (quoted above p. 25) states that textiles are packed in half-packs and top-packs. They also write that some textiles "have been packed separately" (*aḫamma darkū*): TC 3/2,175, 4 and CCT 2, 34, 9; or that textiles "are packed among (together with)" other textiles (*ina libbi....darik/darkū*): BIN 6, 202, 35 and CCT 2, 4a, 26.

One also finds a phrase like *x ṣubātū darkū*, in apposition to the bag or container in which they are packed (the latter being in the nom.); cf. e.g. TC 3/2, 128A, 4ff.: *1 naruqqum* 5 *15* TÚG *ša akkadīē* 6 *da-ar-ku* (cf. above p. 38); CCT 5, 29a, 4ff.: *12 muttātum ša kib/pšim* 5 *3 ēliātum* 6 *1 mē'at 57 kutānū darkū* (cf. above p. 25). A fientic form is found only once in the interesting text TC 2, 28, 17ff.: TÚG.ḪI.A. *nu-na-pì-iš-ma* 18 *1 me-at 60* TÚG.ḪI.A 19 *ni-id-ru-uk-šu-nu-ma....* 21 *ni-zi-ib-šu-nu*, "we aired the textiles and thereupon we packed 160 textiles ... and left them behind" [83]).

[83]) The translation of *nappušum* with "to air" follows *CAD* Ṣ 223a, c', and not

In these contexts *darākum* clearly means something like "to pack". It is tempting to accept an etymological and semantic relation with Hebrew *dārak*, "to tread, to trample", inter alia used for "to thread" the wine-press, "to ram down" the soil, and "to string" the bow, by using the feet [84]). The verb could indicate a strenuous effort to reduce the volume of the textiles to be shipped to a bare minimum, by rolling and pressing them, to make the most of the carrying capacity of the donkeys. Perhaps "to stow" would be a good translation.

8. "A DONKEY-LOAD"

To conclude this chapter we may summarise what is known about "a donkey-load". We may state that a donkey in many cases carried the following items: its harness; ca. 130 minas of tin, wrapped in four "textiles for wrapping" and packed in two half-packs; 10-12 minas of loose tin and 4-6 textiles, perhaps together in one top-pack; some private property of the freighter, and some food. Starting from an average weight of 5 minas for textiles (cf. below p. 89f., a), such a load amounts to some 180-190 minas, plus the last two items, whose weight is unknown. A donkey consequently carried at least some 90 kilos, a conclusion which agrees with the figures computed by Mrs H. LEWY (1964, 186), and modern military data on donkey transport (ibid.). When the load consisted almost exclusively of textiles, the weight may have been at least some 10-15 kilos smaller, but the size will have been greater. The fact, observed above, that one did add small quantities of tin to a load of textiles, or some textiles to a standard load of tin, shows one tried to make an optimal use of the carrying capacity of the animals.

AHw 737a ("(Wolle) auszupfen"), because the latter meaning makes no sense in the context.

[84]) Cf. W. BAUMGARTNER, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum A.T.*, Lief. I, Leiden 1967, 222a.

EXCURSUS I

DEFICIENCIES ON SILVER AND COPPER

I. SILVER

The texts mention the following deficiencies (*muṭā'ū*) on silver, here calculated in percentages:

0,3%: GARELLI 1965, 164, no. 27, 17 (2½ shekels on 15 minas)
0,6%: GARELLI 1964, 67, Sch. II, 5f. (4 shekels on 11½ minas)
0,82%: VAT 9218, 7 (½ mina on 1 talent)
1,0%: CCT 5, 38a, 3 (1½ shekel on 2½ minas)
1,25%: TC 3/2, 171, 1f. (⅓ mina on 27 minas)
2.1%: CCT 2, 2, 9 (20⅔ shekels on 16 minas)
2,2%: CCT 3, 27a, 8 (⅔ mina on 30 minas)
6,0%: TC 3/1, 36, 18f. (1 mina on 15 minas 37 shekels) [85])

The two possibilities mentioned above in connection with the deficiencies on tin should be considered again in trying to account for the occurrences of these *muṭā'ū*: a) loss of weight or volume, either *en route* or on arrival in Anatolia; b) a lack of co-ordination between the weights used in Aššur and Anatolia.

a) *Losses through refining and casting*

Loss of weight or reduction of volume are mentioned *expressis verbis* in a number of texts. They show that it was not unusual to purify or refine amounts of silver arriving from Anatolia in Aššur, in order to produce the frequently mentioned "refined silver" (*kaspum ṣarrupum*). In this connection we meet the word *ṣarrupūtum*, translated as "refining (procedure)" in *CAD* Ṣ 114b. The word seems to be an abstract-formation from a permansive/verbal adj. of the D-stem, a formation not mentioned either in *GAG* or HECKER *GKT* [86]). It is attested in CCT 3, 41a, 3f. (cf. *CAD* loc.

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[85]) The extra high percentage in this case is due to the fact that the deficiency is caused by a mistake in weighing (cf. above p. 21f.).

[86]) There exist various abstract nouns formed from the D-stem. We have abstract formations from participles D, like *mu'errūtum* (*AHw* 667a), *mukinnūtum* (*AHw* 670a; reference Prof. FRANKENA), *munaggirūtum* (672a); in these cases the well known designation of a person by the participle provides the base for the abstract formation. We also have some nouns derived from verbs which only occur in the D-stem, like *kullumūtum* (*AHw* 504a; reference Prof. FRANKENA; cf. also

cit.): *a-šu-mì* [4] *1 ma-na 6* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR [5] *ṣa-ru-pu-tám ša il*$_5$*-qí-ú-ni*, "as for the 1 mina 6 shekels of silver ..... which he took", and *ibidem* 1.14ff.: "(first) take the oath, [15] both of you, *ú ṣa-ru-pu-tám* [16] *li-qí-a*." Whether the meaning is in both cases "(silver) (subject to later) refining" as *CAD* loc. cit. translates is doubtful, especially as l.10 mentions an earlier promise under oath to take refined silver (*kaspam ṣarrupam*). The word occurs moreover in a metallurgical context, together with *muṭā'ū*, in the heavily damaged text CCT 4, 50a, 22ff., which may be transliterated as follows: [87] [*x x*] *i-na i-ší-*[*ra-tim*] [23] *x x 1¼* GÍN *im-*[*ṭí x x x*] [24] *ṣa-ru-pu-ti*[*m*] [*x x x x x*] [25] *ki-ib-sá-*[*tim x x x x*] [26] *7⅙* GÍN.T[A *x x x x x*] [27] *ṣa-ru-pí-im* [*x x x x x*] [28] *7 ma-na 4*[+*x*?] GÍN *x x x*] [29] *mu-ṭá* KÙ.BABBAR-*pí-*[*kà x x x x*] [30] *ša ṣa-ru-pu-tim a-ḫ*[*u-ur x x x*]. It is impossible to translate these fragmentary lines, but it is clear that the text deals with the purification of silver, and in this context mentions "a deficiency" or a "loss of weight" of the silver [88].

LABAT, *Calendrier*.., 87[3]) and *kunnūtum* (*AHw* 507a; from *kanū* D). Formations from verbs well attested in the G-stem are rather rare; apart from *ṣarrupūtum* I can only mention *murraqūtum* (*AHw* 676a) and perhaps *bullūtum* (*CAD* B 311a; *AHw* 137a derives this noun from *belūm* D, and translates "Zersetzung?"). It is known that a great variety of nominal and verbal forms may serve as a base for abstract formations, but the exact meaning of the various nouns is not always clear; is in *ṣarrupūtum* the fientic aspect predominant, yielding "refining (procedure)" (*CAD*) or should we start from the permansive aspect "state of being refined'? A special investigation of Akkadian abstract formations, which remains a *desideratum*, could solve this question.

[87]) Mr. C. B. F. WALKER of the British Museum kindly collated some lines of this text, but nevertheless its understanding remains very fragmentary.

[88]) Besides the clear *ṣarrupum* in line 27, I call attention to the words *iširtum* and *kibsātum*. Though it is impossible to comment here on the complex metallurgical terminology—which would be worth a special investigation—some remarks are in order. Cf. for *iširtum/iširātum* (not found in *CAD* I/J or E) TC 2, 14, 17ff.: *5* GÍN *ina iširātim imṭī*; EL 116,14: *ina i-ší-ir*!*-tim* ⅔ GÍN *imṭī*; also ICK 1, 171, 3f. and CCT 4, 11b, 5f. There should be a close relation with the phrase *ina* [*i*?-]*ší-ra-tim imṭī* in KTP 45,3'f. and CCT 4, 4a, 42f. (occurring with *muṭā'ū* in a clearly metallurgical context). As for the meaning of this expression, one may derive *iširtum* from *ašārum*, "to check(?)", cf. *ašir* in RIFTIN no. 50, 1f. (*CAD* A 59, 4, d), and connect it with *aširtum*, "checking" (*CAD* B 306a s.v. *buginnu*, lex. section; *CAD* A, 2, 440a, *aširtu* C), and *mišertum*, "Normalmass" (*MSL* 2, 130, 15); *AHw* 394b, s.v. *išertum* III, "normale Menge"(?). The phrase perhaps denotes the normalizing and finishing of the cast silver, which of course causes some losses (cf. EDZARD 1970, 188, no. 191, where he translates *aširtum* as "Nachprüfungsergebnis"; note *isniq* in line 5). As for *kibsātum*, one may refer to the investigation of BALKAN 1967, where he translates this word on 412 with "compensation", sc. for spoiled silver. I would rather propose a meaning, "reduction of volume, loss of weight" in texts like ATHE 28, 13; KTS 29a, 36f.; TC 3/1, 41, 11f.; CCT 4, 50a, 25. The transcription *kibsātum*, as deriving from *kabāsum*, "to tread ,to ram down", yielding a meaning like "loss of volume (weight?) by compression"; is provisional. One might also consider a derivation from *kab/pās/ṣum*, "sich zusammenziehen", "to contract", perhaps "to shrink" (*AHw* 443a). *AHw* 472a translates *kibsātum* with "Verrechnungs-

There are more occurrences of *muṭā'ū* in a metallurgical context: CCT 5, 34b, 10off.: *6½* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ḫi-lá-at* [11] *2 ma-na ṣa-ru-pì-im* [12] *ù mu-ṭá-ú* KI *A*, "6½ shekels of silver, excretion(?) from 2 minas of refined silver, and loss of weight, due from A" [89]). Lines 26ff. of the same text: ⅔ GÍN *mu-sú-kà-ú* [27] *iš-tí-a i-ba-ší-ú* [28] ½ GÍN *mu-ṭá-ú ša ma-⟨sà⟩-im*!, "⅔ shekel of spoiled (silver) is with me; the loss of weight owing to purification (lit.: "washing") amounts to ½ shekel." The restoration of the last word as "washing" is confirmed by several occurrences of this verb, e.g. ATHE 28, 5ff., where again we meet *muṭā'ū*: *18 ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR *ku-nu-ki-kà* [6] *A ub-lam 6* GÍN [7] *i-na ma-sà-im im-ṭí* [8] *1* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *a-na na-pá-ḫi-im* [9] *ù e-ṣí ni-dí-in* [10] *3⅔* GÍN *15* ŠE *mu-sú-kà-ú* [11] *ku-nu-ku-ni i-na* É [12] *B i-ba-ší* [13] *16½* GÍN *lu ki-ib-sà-tumₓ* [14] *lu mu-ṭa-ú* KÙ.BABBAR-*áp-kà* [15] *i-b*[*i₄-t*]*í-iq*, "18 minas of silver under your seal(s) A brought me; it became 6 shekels less by 'washing'; 1 shekel of silver we gave to the blacksmith and for wood; 3⅔ shekels 15 grains of spoiled (silver) are under our seal(s) in B's house. (In all) your silver has diminished by 16½ shekels, being either *kibsātum* or loss of weight" [90]). The 'washing' obviously was a process of refining, performed by a blacksmith, for which he needed firewood. The result was refined silver, combined with a certain loss of weight and some inferior silver slag [91]), which nevertheless was preserved and had some value (it was sealed!).

The phrase *ina masā'im imṭī* is also found in TC 3/1, 36, 44 and 43, 37; both texts describe what happened to an amount of silver sent to Aššur, apparently before it was used to make purchases. That this process of refining was a factor which could not be neglected in various commercial undertakings may be learned from CCT 4, 32b, 4ff., a letter found in

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beträge" (*sub* 10)). Cf. for losses of weight due to melting and refining, LIMET, *Métal*, Ch. III, 110ff., especially 138ff. on NE.kú "freinte".

[89]) The word *ḫīltum* with a meaning "(fluid) excretion" is not found in the dictionaries. But cf. *CAD* Ḫ 188b: *ḫīlu*, "exudation" and *ḫīl ērī* on 189a, d) (cf. *AHw ḫilum*, "Harz", 345b), and perhaps *ḫiltum* A (*CAD* Ḫ 188a). Cf. for the basic meaning of the verb *ḫiālum*, LANDSBERGER, *MSL* 9, 84f. *ad* 115f.

[90]) The reading *i-b*[*i₄-t*]*í-iq*, which goes well with the traces, is suggested by the parallels in BIN 4, 54, 13 and KTP 45, 5′ (*CAD* B, 165a, 10). The N-stem has an ingressive-resultative meaning: "to prove to be missing". The figures of the text are misunderstood by KIENAST in his commentary. The original shipment of 18 minas of silver in the end is 16½ shekels less (the text enumerates a loss of $10^3/_4$ shekels; the remaining $5^3/_4$ are hidden under *lu kibsātum lu muṭā'ū* in lines 13-14). To arrive at a total of 31 minas, the writer contracted a loan of 13 minas 16½ shekels.

[91]) The word *musakkā'ū* occurs frequently, cf. *AHw* 678b: "minderwertige Bestandteile v. Silberlegierungen?", in which translation the last word is questionable. Besides the texts mentioned in *AHw* and above also in CCT 5, 46b, 35. It is a mute question whether this word is related to the qualification *massuḫum*, also used of silver, in ICK 1, 82, 21f.; KTS 29a, 8, as supposed by some (cf. KIENAST *ad* ATHE 38, 26; E. E. KNUDSEN *AOAT* I, 1969, 153, s.v. *masākum* (example wrong!).

transliteration in LEWY EL II, 20 and LARSEN *OACP* 35. The translation in my opinion should be: "for (paying off the debt of) the merchandise, which we took on credit in the house of a money-lender, you sent only the original amount [92]) of silver. Because we not only had to pay interest, but also refined the silver (you sent), the creditor still had a claim on us, and consequently retained our tablet (bond)..." [93]).

In all these cases in which *muṭā'ū* are a consequence of refining the silver (in order to produce *kaspum ṣarrupum*) [94]) the loss of weight is very small: from 0,25 to 0,50%. This is substantially less than in the majority of texts listed at the beginning of this *Excursus*. This makes it improbable that all these *muṭā'ū* are caused by metallurgical processes.

This is confirmed by data from the Ur-III period. In analysing metallurgical texts of that date LIMET, *Métal*, 138ff. concludes that the loss of weight caused by melting down and refining silver and by casting or moulding it into objects (called respectively NE.kú.luḫ.ḫa.bi, "freinte résultant de la fonte", and NE.kú.ag.bi, "freinte causé par le travail") is minimal, consisting probably only of the traces of silver left behind in the crucible and the mould. He states: "Pour l'argent, la norme admise paraît avoir été de 10 grains pour 1 mine" (140, cf. 149), or ca. 0,1%. This standard, however, obtains only in special cases, as the percentage was frequently considerably higher. In UET 3, 393 and 403 mention is made of the casting of 17 silver rings, each weighing 5 shekels of silver. The loss of weight, NE.kú, amounts in both cases to ca. 1,1%, while the finishing treatment of the rings causes an additional loss (Sum. ZAG.BAR.bi of resp. 3,3% and 5% of the silver).

The considerable number of silver rings weighing 5 shekels has been

[92]) The word *šīmtum* clearly means here and in many other texts the "fixed amount" of silver, i.e. the exact amount of the loan when contracted, as opposed to the amount increased by interest .It is an equivalent of Bab. *qaqqad kaspim*, "the principal, initial amount of silver," once attested in OA: ICK 1, 172, 9.

[93]) An OB example of a loss of weight caused by refining is W 20472 (A. FALKENSTEIN, *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 2, 46[214]): KÙ.BABBAR *immesīma 1* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *imṭī*, where we have the same combination *masā'um....maṭā'um*. Cf. also, in a metallurgical context, ARM 1, 74, 18f.: (x silver) [*i*]-*na pa-ta-qí-im* [.....] [19] [.....] *im-ṭú-ú*; ARM 8, 89, 8f.: *iḫḫališma* $1^2/_3$ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *imṭī*, "after it (the silver) had been melted down, it became $1^2/_3$ shekel silver less" (cf. *CAD* Ṣ 199b s.v. *ṣimittu*, 6; *AHw* 311b takes *ḫlṣ* in Mari as a variant of *ḫrṣ*, cf. 313b s.v. *ḫalṣu(m)*, which is not necessary; but cf. also 324a, s.v. *ḫarāṣu(m)*, N: "Hörfehler?"). Finally ARM 13, 6, 5f., where in consequence of a process called *marāqum* 4 shekels of gold are lost on 4 minas, a loss of 1,7% (BOTTÉRO: "il y a eu freinte"; *AHw* 608b: "abgerieben werden"). EDZARD 1970, 144 no. 125 mentions a deficiency (*imṭī*) of $20^2/_3$ shekels on 22 minas, or ca. 1,6%, but nothing shows this shortage to be caused by refining; it may be a case of underweight.

[94]) Also in connection with the metal called *amūtum*, "meteoric iron(?)", *muṭā'ū* are mentioned as a result of refining, cf. CCT 4, 4a, 43 and CCT 3, 37b, 24.

explained by some as an indication that these rings of standard weight and size were in fact generally accepted ingots, functioning as a kind of "money" (cf. LIMET, *Métal* 145 and 211f. no. 49). Unfortunately we do not know which shape the silver received in OA times after having been melted down and refined; some have suggested the possibility of a ringshape (cf. GARELLI *AC* 265[4]). Even if this were true, this still does not make a metallurgical explanation of *muṭā'ū* with silver in OA texts acceptable. The Ur-III texts tell us that a loss of at most 1% is explicable; we may leave aside the loss of silver called ZAG.BAR, "diminution de poids due aux retouches" (LIMET, *Métal*, 140, 148), as it is of a different nature and the people in Assyria can hardly have held their agents in Anatolia responsible for such "losses", by charging their accounts. A loss of weight of something like 1% caused by refining, however, is too small to account for the percentages attested as *muṭā'ū* in OA texts.

These considerations make a metallurgical explanation improbable. It would moreover leave similar "losses" with tin and copper unexplained, as there are no indications that e.g. tin, upon arrival in Anatolia from Aššur, was melted down, refined, and cast into some shape, before being sold to the centres of metallurgy.

b) *Deficiencies as underweight*

A better explanation of the *muṭā'ū* occurring with silver, tin and copper, is a supposed lack of co-ordination between the (stone) weights used in Aššur and in Anatolia, or between those in use among the various merchants or 'firms'. Such an explanation could also account for the differences in percentage between the various *muṭā'ū*; accidental differences between similar weights may vary without observable pattern within certain limits.

A fact which favours this solution is that we almost never read how and where *muṭā'ū* arose; they are merely established as a fact. When a packet of tin is opened in front of witnesses and its contents are checked on the scales, a "deficiency" is proved to exist. The words used in this connection normally are a combination of the verbs *sanāqum*, "to check" (G and D) and *maṭā'um*, "to become less". Cf. *nisniqma/nusanniqma imṭī*, "we checked and it proved to be too little" (CCT 3, 27a, 7f.; GARELLI 1964, 67, Sch. 11, 4ff.; VAT 9218, 7). One may also simply write, as in TC 3/2, 171, 1-4: [1] *27 mana* KÙ.BABBAR . . . . [3] *nisniqšumma* [4] *26⅔ mana* KÙ.BABBAR, "we checked the 27 minas of silver for him and it proved to be (only) 26⅔ minas". The "deficiency" is established by comparing the actual weight with the figures mentioned in the letter or transport-contract accompanying the shipment. The notion "proved to be missing" (*imṭī*, punctual) is

once expressed in a similar context by means of a punctual N, with ingressive meaning, of *batāqum*: BIN 4, 54, 12f.: URUDU *i-na sà-nu-qí-im 8 ma-na* [13] *i-bi-tí-iq*, "when checking the copper 8 minas proved to be missing" (cf. above note 90 for two other occurrences of *batāqum* N, but this time in a metallurgical context).

In other texts the permansive *batiq*, "is missing", is used instead of the fientic *imṭī/ibbitiq*, cf. *CAD* B 167a. Cf. CCT 2, 2, 6ff.: *nēpišam*... [7] ...IGI *B apṭurma* ⅓ *mana* ⅔ GÍN [9] KÙ.BABBAR *ba-tí-iq*, "I opened the packet in the presence of B and 20⅔ shekels were missing". Cf. also TC 3/1, 36, 18ff., quoted above p. 21f.: *isniqūma batiq*; in this case, exceptionally, the cause of the "underweight" is a weighing mistake, causing an underweight of 1 mina.

Anyhow this last text proves one used to weigh the silver before sending it off to Aššur, and hence leaves the possibility open that unsatisfactory co-ordination of weights on both ends of the commercial line caused these "deficiencies". ATHE 35, 30f. hints in this direction. It mentions that A pays a debt to B in the name of C. After receiving the amount C protests, stating "your 1-mina-weight is too small", in consequence of which A pays an additional amount of 1½ shekels. The text will be discussed in more detail as no. 2 in *Excursus* II.

Insufficient co-ordination of weights is not uncommon in ancient Mesopotamia and generally in the Ancient Near East, as the differences in weight between well preserved ancient weights show [95]). Also the texts refer to such differences; an example may be quoted from ARM 13, 4. In this text Mukannišum receives $6^5/_6$ minas of silver; but lines 8ff. state: KÙ.BABBAR *šētu ina 5 mana 1 mana* ½ *mana ù* ⅓ *mana ina* NA_4.ḪI.A NÍG.ŠU *bēlija ašqulma 2* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *imṭī*, "but when I checked (the weight of) that silver by means of weights of 5, 1, ½ and ⅓ mina, belonging to my lord, it was 2 shekels short."

The occurrence of such "deficiencies" was a more or less normal, expected feature, as is proved by TC 1, 23. The text deals with a shipment of 52 minas of silver—proceeds from the sale of copper—to Aššur by one Aḫu-waqar. The letter concludes with the words: [30] *a-ma-kam a-na gám-*

[95]) Cf. the observations by A. S. HEMMEY in his articles: 'The Statistical Treatment of Ancient Weights' in: *Ancient Egypt* 1935, II, pp. 83ff. (dealing with weights from Mesopotamia and ancient India); and 'An Analysis of the Petrie Collection of Egyptian Weights' in: *Journ. of Eg. Arch.* 23, 1937, pp. 37-56. As one of the possible causes of the inaccuracy of ancient weights he mentions the production of "copies of standards" and even "copies of copies without strict regulation". He also points out the fact that ancient balances did not conform to modern standards in accuracy and sensitiveness, yielding deviations of several percents, owing to differences in the length of the arms and the fact that some additional weight was required to make the scales turn (1937, 39f.). Cf. below note 107.

ri-šu «íi» [31] *ù mu-ṭá-e A-ḫu--wa-qar iš-tí-kà li-iz-ku*, "let Aḫu-waqar settle accounts with you there concerning his expenses and the "deficiencies"." The combination with *gamrum* (cf. below ch. XI, 5) ranges *muṭā'ū* among the regular negative entries, with which each commercial venture had to cope [96]).

2. COPPER

"Deficiencies" in copper reach the following figures:

0,25%: TC 1, 55, 12f. ($^3/_4$ mina on 5 talents)
0,7 %: BIN 6, 77, 11f. ($7^5/_6$ minas on 19 talents)
0,8 %: BIN 4, 31, 19f. (1 mina on 2 talents)
0,9 %: BIN 4, 54, 12f. (8 minas on 14 talents 25 minas)
1,0 %: kt c/k 1256 ($1^1/_6$ mina on 2 talents)
1,9 %: BIN 4, 31, 24f. (12 minas on $10^1/_2$ talents)
2,1 %: KTS 38b, 2'f. (36 minas on at least 28 talents)
2,2 %: BIN 4, 31, 12f. (10 minas on $7^1/_2$ talents)

In the majority of these texts (BIN 4, 31; BIN 6, 77; kt c/k 1256) the "deficiency" appears after checking (*sannuqum*). The packets in BIN 4, 31 are sealed, and prove to contain less than the amounts written in the accompanying statement. Though several texts mention refining of copper [97]), none of these mentions *muṭā'ū*. The solution consequently should be similar to the one proposed in connection with tin and silver. In this case however the lack of co-ordination of weights was not an "international" one (Anatolia—Aššur) but intra-Anatolian, because copper was not exported to Aššur.

An indication for this lack of co-ordination may perhaps be found in EL 278. In a legal dispute between two persons, dealing with a shipment of nearly 3 talents of copper, A swears an oath of purgation and B "has to document in the gate of the god costs of transport, deficiencies (caused by)

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[96]) Other texts mentioning deficiencies do not help us, because they only specify the loss and not the original amount: CCT 2,26a,4 (3 shekels); VAT 9211, 17f. (27½ shekels). Cf. also TC 3/3, 196, 10f.: "he submitted a deficiency of $^2/_3$ mina of silver at the accounting" ($^2/_3$ *mana* KÙ.BABBAR *mu-ṭá-e innikkassī iškunam*). As an OB analogy to these OA "deficiencies", not caused by refining, I refer to ZEEBARI, TIM 1,20,27: *1 mana* KÙ.BABBAR-*am mu-ṭe$_4$* KÙ.[BABBAR *ḫ*]*u-ru-uṣ-ma*, "deduct a deficiency of 1 mina of silver" (on a total of $32^1/_3$ minas, "according to the text of his sealed tablet"); here the *muṭā'ū* is about 3%. The text is commercial, and may be compared with OA texts in several respects.

[97]) Cf. BIN 4, 151, 20ff. *ṭuppašnū* [21] *liqī kima* URUDU *massuḫūma*! [22] *mamman laqā'am* [23] *la imūšu anāku amsīūma*, "take their tablets (with their testimony), (stating) that the copper was dirty and nobody wanted to take it, and that I myself consequently purified (it)..".

the weights (used), and losses, in all 15 minas, and compensate half of it". The words used, *bitqat* NA_4 (constr. state sing. or plur. of *bitiqtum*) seem to indicate that the shipment was deficient, partly because of the use of too small weights [98]).

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[98]) Another possibility to account for all these *muṭā'ū* should be mentioned. One might be inclined to regard them as some kind of deduction on behalf of some authority or body, making it a kind of surtax. In this interpretation the remarkably round figures occurring with tin, silver and copper, would become meaningful, while they are rather curious if they were due to lack of co-ordination of weights. A text like KUG 34, with *muṭā'ū* of 3 minas tin on each *šuqlum*, which has an official flavour, would benefit from such an interpretation. On the other hand if this were true, how should we account for the great varieties in the percentage, the often curious amounts, and the use of *sanāqum*, "to check"? Is *muṭā'ū* perhaps another example of the OA "argot", used both in a special, rather technical context with a specific meaning, as well was in other texts, with a more general, less clear-cut meaning? Cf. LARSEN *OACP* 171-2.

EXCURSUS II

WEIGHTS IN OLD ASSYRIAN TEXTS

Weights of course played an important role in the world of the OA merchants, trading in gold, silver, tin, copper and wool, all of which were weighed. The texts provide some information about the native weights, and the weights in use among the Assyrians (both privately and in the *bīt kārim*) and pose a number of problems, some of which I cannot solve. I nevertheless present the material I have gathered, to provoke further discussion on these matters.

1. THE NATIVE, ANATOLIAN, WEIGHT STANDARD: *aban mātim*

Under this heading we treat all occurrences of the word *abnum* with the meaning "(stone) weight", most of them recorded in *CAD* A, 1, 59a, c. One might add KTS 52a, 1-2: ⅓ *ma-na* 2¼ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR [2] *i-na áb-na-tí-ni*, and an unpublished fragment, mentioned by LEWY 1956, 13 [58], reading: [9'] *3* GÚ URUDU *ina aban* [10'] [*m*]*ātim*. Perhaps also KTS 56d (KT 126): "[1'] 7½ shekels of silver [2'] of A [3'] B [4'] payed me; [5'] therefrom ⅔ shekels [6'] *áb*[!]*-na-tù-šu* [7'] he still owes me" (both persons mentioned bear non-Assyrian, 'native' names: Kanarama and Kurmara).

The discussion of these texts has been complicated by LEWY 1950, 418ff., who used the expression *aban mātim*, "weight of the country", as an argument for his reconstruction of the political history of Asia Minor. He assumes that before the Assyrians conquered Anatolia and created what he calls "Halys Assyria", there existed a large empire of Kaniš, dominating the whole of Anatolia; *aban mātim* would refer to the weight standard originally prevailing in that empire. It should be contrasted with the local standards of the various city-states—which he considers as more or less rival vassal kingdoms, all subjected to the Assyrian empire of "Halys Assyria"—which he discovers in expressions like "x minas of silver *ša Kaniš*" (EL 41, 1; cf. LEWY 1950, 419 with note 294) etc.[99]).

[99]) Contrary to the impression created by LEWY 1950, 418 there are as far as I know no occurrences of the expression "x minas (*ina*) *aban mātim*; the material weighed (e.g. silver, copper) normally precedes this last expression. The only exception would be TuM I, 1b, 20 if we have to transcribe with LEWY (and *AHw* 604 s.v. *manû*(*m*) II, 1): *5 ma-na ša ma-tim*, "(I gave to A) 5 minas of the land", which should mean, as the words have no antecedent, either "5 one-mina weights" or "a 5-mina weight". This hardly makes sense; moreover line 25 simply writes: "Ask

This political reconstruction is unconvincing, as has been shown by recent studies as GARELLI *AC* and ORLIN *ACC*. As for the use of *mātum* in OA texts, we observe on the one hand that various cities (or city-states) have their own *mātum*, like Burušḫanda, Zalpa, Kaniš etc.[100])—in which case *mātum* may simply denote the territory surrounding the cities, though at times a more political connotation cannot be excluded—, while on the other hand *mātum* is also used in a wider, vaguer sense, probably meaning something like "Anatolia", especially when Assyrians contrast this *mātum* with their home town Aššur. The latter use is attested when an Assyrian is once forbidden to marry a second wife *ina mātim*, but is allowed to take a prostitute in the City (of Aššur), cf. I 490, 4-7, quoted in LEWY 1956, 9. One may also compare the letter TC 3/1, 3, 22, where "the country" is said to be occupied with harvesting. It is most probable that the expression *aban mātim* has to be understood in the latter sense, denoting the "native, Anatolian weight standard", as compared to the Assyrian one. This does not exclude the possibility that there were differences even between the Anatolian cities themselves, but we have no information on this point as far as I know.

LEWY's thesis about the way in which the weight standards of the various cities should have been expressed cannot be accepted either. The Neo Assyrian and Old Babylonian examples he quotes do not prove anything for OA, and the Neo Assyrian ones not only write "x minas of silver *ša Karkamiš*", but also "x silver *ina* (*manē*) *ša Karkamiš*", and this *ina* is never found in similar OA texts. It is much simpler to regard appositions like *ša Kaniš* as giving information about the place where the silver is or comes from and perhaps about the quality of the silver, just as one may mention *pirikannū ša Kaniš*, "*pirikannū*-textiles of (a quality current in) Kaniš". The weights used in weighing out the amounts mentioned are not involved. One may compare similar expressions qualifying copper. One finds copper *ša Burušḫattim* (CCT 2, 13, 6) or copper *ša Taritar* (TC 3/3, 211, 36), but the latter significantly alternates with URUDU *taritarājum* (BALKAN, 1965, col. 149) showing it to be an indication of quality or provenance.

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over there B *ša ma tim*". The most probably solution seems to be to regard *ša-ma-tim* as the plur. of a word *šamtum*; cf. perhaps EDZARD 1970, 124, no. 94, 10: *1* $sila_3$ *ša a-na ša-ma-tim*. Other occurrences of *ša ma-tim*, "of the country" (KTP 14, 16—GARELLI *AC*, 330f.; ORLIN *ACC*, 116—; KTK 20, 36: *meḫrātim ša mātim*) cannot alter this fact.

[100]) Cf. for *mātum* in this connection ORLIN *ACC* 116[14] and 236-241. There are other occurrences of *mātum*, cf. LB 1209,13: *māt Kunanāmit*. ORLIN *ACC* 241 uses the words "full fledged *mâtû*" (sic!), implying that also small territories (not "countries" in the political sense of the word?) were in fact called *mātum*.

It is only natural to expect some differences between the weight standard used by the Assyrians and the one in use with the Anatolians. By writing several times *ina abnini/ina abnātini*, "according to our own weight(s)", the Assyrians show they are aware of that difference. Nevertheless the number of occurrences of this expression and its counterpart *ina aban mātim* is rather limited. In nearly all cases they are used in connection with copper. This might suggest the Anatolian used Assyrian standards, at least when trading in tin and silver with Assyrian merchants, though there are some exceptions.

LEWY 1950, 418 [289] tried to show that one mina in the Anatolian system weighed 1/10 less than the Assyrian mina, basing himself on AnOr VI no. 17, 1ff. and CCT 2, 24, 21ff. This conclusion is not convincing. The first text reads: [1] *10⅔ mana* KÙ.BABBAR *ša Dikišana* [2] *A kima 9½ mana* KÙ.BABBAR-*pì-šu ilqī*, "A took 10⅔ minas of silver of Dikišana instead of his 9½ minas". Once the interpretation of *ša Dikišana* as "(according to the weight standard) of D." is rejected, only the numbers given have demonstrative force. But 10⅔ minas is neither 110% of 9½ minas, nor 9½ minas 90% of 10⅔ minas. The text probably records an exchange of amounts of silver of different qualities. The other text CCT 2, 24 deserves closer attention. It reads from line 21 onwards: *20* TÚG-*tù-kà ša qá-tim* [22] *i-na* É.GAL-*lim i-li-qí-ú*! [23] ⌈*40*⌉ *ma-na*.TA URUDU *i-na a-ba-an* [24] *ma-tim ša ší-ne-pè-e ša* TÚG-*tí-kà* [25] *4 me-at 87 ma-na* URUDU [26] É *kà-ri-im lá-áp-ta-tí* [27] *i-wa-ṣa* URUDU *ta-lá-qí ša šál*!*-ša-at* [28] TÚG-*tí-kà 9* GÍN.TA *1 ma-na 10*⟨LÁ⟩¼ GÍN [29] KÙ.BABBAR *a-dí 10 u*$_4$*-me ta-lá-qí*, "20 of your textiles of normal quality were bought in the palace; at 40 minas of copper each, according to the weight of the land, you are credited for two thirds of your textiles with 487 minas of copper in the *bīt kārim*; when the copper comes forth, you will receive it. For the (remaining) one third of your textiles, at 9 shekels apiece, you will receive 1 mina 9¾! shekels within 10 days" [101]).

The figures present problems. LEWY starts from lines 20-27, reasoning: ⅔ × 20 × 40 (minas) = 533,3 minas; the text in line 25 has 487, the difference being ca. 10% (this figure requires 485 in line 25); consequently the "native (Anatolian) mina" is 10% smaller than the Assyrian one. This conclusion is not convincing, because he neglects lines 27ff. Here we would expect in a similar way: ⅓ × 20 × 9 (shekels) = 1 mina, but the text has *1 ma-na*, a "Winkelhaken", and ¼ GÍN. Whatever emendation one prefers for the figure following 1 mina (⅙!, ¼! or *10* ⟨LÁ!⟩ ¼ GÍN) the figures never match.

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[101]) Emendation of line 28 proposed by LEWY 1956,38[132].

Starting from line 27ff., and reading, with LEWY, "1 mina 10 minus (!) ¼ shekels", we arrive, with a tariff of 9 shekels a textile, at 7¾ textiles as "one third"; the "two thirds" turn out to be (only) 12¼ pieces. And this latter figure would yield 490 minas in line 25. This solution, which takes account of the whole text, has to be favoured. The conclusions are that "one third" and "two third" are used as approximations; that the text does not record a conversion from one weight standard into another; and that we do not know how big the difference between the Anatolian and Assyrian standards was. We observe that a booking (*laptāti*, line 26) of copper in the *bīt kārim* is carried out using the Anatolian standard, presumably because the copper was supplied by the local Anatolian palace in quantities measured out by that standard [102]).

The possibility should be considered whether *ina aban mātim* could not mean something like "in local ore, in local ingots", just as *ḫurāṣum ša abnišu* has been interpreted as "gold from ore" (BALKAN 1965, col. 150/1; *CAD* A, 1, 55b). But we have to distinguish between the use of *ša abnišu* and *ina aban* + *nomen gen*. Moreover the Assyrians themselves use *ina abnini*, which can only mean "according to (measured out by means of) our weight (standard)", and does not refer to the size or shape of the ingots [103]).

While nearly all texts mentioned so far use *abnum* in connection with copper (the weight being expressed in minas or talents) TC 3/2, 183, 1 mentions *65 áb-ni šaptum*, "65 'stones' of wool". *CAD* A, 1, 59a, c takes "stones" as "talents" which is possible but not certain.

2. ASSYRIAN WEIGHTS

Information about Assyrian weights and their use is derived from the following texts, numbered to facilitate the discussion:

1. BIN 6, 205, 9ff.: ("You have been ordered to pay 2 talents 10 minas of tin") *i-na* [10] *e-šar-tim ma-na-im* [11] *ku-wa-tim-ma a-na* [12] *A* [13] *ù B šu-qú-ul*, "weigh it out to A and B with your own 10-mina weight".

2. ATHE 35, 30ff.: [*x ma*]*-na 5* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR [31] [*ša*] *ḫu-bu-ul A* [32] *B a-na C* [33] [*i*]*š-qúl um-ma C-ma* [34] *a-na B-ma 1 ma-na-kà* [35] *ma-ṭì-i*

[102]) LEWY, loc. cit. note 97, calls attention to KTS 18 and BIN 4, 156 recording transactions similar to those of the text under discussion. In both cases the palace pays 20 minas of copper for the textiles bought, but (*ina*) *aban mātim* is not used.

[103]) To the texts mentioned by Balkan and *CAD* A, 1 one should add BIN 6, 189, 4'f.: *4* GÍN GUŠKIN SIG_5 *10* GÍN *15* ŠE GUŠKIN *ša abnišu*, "4 shekels gold of good quality, 10 shekels 15 grains of gold 'from ore'", showing the latter was not the best quality; cf. also L 29-561—H. LEWY 1968, 15f.—, 4f.: *10*$^1/_6$ GÍN GUŠKIN *pašallum ša abnišu*, "*10*$^1/_6$ shekels of electrum 'from ore'"(?)

1 ma-na-ú-šu [36] IK-*ta-ma 1½* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR [37] *i-dí-šu-um*, "B paid to C x minas 5 shekels of silver, a debt of A. C declared to B: "your 1-mina weight is too small (deficient)!". He .....ed with his own 1-mina weight and he (B) gave him (C) 1½ shekel of silver".

3. TC 3/2, 171, 12ff.: ŠÀ.BA *16 ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR [13] *i-1 ma-na-im ša kà-ri-im* [14] *ša-qí-il*$_5$ *a-na* [15] *A* [16] *ni-dí-in*, "thereof 16 minas of silver, weighed out with the 1-mina weight of the *kārum*, we gave to A."

4. BIN 6, 237, 1ff.: ⅔ *ma-na* KÙ.[BABBAR] [2] *li-tí* SIG$_5$ [3] *i-na* ½ *ma-na-*[*i-a*] [4] *ù 10* GÍN-*i-a* KÙ.[BABBAR] [5] *ú-du-ú A* [6] *a-na B* [7] *tal-ḫa-dí-e-em* [8] *iḫ-bu-ul* [9] *a-na* ITU.*1*.KAM [10] *i-ša-qál* [11] IGI *C* [12] DUMU *D*, "⅔ mina of *liti*-silver of good quality—the (weight of the) silver has been verified by means of my weights of ½ mina and 10 shekels—A gave as loan to B from Talḫad. He will pay back within one month. Witness C son of D".

5. L 29-557—H. LEWY 1968, 8f.—19ff.: *2½ ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR *ṣa-ru-pá-am i-na ma-na-i-a* [20] KÙ.BABBAR *wa-du i-ṣ*[*é-er*] *A* [21] ^{d}EN.LÍL—*ba-*[*ni*] *i-*[*š*]*u*, "2½ minas of refined silver—the (weight of the) silver has been verified by means of my (sc.Enlil-bāni's) mina weight—A owes to Enlil-bāni".

These texts inform us about the existence of various weights: a 10-mina weight, called *ešartum* (*manā'ū*, in apposition, or *manā'ē*, as a gen.?; cf. below the quotation from CT 48, 41, 19'), a 1-mina weight called (*1-*)*manā'um*, a ½-mina weight, called ½-*manā'im*(?), and a 10-shekel weight, called *10*-GÍN, probably to be read *ešartum* (sc.*šiqlū/ī*). *Ešartum* in fact means "number/group of ten", and may be compared with words like *ḫamištum*, *šedištum* (BIN 6, 80, 7) *et. al. CAD* E 351a gives as its meaning "ten shekels of silver", but the unit need not always be "shekels" nor the material "silver". The word is used frequently in clauses stating the interest to be paid on amounts smaller than one mina; *x* GÍN *ana ešartim/10* GÍN-*tim* (many new examples are given by BALKAN *AS* 16, 1965, 165). The curious writing *10*-GÍN-*tum* should be explained as a graphic means to indicate that the word to be read *ešartum* in this particular case means "10 shekels" and not simply "ten". The use of *ina ešartim manā'im* in text no. 1 could be explained as a way to indicate that in this case "ten" means "10 minas"; cf. OB: *1* NA$_4$ *ú-šu-ur-tam ma-ni-e* in CT 48, 41, 19' (cf. *BiOr* 27, 1970, 33b *ad* p. 290, and KRAUS RA 64, 1970, 145, c); perhaps *manā'im* is to be regarded as an apposition—originally plur. and nom., but turned into gen.sing by case and number attraction—or a *gen. epexegeticus*.

The texts inform us about the existence of: a) weights being the property of individual Assyrians—denoted by a possessive pronoun, a pron.

suffix or (cf. below text no. 10) *ša* + PN—and b) weights of the *kārum* (cf. also below nos. 8 and 9; no. 7 even has: *1 manā'um ša* É *kārim*), also used by private persons.

It is also clear that there were slight differences between these weights. This is stated explicitly in no. 2: the weight of B, who pays in the name of A, is too small, and accordingly a small additional payment has to be made. Unfortunately the text is broken at the beginning, so we are unable to calculate the percentage of the deficiency [104]). Moreover I do not understand the meaning of the verbal form IK-*ta-ma* in line 35, which may shed light upon the way in which the deficiency was established [105]). Anyhow the form *1 ma-na-ú-šu* can only be interpreted as being *manā'um* + locative ending + suffix: "with his 1-mina weight", which seems to denote the weight belonging to the creditor [106]).

The existence of these slight differences need to surprise us, as we are dealing with handmade, probably stone, weights, which may have been in use for long periods [107]); and the Assyrians themselves were well aware of them. In order to guarantee fair transactions, especially in contracting and paying back a loan, one had to know which weights had been used

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[104]) The restoration proposed by Kienast: [*sà-ar x ma*]-*na* is impossible according to the copy, where there is only space for *ma* preceded by a relatively small number.

[105]) Kienast *ad loc.* derives the word, as does *AHw* 465b, from the verb *katā'um*, "to take as surety, pledge". But this meaning is difficult in the context, though the form is correct (cf. *ik-ta-ma* in KTS 29b, 6; object a slave-girl). As *1 ma-na-ú-šu* cannot be taken as object, *katā'um* should have a different meaning in our text. Arguing from the context one would expect "he checked", "he established (the underweight)", "he confirmed" or the like. Perhaps *katā'um* may be used with that meaning, cf. the occurrence of *kattû(m)*, *kattā/u?'um* (*AHw* 466a), "der die Aussage bestätigt".

[106]) The writing *1 ma-na-ú-šu* with additional *-ú-* as compared with *1 ma-na-kà* (nom.; line 34) and *ina ma-na-i-a* (gen.; text 5 line 19) suggests a loc. adv. with suffix: *manā'uššu* (cf. Hecker, *GKT* § 66a: *a-lá-nu-kà*). In the translation I have given it an instrumental meaning: "by means of (*ina*) his 1-mina-weight". Another possibility would be to equate it with *ana 1 manā'išu*, "for each 1-mina of his" (just as *1 manā'um* is used in the interest clause, meaning "per mina"). However in that case *1 manā'um* would not be the weight, but the amount weighed, and the translation of IK-*ta-ma* would become still more problematical.

[107]) There are, theoretically, several possible explanations for slight differences of weight: inaccurracy on the part of the stonecutter who fashioned the weight; abrasion and damage due to its use; intentional adjustment of private nature or in the frame of an economic reform; and the co-existence of two slightly different weight standards, cf. D. Arnaud, *RA* 67, 1967, 156f. The differences appearing in our texts are most probably due to the causes first mentioned. The measure of abrasion and damage depends to a large extent on the quality of the material of the weight. Arnaud (loc. cit.) observed that ancient Syrian haematite weights show very few traces of abrasion and damage, and sometimes looked 'like new' after thousands of years. Bigger weights made from less precious and softer material (stone or bronze) are of course more vulnerable to abrasion.

and should be used again. Theoretically three possibilities offered themselves: a) an unwritten tradition prescribed that in case of a loan always the weights of the creditor had to be used; this seems to be implied by text no. 2, if indeed *manā'ušša* means the weight of the creditor (it could hardly be that of the debtor, as he was not involved in the operation); b) in the deed of loan a clause could be inserted, stating whose weights had been used in weighing out (and consequently should be used again on paying back) the loan; this is the case in texts nos. 4 and 5. The verb used there is a stative of *idū* D-stem: *uddū/waddū*, which should have more or less the same meaning as *šaqil* in text no. 3, "verified", "determined", "established" (*waddū'um* = Sum. zu.zu, cf. above p. 42) [108]). Finally, c) one could use or prescribe the use of an official weight, in this case that

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[108]) *CAD* I/J 30a, 4, a translates in text 4: "the silver is so marked (after having been verified) by my own one-half-mina and ten shekels weight". I cannot accept this translation for a number of reasons: 1) This translation in fact separates *uddū* from *ina ½ manā'ia*, introducing two separate acts: a) verification of the weight, and b) marking of the silver; probably because "to mark with my own half-mina-weight" makes no sense, and *CAD* means that the silver is provided with a mark (a symbol or numeral) stating exact weight. 2) "Marking" the silver could be putting a mark on the lump of silver or ingot, most probably indicating its quality and weight, making it almost a precursor of a coin. This however would only make sense if the lump or ingot had a characteristic shape, preventing reduction of the weight while doing no harm to the mark. But nothing is known about such a characteristic shape. The texts show we rather have to think of packets, bundles etc., wrapped up in some material, tied up by means of ropes and provided with clay sealings (cf. above p. 33ff.). The clay sealing in that case could have been provided with a mark or even a short inscription, stating weight, quality, owner. 3) Why should one mark a packet of silver in this way? It makes sense if one wants to store away a packet or bag (cf. TC 3/1, 68, quoted above on p. 43) in order to safeguard its contents and to be able to identify its contents and owner. But in our text somebody borrows an amount of silver, of course to use it in some transaction, so that it changes hands. The debtor did not need the mark, as he of course was present at the weighing of the silver he borrowed. But a third person acquiring the silver would not be interested in a mark, stating the weight of the silver as established by the weights of some private Assyrian merchant. A mark would acquire value if it meant the weight had been established by means of an official *kārum*-weight, or if it were known that the weights of private merchants were checked and gauged by some official body. But nothing is known of such a procedure. 4) Consequently there seems to be no reason for "marking" the silver. The real meaning of the clause is simply to mention which weights were used in weighing out, "determining" (cf. B. Landsberger JNES 20, 1961, 175 *ad uddū*/zu.zu, "to determine, define") the amount of silver borrowed, to make sure these same weights would be used again when the amount was to be paid back. It was a way to guarantee a fair procedure both for the creditor and the debtor. The procedure, called *waddū'um* in our text may be compared with the one described in the text Riftin no. 50, where the weight of an amount of gold has to be established by means of various weights ($^1/_3$ mina, 10 shekels, 5 shekels, 1 shekel, ½ shekel and 15 and 10 grains) and the verb *ašārum*, "to check" is used (*CAD* A, 1, 59a, d; A, 2, 421a, b, 1'; D. Arnaud, *RA* 61, 1967, 159[2]).

of the *bīt kārim*; this weight was used by private people, according to text no. 3.

In fact only the last possibility offered a secure guarantee against fraud, because the owner of a weight could always alter its weight in the meantime. This could be prevented by a compulsory checking of private weights against the official weight of the *kārum*, and providing them with gauges or marks. But—as *uddū/waddū* should not be translated as "marked" (see above note 108)—there are no indications for such a procedure [109]).

In general clauses stating which weights had been used are exceptional and very few texts, like no. 2, acquaint us with problems in connection with weights. Were the weights used by the various merchants and moneylenders in fact hardly different, so that special provisions were superfluous, or did one use official *kārum*-weights on a much larger scale than the texts suggest?

3. MANIPULATIONS WITH WEIGHTS

Under this rather general heading I treat a number of texts which combine the *uddū/waddū*-formula, mentioned above, with a clause which is difficult to understand, but seems to denote some manipulation with the weights used. The texts are:

6. EL 226 (VAT 13513) 34ff.: *1 ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR [35] *ṣa-ru-pá-am a-ṣé-er 1 ma-na-im* [36] ½ GÍN-*um ta-ur-ma* KÙ.BABBAR *ú-du* [37] *i-ṣé-er A* ^{d}EN.LÍL—*ba-ni i-šu*; the text continues by mentioning the rate of interest, to be paid after a number of weeks (*ḫamšātum*) have elapsed, and a guarantor, jointly responsible with the debtor for paying back the debt.

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[109]) The existence of official standard weights and measures is well known from ancient Mesopotamia. To quote one random example: Ur-Nammu fashioned a bronze sila-measure (Prologue of his codex, lines 143-4: 1 $sila_3$ zabar ḫu-mu-dim). The question is whether this standard bronze sila-measure was used a) for checking and gauging sila-measures in common use, and b) for *de facto* measuring out grain, oil etc. Proof for a) is difficult to provide, but one would expect that in case of a reform of weights such a procedure was necessary on a large scale. As for b) one may point to an interesting text from Nuzi (*CAD* A, 2, 74b, 4') where in a dispute concerning the size of an orchard the "copper cubit of the city gate of Nuzi" is brought along to establish the exact measures. This suggests these standard measures (and weights) were used in controversal cases, and moreover that behind such frequently attested expressions (especially in OB texts) as "the *sūtu* of Šamaš", "the weight of (the temple of) Nanna", stand real standard weights and measures, probably kept in the temples, to be used in case of emergency. Cf. for a possible reference to the checking of weights, EDZARD *ZZB* 81 [398], and for some references to the function of official weight standards in the Ancient Near East B. PORTEN *Archives from Elephantine*, 1968, 66 with note 27.

7. EL 228 (CCT 1, 2f.), 9ff.: two persons owe Enlil-bāni 42 minas 1 shekel of silver, to be paid back within 46 weeks, interest due in case this term has expired; then follows: *a-ṣé-er ma-na-im* [10] *ša* É *kà⟨-ri-im⟩* 1¼ GÍN.TA *ú-ta-ru-ma* KÙ.BABBAR [11] *i-ša-qú-lu*; lines 12ff. deal with a claim of 40 minas of refined silver, mentioning the same conditions, followed by [18] ....*a-ṣé-[er]* [19] *1 ma-na-im ša* É *kà-ri-im* [20] 1¼ GÍN.TA *ú-ta-ru-ma* KÙ.BABBAR *i-ša-qú-lu*.

8. TC 3/3, 213, 32ff.: *4 ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR *ṣa-ru-pá-um*! *a-ṣé-er* [33] *1 ma-na-im ša kà-ri-im* [34] ½ GÍN-*um ta-ur-ma* KÙ.BABBAR [35] *ú-du i-ṣé-er kà-ri-im* [36] ^{d}EN.LÍL—*ba-ni i-šu*; interest has to be paid starting from the week of A; rate of interest mentioned.

9. BIN 6, 238, 1ff.: 1⅓ *ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR [2] *ṣa-ru-p[á]-am a-ṣé-er* [3] *ma-na-im* [*š*]*a kà-ri-im* [4] ½![GÍ]N-*um ta-ur-ma* [5] KÙ.BABBAR *ú du-na-e* [6] *i-ṣé-er A* [7] *ù B* [8] DAM.GÀR *i-*[*šu*]; interest to be paid from the week of C; A, the guarantor, and B the debtor are jointly liable for refund (cf. no. 6).

10. BIN 6, 242, 1ff.: *10 ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR [2] *ṣa-ru-pá-am i-na* [3] *1 ma-na-im ša Šu-Ištar* [4] *1* GÍN.TA *a-ṣé-er* [5] [K]Ù.BABBAR *ta-ur-ma* KÙ.BABBAR [6] [*x*]*-ta-ki-is i-ṣé-er* [7] [*A*] *ù B* [8] [*C i*]*-šu* (C = Šu-Ištar?).

11. BIN 6, 244: A owes to a *tamkārum* (unnamed creditor) x minas of refined silver; interest to be paid from the week of B; A and his guarantor are jointly responsible for refund. Then follows: [17] [*i-na*?] *ma-na-im ša E-na-nim* [18] [*x-x-*]*-ki-is ú-ta-ru*. The Ennānim mentioned is neither debtor nor guarantor nor witness, therefore probably the creditor [110]).

A translation of these texts is not really possible before we have studied the clauses dealing with the weights. We may state the following facts: 1. all texts are deeds of loan concerning silver; for the greater part the well known Enlil-bāni is the creditor, probably also in no. 9, where he figures anonymously as *tamkārum*, "the creditor"; 2. in almost all cases—nos. 10 and 11 are fragmentary—a time limit is mentioned for repayment of the silver, and payment of interest is prescribed if this limit is exceeded; 3. debtors are not only private persons, but also once the *kārum*-organization itself (no. 8), which however has to pay only half of the interest (¾ shekels each month for each mina of silver), but probably right from the

[110]) The restoration of [*i-na*] is suggested by no. 10. There is no room for [*a-ṣé-er*]. The creditor is called DAM.GÀR in this text, as in no. 9. By leaving the creditor anonymous the possibility was created of transferring deeds of loan as a kind of "paper money", cf. the phrase: *wābil ṭuppim šūt tamkārum*, "the owner of (lit.: anyone bearing) the deed is the creditor". We may translate *tamkārum* with "a/the creditor". But if a different person could become "creditor", the person whose weights were used when the amount borrowed was weighed out, had to be mentioned, to make sure exactly the same amount was paid back eventually. And here the original creditor, Ennānim, cannot suppress his name.

beginning (the text mentions the name of the *ḫamuštum*-eponym); 4. several texts mention a guarantor, jointly responsible with the debtor; 5. two texts contain the words discussed above: *kaspum waddū*, "the (weight of the) silver has been established, verified" (nos. 6 and 8).

The following clauses, added after mentioning the amount of (refined) silver, deserve our special interest [111]):

6. *aṣṣēr* 1 *manā'im* ½ GÍN-*um ta-ur-ma kaspum uddū*.....*C išū*;
7. *aṣṣēr* 1 *manā'im ša bīt kārim* 1¼ GÍN.TA *ú-ta-ru-ma*...*D išaqqulū*;
8. *aṣṣēr* 1 *manā'im ša kārim* ½ GÍN-*um ta-ur-ma kaspum uddū*...*C išū*;
9. *aṣṣēr manā'im ša kārim* ½ GÍN-*um ta-ur-ma kaspum u du-na-e*..*C išū*;
10. *ina* 1 *manā'im ša C* 1 GÍN.TA *aṣṣēr kaspim ta-ur-ma kaspum x-ta-ki-is* ...*C išū*;
11. [*ina*] *manā'im ša C*[1] *x-x-ki-is ú-ta-ru*.

The considerable variation in the terminology provides some clues for understanding the clauses.

a) In all cases we have a form of *tuārum* D, "to bring back"; either a permansive (6, 8, 9), connected with what is following by *-ma*: *ta-ur-ma*, or a durative: *utarrū*(*ma*), "they will bring back, return". If the text states the claim the creditor has (*C išū*) the permansive is used; but if the deed is worded *ex latere debtoris* (7, 11) the durative is used. "Bringing back" apparently is an act to be performed by the debtor on behalf of the creditor.

b) This "bringing back" should be done *aṣṣēr* (1) *manā'im* (*ša* (*bīt*) *kārim*), which can only mean, in view of the use of the preposition *ana ṣēr*, "return/bring back on top of the 1-mina-weight (of the (*bīt-*)*kārim*)" [112]). As however in 10) we have *aṣṣēr kaspim ta'urma*, "brought back on top of the silver", we may conclude that the action performed resulted in an increase of the amount of silver owed to or paid back to the creditor.

c) What has been or should be "returned" amounts to a quantity expressed by either *x*-GÍN-*um* or *x* GÍN.TA, which should mean "x shekels each", i.e. for each time the 1-mina-weight is used or (in no. 10) on each mina of silver. The complement *-um* should be considered as a loc.adv. having a distributive meaning (cf. also below p. 234f., b). The amounts per mina vary from ½ to 1¼ shekel.

d) The occurrences of *uddū* in 6) and 8) show the manipulations with

111) C means Creditor, D Debtor.

112) Cf. the combination *raddū'um aṣṣēr*, "to add (extra) to", HECKER *GKT* § 103b; cf. also texts like TC 3/1, 24, 31: *aṣṣēr annak qātim*, "in addition to the loose tin"; *aṣṣēr našpirātim*, "in addition to the documents", CCT 2, 34, 26; *aṣṣēr tēṣubī paniūtim*, "in addition to the previous gratuities" etc. Cf. also HECKER *GKT* § 149 for *aṣṣēr*-sentences ("Steigerungssätze").

the weights were performed when the amount of silver was weighed out. We could translate in 6) "after on top of each 1-mina-weight ½ shekel had been "brought back" the amount of silver was determined/established". That text 7) uses *utarrū* shows this act at any rate had to be performed when the loan was paid back.

e) The use of *x-ta-ki-is* in 10) in the same position (after *ta'urma* KÙ.BABBAR) as *uddū* in nos. 6) and 8) suggests it has a similar meaning. The variation of the construction in 10) will be due to the fact that *ina 1 manā'im* at the beginning depends on *x-ta-ki-is*, so that one could not use *aṣṣēr 1 manā'im* as in the other texts. The construction *ina 1 manā'im .....x-ta-ki-is* is similar to the construction in texts nos. 4) and 5): *ina ½ manā'ia* KÙ.BABBAR *uddū*. This suggests the damaged verbal form has a meaning "(by means of C's 1-mina-weight, the (amount) of silver) was "established" or the like. Of the verbs ending with the radicals *k-s* only *nakāsum* makes good sense. Though neither *AHw* s.v. nor HECKER *GKT* § 92 record OA occurrences of the verb, it does occur, in the Gt-stem, precisely in connection with *abnum*, "(stone) weight" in KTS 52a, 1ff.: ⅓ *ma-na* 2¼ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR [2] *i-na áb-na-tí-a i-ta-ak-sú-um* [3] *ša a-wi-lim al-qí*, "⅓ mina 2¼ shekels of silver cut off (lit.: a cutting off; the inf.Gt *itaksum* may be compared with *itaṭlum*, inf.Gt of *naṭālum*) with my stone weights, belonging to the gentleman, I took". This suggests to restore the form in text no. 10 as: [*i*]*-ta-ki-is*, durative Gt (in view of Gt *itaksum itakkis* (imp. Gtn) or *ittakkis* (punctual Gtn) are excluded), to be read *ittakkis* [113]). The durative indicates the action is simultaneous with the one expressed by the main verb: *išū* (no. 10), *utarrū* (no. 11); cf. also no. 7: *utarrūma..išaqqulū* (in the other texts *išū* is preceded by permansives, describing the state of the silver).

No other occurrences of the Gt of *nakāsum* seem to be known (cf. *AHw* s.v.); nor is a Gt attested of the comparable verbs *batāqum* (cf. *CAD* B 161ff.) and *kaṣāṣum* (*AHw* 457b; *CAD* G *gaṣāṣum* B, records a I/2 on p. 53a, but this should be II/2, the form being *liktazzizū*). Hence I am unable to fix the meaning of *itaksum* by analogy. My tentative suggestion, starting from the separative meaning of the t-infix, is to distinguish between *nakāsum*, "to cut, to cut in two, to sever" and *itaksum*, "to cut off, to clip", in the sense of removing something from a larger whole by cutting it off. Such a meaning could make good sense in our texts and suggests one did arrive at the exact weight of an amount of silver by cutting pieces of

[113]) For reasons of grammar a punctual N (*innikis*) is impossible. A derivation from *rakāsum/rakkusum* does not yield a satisfactory meaning. The use of the D-stem of *nakāsum* is amply attested (*AHw* s.v.), especially with a plural object or in a resultative meaning, but there is no need to assume a Dt-stem in our text.

silver off from a bigger lump or ingot. We might translate text no. 10 as follows: "C(reditor) has a claim of 10 minas of silver on A and B, whereby the silver is being (should be) cut off by means of the 1-mina-weight of the C(reditor), after 1 shekel has been "brought back" upon each (mina of) silver".

These philological remarks being made, the question remains what in fact happened and what was the purpose of this manipulation with the weights. *CAD* I/J 30a, 4, a translates text 8 as: "on (each) mina (measured by the weights) of the *kārum* (a difference of) one half shekel is permissible". This can hardly be the meaning. The words *kaspum uddū*, as explained above, on the contrary denote that the weight has been carefully established, even using the official *kārum*-weight. Moreover it would be altogether exceptional if the creditor allowed the debtor such a margin in case of paying back what he borrowed. Finally in this very text the *kārum* itself is the debtor, and there is no reason to accord it a permissible deviation when its own weights are used. The words *aṣṣēr 1 manā'im ta'ur* make it clear that something was added to the weights used. The translation of *CAD* regards *1 manā'im* as denoting a fixed quantity of silver, while in fact the words denote the weight used.

A different interpretation is found in *EL* I p. 227 in the translation of our text no. 6: "1 Mine Silber, geläutertes,—(als) über die 1 Mine (hinausgehend) ist ½ Seqel zurückkehren gemacht worden und (dann) das Silber gekennzeichnet worden—...". In a note LEWY explains: "D.h. als sich herausstellte, dass der Betrag von 1 Mine um ½ Seqel überschritten worden war, war dieser ½ Seqel zurückgegeben und die Silbermenge als solche kenntlich gemacht worden". But this translation/interpretation, which does more justice to the meaning of the words used, also fails to make sense. If what LEWY supposes had happened, there would not have been any reason to record it in the deed: a slight mistake in weighing out had been made, detected and corrected. Why, moreover, should the amount of silver after this correction have been identified ("kenntlich gemacht") as such? And how does this interpretation fit in with text no. 7, where both verbs are duratives? If the mistake had been corrected, there was no need to mention this "return" of silver as a future act, to be performed when paying back the loan.

Starting from the basic meaning of *tu'ārum* D, "to bring back to", one might suppose that the weights used had become too light due to abrasion or damage. When weighing out the amount of silver to the contractor of the loan some weight was added (½ to 1¼ shekel), to make sure he really got the full amount. In case the loan was paid back one had, of course, to follow the same procedure, to make sure he paid back enough.

This accounts for the fact that the clause is used as well when stating the claim of the creditor, as when describing the repayment by the debtor. There are, however, some objections to this view. If we assume that weights have suffered from abrasion, why are the additional weights to be added quoted in such relatively round figures, and why does one not find units expressed in "grains" (ŠE), which do figure repeatedly in OA texts dealing with silver and gold? Moreover, if indeed the *kārum*-weight or a private merchant's weight were too light, there was no need to correct it, because the refund would be weighed out by means of the same weight, and the two mistakes would correct each other. How in fact could one establish at all that the (official) weight of the *kārum* was not correct? And why did one not simply replace the old weights by new ones?

One cannot explain the procedure by assuming the *kārum*-weight was *de jure* somewhat smaller, and needed adjustment when compared with other, private weights. This would mean the existence of two different standards within the Assyrian community, which is unlikely. Moreover the fact that the adjustment of this *kārum*-weight varies from ½ to 1¼ shekel speaks against this hypothesis.

A final explanation may be attempted. The fact that the clauses were inserted in the deeds of loan should mean that they conditioned the way in which the amounts borrowed had to be paid back. Now one could regard the amounts of ½ (etc.) shekel "brought back on each 1-mina weight" as a kind of surtax, which made the debtor pay back more than he had originally received (not taking into account the interest he had to pay anyhow as stated in the deed). The manipulation with the weights would ensure such an additional refund. Such a system suggests comparison with the NA_4 *namḫartim*, "weight used for incoming goods" (OB; cf. references *CAD* A, 1, 59a, d), testifying a current, officially accepted practice [114]).

This would make sense in no. 7, where the whole procedure is worded as a future act, to be performed when the loan is paid back. But the other texts allow a similar interpretation. The use of *ta'urma uddū . . išū* should not necessarily mean the procedure was performed when the loan was contracted. The form *išū* only states the fact that the creditor is entitled to an amount of silver, and may visualize the moment of paying back. The permansives *ta'ur* and *uddū* describe two complementary actions which

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[114]) Cf. also CḪ § 73 + e (BORGER, *BAL* II, 19), where a money-lender lends out silver "with a (too) small weight" (*ina abnim maṭītim*) and collects his debts "with a [too heavy] weight" (*ina abnim [rabītim]*); in § 108, 18 the innkeeper collects silver "with a too heavy (big) weight" (*ina* NA_4 *rabītim imtaḫar*). Both in fact are guilty of fraud.

should have been performed before the real claim of the creditor could be established by weighing out the amount of silver—mentioned in the beginning of the deed—on the scales. Both permansives have a passive meaning, not indicating whò is to "bring back" a (small) weight on the scale, and to "determine" the right amount. This will normally have been the creditor, but this did not need to be mentioned. The use of a permansive creates a kind of appositional phrase, which in fact provides information on the amount of the claim, and somehow qualifies the object of *išū* [115]).

Adding ½ shekel to the weight on one scale of the balance, of course means that the same weight in silver has to be added to the silver on the other scale. This is the reason why text no. 10 can state: "after (first) 1 shekel per mina had been 'brought back' on top of the silver", describing the factual consequences of the manipulation [116]). The use of *tu'ārum* D, "to bring back" does not necessarily imply that a weight regained its original weight, after having been temporarily reduced; it may refer to the shifting of weights between the scales of the balance, when one of the scales was made to dip (again), by (re)placing on it a small additional weight.

A confirmation of this interpretation is perhaps provided by the use of the words *kaspam ù du-na-e* in text no. 9 to denote the amount of silver to be paid back in consequence of the manipulations with the weight. I take *du-na-e* as an acc. of a word *dunnā'ū*, a nominal form of the *purussā'ū*-type from the root *mediae geminatae dn(n)*, "to be strong, hard", yielding "aggravation", or with the concrete meaning which words of this type frequently have, also "increase" (of an amount to be paid), "surtax", "agio". This meaning fits well in TC 3/3, 211, 12—a text comparable to no. 9—where a debt of 93 shekels of silver and 7⅓ shekels of gold *ba-lu-um du-na-e* ("without/besides surtax") is to be paid back. CCT 1, 26b, 5 describes caravan expenses made *en route* as 118 shekels of tin *ba-lúm du-na-e*, where *dunnā'ū* may refer to the small additional payments to be made *en route* to local authorities or tolls [117]).

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[115]) One could translate no. 6 as follows: "1 mina of refined silver—(the weight of) the silver (to be) established after ½ shekel has been added per 1-mina-weight—A owes to Enlil-bāni".

[116]) I doubt whether one is allowed to infer from text no. 7 that the debtors themselves had to add the extra weight to the 1-mina-weight used. The subject of *utarrū* need not be identical with that of *išaqqulū*; "they" may have been unspecified persons carrying out or supervising the weighing procedure.

[117]) *CAD* D does not record *dunnā'ū*. *AHw* 176b lists it as *dunā'ū*, "etwa Abzug", deriving it from a verb *danû*. HECKER *GKT* § 54c, following *AHw*, mentions *dunā'ū* as an example of a *purās*-form. The meaning proposed by *AHw* does not suit the context. My reasons for considering the word as a *purussā'ū*-form from *dn(n)*

Two points finally deserve mention. Firstly there is the fact that this surtax varies in our texts from ½ to 1¼ shekel per mina. The reason for this difference in "tariff" apparently is the amount borrowed. In nos. 6, 8, and 9 the tariff is ½ shekel per mina, and the sums borrowed are 1, 4, and 1⅓ minas of silver; in no. 10 the tariff is 1 shekel per mina, the amount borrowed 10 minas; and in no. 7 the debtor twice owes ca. 40 minas of silver, and the tariff is in both cases 1¼ shekel per mina. The relation between the figures seems obvious, and points at a fixed system. The gradual rising of the tariff with the increase of the amount borrowed suggests considering the "surtax" (*dunnā'ū*) as an additional security for the creditor, whose risks grew with the increase of the amount of silver given on loan. In no. 7 he earns in this way twice an additional amount of ca. 50 shekels of silver, or nearly a month's normal interest. It is not clear whether this "surtax" was due on all commercial loans (and by some coincidence was mentioned only in some texts) or not. It is remarkable that most of our evidence concerns transactions of Enlil-bāni.

From text no. 8 we learn that even the *kārum*-organization—which owed silver to Enlil-bāni—had to pay this surtax, showing the system was applied without discrimination.

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are: a) the word is *plurale tantum*; b) many nouns of the *purussā'ū*-type, well attested in OA, have a financial-commercial meaning, comparable to the one assumed for *dunnā'ū*, e.g. *butuqqā'ū*, "deficit", *uturrā'ū*, "surplus", and *ḫuluqqā'ū*, "losses"; c) I do not know of any *purussā'ū*-form from a root *mediae geminatae* reflecting a three-consonantal root, and therefore assume *dunnā'ū*, formed form the biconsonantal root *dn/dan*, has to be considered as such (cf. for some information on the formation of verbs mediae geminatae in OA HECKER *GKT* p. 153[2]; add from TC 3/3, 271, 35f.: *šu-ma ta-pá-li-lá-ni pí-lá-ni-ma*, from *palālum*). I also believe *muṭā'ū* in view of its meaning, "shortage", vocalization and the fact that it is a *plurale tantum* is rather a *purussā'ū*-form from a root *tertie infirmae* than a *purās*-form, as HECKER *GKT* § 54c, believes.

APPENDIX

TABLE OF CARAVAN TEXTS

This table contains the figures of 189 texts which in some way inform us about the composition of caravans. Some texts describe the equipment, some come from a later phase in the trade, but still show more or less how the caravan was composed. A few texts mention as the load of a caravan only textiles or only tin, probably not because these caravans only carried that kind of merchandise, but because the text concentrated on either tin or textiles. These texts have nevertheless been included, because of their small number and in the hope that they mutually will correct each other and do not distort the general picture.

The division of the table in five columns is clear from their headings. The amounts of tin are recorded in minas. Column five contains data (in compressed form) which may be important in the framework of the analysis. A number of abbreviations has been used, mainly for the many different names of the textiles:

a — *abarnīum*
ak — *ša akkidīē*
b — *burā'um*
d — *damqum*
e — *ēb/pīšum*
k — *kutānum*
ka — *kamsum*
ku — *kusītum*
l — *ša liwītim*
lu — *lubūšum*
m — *menuniānum*
n — *namaššūḫum*
p — *pirikannum*
q — *ša qātim*
qa — *qablīum*
r — *raqqutum*
s — *saptinnum*
sh — shekel(s)
si — silver
ṣ — *ṣubātum*
š — *šurum*
ši — *šilipkīum*
šu — *šurpuītum*
t — *tardīum*
ta — *takuštā'um*
ti — *tiṣabum*
w — *watrum*
x — unknown number

For the names of the textiles I refer to chapter VIII. It may suffice here to mention that *kutānum* and *ṣubātum* are most frequent; *šurum* is somewhat cheaper. Those called *abarnīum*, *ša akkidīē*, *namaššūḫum*, *raqqutum*, *šilipkīum* and *šurpuītum* are more expensive, as are those qualified as *damqum*, "good" and (*damqum*) *watrum*, "extra fine". Further

descriptions of quality are *ša qātim*, "normal", *tardium*, "secondary", and *qablīum*, "medium quality".

Some further symbols and their meanings are:

[ ] figures not mentioned or broken away but easily reconstructible;

( ) with textiles: denotes that the number of textiles mentioned between brackets is included in the number before the brackets; rather frequent is (+l) denoting "including those for wrapping" (*qādum ša liwītim*). Note that when the amount of loose tin is not mentioned separately, but is said to be included in the "sealed tin", I write for the latter e.g. (no. 21) 280 - x, and under "loose tin" x.

37a[1] (cf. no. 6) denotes the first caravan mentioned in a text; some texts enumerate the loads of several caravans, and they have been treated as separate entries. It was impossible to mention the lines where these enumerations start in the text.

Text		Textiles	Sealed Tin	Loose Tin	Asses	Further data
	AnOr 6					
1	1	65 *ṣ*	—	—	3	
2	13	23 *qa*	12⅔	—	1	
3	15	27 *k*; 1 *e*	2	—	1	
4	18	60 *d*; 35 *q*	136½	—	6	
	ATHE					
5	17	41 *k* (+*l*)	117½	—	2	10: 4½ sh.si *ana qātišu*
6	37a[1]	45 *k*	25	—	—	30: *ēzib*[1] *ša ana qātišu addinū*
7	37a[2]	72 *k*	—	1	4	
8	46	80 *k*; 4 *ku*	390	—	8	11: *6 muttātum ša* AN.NA
9	51	24 *k*; 2 *l*	65	9	1	
10	59	25 *ṣ*	—	—	1	
11	62	356	—	—	—	
12	76	—	432	—	[3]	7: *6 šuqlātūka 3 mana*.TA *imṭiā*
	BIN 4					
13	7	300 *k* (10 *d*)	650	—	17	11: *100* TÚG *ina Ḫaḫḫim abiār*
14	13	5 *k*	60	—	½	3: *1* GÚ AN.NA *u itirassu*
15	24	4 *š l*	130	10	1	10: *1* ANŠE *ṣallāmum u ēnum*
16	25[1]	32 *ṣ* (8 *k*)	480	—	4	
17	25[2]	—	120	—	1	8: *2* GÚ AN.NA *u liwissu*
18	27[1]	32 *ṣ* (+ *l*)	126	—	2	
19	27[2]	30½ *k*; 4 *š*	130	—	2	
20	27[3]	23 *k*	—	—	1	
21	29	10 *k*; 8 *š l*	280-x	x	[2]	15: AN.NA *qādum annak qātišu*

Text		Textiles	Sealed Tin	Loose Tin	Asses	Further data
22	30	6 *l*	195	22½	1½	
23	51[1]	18 *k*; 15 *ak*	44	—	1	6: AN.NA *ša ikribīni*
24	51[2]	49 *š*	53	—	2	
25	51[3]	15 *š*; 8 *ak*	12	—	1	
26	53	38 *ṣ*	130	—	[2]	
27	61	85 *k*; 20 *š* (+ *l*)	390	50	[6/7]	16: 9[2]/3 *mana* AN.NA *muṭā'ū*
28	65	217 *ṣ* (7 *l*)	190	—	—	
29	92	4 *k*	130	—	1	10: [2]/3 *mana* AN.NA *imṭī*
30	185	142 *ṣ*; 20 *w* 2 *a*; 2 *q*	30	37½	8	
31	221	118 *k*; 2 *ka*	260	40	6	
32	227	41 + x *ṣ*	650	—	—	3: AN.NA *u liwissu*
	BIN 6					
33	12	—	130	12	1	
34	50	141 *q* (30 *l*)	—	—	—	
35	63	21 *k*; 2 *š*	—	—	[1]	
36	65	22 *ṣ*	—	3	1	
37	78	26 *ṣ*	86	—	1?	
38	79	108 *k*; 8 *š l*	260	40	6	r.16′: 5[1]/3 *mana muṭā šuqlātika*
39	83	11 *k*; 9 *š*	120	—	2	
40	85	23 *š*; x *k*; 1 *ka*	[1]30	[..]	2	
41	100	—	240	—	2	
42	112	51 *k*; 1 *š l*	—	10	2	
43	115	81 *k*	210	—	—	8: *ina luqūtim ša A*
44	131	2 *k qa*	70	—	1	6: *ana A addin*
45	165	15 *k w*; 5 *ka* 20 *k d*; x *k t* x *ak*	[..]	—	[.]	8: [*x*] GÚ AN.NA [ ] *liwītim*
46	167	195 *ṣ*	—	—	11?	
47	172	26 *k*	—	—	1	
48	173	25 *ṣ*	—	—	[1]	
49	180	326 *k* (+ *l*) 10 *ak*	520	—	—	
50	230	38 *ṣ* (12 *š*; 2 *a*)	480	—	—	
51	249	200 + x	—	—	9	
52	267	20 *k*; 7 *a*	130	—	[2]	
	CCT 1					
53	24b	328	520	—	—	
	CCT 2					
54	2[1]	10 *ṣ*	130	10	1	
55	2[2]	—	127	9	1	48: 6½ *mana* 3 GÍN AN.NA *A iraddīakkum*
56	4a	4 *k*; 6 *š l*	130	12	1	
57	4b	26 *k w*	—	5	1	

Text		Textiles	Sealed Tin	Loose Tin	Asses	Further data
58	12b	400	[..]	—	—	5: *17 mana* KÙ.BABBAR *šīm* AN.NA 8: *šīti* AN.NA-*kà*
59	21b	24 *š*; 2 *k*	—	4	1	
60	24	4 *ak*	62½	—	—	4: ½ *mana* AN.NA *imṭī*
61	34	37 *k*	80	18	2	
62	46a	50 *k qa*	65	15	2	
	CCT 3					
63	2a	82 *k*	—	15	3	
64	4[1]	30 *k*; 4 *š l*; 3 *ṣ*	130	17	2	
65	4[2]	26 *k*	—	5	1	
66	4[3]	35 *k*	131	6	2	29: *ù* 5/6 *mana* KÙ.B.*aqqātišu*
67	5a	5 *k*; 4 *š*	130	12	1	
68	22a	149 *k*	—	23 5/6	5	
69	27a	114 *k*	135+8 +40	37	6	= KTS 38a
70	38	24 *k*	18	—	—	
71	39a	—	150	—	—	
72	49a	100 *k*; 14 *k d*; 14 *ak*	150?	—	7	= CCT 4, 47b
	CCT 4					
73	2b	34 *k*	130	6	2	7: 2/3 *mana* KÙ.B. *ana qātišu*
74	5a	63 *k d*; 7 *a*; 1 *ši*	—	—	—	
75	7a	14 *k d*	35	5	1	
76	11a	150 *k*; 6 *ak*	240	—	—	
77	11b[1]	12 *k l*	360	—	3	4: *1 šuqlum* = *63 mana* AN.NA
78	11b[2]	8 *k l*	370	—	3	13: (AN.NA) *u uturrā'ūšu*
79	13a	52 *k*	—	—	2	32: *15* GÍN KÙ.B. *aqqātišu*
80	17b	—	30	2	—	
81	23a	6 *š l*; 2 *k l*	246	—	[2]	
82	25c	10 *k*	120	—	—	
83	42a	—	240	—	2	6: AN.NA *u liwissu*
84	42c	26 *k*	—	—	1	
85	46b	24 *š*; 2 *k*	—	4	1	= CCT 2, 21b
	CCT 5					
86	5a	100 *k*; 18 *š l*	390	70	6	
87	12a	49 *p*; 14 *s*	—	57 sh	1	6: *pirikannī ša Kaniš*
88	25b	4 *l*	125¾	—	1	
89	26d	9 *k*; 2 *ak*	54	1	1	8: *ana pazzurim apqid*
90	28c	50 *k*; 21 *š*; 2 *lu*; 1 *r*; 1 *ši*	130	—	4	3: *2 šuqlān ša* AN.NA *u liwissunu*
91	29a	157 *k*; 12 *k l*	260	—	8	1: 4 *šuqlātum ša* AN.NA; 4 : 12 *muttātum ša kib/pšim 3 ēliātum*
92	29b	137 *k*	134	—	6	
93	29c	10 *k*	112	—	—	
94	47c	23 *k*	—	—	—	

Text		Textiles	Sealed Tin	Loose Tin	Asses	Further data
	Chantre					
95	10[1]	77 *d*; 6 *a*; 32 *qa*(+ *l*); 92 *d* (4 *l*)	—	[..]	—	very fragmentary; = EL 123
96	10[2]	5 *d*	405	20	—	very fragmentary; = EL 123
97	14[1]	[...]	55[2]/3	—	2	very fragmentary
98	14[2]	30 [*d*]; 20 *qa*; 11 *q*; 4 *ṣ*	—	—	—	very fragmentary
	EL					
99	32	90 *k*; 50 *m*; 2 *ši*; 3 *lu*; 3 *n*	—	—	—	7: *148* TÚG *7 luppū 4 naruqqā 7 īlū*
100	136	26 *k*; 1 *bu*	—	—	—	
101	143	102 *q*; 4 *a*; 1 *r*	46	—	—	18: *2 naruqqīn ša liwītim*
102	145	360 (263 *k*; 31 *w*; 41 *ku*)	—	—	—	14: ŠU.NIGIN$_2$ *60 naruqqātum*
103	295	20 *q*; 3 *d*	—	—	1	
	Garelli 1957					
104	HG 74	4 *l*	130	10	1	
	Garelli 1964-66					
105	Sch. 14	3 *k*; 2 *l*	65	5	½	
106	1965 no. 27	4 *k l*	130	10!	1	7: *10 mana* AN.NA *q*[*á-tim*] (MAH 19611)
107	1966 no. 43	16 *k*; 18 *š*; 1 *lu*; 1 *ši*; 2 *ku*	32½	10	2	
	Garelli-Kennedy 1960					
108	no. 3	3 *a*; 3 *k*	140	—	1	
109	no. 4	342 *ṣ* (30 *l*)	—	—	—	
	ICK 1					
109[a]	53[1]	151 *q*; 9 *d*	—	—	7	
110	53[2]	38 *p*	—	1	1	7: *u 5* GÍN KÙ.B. *aqqātišu*
111	73	115 *q* (+ *l*) 78 *d*	260	57½	10	
112	82	64 *k*	—	9	3	
113	113	2 *k*	123?	—	—	
114	124	105 *ṣ*	± 520	—	7	reconstructed figures
115	147	26	—	—	—	
116	150	53 *k d*	75	7	2!	
117	188	140? *k* (+ *l*)	280	40	7?	10: *42½* GÍN KÙ.B *aqqātišu niddin*
118	189[1]	53 *k*	—	9	2	
119	189[2]	116 *k*; 47 *k d* (+ *l*); 1 *b*	260	63½	10½	

Text		Textiles	Sealed Tin	Loose Tin	Asses	Further data
	ICK 2					
120	91	93 *k*	—	—	3	
121	96	175 *k*; 9 *ṣ*	280	—	—	
122	321	100 + x	—	20	4	9: *5 mana ḫušā'ū*
	I(stanbul)					
123	I 683	25 *k*	—	—	1	
124	I 748	56 *k*	—	—	2	
	Kayseri (Gelb)					
125	6	112 *k*	—	18	4	
126	9	122 *ṣ*	330	—	7½	19: *5* GÚ AN.NA *u uturrā'ū*
	KTB					
127	7	14 *lu*; 4 *k*; 4 *ku*; 18 *t*; 2 *l*	65	10	1	11: *10 mana* AN.NA *2* TÚG *nibrarū aqqātika*
128	17	[2]23 *ṣ*	[4]50	60	11	1: TÚG.ḪI.A *lu* SIG_5 [*lu*] *ša qātim*
	KTH					
129	13	212 *w*	—	—	—	
130	18	240 *ṣ* (5 *ku*; 4 *ši*)	240+ 12	80	11	3: *4* GÚ AN.NA *u itrassu*
	KTS					
131	14c	—	130	12	—	
132	22a	22 *k*	—	—	1	6: *1* GÚ *5 mana* AN.NA *A ušēbi-lakkum*
133	23	175 *k*	—	30	6	23: 113 *k* and 4 asses; 26: 52 *k* and 2 asses
134	28	6 *k*; 2 *l*	65	—	—	
135	30	30 *k*	125	—	2	13: *5 mana 5* GÍN *ḫusārum*
136	31c	23? *ṣ*	—	—	1	
137	49	57 *ṣ* (+ *l*)	157	15	3	4: 75, 40 and 32 minas of tin
138	55a	155 *k*	85	—	6	
	KUG					
139	21	224 *k qa*	—	$6^1/_6$	10	5: *ša 10* GÍN KÙ.B. *saḫertam*
	L(iagre) B(öhl)					
140	1200[1]	110 *k qa* (+ *l*) 8 *k d*; 2 *ka*	260	40	6	
141	1200[2]	26 *k*	—	5	1	

Text		Textiles	Sealed Tin	Loose Tin	Asses	Further data
	L 29-					
142	556	60 *k*	130	17?	3	13: $^{2}/_{3}$ GÍN KÙ.B. *aqqātia*
143	558	38 *ṣ*	130	—	—	
144	579	5 *k d*	122	$\pm^{1}/_{4}$	—	
	TC 1					
145	36	34 *k w*	—	—	1	
146	47	21 varia	—	2	1	3 *r*; 2 *ši*; 4 *ta*; 12 *lu*
147	72	100 *k qa*; 14 *k d*; 10 *a*; 10 *ak*; 4 *ṣ*	150	$1^{1}/_{2}$	—	
148	80^{1}	66 *k*	130	10	4	10 minas loose tin + 36 sh si
149	80^{2}	65 *k*	130	10	4	10 minas loose tin + 40 sh si
150	80^{3}	70 *k*	—	—	3	55 sh si as pocket money
151	80^{4}	25 *k*	—	5	1	
	TC 2					
152	5	53 *k*	—	—	2	
153	6	10 *k*	130	9	1	
154	8^{1}	182 *k*	450	60	9	
155	8^{2}	10 *k*	150	—	—	
156	11	—	240	—	—	16: *4* GÚ AN.NA *u liwissu*
157	13	40 *k*	131	17	—	
158	14	27 *šu*; 63 *k*	—	15	$3^{!}$	
159	52	238 *ṣ*	—	—	—	22: $15^{1}/_{3}$ *mana annak niplātim*
	TC 3/1					
160	2	14 *k*	424	—	3	
161	18	28 *d*; 12 *k w*	139	—	3?	
162	21^{1}	40 *k* (+ *l*)	130	15	2	
163	21^{2}	40 *ṣ* (+ *l*)	130	15	2	
164	24	61 *k*	—	12	2	31: *5 mana 15* GÍN *ana ṣēr* AN.NA *qātim tanappal*
165	26	—	600	—	—	
166	36	350 *k*	$(10^{1}/_{2})$	65	14	
167	37	25 *ṣ*	—	—	[1]	
168	43	230 *k*	140	50	9	
169	44	150 *ṣ*	590	—	—	
170	72	—	141	—	—	
	TC 3/2					
171	134	110 *k* (+ *l*); 2 *a*	650	69	8	
172	178	223 *ṣ*; 60 *w*	280	30	15	6: *1 mana* KÙ.B. *10 mana* URUDU *30 mana nigallū*
	TC 3/3					
173	208	73 *ṣ*	130	23	3	
174	270	137 *k* (40 *w*)	280	—	—	

Text		Textiles	Sealed tin	Loose tin	Asses	Further data
	TuM I					
175	2b	4 *k l*	155	1/3?	1	
176	2c	46 *k*; 1 *b*	—	5	2	
177	26b	4 *ṣ*; 2 *š l*	60 + x	—	1	
178	27e	87 *ṣ*	—	—	[3]	
	TTC					
179	1[1]	42 *ṣ*	260	25	3!	= TTC 2, 1ff.
180	1[2]	36 *k*	134	16	2	= TTC 2, 8ff.
181	2	55 *k*	—	8	2	(lines 17ff.)
182	30	112 *k*	—	—	[4]	7: *1 mana* KÙ.B. *kīma annak qātim*
	VAT					
183	9212	13 (*l* + x)	130	13	—	5: *13* TÚG *liwītum u ēlītum*
184	9218	200 *k*	—	40	8	
185	9256	594	—	—	18	2: *ina 36 muttātim u 26 ēliātim*
186	13521	—	133 + 480	—	—	
187	13547[1]	—	530	—	—	
188	13547[2]	230 *k*; 120 *d*	—	—	13	

PART TWO

TEXTILES AND WOOL

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SIZE AND IMPORTANCE OF THE TEXTILE TRADE

Assyrian imports into Anatolia consisted almost exclusively of tin and textiles. While tin was a non-Assyrian product, a kind of transit-goods, probably imported from Northern Iran [118]), which affected only the trading business, textiles were, at least in part, of local Assyrian manufacture. Consequently textile trade had a much deeper impact on Assyrian society. The rationale of the tin trade was to provide the centres of Anatolian metallurgical industry with a metal indispensable for the production of bronze [119]). Prices, quantities and qualities of tin were rather uniform. The situation with regard to textiles however differs considerably in all respects. This makes a more detailed investigation of the textile trade and its background necessary, partly in continuation of the conclusions reached by GARELLI and LARSEN in their recent studies [120]).

1. THE TURNOVER OF TEXTILES COMPARED WITH THAT OF TIN

The size and importance of the textile trade can to some extent be assessed by consulting the figures in the table, figuring as an Appendix on p. 69ff. The texts excerpted mention altogether some 14500 textiles, to which would be added some 750 pieces used for wrapping the tin (only ca. 250 of which are mentioned as such). Using the conclusions reached in ch. II this means some 570 ass-loads of textiles. The same table lists in all some 27000 minas of tin (including ca. 1700 minas of "loose tin"), which represent some 190 ass-loads. This relation of 3 to 1 as regards the volume of the trade in both articles does not allow any conclusions on their relative importance. We should of course take into consideration the value of the shipments. Starting from a purchase price of about 4 shekels of silver for 1 mina of tin (15 : 1) and about 5 to 6 shekels of silver on the average for each textile [121]), the total value of the textiles and the tin mentioned in the table amounts to some 24 and 30 (28 after deduction of the "loose tin") talents of silver respectively. One should bear in mind

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[118]) Cf. LARSEN *OACP* 4.

[119]) We need not enter here into the discussion about the meaning of *annakum*, which I believe to be tin; cf. GARELLI *AC* 269ff.; LANDSBERGER 1965, 285ff.

[120]) Cf. GARELLI *AC* 284ff.; LARSEN *OACP* 152ff.

[121]) Cf. for this price below p. 80f.

that the "loose tin" was normally spent *en route*, while the "textiles for wrapping" were sold in the normal way, after the arrival of the caravan.

One may question the importance of these figures for several reasons. Although the number of texts used (189) is not small, it is only a fraction of the total, both in view of the thousands of tablets still unpublished, and the number of texts destroyed in antiquity. Texts dating from the last years of the Assyrian settlement of course are over-represented. As long as we have not succeeded in dating texts more exactly (by reconstructing the firms and their archives and arranging the *līmū* in chronological order) we should not generalize the conclusions reached. There may have occurred developments in the trade and shifts of interests. The fact that for the time being we have to base our investigations on the widely scattered remains of archives brought to light by the local inhabitants, makes it impossible to reconstruct and to distinguish the preferences and methods of the various 'trading houses'. That changes could occur is proved by the few texts published from a later stratum of the settlement (Kaniš I B), which show that textiles were still imported from Aššur (though perhaps on a smaller scale), but no tin [122]).

Nevertheless there are some bits of information which tend to confirm the conclusions reached above about a probable equivalence between tin and textile exports. Not only do many texts show that there was a marked preference for equipping caravans with a mixed load, but there are also some letters stating that silver (and gold), arriving from Anatolia in Aššur, should be spent half for tin, half for textiles. These texts are:

1. TC 1, 2, 17ff., a letter from Aššur-nādā to Aššur-īdī:
a-na mì-ma KÙ.BABBAR [18] *ù* GUŠKIN [19] *ša uš-té-bi$_4$-lá-ku-ni* [20] *mì-iš-lam$_5$* AN.NA [21] SIG$_5$ *wa-at-ra-am* [22] *mì-iš-lam* TÚG.ḪI.A [23] *ša-ma-am*, "for half of all the silver and gold which I have been sending you (punctual Štn), you should purchase tin of extra good quality, for half of it textiles" [123]).

2. Rec. de Trav. XXXI, 55, 3ff., same writer and addressee:
20 ma-na KÙ.BABBAR [4] *lu ša qí-ip-tí-a* [5] *lu na-ru-qí-a* [6] *lu i-na lu-qú'-tí-a* [7] *A-šur*—^{d}UTU^{ši} [8] *na-áš-a-kum* [9] *ša 10 ma-na* [10] AN.NA *ša 10 ma-na* [11] *ku-ta-ni ša-ma-ma*, "20 minas of silver, belonging to my trust, my business capital, or (the proceeds) from (selling) my merchandise, Aššur-Šamšī is bringing you. For ten minas buy me tin and for ten minas *kutānū*-textiles...".

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[122]) Cf. BALKAN *Obs.* 43[10a].

[123]) The reading *mì-iš-lam$_5$* in line 20 is suggested by line 22. To regard *mì-iš-lum* as a locative, meaning *ana mišlim*, is possible for grammatical reasons, but would force us to adopt a curious shift in the construction toward *mišlam* (acc.) in line 22.

3. TC 3/1, 67, 17ff., letter from Enlil-bāni to his representatives in Aššur:
ša mì-ša-al KÙ.BABBAR TÚG.ḪI.A [18] *ša mì-ša-al* KÙ.BABBAR AN.NA [19] *a-na a-me-er e-ni-šu* [20] *ša ba-lá-ṭí-šu li-iš-a-ma*, "let him buy for half of the silver textiles, for half of the silver tin, according to his own choice, in such a way that he can make profit" [124]).

4. TC 3/1, 69, 14ff., letter from Enlil-bāni (and Kudātum) to Pilaḫā, Puzur-īlī, Ir(i)m-Aššur, Dadā and Tarīš-mātum:
a-ma-kam ší-ma-am ša a-lim^{ki} [15] *ša mì-šál* KÙ.BABBAR-*pì-ni* [16] TÚG *ku-ta-ni qá-áb-li-ú-tim* [17] *ú ša mì-šál* KÙ.BABBAR AN.NA [18] *ší-ma-am wa-as-ma-am* [19] *ša ba-lá-ṭí-šu ša-ma-*^{ni}*nim*, "buy over there, as purchases in the City, for half of our silver *kutānū*-textiles of medium quality and for half of the silver tin—a fair purchase which allows him a profit".

5. BIN 6, 75, 14ff., a letter from Inā to the *tamkārum*:
[*ša mì-iš-lim*] AN.NA *ša mì-iš-lim* [15] TÚG.ḪI.A SIG$_5$-*tim ù tár-dí-ú-tim* [16] *li-iš-ú-mu-ma*, "let them buy for half (of the silver and gold, mentioned in l.6f.) tin and for half of it textiles of the best and second quality".

6. GARELLI 1965, 167f., no. 29, 15ff., a letter from Ḫinā and "your representatives" to Pūšu-kēn:
ší-tí KÙ.BABBAR-*kà a-ma-lá* [16] *té-er-tí-kà mì-iš-lam* [17] AN.NA *mì-iš-lam* TÚG.ḪI.A [18] *ni-iš-*⟨*a*⟩*-ma A* [19] *i-ra-dí-a-kum*, "as for the rest of your silver, according to your instruction we bought for half of it tin and for half of it textiles, which A is bringing to you".

The fact that these letters attest a tendency with four well known and important merchants or 'firms' (Aššur-nādā—Aššur-īdī; Enlil-bāni; Inā; Pūšu-kēn) to spend half of their funds on the purchase of tin and the rest on textiles, shows the conclusions reached above have a more general validity.

For further information on this question we may check the texts called "caravan accounts" by LARSEN *OACP*, which describe in detail the purchases actually carried out (the letters just quoted contain instructions only). The texts, edited by LARSEN as "Type 3" nos. 1-10 present the following picture (from left to right: the text, the amount of silver spent on textiles, on tin, the ass-loads of textiles and tin):

CCT 2, 2 :	½ mina	— 10 minas;	1 ass-load of tin + some textiles
CCT 3, 5a :	½ mina	— $7^5/_6$ minas;	1 ass-load of tin + some textiles
CCT 3, 22a :	12½ minas	— none ;	5 ass-loads of textiles
CCT 3, 27a :	7½ minas	— $13^5/_6$ minas;	5 ass-loads of text.; 1 of tin
CCT 4, 7a :	$2^1/_{15}$ minas	— 2¼ minas;	¾ ass-load of text.; ¼ of tin

[124]) Cf. for the reasons for translating *ana amēr ēnišu ša balāṭišu* in this way, below p. 363ff.

BIN 4, 65	:	3 minas	— none	; 1 ass-load of textiles
TC 2, 6	:	½ mina	— 9¼ minas	; 1 ass-load of tin + some textiles
TC 2, 14	:	$9^1/_3$ minas	— none	; 4^1 ass-loads of textiles
TC 3/1, 36	:	$20^1/_3$ minas	— none	; 14 ass-loads of textiles
TC 3/1, 43	:	13¾ minas	— $9^1/_3$ minas	; 8 ass-loads of text.; 1 of tin

One might add:

KTS 23	:	20 minas	— none	; 6 ass-loads of textiles
TC 3/2, 134	:	.....	— ±50 minas	; 3 ass-loads of text.; 5 of tin
LB 1200	:	13½ minas	— $19^1/_6$ minas	; 5 ass-loads of text.; 2 of tin

These texts show that the rule "half tin—half textiles" has only a relative value. Only in four cases do the amounts spent on tin and textiles approach each other. One of the reasons for this situation is, as shown in ch. II, that they preferred to reckon and trade in complete ass-loads, either of tin or textiles (to which respectively some textiles or some tin could be added). The value of one ass-load of tin was equal to some 4-6 ass-loads of textiles. A purchase according to the system "half tin, half textiles" therefore required investments of some 25 minas, and a caravan of about 6 animals. Because both the investments and the number of donkeys were frequently smaller, an ideally mixed load was often impossible. But even in bigger caravans—like TC 3/1, 36 and KTS 23—the composition was at times completely one-sided. The reasons for such a choice are unknown; only an analysis of the complete archives of the traders involved may reveal the background of the facts.

2. THE PRICES OF THE TEXTILES

An important factor in deciding the composition of the caravan must have been the opportunity for profit. GARELLI *AC* 280 calculated that the gross profit on tin amounted to some 100% (which agrees with my own calculations); for textiles he assumes (*AC* 291) about the same profit. I am convinced this is much too little. GARELLI's table of purchase prices (289) includes a number of prices recorded for the purchase of single textiles, or paid on occasions which are not always that of a regular first purchase in Aššur. To reach reliable conclusions we must start from the prices mentioned in the "caravan accounts" and bearing on *kutānū*-textiles, to be recognised by the verbal form *itbulū*, "they costed". The following pictures emerges (*k* = *kutānum*; sh = shekels of silver):

TC 2, 6, 12: 10 *k* at $3^1/_6$ sh
CCT 3, 5a, 7: 9 *k* at $3^1/_3$ sh
TC 3/1, 36, 37: 350 *k* at 3½ sh
TC 3/1, 43, 13: 230 *k* at 3½ sh
TC 1, 47, 7: 21 *k* at 5¼ sh
KTS 23, 6: 175 *k* at 5¾ sh
LB 1200, 11: 120 *k* at 5¾ sh
TC 2, 14, 18: 63 *k* at 5¾ sh

CCT 3, 27a, 9: 115 *k* at 4 sh
CCT 3, 2a, 12: 82 *k* at 5 sh
CCT 3, 22a, 15: 149 *k* at 5 sh
BIN 6, 228, 1f.: 22 *k* at 6½ sh
ICK 1, 82, 9: 64 *k* at $6^2/_3$ sh
GARELLI 1965 no. 27, 9f.: 4 *k* at 7 sh

Prices higher than 6-7 shekels prove to be exceptional. They are only attested for textiles of better quality: TC 2, 14, 7f.: $7\frac{1}{3}$ sh for TÚG SIG_5 *šurb/puītum* (belonging to the *kutānū*-type, line 9); $8^5/_6$ sh for *kutānū* of good quality in CCT 4, 7a, 11.

Taking into account that the textiles also included a limited number of more expensive pieces (not only those called *damqum* or *watrum*, but also such fabrics as *ša akkidīē, abarnīū, raqqātum, šilipkīū* etc.) one may suggest an average purchase price in Aššur of about 5-6 shekels. But one should bear in mind that this is up to 50% more than the prices mentioned for the biggest lots in the texts just quoted. For a normal *kutānum*-textile we should start from some 4-5 shekels.

As I have been unable to discover a text recording the sale price of a textile whose purchase price is also known, exact figures about the gross and net profit are difficult to obtain. We should try to reach some general conclusions, starting from the sale prices mentioned by GARELLI *AC* in his table on p. 289. These prices too have to be used with some care, as they deal with textiles in widely varying quantities and record payments in different situations. If we try to distinguish the various situations in which sale prices were mentioned, we reach the following conclusions.

1. Prices at which *kutānū* were valued when the amount of the *nisḫatum*-tax and the "tithe" were calculated *in the local Anatolian palace*. If fractions of textiles had to be paid they replaced payments *in natura* by payments in silver, starting from the value of the textiles. This value was put at:

10 shekels: CCT 4, 13a, 7ff. (LARSEN, "type 3 : 13", p. 130) [125];
15 shekels: TC 3/1, 24, 7ff. (LARSEN, "type 3 : 12", p. 127); CCT 3, 26b, 6ff.; TC 3/1, 34, 16ff.; ICK 1, 51, 21ff.
20 shekels: BIN 6, 167, 6ff. (195 minus [3]6 textiles makes 159; *nisḫatum* 8 pieces + 1 shekel of silver; "tithe": 15 textiles)
$26\frac{2}{3}$ shekels: BIN 4, 61, 5-12 (LARSEN, "type 3 :11", cf. his comments on p. 125).

In some cases the palace buys some additional textiles, besides the number to which it is entitled as *išrātum*, "tithe" [126]. It is not certain

[125] Cf. also the figures in LARSEN *OACP* 167 and his tentative conclusions.
[126] Cf. for this "tithe" (*išrātum*) which must be identical with the right of "pre-emption" (*ša šīmim*), LARSEN *OACP* 157f. and his separate *Addendum* to p. 158, where he refers to CCT 5, 42b, 22ff. and ATHE 62, 9ff. as proving them to be identical.

whether in such a case the same prices obtained, because—if the "tithe" really means purchase at reduced price—this could be a purchase at normal price. As such we have 20 shekels in BIN 4, 61, 44 (LARSEN "type 3 : 11"; note that *watrum* in this case does not mean "extra fine", but "additional, extra"); 12 shekels in ATHE 61, 11ff. ("the palace moreover —*-ma* after the verbal form—bought 8½ *kutānū*-textiles"). Whether the 105 shekels of silver, put on the account for 5 textiles in LARSEN "type 3 : 12", 12ff.—yielding a price of 21 shekels apiece—belong to this category is not certain. They may belong under 4), "*kārum*-transactions", treated below. In BIN 4, 61, 7 a *šurum*-textile is valued at 10 shekels according to this same system.

2. Prices calculated in connection with goods *sold on commission* (*qiāpum*/*qīptum*; *ina ṣēr tamkārim nadā'um*; *ana tamkārim*/*tamkāruttim tadānum*):

30 shekels: BIN 4, 61, 27 (LARSEN, "type 3 : 11", p. 123);
25 shekels: ICK 1, 191, 25ff.;
22½ shekels: CCT 3, 45b, 3f. (the text deals with a variety of textiles among which *kutānū*, but some types are more expensive);
18 shekels: TC 2, 32, 5ff. (cf. lines 5 and 16; the writer complains in l.8 that the price has now dropped to 16 shekels);
15 shekels: BIN 4, 27, 25 (LARSEN, "type 3 : 14", p. 135);
13½ shekels: TC 3/1, 49, 9ff.;

BIN 4, 61, 28 and ICK 1, 191, 25f. mention a price of 15 shekels for *šurūtum*-textiles in this situation.

A number of texts simply use the verb *tadānum*, which may mean either "to give on commission" or "to sell". The texts of this kind which follow probably deal with commission, both on account of the context and of the distributive TA used to denote the price: *AAA* I no. 10: *kutānū* at 14 shekels, a *šurum* at 8½ shekels; TC 2, 23, 5ff.: *kutānū* at 13 shekels, a *šurum* at 8 shekels; perhaps also AnOr VI no. 15, 15ff.: 23 *kutānū* at 12 shekels apiece.

3. *Sale*, without further information about how and where:

20 shekels: BIN 4, 61, 50ff. (text: *illibbi A tadin*);
12 shekels: TC 3/1, 34, 21ff.;
11⅓ shekels: CCT 4, 13a, 24 (LARSEN "type 3 : 13"; verb: *tadnū*);
11 or 10 shekels: TC 3/1, 72, 15ff. (request to sell them at that price);
10½ shekels: KTS 55a, 8ff.

Note moreover: *kutānū* of good quality at 26 shekels in TC 3/1, 2, 12ff., and *šurūtum* at 10 shekels in BIN 4, 61, 51ff.

4. *"Kārum-transactions"*: payments made or values calculated in the *bīt kārim* in connection with such actions as *nadā'um*, "to deposit", *šapākum*, "to deposit". The prices cannot be simply enumerated in these cases, but require a short quotation:

CCT 5, 38a, 4ff.: 2 *kutānū*-textiles "deposited" as somebody's share (*qātum*) at 19 shekels apiece; ibid. lines 16ff.: 13 textiles "deposited" as "his share" in the *bīt kārim*, at 9½ shekels apiece, which in line 23 are valued again at 18 shekels (when finally sold?); TTC 15, 1ff.: in connection with the *nisḫatum*-tax 14 *kutānū* are "deposited" as somebody's share, for which "we will put (on the account)" 20 shekels apiece; in lines 11f. and 15f. however these *kutānū* are valued at 30 shekels apiece. GARELLI 1965 no. 19: the price of 62 *kutānū* at 14 shekels apiece will be put on the account (*innikkassī šakānum*); ATHE 61, 20ff.: for 4½ *kutānū* the writer will cash (*laqā'um*) 11 shekels apiece in the *bīt kārim*; KTS 39a, 24ff.: in a similar situation to that in the preceding text 3 *kutānū* may be cashed for 22 shekels apiece; perhaps also ICK 2, 279, 1ff.: 8 *ṣubātū* at 15 shekels, 2 *kutānū* at 24 shekels (entries in an account?).

This slightly bewildering variety of prices, each with their own setting, makes it impossible to draw very strict conclusions. Especially the prices mentioned under 4) pose many problems. Where two different prices are mentioned the second, higher one, probably approached the normal sale price most nearly. Nevertheless the conclusion seems not too bold that the sale price on average amounted to at least 15 shekels of silver apiece; this price was moreover the one most frequently maintained as standard value in the calculations of tax in the palace, as noted above *sub* 1). We should not overlook the many fluctuations—perhaps due partly to the quality and partly to the quantity of the textiles sold—, with prices higher than 15 shekels being slightly in the majority, cf. especially *sub* 2). This allows the conclusion that the gross profit on textiles amounted at least to some 200% or double that on tin (cf. note 371).

3. EXPENSES, TAXES, AND INVESTMENTS

To establish the net profit we should deduct a number of expenses and costs, which in part differ from those affecting the tin. The main items are:

1. *Taxes* [127]): the *nisḫatum*-tax on textiles amounted to 5%, that on tin

[127]) Cf. for the latest discussion of these taxes LARSEN *OACP* 152 (*waṣītum*, "export-tax"), 156f. (*nisḫatum*-tax at Kaneš), 157f. (*išrātum*, "tithe"), 142ff.

only to about 3%. Moreover the palace was entitled to a "tithe", probably a right of pre-emption of 10% of the load; its financial consequences cannot be calculated, because we do not know what reduction of price the palace got, or whether it was allowed to select the best pieces, as we might expect. The other taxes, paid *en route*, on departure from Aššur or Anatolia, and to the *kārum* on the proceeds of the enterprise, were levied according to the value of the merchandise or its proceeds and affected tin and textiles at the same percentage. As however the gross profit of the textile trade was bigger than that of the tin trade these taxes to be paid, both to the *kārum* and on arrival in Aššur (*šaddū'utum* and *nisḫatum* respectively), were correspondingly bigger in absolute figures.

2. *Caravan equipment*: as stated above a load of textiles equivalent to one donkey load of tin required some 4-6 donkeys, with their harnesses. This meant an extra investment of some 1-1½ minas of silver in donkeys, which was in fact dead capital as normally these animals were sold in Anatolia after arrival of the caravan without much profit [128]). We should add costs of food and personnel. The "freighters", *kaṣṣārū*, received interest free loans, called *be'ūlātum*, which again constituted dead capital [129]). As there was normally one freighter to every 2-3 donkeys, a load of textiles required 1-2 servants more than one donkey-load of tin. This meant the payment *en route* of additional "head-tax" (*qaqqadātum*, cf. ch. XI, 7) at 10 shekels a person.

3. We may suppose that the sale of textiles was not so easy as that of the tin, which was regularly sold at the centres of metallurgical industry. Textiles probably had to be sold in small lots here and there among the Anatolian aristocracy.

Summing up we should conclude—with LARSEN *OACP* 145ff.—that the expenses and capital investments for a load of textiles were much higher, compared with the value of such a load, than those necessary for a load of tin. A quantity of textiles comparable to one donkey-load of tin—its value in Aššur ca. 9 minas of silver—required extra, non profitable investments of ca. 2 minas of silver, was liable to at least 2% to 3% more taxes, plus the effect of the "tithe" which cannot be calculated.

(*nisḫatum* paid in Aššur and *šaddū'utum* paid in Kaneš, to the *kārum*); cf. for *dātum* and *qaqqadātum* below ch. XIff.

[128]) Cf. LARSEN *OACP* 168 for the sale of donkeys; only in some cases—when a donkey was commissioned to an agent—was some profit made. Sale of donkeys in Anatolia is mentioned in the following texts: BIN 4, 54, 9; 57, 7ff.; 61, 37; 98, 15ff.; 144, 1ff.; 172, 15ff.; 214, 9ff.; CCT 2, 4a, 11; 4b, 16; 34, 30; 3, 6b, 13; 4, 13a, 28.40; 15a, 6; 28a, 5; 5, 5a, 33; TuM I 2b, 24.

[129]) Cf. LARSEN *OACP* 145[65], 149-50 and GARELLI *AC* 249ff. for *be'ūlātum*.

Without being able to give more exact figures I nevertheless believe the net profit on textiles—in view of their sale price—was still greater. The fact that the "freighters" (*kaṣṣārū*), who received an interest free loan (*be'ūlātum*) to do business *en route* or in Anatolia, in order to earn their wages, converted this money in most cases into textiles—the frequently attested "textiles of the freighter(s)" [130])—also suggests that textiles offered better chances of profit, even in the case of retail trade [131]).

4. THE MARKET SITUATION

A factor which no doubt influenced the composition of the load and hence the choice between tin and textiles must have been the market situation in Aššur and Anatolia: the prices to be paid on purchase in Aššur, the supply of tin and textiles there; and the demand for both articles in Anatolia, or the supply of silver and gold against which the Assyrians exchanged their merchandise by preference. The evaluation of data bearing on these questions is not easy, partly because of terminological difficulties. The texts bearing on this aspect of the trade and the terminology used will be analysed below in ch. XVIIIff. Some general remarks only are made here.

Firstly I do not think one should exaggerate the influence of these factors. Fluctuations in prices did occur, and there is a limited number of references showing that goods were not available, or only in limited quantities for high prices, and that the demand on the part of the Anatolian partners was not always the same. But in general the trade was not seriously hampered by these factors. The texts rather acquaint us—at least for the later years of the period of Assyrian trade, which are best documented in our sources—with a practically uninterrupted flow of tin and textiles and silver and gold.

As for Aššur we know from a famous, though still unpublished text

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[130]) "Textiles of the freighter(s)" are mentioned in ATHE 62, 5, 26; BIN 4, 227, 6; 6, 50, 4.14; 79, 4; 180, 5; CCT 2, 4a, 8.24; 1, 24b, 5; 5, 5a, 11; Chantre 14, r. 7; EL 110, 2; 145, 3; ICK 2, 91, 6; 96 r. 3'; 321, 6; KTB 17 r. 11; KTH 18, 6.12.27; TC 1, 16, 7; 2, 8, 5; 3/1, 24, 3; 34, 16; 3/2, 134, 14; 178, 27f.; TTC 30, 5; TuM I, 25d, 2. They are normally mentioned by means of one of the following two formulas: a) x textiles *ša kaṣṣārim/kaṣṣārē*; b) x textiles including those/y textiles *ša kaṣṣārim/kaṣṣārē*. The *kaṣṣārū* are only seldom mentioned by name in this connection, cf. BIN 6, 79 and CCT 5, 5a. The "textiles *ša ṣuḫārē*" in BIN 4, 227, 6 belong to the same category. Cf. for names of *kaṣṣārū* in the service of various persons or firms, LARSEN *OACP* 41 [61].

[131]) A factor determining the preference of *kaṣṣārū* for textiles may also have been that small numbers of textiles could be more easily sold here and there than small packets of tin.

(cf. p. 98), that Akkadian textiles could not be obtained in that City once, as the "Akkadians" were not coming to Aššur, because of political commotion "in their land" [132]). The consequences no doubt were that trade in these textiles was temporarily "affected" (*lapātum*) and "not normal, in order" (*ešārum*), and that the prices for those textiles still available went up [133]). Once we hear that tin could not be obtained in Aššur, probably because the import was interrupted [134]). In a few cases we have a request to purchase something else than originally ordered, when the prices are too high [135]). As for Anatolia the main problem was that sometimes silver was hard to obtain (*dannum*), and consequently the rate of exchange between tin/textiles and silver became unfavourable for the Assyrians. In such cases they could either wait for better times and keep their merchandise in store, or ship it elsewhere, where the possibilities of selling were better [136]). A number of letters contain instructions about minimum prices at which the agent was allowed to sell [137]), but sometimes the need for money forced the Assyrians to sell "at any price" (*batiq wattur*) or to entrust merchandise to commissioners on long terms [138]). But these rather isolated cases of emergency should not be generalised.

Finally, a factor stimulating the export of textiles more than that of tin must have been, as stated above, that textiles were partly of local Assyrian manufacture. A number of texts—to be discussed below—show Assyrian women actively involved in the production of textiles. Consequently the textile trade provided work for part of the local population (probably the whole range of activities of sheep breeding, herding, shearing, spinning, weaving and finishing of textiles) and offered the opportunity of greater profit on products of native industry. In this respect there was a clear contrast with the trade in tin, imported from abroad, figuring merely as transit goods. The native Assyrian production perhaps made the textile industry less susceptible to disturbances.

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[132]) VAT 9249, first quoted by Lewy in KTH *ad* no. 1, 3; cf. Lewy 1950, 422 [311] and Larsen *OACP* 153. Cf. below p. 376 no. 9.

[133]) TC 1, 11, 9ff. and TC 2, 7, 21ff., cf. below p. 98; p. 377 nos. 12 and 13.

[134]) TC 2, 7, 9ff., cf. below p. 381, where other texts dealing with the "market-situation" are quoted.

[135]) Cf. below p. 377 no. 12.

[136]) Cf. several of the texts quoted below p. 375ff. as types 1 and 2, and those texts in which *kaspum* is subject, mentioned on p. 380.

[137]) Cf. below p. 453ff. *sub* 3) and 4) for prices introduced by *ištu* and the use of the adverbs *eliš* and *šapliš*.

[138]) Cf. below p. 401ff. and the texts quoted in *CAD* B 166b, 1, b.

CHAPTER FIVE

SHAPE, SIZE AND WEIGHT OF THE TEXTILES

1. TEXTILES OR GARMENTS?

In the preceding pages the word "textiles" has been used without any comment, and this translation requires some justification. Its use means that I consider the great majority of textile products imported by the Assyrians in Anatolia not finished garments, but pieces of woven fabric, sheets of textile, which could be used by the buyer for several purposes.

Already LANDSBERGER *AHK* 24 considered a *ṣubātum* a piece of textile and not a garment; but he adds: "sie sind wohl stets in den für ein Kleidungstück nötigen Längen geschnitten". LEWY, *EL passim*, translates "Stoffe" [139]). A. GOETZE, *Kleinasien* [2], 77 [10] thinks of bales of textiles, which would have been much bigger than a piece needed for one garment, in view of the high prices paid for them. He assumes they were more or less standardized as to size and weight. GARELLI *AC* 285 leaves the question more or less open. LARSEN *OACP* translates *passim* with "textiles". ORLIN *ACC* 56 uses the word "clothing" [140]).

H. LEWY 1964, 183f. also dealt with the question of the textiles. Starting from a payload of a donkey of 2½ talents and 25 as the average number of textiles it comprised, she computed the weight of one *kutānum* at ca. 6 minas. She finds confirmation for this conclusion in data from Nuzi texts, dealing with *ṣubātū*, "pieces of cloth used for the manufacture of garments", which had the same weight; she adds: "sometimes, probably when the garment was intended for a child, a little less". In H. LEWY 1965, 20 she writes "a *ṣubāt kutānu* was a piece of cloth sufficient for one garment for a grown-up person".

a) *Weight*

The weight computed by Mrs H. LEWY must be near the truth [141]). Nevertheless I am inclined to reduce it to ca. 5 minas a textile, because

[139]) He even translates TÚG *lubūšum* in EL 145, 10 with "Gewandstoffe".

[140]) He refers to LEWY 1950, 419 [294], a quotation which seems to be wrong. LEWY adhered to his translation "textiles" also in later publications, cf. e.g. LEWY 1958, 91b. This description alternates with "cloths", cf. e.g. LEWY 1962, 51 in the translation of *Neşr. Boğ.* 2, 18. Also H. LEWY 1964, 185 used the translation "cloths" for *ṣubātū*, and "*kutânu* (cloth)s" for *kutānū*, a translation also adopted by LARSEN *OACP* 4, who translates *kutānū* with "linen-cloths".

(as shown in ch. II, 2) some 25 textiles constituted the maximum volume of a donkey load, but did not necessarily exhaust the maximum weight the animal could carry. In fact small amounts of tin were added to such a load of textiles.

Unfortunately the texts provide no clear information on the weight of the textiles and calculations like that of Mrs LEWY are the only way to discover the facts. One secondary indication may be mentioned here: In BIN 4, 9, 3ff., a text to be quoted in detail presently (p. 112), Lamassī writes to her husband Pūšu-kēn: "You wrote to me: "Aḫu-waqar and Ia-šar each carry 5 minas of wool for you". They have not delivered anything to me. Ia-šar said: "I myself will make one textile for him." "[142]). Further information seems to be lacking[143]). Occasionally one meets requests or instructions to process more wool in a textile to be made: 1 or ½ mina apiece[144]).

A weight of 5 minas of course only applies to the most current types: *ṣubātum* or *kutānum*. Some fine products (*raqqutum*, *ṣubātum qatnum* perhaps) and the native products *pirikannum* and *saptinnum* were probably not as heavy; on the other hand we also meet a TÚG *kabtum*, "a heavy textile".

[141]) LARSEN *OACP* 148 figures out a weight of 2 minas in some cases, but I cannot follow the method he uses in arriving at that result.

[142]) The last words read: *1* TÚG *e-pá-šum*. *CAD* E 183a corrected this reading to become *e-pá-dum* (s.v. *ēpattum*), but quite unnecessarily. OA does not follow the rule laid down in *GAG* § 30f.: *š* (= OAkk *ś*) of the pron. suff. 3rd pers. + *š* (=OAkk *š*) as the last radical of the verb > *ss*; cf. HECKER *GKT* § 41b. To the examples quoted there one might add: *té-ri-šum* (CCT 3, 10, 40); *e-ri-šu-ma* (TC 3/1, 53, 25); *e-ri-šu* (TC 3/1, 58, 15). The rule moreover does not obtain for all OB dialects, cf. A. FINET, *L'Accadien...de Mari*, 35 o; A. GOETZE, *RA* 52, 1958, 140ff.; E. E. KNUDSEN, *Acta Or.* XXVII 3/4, 1965, 352ff.; H. HIRSCH, *ZA* 58, 1967, 325 (*ad* UNGNAD-MATOUŠ, *Grammatik*, § 20c).

[143]) L 29-604—H. LEWY 1970, 68—, 16: SÍG.ḪI.A *5 mana lu-bu-ší-ša šé-bi-lam*, "you should send 5 minas of wool, her clothing ration" does not prove anything, in view of the meaning of *lubūšum* in this text, to be distinguished from TÚG *lubūšum*, a type a textile or perhaps garment, elsewhere in OA texts. TC 1, 27, 11-12: *10* TÚG *šu-ru-tim ša* 5.TA *ú* 6.TA [12] *ma-aṣ-ú-ni*, translated by LANDSBERGER *AHK* 14 with "Zehn schwarze Stoffe, zu 5 und 6 (Ellen) lang" and by LARSEN *OACP* 108 with: "10 black textiles, of each 5 or 6 units" does not prove anything as to weight or size, because the context makes it clear that these words mean "worth 5 or 6 (shekels) each"; later on the writer mentions that, though the *kārum* was unwilling to accept them at that price, he was able to sell them elsewhere at 8 shekels apiece (line 17). The texts quoted in *CAD* Ṣ 223a, c′ (s.v. *ṣubātu*) shed no light on the problem of the weight, because in all cases we have to read not TÚG, but SÍG, "wool": textiles were not weighed. SÍG, containing a "Winkelhaken" in the body of the sign, is clear in KTB 3, 14 and 8, 6 (EL 201) and EL 243, 15; in fact EL II 182 and 185 ad loc. correct the readings, partly following M. DAVID, *OLZ* 1933 col. 213[4]. Also in EL 125 (KTS 49a) 18 and the NEUKIRCH-text quoted EL I p. 231a, line 7, one has to read SÍG. Cf. for wool ch. VII.

[144]) BIN 4, 9, 10; 10, 18; TC 3/1, 17, 17, to be treated below.

A weight of ca. 5 minas agrees with what is known from texts of other periods. Mrs. LEWY already compared the data known from Nuzi, collected by D. CROSS (*Movable Property*, 1937, 50). Here the most common weight is 6 minas; occasionally we have 5 minas. The comparative material from Ur-III is much richer and not too far removed from OA times. A representative selection of texts dealing with textiles yields the following data: [145])

túg.ú	— average weight ca. 4 minas (between 3,3, and 5 minas)
túg.mug	— average weight ca. 3,5 minas (between 3 and 3,8 minas)
túg.uš.bar	— average weight ca. 4 minas (between 3 and 5,5 minas)
túg.ḫuz.za	— average weight ca. 5 minas (between 3,5 and 6,3 minas)
túg.da.ba.tum	— average weight ca. 5 minas (between 4,3 and 5,3 minas)
túg.ge$_6$	— average weight ca. 5 minas (few occurrences)

"Average weight" in these cases does not simply mean a calculated average, but the weight in fact most frequently attested [146]).

b) *Size*

Data about the sizes of the garments are almost as rare as those on weights. Moreover there is no way to calculate the size starting from the standard donkey-load, or from the weight of a piece of textile. After TC 1, 27 has been shown to provide no information about the size (cf. above note 143) the only clear testimony is TC 3/1, 17, a text to be discussed in

[145]) The figures are based on a selection of sources like *ITT*, *UET* 3 (nos. 1585, 1587, 1628-37; 1662-1673; 1711; 1747), JONES-SNYDER no. 274, col. VI, 197ff.; *HUCA* 29, 1958, 95 no. 18; JEAN, *ŠA*, no. CXLIX; NESBIT, no. 7; *RA* 12, 1915, 152; CONTENAU, *Umma* no. 60; OPPENHEIM, *Eames* G 1 (cf. this work p. 215ff. for the text-editions). Data contained in recently published volumes by VIROLLEAUD, SAUREN and GRÉGOIRE don't change the picture.

[146]) Not included in this survey are túg.níg.lám and túg.gada. The first is much lighter, on the average ca. 2 minas (fluctuating between ca. 1,5 and nearly 3 minas). Cf. for this product OPPENHEIM *Eames*, 69, G 10[a] (commentary). It is frequent in Ur-III texts. The qualities known are lugal, sig$_5$.uš, 3.kam.uš, 4.kam.uš and gen. That it was a rather elaborate, fine and expensive item may be concluded from *ITT* II, 1 pl. 16 no. 909, I 1-6, where 335 man days are needed for 1 níg.lám lugal, weighing 2 minas, and 300 days for two specimens of third quality of the same weight. Its Akkadian equivalent *lam(a)ḫuššu* is a luxury product (*AHw* 532a and *Malku* VI, 43—STT II 393—: *lam(a)ḫuššu* = *ṣubātu damqu*). CIVIL, *ZA* 50, 1952, 66[43] suggests a meaning "loincloth" for túg.níg.lám (bàn.da) in

detail presently. Lines 33-37 read: "a finished textile" (*ṣubātum gamrum*) which you make, should be nine cubits long and eight cubits wide". This means a textile of some 4½ by 4 metres. One may compare this size with a single reference in an Ur-III text, *ITT* V, 1921, pl. 63, no. 9996, II′ 5′-6′ (reference Prof. KRAUS): a textile, whose name is not preserved, measures 8 by 7 cubits. From Nuzi we have information about textiles measuring 5 by 15 and once 10 by 15 cubits [147]).

These large sizes pose some problems. The width mentioned surpasses by far the width of the widest looms attested for the Ancient Near East around 2000 B.C., as reconstructed from (almost exclusively) Egyptian remains and pictures. They seem to have been never wider than ca. 2 metres [148]). D. CROSS, when dealing with the data from Nuzi sensed the problem, speaking of "primitive elongated looms" (*loc. cit.*).

Could one consider these large pieces as composed of smaller strips, woven separately? The piece in Nuzi of twice the normal width (10 cubits) might be an example; and the use of the expression *ṣubātum gamrum* in TC 3/1, 17 could suggest it, though these words mean rather "finished textile", than "complete textile" (cf. below p. 108 *ad* 33). I know of no further data, which could confirm this hypothesis [149]). If the Assyrians

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view of its small weight. But cf. níg.lám standing for *lubūš(t)u* with OPPENHEIM, *JCS* 21, 1967, 247[62]. Cf. for túg.gada OPPENHEIM, *Eames* 67[e]: "gada, "linen", denotes a sheet of standardized size"..... "These sheets are usually counted, only rarely weighed". This is confirmed by *HUCA* 29, 1958, 95 no. 18 and JONES-SNYDER, no. 274, line 239. In Ur however they were weighed, cf. *UET* 3, nos. 1556, 1558, 1562, 1570, 1572, 1587 (V, 13), 1631 and 1725. The weights show too much variation to indicate one standard size. Cf. for linen also JACOBSEN, *Festschrift J. Pedersen*, 1953, 181 c. Cf. for various qualities of linen and linen products the so-called "Practical Vocabulary of Elam", *RA* 18, 1921, 40ff., II, 2′-8′. The weight fluctuates between 2,5 and 5 minas, and so gada—besides not being made of wool—is not fit for comparison.

147) D. CROSS, *Movable Property in the Nuzi Documents*, 1937, 50f.

148) Cf. C. H. JODL, *Altägyptische Webestühle und Brettchenweberei in Altägypten*, 1924, 12 (largest width ca. 160-180 cm); also R. J. FORBES, *Studies in Ancient Technology*, IV, 1966[2], 195 and 201.

149) When *ITT* V no. 9996, dealing with a textile of 7 by 8 cubits, states in col. II′ 7′-8′ that three slave-girls each spent two days on the process called dun.dun and each one day on a treatment called TAG.TAG, this does not mean the textile in fact was made in three separate parts, to be joined later on. Both actions most probably denote a finishing treatment applied to the weave, and not the work at the warp and the woof, which is expressed by different words in this text (III′, 11′-12′ ŠID.bi...ì.u.nu for stringing the warp and II′, 2′-4′ and III′, 13′-14′ šà.bi... ì.ak.ke$_4$ for applying the woof). The main weaving process is computed in this text in workdays of one slave-girl only. The finishing treatment (cf. for dun.dun VAN DIJK, *Sagesse*, 80 e, f; and for túg.dun.dun *AS* 16, 263b *sub* 3; perhaps a stretching of the weave? tag.tag—cf. *MSL* 10, 147, 69: túg tag.tag, following túg.dun.dun; VAN DIJK, op. cit. *loc. cit* for gu...tag; and tuku = *maḫāṣum ša ṣubāti*, quoted in *AHw* 580b lexical part—could denote a "beating" or perhaps

composed big sheets from smaller units they must have served some commercial purpose. But what could this be? The maximum size of a Mesopotamian garment around 2000 B.C. seems to have been ca. 3-4 by 1,4-1,5 metres [150]) and this is only one third of the surface area of the textile mentioned in TC 3/1, 17.

Should one assume for Mesopotamia much wider looms than are attested for contemporary ancient Egypt, or are the archaeological data (remains, "models from daily life", reliefs) not wholly representative even for Egypt itself? In practice it probably would have been much easier—even if one could somehow handle very wide looms—to produce less wide sheets and join them afterwards.

A second question is whether the data provided by TC 3/1, 17 can be considered as normal and may be generalised, so as to apply also to a textile like *kutānum*. The text shows that the textile in question was a special one. It was called *ṣubātum qatnum* and was a very fine product, showing a close weave and a special finishing treatment, worth half a mina of silver. This kind of textile moreover cannot be equated with the well known *kutānum*, as there is no need to posit this word as **qutānum* and derive it from the root *qtn*, "thin" (cf. below ch. VIII, 1). TC 3/1, 17 moreover requests that Waqartum in weaving this textile, should process 1 mina of wool more than in the previous pieces. From BIN 4, 10, quoted below on p. 111f., 1), we may infer that processing more wool resulted not so much in a heavier as in a larger textile: the previous ones, the text says, were "too small". Processing 1 mina of wool more in our case, consequently could mean an increase of surface area of at most 20%. But in view of the other request to keep the weave close, now she is using more wool, this increase probably was less. Moreover there is no reason to suppose that these fine textiles were different in size, as they served the same commercial purposes; the difference was rather their special weave and finish. The text itself mentions that if Waqartum cannot produce such textiles she should buy them, "as there are plenty for sale" in Aššur. This suggests it was not an abnormal specimen and that its size probably approached the average. In fact starting from a surface area of some 18 m^2 and a weight of some 5 minas, the tissue weighed ca. 130-140 grams a square metre, which is very acceptable for hand woven woollen tissues [151]).

"fulling" of the completed weave; cf. the translation "finisher of cloth" for *māḫiṣum*, given by M. Held, *JAOS* 79, 1959, 175b) could be applied by several slave-girls simultaneously, perhaps because it required more strength and effort.

[150]) Cf. Mary G. Houston, *Ancient Egyptian, Mesopotamian and Persian Costume*, London 1954², 115ff., with fig. 117 and 125f.

[151]) Modern woollen fabrics used for clothing weigh about 50-90 grams a square

c) *Fractions of textiles*

This large size makes it understandable that even fractions of complete textiles, ranging from ⅓ to 1/6, are mentioned in the texts and constitute units of value. These fractions are most frequently met in texts dealing with the taxes to be paid to the local Anatolian rulers: the *nisḫatum* of 5% and the "tithe", another 10% of the textiles, after deduction of those taken as *nisḫatum*. Exact calculations of these taxes yielded odd figures and fractions in many cases: ten times half a textile, twice each ⅓, ⅔ and ¾ of a textile, and even once 1/6 and 5/6 of one. One might object that these fractions occur in accounts and do not prove the textiles were in fact cut into smaller pieces; and indeed some texts do suggest the fractions were merely items of the book-keeping. In CCT 5, 39a, 1ff. e.g. we read: [1] *i-na 90* [+ *1* TÚG.ḪI.A] [2] *ša a-na* É.[GAL-*lim*] [3] *e-ru-bu-m*[*a 4½* TÚG] [4] *ni-is-ḫa-t*[*um*] [*8⅔* TÚG] [5] *iš-ra-tum ba-x-*[*-x(-x)*] [6] *⅔ ma-na 3* GÍN *ša-*[*tum*] [7] *1⅓ ma-na 3* GÍN *ša-tum* [8] *a-na e-lá-tim a-lá-pá-at* [9] *77⅚* TÚG *iz-ku-ú-nim*, "of the 9[1] [textiles] which entered the palace, the *nisḫatum* amounted to [4½ textiles], [8⅔ textiles] the "tithe"..... ⅔ mina 3 shekels (for) the one item [152]), 1⅓ minas 3 shekels (for) the other item, I will book for the enterprise; 77⅚ textiles became available (for sale)" [153]). The use of the verb *lapātum* and the noun *ellutum* suggest an entry in the accounts and not the existence of real fragments of textiles. One might also quote *AnOr* VI no. 15, 12ff., where in a similar context mentioning fractions of textiles it is stated that an amount of silver should be taken from the funds(?) of the enterprise (*ina mišitti ellitim laqā'um*) [154]). But nevertheless in both texts the number of textiles cleared and available for sale is not a round figure; in the last text it is even 23⅙ (lines 14-15).

metre, though tweed is heavier. Cotton varies from 100-170 grams, and linen is at least 200 grams a square metre.

[152]) *ša-tum* used twice in this text, and apparently being a pronoun, is not found in HECKER *GKT* § 52a. The word refers to the two taxes, *nisḫatum* and *išrātum*, "the one....the other (item)". I can only explain the word as the 3rd pers.sg.fem. of the so-called "determinative-relative-indefinite pronoun", discussed by GELB *MAD* II², 1961, 133 *sub* 3. But in our text it has a case ending, which perhaps might be considered as a locative, "for the one item... for the other.... I will book", but may also be a nominative in apposition.

[153]) The reconstructed figures in this text are the only ones which make sense and can explain the figure in line 9. The reading of line 5 is not certain. Before the BA there is a vertical wedge, which may be a word divider; but its low position could suggest the reading [Š]À.BA, while the first *x* might be É, in which case one might restore to É [*kà-ri-im*], because there are many examples of book-keeping of enterprises in the *bīt kārim*. The two amounts mentioned of course are negative items in the books.

[154]) The word *mišittum* probably denotes a depot or fund, functioning as a kind of reserve at times. Cf. for this word the references in ORLIN *ACC* 60[88]. Moreover ICK 1, 124, 25; TC 3/1, 42, 5 and ATHE 47, 26.

One might again object that also these final figures do not imply that these fractions of textiles in fact existed, pointing to BIN 4, 27 and BIN 4, 61. In the first text (line 22) 85½ textiles become available, but the ½ textile is neglected in the rest of the text describing the sales; in the second text (LARSEN "type 3 : 11") 72¾ textiles remain (line 10), but the ¾ textile disappears without trace (cf. LARSEN *OACP* 127). In CCT 4, 13a (LARSEN "type 3 : 13") we read that 27 textiles become available, while in fact this should have been only 26½ pieces (cf. LARSEN *OACP* 134). Here the fractions of textiles seem not to have existed in reality.

But other texts do not suggest such an interpretation. An argument for considering these fractions as real units is the following. Whenever the calculation of the taxes requires the payment of fractions smaller than ¼ (the ⅙ textile occurring once is an exception), one does not pay *in natura*, but in silver. In CCT 4, 13a (LARSEN "type 3 : 13") *e.g.* the *nisḫatum* for 52 textiles is 2,6 textiles [155]); the merchant pays 2½ textiles and balances by paying 1 shekel of silver. In BIN 4, 61 (LARSEN "type 3 : 11") the tithe amounts to 8 3/40 textiles; the merchant pays 8 textiles, and balances 2 shekels of silver for the rest. These examples could be multiplied [156]).

We also meet fractions of textiles in other contexts. Half a textile in BIN 4, 141, 1; 177, 1; TTC 22, 4; L 29-560, 15; ⅔ textile in CCT 4, 43a, 40. In some cases one may regard these curious figures as merely denoting somebody's share in a commonly owned lot of textiles. But elsewhere there is nothing to support this interpretation.

All these facts support the conclusion that the Assyrians traded in rather big standardized pieces of textile, and not in garments. Of course these will have been used for fashioning garments in most cases. The problem remains that the size seems to be too big for one garment, while the weight on the contrary agrees with the weights of garments in Ur-III and at Nuzi.

2. GARMENTS

Nevertheless we do occasionally meet garments in the texts. As such one might consider primarily TÚG *lubūšum* and TÚG *kusītum*, both known as designations of garments from other periods. *lubūšum*, to be discussed

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[155]) The word *nisḫatum* is (perhaps by mistake) missing in CCT 4, 13a, 7 after *kutānī*, but should certainly be understood there.

[156]) Cf. ATHE 62, 17ff.: *nisḫatum* on 111 textiles: $5^{11}/_{20}$; the merchants pay 5½ textiles plus $^{5}/_{6}$ shekel of silver; BIN 6, 167, 6ff.: the merchant pays 30½ textiles plus 1 shekel of silver; CCT 3, 26b, 3ff.: *nisḫatum* on 112 textiles: 5½ textiles plus 1½ shekel of silver (instead of $5^{3}/_{5}$ textiles). See also AnOr VI no. 1; TC 3/1, 24, 8.

below ch. VIII, 9, occurs in rather small quantities only (the biggest number is 13); the number of *kusiātum* is even more restricted [157]). Even granted that both were garments they only represent a fraction of the textiles.

A number of times moreover we meet the verb *labāšum* (Gt and D):

BIN 4, 94, 12ff.: *a-bar-ni-a-am* [13] *a-na li-tab-ší-a* [14] *lu-šé-li-a-am*, "let him send up an Abarnian-textile, to dress myself in".

CCT 4, 45b, 27f.: TÚG.ḪI.A *a-li-tab-ší-šu* [28] *šé-bi$_4$-lá-ma*, "send textiles/garments for his dress" (cf. 24: TÚG.ḪI.A *a-lu-bu-uš-tí-ší-na*).

CCT 5, 33b, 9ff.: *ku-ta-nam* [10] *a-li-tab-ší-šu* [11] *a-dí-šum*, "I gave him a *kutānum* to dress himself in".

RHA XVIII, 37, 15f.: *2* TÚG SIG$_5$ *a-ša-sú ù šu-a-tí* [16] *ú-la-bi-iš*, "I dressed his wife and himself in two garments of good quality".

TC 1, 19, 16ff.: *2* [*š*]*u-ri-in dam-qí-in a-na* [17] *li-tab-ší-a*, "two *šurum*-textiles/garments of good quality to dress myself in".

TC 3/3, 210, 3ff.: *12½* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR [4] *ku-nu-ki-a a-ṣé-er* ^{f}*A* [5] *ú* ^{f}*B a-na* TÚG.ḪI.A *ša li-tab-ší-a* [6] *ša-a-mì-im*, "12½ shekels of silver under my seals addressed to ^{f}A and ^{f}B to buy textiles/garments to dress myself."

VAT 9237, 9f.: *e-pá-da-am a-na* [10] «*a*» *li-tab-ší-a ša-ma-*«*ma-*»*am*, "buy me one *ēpattum* to dress myself" [158]).

We note that these texts do not deal with normal trading operations, but rather with personal matters, as indicated by the repeated use of the pron.suff. with the inf.Gt of *labāšum* [159]). Though we meet in these texts the textiles called *abarnīum*, *kutānum*, *šurum* and TÚG SIG$_5$, which play an important role in the trade, I am not convinced that one is allowed to infer from the fact that these textiles here occur together with *labāšum*, that they were all garments. One may assume that garments made from these various types of textile products could simply retain the names of the textiles, or that in fact pieces of textiles were asked for and sent. The use of the verb *labāšum* does not prove that they were finished garments; the verb can also be translated as "to use for clothing" or the like. *AHw*

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[157]) Never more than 4 pieces, except EL 145, 9 where 41 *kusiātum* are mentioned. Cf. for this textile below ch. VIII,7.

[158]) Cf. also ICK 1, 15, 18f.: *ší-tí* TÚG.ḪI.A *ú-lá-ḫa-*AB*-ma* [19] *il$_5$-ta-bu-šu-ni-šu-nu*, "the rest of the textiles I will....., so that they may dress themselves in them(?)" (cf. for *laḫḫupum*, WINKENBACH no. 7 (courtesy Mr. M. T. LARSEN), 13: *2* TÚG.ḪI.A *ú-lá-ḫi-*BU*-nim* and HECKER *GKT* § 30a s.v.; the meaning "einwickeln", "in Tuch hüllen", *AHw* 540b s.v. *la''upum* II, seems not certain to me; what is the difference with *lawūm*?). Also not clear is TC 3/2, 161, 4ff.: *1* TÚG *pá*[1]*-ṣí-um i-nu-mì a-na* [5] É *mu-*ZI*-im iq-ru-ú-šu-ni* [6] *a-kà-ri-im lá-bu-ší-im*, "one white textile, when they invited him to the .....-house, in order to dress the *kārum*" (or perhaps "the host", reading *qá-ri-im*?).

[159]) *labāšum* in a context dealing with private affairs, the clothing of women and personnel, occurs in: BIN 6, 189, 17'; ICK 1, 111, 3; 2,210, 2; KTH 5, 18; KTS 34b, 16; TC 3/2, 164, 22.

523b notes for *labāšum* Gt the following meanings: 1. (Stat.) "ist bekleidet mit"; 2. "mit Kleidung versehen"; 3. "lit. anziehen". Most of the passages quoted above could be well explained starting from the second meaning. One may in this connection also point to the use of *lubūšum/lubūštum* in caravan documents, where the expenses on clothing for the personnel are mentioned with words like "x shekels of silver their *lubūšum*" [160]). This does not mean that the personnel received actual garments, but a ration or allowance in silver to make good the costs of clothing, an item which was booked among the expenses of the caravan [161]). Clothing for servants in fact was much cheaper than the textiles exported from Aššur: ATHE 47, 20f. mentions TÚG.ḪI.A *ana lubūš ṣuḫārī* costing between ½ and 1 shekel of silver apiece.

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[160]) TC 3/1, 36, 43: *3 kaṣṣārē 6* GÍN *lubūššunu*; also TC 3/1, 43, 21f.: *4 kaṣṣārē qadī lubūšišunu*; *1 1/3* GÍN *ana lubūš A*, TC 2, 6, 18f. In TC 3/2 ,176, 3f. *1 ½* GÍN *ana lubūštiša*, *lubūštum* may have the same meaning as *lubūšum*.

[161]) Cf. the figures in LARSEN *OACP* 150-1.

CHAPTER SIX

THE PROVENANCE OF THE TEXTILES

The textiles exported by the Assyrians came from various sources. We have to distinguish between those made locally by the Assyrians and those imported from elsewhere, mainly from Babylonia. A number of textiles can on good grounds be assigned to one of these two categories, for others the evidence is lacking. Moreover we meet a limited number of textiles bought primarily *en route*, mainly in Northern Mesopotamia or Northern Syria; they play a part in the trade in Anatolia, but were also imported in Aššur on a limited scale. Finally there are a number of textiles of local Anatolian manufacture, which played a not unimportant role in the intra-Anatolian trade, in which the Assyrians also took an active part. These products were not normally exported to Aššur and there are even indications that the Assyrian authorities tried to hamper or prevent their circulation among Assyrians.

1. BABYLONIAN IMPORTS IN AŠŠUR

The numerous occurrences of the TÚG(.ḪI.A) *ša akkidīē*, "Akkadian textiles" are proof of Babylonian imports in Aššur. The famous text VAT 9249, mentioned above p. 88 with note 132, states in lines 4-14: "as to the purchase of Akkadian textiles, about which you wrote to me, since you left, the Akkadians have not entered the City; their country is in revolt. If they arrive before the winter, and there is the possibility of a purchase which allows you profit, we will buy (them) for you and we will pay the silver from our own means. You should take care to send the silver". The consequence of this interrupted import is described in TC 1, 11, 9ff. (though it is not certain this text refers to the same incident): *a-na* [10] *2 ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR *ša tù-šé-bi-lá-ni* [11] *ki-ma ší-mu-um* [12] *ša a-ki-dí-e lá-áp-tù-ni* [13] *lá ú-šé-ba-lá-kum* [14] *šu-ma a-dí 10 u_4-me-e* [15] *ší-mu-um ša a-ki-dí-e* [16] *lá i-ta-áš-ra-am* [17] AN.NA *a-ša-a-ma* [18] *ú-še-ba-lá-kum*, "I did not send you Akkadian textiles for the 2 minas of silver which you sent me, because the commerce in these textiles is badly affected. Should the commerce not have become normal again within 10 days, then I will buy and send you tin". TC 2, 7, 20ff and probably BIN 6, 75, 22 deal with similar situations [162]).

[162]) TC 1, 11 is a letter from Kurub-Ištar to Aššur-nādā; TC 2, 7 from Puzur-

For further details on the "Akkadian textiles"—frequency, numbers, prices, various data—I refer to ch. VIII, 6.

a) *The meaning of "Akkad(ian)"* [163])

Who in fact where "the Akkadians" trading with Aššur, who gave the textiles their name, and whose country was in revolt? Theoretically there are three possible answers:

a) the inhabitants of the heartland of the former Akkadian empire; Akkad would mean more or less Northern Babylonia;

b) the Akkadian speaking Babylonians as contrasted with people speaking Sumerian; this could point again to Northern and Middle Babylonia (as distinguished from Sumer);

c) the inhabitants of the whole of Babylonia, as contrasted (for political or dialectal reasons) with Assyria.

The few other occurrences of *akkidīum* in OA texts do not help us to solve this problem. Some articles are qualified as *ša akkidīē*: a *šitrum* ("veil"?; cf. below p. 176f.); a *musārum* (perhaps an ornament or amulet) [164]) and perhaps sheep: CCT 5, 32a, 13ff. UDU.ḪI.A *ṣú-pu-ú ra-qú-tum ša a-kà-dí-e*, "lean Akkadian grazing sheep" [165]). These occurrences only show that *ša akkidīē* was sometimes used like a real adjective, sharing the

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Aššur to Pūšu-kēn; BIN 6, 75 from Inā and the *tamkārum* to Inā's representatives and a number of addressees, partly broken away; VAT 9249 from Aššur-mālik and Šalim-Aššur to Pūšu-kēn. The texts may refer to different situations, because interruptions in the imports will have occurred more than once. Cf. for TC 1, 11 and 2, 7 below p. 377.

[163]) After my manuscript had been finished I could take cognizance of F. R. KRAUS, *Sumerer und Akkader. Ein Problem der altmesopotamischen Geschichte*, Amsterdam 1970 (Mededelingen d. Kon. Ned. Akad. v. Wetensch., Afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel 33, No. 8), which contains in chapter III (p. 22-35) a full discussion of the meaning of "Akkad(ian)". His conclusion, that "Akkad(ian)" as used by the Old Assyrians probably simply means "Babylonia(n)" (p. 31, b) agrees with mine formulated on p. 101. I cannot share his opinion about KTS 52a, 17f., expressed in note 98 on p. 31, because, a) a payment of only $1^2/_3$ shekel for "Akkadian (textiles)" would be incredibly low; and b) *a-ki-dí-e* is followed by *ú sú-ba-ri-im*, which, as no "Subarian textiles" are attested, should mean "and to the Subarian "(cf. for this text below).

[164]) Cf. LEWY 1959, 224 and BALKAN 1965 col. 161. Or to be connected with *misarrum*, "belt" in BIN 6, 169, 13, cf. *AHw* 658b s.v.?

[165]) "Akkadian sheep" are also attested in ḪḪ 13, 20, alongside "Ur-sheep" and "Amurru-sheep". These names are no lexical inventions, cf. *CAD* A, 2, 94a, b: YOS 8, 1, 32. Cf. the OA designation *emmerē s/zitlunīē*, "S/Zitlunian sheep" in CCT 2, 18, 26; cf. TC 3/1, 61, 9. That *ra-qú-tum* in our text would mean "a thin textile" is less likely. Note the exceptional writing *a-kà-dí-e* (CCT 5, 32a, 15) without vowel harmony. A form **akdīum* postulated by LEWY 1961, 53^{128} does not exist, as we have to read in BIN 6, 75, 15: *tár-dí-ú-tim*; cf. below ch. IX, 5, d.

number with the governing noun [166]). "Akkadian" people are found moreover in KTS 52a (KT 91), 17f.: *1⅔* GÍN *a-na* [18] *a-ki-dí-e ú sú-ba-ri-im*, "1⅔ shekel for the Akkadians and the Subarian". An unpublished text, called F.T.4 by Mr. M. T. LARSEN, who kindly provided its transliteration, has in lines 28-29: *30 ma-na* URUDU KI *a-ki-dí-im*, "30 minas of copper owed by the Akkadian" [167]). The main interest lies in the fact that "Akkadians" are mentioned together with a "Subarian" [168]).

A roughly contemporary reference to "Akkadians" is found in the Ilušūma inscription *AOB* I, 7-8, no. 2//WEIDNER *ZA* 43, 1936, 114ff. where lines II, 13ff. (lines 49ff.) read: *a-du-ra-ar a-kà-dì-i ù ma-ri-šu-nu áš-ku-un*, "I established the freedom of the Akkadians and their 'sons'". Lines II, 19ff. (55ff.) specify that this "freedom" extended "from the face of the Lagoon(?), and Ur and Nippur, Awal and Kismar, Dēr (the city) of Ištarān, up to the City (of Aššur)." Unfortunately the meaning of the measures taken by Ilušūma is far from clear, and it is in doubt whether the text means that Akkadians lived in the whole of the territory mentioned, or that the king granted "Akkadians" freedom (of movement for commercial purposes) within this large territory [169]).

Interpretation a) mentioned above is unlikely, because it would give "Akkadian" a politico-historical meaning, deriving from a situation of at least three centuries before. This does not exclude that the qualification "Akkadian" may have been shaped in the third mill. B.C. (cf. already túg . uri in OAkk texts; references *CAD* A, 1, 272b, b, 3'), and may have indicated products of a style or shape typical for the region of Akkad. But I doubt whether we should attach this "historical" meaning to OA

[166]) BIN 6, 64 alternates between *musārum ša akkidīm* (28) and the dual *musārān ša akkidīn* (25).

[167]) A derivation from the PN Akūtum is impossible, because its gen. is *A-ku-tim* (CCT 5, 16a, 15). The gentilic *Akkidīum* of course could have been used as a PN, cf. *Ḫattītum* (LEWY 1950, 373[43]).

[168]) The translation "Subarian" may be open to criticism, and is not without problems, which cannot be tackled here. Cf. for recent discussions H. HIRSCH *AfO* 21, 1966, 53ff.; P. GARELLI *RA* 60, 1966, 136ff.; J. LEWY, 1967, 1ff.

[169]) Another problem of this text is the meaning of II, 17-18 (53-54) *erūšunu amsī*, "I washed their copper". A meaning "freedom of movement" is defended by J. and H. LEWY (LEWY 1958, 99 and note 68; H. LEWY 1965, 31f.), who translated or interpreted the words just quoted as "I provided them with refined copper", taking it as an economic measure. H. LEWY—*loc. cit.*—even assumes that the "Akkadian" in whose interest Ilušūma acted was king Sūmuābum of Babylon. This interpretation is questionable on many points. But taking *andurārum* in our text as denoting "freedom" in the sense of exemption from labour service, remission of debts and taxes, and translating *erūšunu amsī* with "I cleared (lit. washed) them of their (obligation to pay) copper (as tax)" is also not without problems (*CAD* E 321 b, a; A, 2, 116b, i). I don't wish to draw conclusions from this difficult text, but

ša akkidīē.

The linguistic contrast mentioned *sub* b) is evidenced by the use of *akkadū* to denote the Akkadian version of a OB year-name (*CAD* A, 1, 272b, a, 1). But it hardly corresponds to an ethnic or cultural reality in OB and OA times, when the Akkadian and Sumerian elements have merged and only a measure of (official) bilingualism keeps the linguistic distinction alive. Nevertheless the qualification "Akkadian" may have a more material cultural background, when it is used to describe objects and is contrasted with other similar *nisbe*'s. E.g. in Ḫḫ, where uri/*akkadū* is used with parts of furniture, ships and sheep [170]), and occurs alongside qualifications like: "of Magan", "of Meluḫḫa", "of Tilmun", "of Amurru", "of Aššur", "of Mari", and "of Ur". While the first three denote faraway foreign countries, and Amurru, Aššur and Mari are in some way border provinces, Mesopotamia proper—Sumer and Akkad—are only represented by Akkad and Ur. As a qualification "of Sumer" is notably absent, there is reason to contrast Akkad and Ur as Northern and Middle versus Southern Babylonia. One could compare the pair ki.en.gi—ki.uri in royal titles, a pair which is moreover distinguished in a literary text from kur.šubur and kur.mar.tu (equivalents of Aššur/Subartu and Amurru) [171]). In line with these lexically attested distinctions, "Akkadians" should be the inhabitants of Northern and Middle Babylonia.

Because, as said before, this contrast (or the contrast Sumer—Akkad) seems outdated in OA times and it is hardly likely the Assyrians used a purely traditional terminology, which did not correspond to a reality in their own times, solution c) has to be preferred: "Akkadians" are the population of Babylonia proper, contrasted with Assyrians, Amorites etc. As a parallel to the distinction Akkadian—Assyrian one may note the pair LÚ *akkadū* and LÚ *amurrū* in the Edict of Ammiṣaduqa (F. R. KRAUS, *SD* 5, 188a) from the later OB period. KRAUS describes the "Akkadians" as "die alteingesessenen akkadisch sprechenden Bewohner des Königreichs", to be distinguished from the "Amorites", perhaps the newly settled, non-Akkadian speaking bedouin element [172]). Following J.-R.

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think in it "Akkadians" may denote "Babylonians" as inhabitants of middle and southern Mesopotamia (cf. now KRAUS op. cit. (note 163), 30, 14a).

[170]) Ḫḫ 4, 163.194.280; 13, 20. Cf. *CAD* A, 1, 272b, b, 2′ for references in OB texts to "Akkadian ships".

[171]) Cf. W. W. HALLO, *Royal Titles* 77ff., esp. 87f.

[172]) FINKELSTEIN, *RA* 63, 1969, 53[1] now tentatively defines the distinction as one between "urbanites" ("primarily, though not exclusively, denoting the residents of the old established cities of Sumer and Akkad and their surrounding agricultural lands") and "rural population" ("i.e., primarily the steppe dwellers,

KUPPER KRAUS concludes that in the royal titles used by Ḫammurapi and Ammiditana, Kiš, Sumer and Akkad are equivalent to "Akkad" or "the Akkadians" in the Edict.

A later parallel from Nuzi, no doubt influenced by Babylonian scribal tradition, is the use of *akkadū*, sometimes preceded by kur, to denote "Babylonia". Once people *ša* ^{kur}*ak-ka$_4$-dì* are contrasted with people *ša* ^{kur}*a-šur* (HSS 13, 63, 5 and 14); another text mentions LÚ *ir-ra-zi ša ak-ka$_4$-dì-i* beside LÚ *aš-šu-ra-a-ú* (HSS 13, 123, 12-13). Note that also KAV 100, 23 (MA) speaks of "Akkadian" objects.

That the designation *akkadū* remained in use also in later times to qualify objects and animals (furniture, weapons, cattle; *CAD* A, 1, 271a/273b) may be a survival of a qualification denoting a special style or the incorporation of some traditional characteristics. There are many modern parallels to this use of *nisbe's* for furniture, porcelain, textiles, cattle, horses etc. Some of them may have become totally devoid of their original meaning, e.g. in Babylonian the adjective *arattū*, lit. "of Aratta", with a meaning "excellent, noble" in NA and NB texts (*CAD* A, 2, 238b-239a)[173]).

The presence of "Akkadian textiles" in Aššur proves the existence of regular imports from Babylonia. Textile production and weaving was in fact one of the traditional crafts, practised almost like an industry, of Babylonia [174]), as we know especially from texts of the Ur-III period [175]). Although textual evidence from the following Isin-Larsa period—roughly contemporary with OA trade—and the early Old Babylonian period in general is rather scanty, there is no reason to doubt that Babylonia maintained this tradition. The well documented and carefully administered wool production [176]) suggests the existence of a complementary textile production and, as before, export. This is not the place to collect and analyse OB data on these matters. I only point to the following texts, which, though not as numerous as we would have expected, show a measure of continuation of the practices of the Ur-III period: YOS 5, 62; 94; 96; 165; 177; 199; 207 (enumerates various kinds of textiles or garments, costing 3-4 shekels of silver); W 20472, 129 and W 20478 (from

wherever it may be, in the South as well as the Northwest, mainly pastoral and tribal but not exclusively so"). The pair *Akkadūm—Amurrūm* has been compared to the pair *Ḫana*meš—*Akkadūm* in ARM 6, 76, 20f.

[173]) Cf. also the qualification *abarnīum*, denoting a kind of textile in OA texts, probably to be derived from a place-name, but with hardly any connection with the original town, which is not even mentioned in OA texts.

[174]) Cf. also *'addèrèṭ šin'ār 'aḥaṭ ṭōḇā*, 'one fine Babylonian dress', in Jos. 7, 21.

[175]) Cf. in general Th. JACOBSEN, *'On the Textile Industry at Ur under Ibbi-Sin'*, *Festschrift J. Pedersen*, 1953, 172ff.

[176]) Cf. F. R. KRAUS, *Staatliche Viehhaltung im Altbabylonischen Lande Larsa*, Amsterdam 1966, 27ff. Cf. for wool trade W. F. LEEMANS JESHO 11, 1968, 178f.

Uruk; cf. A. FALKENSTEIN, *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 2, 38); UET 5, 367; 848 (mentions 50 textiles, merchandise of the well known merchant Ea-nāṣir, costing 2-3 shekels of silver) [177]); EDZARD 1970, 132 no. 108 (an enumeration of various lots of textiles with their value in silver, in all 178 pieces, costing about 1⅔ shekel of silver apiece on the average). Textile trade is also documented in VS 16, 30, 7ff.

2. ASSYRIAN TEXTILE PRODUCTION

Our sources for the knowledge of Assyrian textile production are in the first place a number of letters, mainly exchanged between Assyrian merchants living in Anatolia and their female relatives living in Aššur. In these letters the merchants give instructions about the types of textiles they want to receive and, sometimes, about details of size, the amount of wool to be processed, finishing treatment etc. Some letters of the women, written in response to the demands and comments received from Anatolia, give us further information, and show the concern of the women to comply with the wishes of the merchants, and their industry in providing the items desired. Indirect evidence is contained in texts dealing with the shipments of silver and gold from Anatolia to Aššur. Among the amounts enumerated we often find smaller or larger sums of silver and gold, especially addressed to women, among whom figure predominantly those known to have been active in textile production according to the letters just mentioned. These texts suggest that these women were rewarded for their work, and, though working for the benefit of the business of their male relatives, somehow kept a separate purse.

a) *TC 3/1, 17*

By far the most detailed source for our knowledge about the manufacture of textiles is the letter TC 3/1, 17—already mentioned several times above—addressed by Puzur-Aššur to Waqartum, a woman—also called Waq(q)urtum [178])—we will meet again later on in this paragraph. In view

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[177]) Cf. also W. F. LEEMANS, *Foreign Trade*, 10 and 128ff.

[178]) Cf. for the possible identity of the two names HECKER *GKT* § 9a. The Waqartum of TC 3/1, 17 may even be identical with the daughter of the well known merchant Pūšu-kēn, who was a priestess (called both nin.dingir and *gubabtum*) and bore the name Aḫāḫā, but had the nickname Waqartum/Wa(q)qurtum too. Cf. EL 16, 9-22: Aḫāḫā daughter of Pūšu-kēn, the nin.dingir, beside Waq(q)urtum, daughter of Pūšu-kēn in CCT 5, 43, 29, and ATHE 24 A, 11: Aḫāḫā, the *gubabtum*-priestess, sister of Aššur-muttabbil, Buzāzu and Ikuppāša, sons of Pūšu-kēn. If this is true the letters TC 3/1, 17 and BIN 4, 96 (mentioned below p. 109) are additional indications of the textile production by the female members of the

of the importance of this letter, I first give a transliteration, translation and detailed commentary of it, before discussing the other evidence for Assyrian textile production.

um-ma Puzur—A-šur-ma		"Thus (speaks) Puzur-Aššur:
a-na Wa-qá-ar-tim qí-bi-ma		"Say unto Waqartum:
1 ma-na KÙ.BABBAR *ni-is-ḫa-sú*		1 mina of silver, its tax added,
DIRIG *ša-du-wa-sú ša-bu*		its duties paid for,
ku-nu-ki-a A-šur—i-dí na-áš-a-ki-/im	5	Aššur-īdī is bringing you under my seal.
ṣú-ba-tám qá-at-na-am		The fine textile,
ša tù-šé-bi-li-ni		which you sent me—
ša ki-ma šu-wa-ti ep-ší-ma		keep producing similar textiles
iš-tí A-šur—i-dí šé-bi$_4$-li-ma		and send (them) to me with
½ *ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR *lu-šé-bi$_4$-lá-ki-/im*	10	Aššur-īdī, and I will send you ½ mina of silver (apiece).
ša ṣú-ba-tim pá-na-am		Let them comb one side
iš-té-na-ma li-im-šu-du		of the textile;
la i-qá-tù-pu-šu		they should not shear it;
šu-tù-šu lu ma-da-at		its weave should be close.
i-ṣé-er pá-ni-im	15	Compared with the previous textile, which you sent me,
ṣú-ba-tim ša tù-šé-bi$_4$-li-/ni		
ša-áp-tám 1 ma-na.TA		process 1 mina of wool extra (in)
ra-dí-i-ma lu qá-at-nu	rev.	each (piece), but keep them thin!
pá-na-am ša-ni-a-am!		The other side
i-li-la li-im-šu-du	20	one should comb *slightly* (?).
šu-ma ša-ar-tám i-ta-áš-ú		If it is still hairy, one
ki-ma ku-ta-nim li-iq-tù-/pu-šu		should shear (it) like a *kutānum*.
a-ba-ar-ni-a-am!		The Abarnian textile,
ša tù-šé-bi-li-ni		which you sent me—
la ta-tù-ri-ma ša ki-ma	25	a similar one you should
a-mì-im la tù-šé-bi$_4$-li-im		not again send me.
šu-ma té-pí-ší ša ki-ma		If you want to make one, make
a-ma-kam al-ta-áb-šu? *ep-ší*		one like the one I wore(?) there.
šu-ma ṣú-ba-tí qá-at-nu-tim		If you don't manage to make
la ta-kà-ší-di a-ša-me-ma	30	fine textiles, as I hear there
a-ma-kam a-ší-mì-im		are plenty for sale over there.
ma-du ša-mì-ma		Buy (them) for me and
šé-bi-li-im ga-am-ra-am!		send (them) to me. A complete

family of Pūšu-kēn, among whom Lamassī, to be dealt with in the next paragraph, is the best known.

ṣú-ba-ta-am[!] (finished?) textile,
ša té-pí-ši-ni tí-šé i-na-mì-tim which you make, should be
lu ú-ru-uk-šu ša-ma-né nine cubits long
i-na a-mì-tim lu ru-pu-šu and eight cubits wide" ".

Commentary:

6. *ṣubātum qatnum*, "fine textile": *qatnum*, "thin" means that someting is thin and long (e.g. used of threads; it is contrasted with *raqqum*, "thin (and flat)", used of sheets, cf. below p. 214ff). It is used of wool, Ḫḫ 19, 35: síg.sig = *qatnātum* (next to *gurnu*, "second quality" and *kabrātum*, "thick") and the forerunner CT 6, 14, XII, 17: [síg].šà.sig, "wool of thin fibers" (cf. *MSL* 10, 143, 5 and 146, 15). Consequently *qatnum* can be used of textiles only metaphorically, denoting they are woven of thin wool, with a thin and closely strung warp and a fine woof. Note that *Malku* VI, with the original meaning of *qatnum* in mind, equates *ṣubātu qatnu* both with *ṣubātu banū* and *ṣubātu lābiru*; an old textile, being threadbare, shows thin threads (STT II, 393 obv. 39-40). *Qatnum* describing a textile or garment is not very frequent. Some OA occurrences are mentioned below p. 148. Cf. from other texts and periods: OB: YOS 2, 16, 38: *2* TÚG.BAR.SI *qa-at-nu*; *AbB* 1, 39, 24: TÚG *ṣú-ba-as-sú qá-at-na*; YOS 5, 161, 1: TÚG.GÚ.È SÍG.A.SIG; Nuzi: *JEN* I, 61, 9; in the Hittite Laws, § 182, a TÚG.SIG is the most expensive quality, costing 30 shekels of silver; cf. for other Hittite references A. GOETZE, *JCS* 10, 36 *sub* 2, "Garments"; for the combination *naḫlaptu qatantu* in MB texts ARO 1970, 27f., s.v. *naḫlaptu*. From later times: *40* MA *ṭu-a-nu* GADA *qa-at*[!]*-nu* (collation J. N. POSTGATE), *ADD* 953, V, 15, quoted by OPPENHEIM, *JCS* 21, 1967, 248. There is no etymological relation between *qatnum* and a putative **qutānum*, cf. the arguments below ch. VIII, 1ff.

12. *iš-té-na-ma*: *CAD* I/J 278b s.v. *ištēnâ* 1, a analyses the word as *ištēnâ* + *ma*, translating "they should press one by one each surface". *CAD* Ṣ 222b s.v. *ṣubātu* 1, a, 1′ maintains this derivation, but translates "let them comb the surface once". Both translations are wrong as they overlook the obvious contrast *pānam iš-té-na-ma* (11-12)—*pānam šanīam* (19). The word has to be analysed as the cardinal (st. rectus) masc.acc. + *ma*. Cf. similar forms in GARELLI-KENNEDY 1960 no. 2, 11: *iš-té-nam* (without *-ma*) and TC 3/2, 92, 20: *iš-té-ta-ma*, its fem. counterpart (cf. *CAD* I/J 282a s.v. *ištênu*; *AHw* 400 s.v. *ištē/īnum*; HECKER *GKT* § 68b). The cardinal, with or without case-ending, is used as ordinal, "the one/first". The translation should be "one side....the other side", cf. the contrast *ištēnam/šanīam* (used of two pieces of one garment) in Gilg.Penn. II, 28f.. *pānum* denoting the surface of a piece of textile is also attested in

Iraq 25, 1963, 183: U 7793 (UET 6/2, 414), 5; cf. also *RA* 64, 1970, 33 no. 25, 1ff.: *1* TÚG *ḫa-li-ši-ik-num* [2] *ša* giš NÁ [3] *ša 2 pa-nu-šu* [4] *4* TÚG ḪUZ.ZA *bi-rum* [5] *1* TÚG NÍG.*x ša 2 pa-nu-šu* [6] *ša ki-im-di-im*, where the words *2 pānūšu* may denote that both sides of the piece had received a finishing treatment (*kamādum* according to line 6?).

Our text consequently shows that the two sides of the textile received a different finishing treatment: one side (probably the outer side) was combed, in order to make it a little bit rough and hairy; the other, inner side was probably carefully and (s)lightly(?) combed to keep the surface smooth. The finishing of the inner side is probably mentioned in BIN 4, 63, 19f.: 5[?] TÚG.ḪI.A *dam-qú-tim* [20] *ša qé-er-ba-am šál-mu-ni*, "five textiles, perfect(ly finished) on the inner side". The purchase price mentioned, 12 or 13 shekels, was in fact rather high.

12-13. The meaning of the two technical terms *mašādum* and *qatāpum* has caused some problems. *CAD* I/J (loc. cit.) translates the first with "to press", giving *mašādum* a meaning like *AHw* 623a: "schlagen, walken". This suggests the final product was some kind of cloth ("Tuch"). *CAD* Ṣ (loc. cit.) translates "to comb", and apparently connects the verb with the word commonly posited as *mušṭu*, "comb". *AHw* 687a s.v. *mušṭu* gives no etymology, and refuses to connect it with *mašādum*. In *OLZ* 1965, col. 158 (*ad* ICK 2, 299, 11′: TÚG *lá qá-at-pá-am*) K. BALKAN presents LANDSBERGER's ideas on this terminology. He warns one to distinguish between similar treatments applied to the wool, the threads and the woven tissue. In the latter case—the subject of the present letter—he distinguishes three treatments:

a) *mašādum*, "kämmen", "hecheln" (mit Kamm); *AHw.*: "walken";

b) *mašārum*, "rauhen", "kardätschen", engl. "to teazel" (mit Dornen, Disteln); *AHw.*: "aufrauhen";

c) *qatāpum*, "scheren", "glattstutzen", engl. "to shear, to crop" (mit Messer); *CAD* I/J *loc. cit.* "to teasel" [179]).

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[179]) In KOSCHAKER *NRUA* 20 and 20[2] LANDSBERGER describes *mašārum* as "in einen Stoff eindringend darüber streifen" (reference Prof. FRANKENA). Cf. for this verb now *MSL* 12, 177 (OB LÚ B) 5-8, where *mašārum* is said to be done *ina ašāgim* and *ina kunšillim*, and 12: [lú túg.šu].ùr.ùr = *ma-a-še-e-rum*. Ibid. line 14 mentions [lú.túg.pa.k]u_5.ru = *qá-ti-pu-um*. LANDSBERGER in *OLZ* 1965, loc. cit. also refers to pa.kud.du/pa.ku_5.ru = *qatāpu ša* TÚG in *Nabnītu* T 309 (*MAOG* I, 2, 50f. 248f.). In ḪḪ 19, 190 (*MSL* 10, 133): túg.pa.kud.du = *qalpu* ("geschält") he sees a mistake. *qalpu* is found elsewhere, e.g. CT 2, 2, 3: *kitū qalpu*, where it may mean "threadbare, smooth" (cf. ARO 1970, 29 s.v.). Elsewhere in OA *qatāpum* occurs in the meaning "to pluck", said of fruits, cf. the expression *qitip kāranim*, "the plucking of the grapes, vintage" in ATHE 12, 16; EL 292, 18.22; CCT 5, 2a, 29.34; cf. *JNES* 8, 1949, 294.

Treatment a) and b) have more or less the same effect. This means that if the translation of c) by *CAD* were right, the distinction between a) and c), stressed in TC 3/1, 17, would be practically nil. Therefore I follow LANDSBERGER's translation of c), which makes good sense in the context: one should apply c) when the surface is (still) hairy after treatment a) has been applied. As for a) a choice between the two meanings proposed is more difficult. One may see the distinction between a) and b) in two ways: either creating a smooth surface by "pressing, fulling" contrasted with "shearing" as a different way to remove the hairy appearance; or on the contrary creating a rough, hairy surface, contrasted with shearing. A choice is made difficult because the meaning of *i-li-la* in line 20 is not clear. If it really means "(s)lightly", as suggested in the translation, a meaning "to comb" is more probable for *mašādum*: one should comb carefully, without making the surface hairy. "To press, full" "(s)lightly" is less meaningful. Anyhow a translation "to full" is uncertain, because *AHw* lists our text as the only example of this meaning, as a special application of the more general meaning "to press, to massage", well attested for the verb.

A meaning "to comb" is also suggested by the combination *mašādum ša šipāti*, equated with ga.ZUM, wich clearly cannot be isolated from giš.ga.ZUM = *mušṭu*, "comb", even though *AHw* s.v. *mušṭu* does not give an etymology by referring to *mašādum* [180]). For these reasons I adopt the translation "to comb" in our text.

14. *šu-tù-šu lu ma-da-at*: *šutūm*, derived from *šatū*, "to string", denotes the warp, and is an equivalent of Sumerian dun.dun, cf. *AS* 16, 1965, 263b, 3. Cf. also Hebrew *šᵉṯī*, "warp" besides *ᶜērèḇ*, "woof". But there is reason to assume *šutūm* acquired a more general meaning "weave, woven tissue", cf. e.g. in *AbB* 2, 142, 13f.: *ištēn paršīga ša šutī*, "aus gewobenem Stoffe" (FRANKENA) [181]).

20. *i-li-la* as stated above is problematic. The translation "(s)lightly" is a guess based on the context. One would like to connect this adverb with *lillum* (also occurring in OA) meaning "weak" (rather than "stupid, simple", the meaning given by *AHw* 553a; cf. also the abstract *lillūtum*,

[180]) Cf. e.g. GIŠ.GA.ZUM *ša* SÍG in BE 6/1, 84, 24; SÍG.GA.ZUM.AK.A equated with *pušikku* in Ḫḫ 19, 18. Numerous occurrences of giš.ga.ZUM...ak (to be read giš.ga.rig.ak according to M. CIVIL, *JNES* 26, 1967, 210 with note 30) in Ur-III texts, denoting a treatment, "combing", preceded by $peš_{5/6}$ (ŠU.KÀD) (OPPENHEIM, *Eames* 67, a with references; cf. also *ITT* II, 1, 1012; *ITT* V, 9996, III′, 8′), "to pick" (the unravelling and levelling of the wool) = Akk.*napāšum* (*MSL* 10, Ḫḫ 19, lines 10 and 96).

[181]) Cf. also ARM 9, 20, 27: *10* TÚG.BAR.SI *šu-ti-i*[*m*] and *AbB* 1, 31 r. 16, 18: *aššum šu-ti-im lé-qe-em*. A derivative is *maštūtum*, "woven tissue, weave", in VS 16, 189, 17 (OB). Cf. for *šatū* (::*maḫāṣu*) already VAN DIJK, *Sagesse*, 80.

"Hilflosigkeit", *AHw* 553b, also found in OA, cf. BIN 6, 93, 4, denoting economic weakness). But an adverbial formation *ina+lillā>illillā*, is without any parallel and hardly feasible. The opposite of "weakly" would be "strongly", which could also make sense in the context. One might refer to *elīlu/alīlu*, but this word, used in literary texts, and to be connected with *alālu* B (*CAD* A, 1, 331b), denotes primarily the "brave hero", who raises the battle cry, which is rather different from "strong" in the sense we need.

21. *i-ta-áš-ú* is difficult. I have followed more or less the interpretation of *CAD* Ṣ 223a. HECKER *GKT* § 97c makes the form a t-punctual of *našā'um*; that would make the final *-ū* a plural ending, and its subject should in that case be the same people who carry out the *mašādum*. But that is difficult in the context, because, with this subject, we can only expect a sentence like: "if they still want to remove hair", in which case one would expect a durative (Gt): *ittaššiū*; but could this form with double *šš* become *ittaš'ū*? We cannot separate this form from the one occurring in CCT 4, 11b, 6: [5] *1* GÚ *3 ma-na asniq* [6] *išertam i-ta-šu*, which should mean something like "I checked the 1 talent 3 minas, and it proved to be the right (normal) amount". A plural is hardly feasible here. Though I cannot explain the form, I am inclined to consider a permansive Gt of the type mentioned by LANDSBERGER, *JCS* 21, 143a [19] (*itaddū*) a possibility.

23. This passage has been misunderstood by *CAD* A, 1, 36a, c: *ta-tù-ri-ma tù-šé-bi$_4$-li-im* are two duratives (the latter with vowel harmony of the third syllable). The verb *tu'ārum* is used in a hendiadys-construction, as in OIP 27, 62, 31 and ICK 1, 55, 19. Cf. similar constructions with *saḫārum*, "to do...again" in CCT 5, 14b, 19 and BIN 4, 37, 11.

28. *al-ta-áb-šu*[?]: the copy has what looks like *al-ta-áb*-TAB-BA, provided with an exclamation mark by J. LEWY. My reading is only an attempt to give some sense to the word. If it is right, it means that Puzur-Aššur was dressed in garments made from Abarnian-textiles when living in Aššur.

30. *kašādum* has the meaning "to be able to, to manage to" in combination with a second verb, and without direct object. Cf. *AHw* 460a, 7, where however no OA examples are mentioned. Cf. also CCT 3, 20, 22-23: *ú-lá ak-ta-ša-ad-ma* [23] TÚG.ḪI.A *lá uš-té-bi-lá-kum*, "I did not manage to send you textiles".

33. *gamram ṣubātam* cannot mean "every textile", because in that case we would expect e.g. *kala ṣubātam*. *gamrum* may either mean "whole", in which case—as mentioned above—it might suggest a "textile" was a composite unit, or "finished", having received its final treatment. For the first meaning one may refer to the use of *gamrum* and *gamrūtum* in *AbB*

3, 34, 23 and ARM 13, 7, 14ff., both referring to the overall size of a door, its total measurements. For the second meaning one may compare the expression *šiprum gamrum* with its Sumerian equivalent kin.til.la, which according to LIMET, *Métal* 129f. means in a metallurgical context (but of course not necessarily only there) "une sorte de *satisfecit* du technicien qui a examiné l'œuvre;....le travail est achevé". Both shades of meaning seem possible in our text.

35. The importance of the measurements has been outlined above on p. 91f. Note the alternation between a writing with and without crasis, and cf. for crasis in OA HECKER *GKT* § 20a, and moreover examples like *ma-ḫu-ri-li* (TC 3/3, 225, 12); *ú-li-ba-ší* (TC 2, 2, 14), *i-nu-mì-im* (CCT 3, 3b, 9) and frequently in personal names, reflecting the actual pronunciation: *A-šur-bé-lá-wa-tim* (KTK 98, 7). Cf. for the description of the measurements TC 3/1, 49, 31: *tù-dí-qam..ša 3 i-na-mì-tim* and OIP 27, 62, 39f.: *1 taskarinnum 3 i-na a-mì-tim urukšu*; also *CAD* A, 2, 73a, f.

The text shows us a merchant much concerned about the quality, the finishing treatment and the size of a textile produced by a female relative. She was busy making expensive types of textiles like *ṣubātum qatnum* and *abarnīum* for which he guarantees the high price of half a mina of silver. His instructions bear on the technical aspects of the production (the kind of weave, the quantity of wool to be processed, the finishing treatment) and the size. Unfortunately we do not hear why the Abarnian textile she sent did not meet his requirements; on the other hand we learn that a *kutānum* used to be shorn. The text shows clearly what kind of expensive luxury products formed part of the merchandise, products which can only have been bought by the Anatolian upper classes.

The lady producing the textiles, Waqartum, most probably is identical to the sender of the letter BIN 4, 96, addressed to Buzāzu. In it she tells that she entrusted to a certain Asānum 4 textiles for transport to the *awīlum* (Puzur-Aššur?), and urgently requests that these textiles should be sold and the silver be sent to her: [15] *a-ḫi a-ta* TÚG.ḪI.A [16] *a-na* KÙ.BABBAR *ta-ir-ma* [17] KÙ.BABBAR *ku-nu-uk-ma* [18] *šé-bi$_4$-lam*, "please convert the textiles into silver and send me that silver under your seal". Again she seems personally to derive profits from her textile production; but the silver is needed for the household, because she complains of living in an "empty house" (ll. 13-14).

b) *Another letter of Waq(q)urtum?*

The sender of the much damaged letter **ATHE 44**, addressed to Atātā, [Buzāzu] and Aššur-muttabbil, which also deals with textiles, may have

been written by Waq(q)urtum, as she is known to have written letters both to Buzāzu (BIN 4, 96) and Aššur-muttabbil (CCT 3, 41b), who were her brothers, if she can indeed be equated with Pūšu-kēn's daughter Aḫāḫā (cf. note 178). The text mentions in line 6 10 *šurum*-textiles, and lines 8-9 probably contain the complaint that the lady has been left behind without any means, "in an empty house" ([*ina bītim*] *ērim*; note that Waq(q)urtum uses the same words in the letter BIN 4, 96, 13-14, and that Tarām-Kūbi, also active in textile production, follows her example in CCT 3, 24, 32). Line 16 contains the request "to send the silver with the first caravan", because she has to pay off a creditor. The following lines read in translation:

[18] "Speak unto Buzāzu: [19] "You wrote to me as follows: [20] "Don't contract a solicitor and [21] don't send him (here); I myself [22] am ready to act on your behalf". I have trusted you [23] even like my husband and master; [24] I did not contract a solicitor . [25/6] But to-day I mean even less to you than a pawned (?) slave-girl, for [27/8] to a slave-girl you at least measure out regularly food rations; but I here [29] have to live from my debt(s). Moreover, in the meantime, [30] the 1 mina of gold, the proceeds (profits) (made by the sale) of my textiles, [31] which my master sent me, [32] you have taken away from the son of Amā. Four textiles of good quality Buzāzu (has received), four [34] Asānum, three! Kūsum, two [35] the son of Lālum, [two] Āmur-Aššur son of Laqīp, [36] two Šū-Bēlim son of Zurzur; [37] in all fifteen textiles of good quality. All this [38] is my production, my goods entrusted for (sale with) profit. [39] To my master.....(I wrote/I sent them??) [40] (but) the profits (proceeds) (from the sale)....[you did not] [41] send me under your seals. My gold [42] you have taken! I beg you ("you are my brothers, my masters"), [43] send it to me with the first caravan and give me courage!"

Some remarks: Cf. for the transliteration of the letter KIENAST ATHE, but note the following new readings or interpretations: 21/22: *a-na-ku ma-ṣa-ki-im* (permansive of *maṣā'um*, cf. *AHw* 622b, 7, c, *β*, 1. pers.sing., with dat. suff. 2. pers.fem.); 25/26: *kima amtim qaqqidim maḫṣim*, cf. the remarks in note 274; 27: read: *ep-re-e*, "rations"; 29: *a-dí-šu-ma*, "in the meantime"(?); 30/38/40: *tadmiqtum*: cf. the comments below; in 40 one could read *ta-a[d]-mì-i[q-tí/tám]*; 32: *té-ta-aṭ-ra*, t-punctual of *eṭārum*, cf. HECKER *GKT* § 90a; 34: cf. the same consignment entrusted to Asānum in BIN 4, 96, 4; 37/38: *a-ni-tu[m] e-pé-ší* (Babylonian form of the infinitive?).

Commentary: The letter acquaints us with a woman, who has sent to her "master" in Anatolia (lines 38f.) a fair number of textiles of good quality, through the services of various transporters mentioned in lines 33f. (note that Asānum, mentioned in line 34 also transports textiles for Waq(q)urtum in BIN 4, 96, 4). It is possible that these transporters were also somehow responsible for the sale of the textiles. Her consignments of textiles she calls her *tadmiqtum*, a word denoting an amount of goods entrusted, probably without interest, to a merchant for making profits (cf. GARELLI *AC* 250f.). In the letter ICK 1, 28B, 4ff. another woman active in textile production, Ištar-bāšti, states that she has given a textile to a man *ana tadmiqtim*, and asks him to send back its sale price in silver (cf. note 201). In return for her consignment the writer of ATHE 44 expects one mina of gold, which her "master (line 31), who apparently supervises the transaction, already sent to her address. She is much in need of this money—which she also calls *tadmiqtum* (line 30), this time meaning the proceeds and profits—because she has to pay off a debt. The gold however did not arrive, because the addressees took it away from the transporter (verbs: *ēṭārum* and *ṣabātum*, lines 32 and 42). A subsequent (rather than preceding) attempt to start legal proceedings to obtain the money, involving the contraction of the services of a *rābiṣum*, who has to plead her case in Anatolia, is not continued, because Buzāzu (her brother?) promises to take care of the matter himself, and advises her not to engage a *rābiṣum*. She is, however, much disappointed by her trust in this offer, because the gold still has not arrived. Therefore she makes this last, pleading and indignant request, to send her the gold immediately.

The fact that she talks about the textiles as "my textiles" (30), which she calls "my work" (38), and that she considers the gold as "my *tadmiqtum*" makes us believe she produced the textiles herself (though not necessarily all with her own hands), and expected private earnings from this activity. The undue delay in the arrival of the gold is paralleled in other letters, to be discussed below, where women in the same situation have to complain repeatedly about delayed payments.

c) *The activities of Lamassī*

Several texts inform us about the activities of Lamassī, the wife of Pūšu-kēn; she produces textiles and answers her husband's remarks about the textiles she sends him.

1. BIN 4, 10, 12-19: *ù a-na šu-mì* TÚG.ḪI.A [13] *ša ta-áš-pu-ra-ni* [14] *um-ma a-ta-ma ṣa-ḫu-ru* [15] *lá dam-qú lá i-pí-kà-ma* [16] *ú-ṣa!-ḫe-er-šu ù* u_4*-ma-am* [17] *ta-áš-pu-ra-am um-ma a-ta-ma* [18] ½ *ma-na*.TA *a-na ṣú-ba-tí-ki* [19] *ra-dí-i ur-ta-dí*, "as to the textiles about which you wrote to me in the following

terms: "they are (too) small, they are not good"; was it not on your own request that I reduced the size? And now you write (again), saying: "process half a mina (of wool) more in your textiles". Well, I have done it" [182]).

The letter betrays something of Lamassī's mood at the repeatedly changing wishes of her husband, to which she complies with some resignation. In the beginning of her letter Lamassī mentions that she already sent her husband, who was staying in Kaniš, via Aššur-mālik 5 textiles: *1* TÚG *kabtum*, *1* TÚG *kam-dam* [183]) and *3 kutānū* (l.4-7), while at the end she mentions the shipment of a TÚG *namaššūḫum* and one TÚG *nibrārum*.

2. BIN 4, 9, 3-13: *um-ma a-ta-ma 5 ma-na*.TA [4] SÍG.ḪI.A *A-ḫu-qar ù* [5] *I-a—šar na-áš-ú-ni-ki* [6] *mì-ma lá i-dí-nu-nim* [7] *um-ma I-a—šar-ma a-na-ku-ma* [8] *1* TÚG *e-pá-šum 8* TÚG.ḪI.A [9] *Ú-ra-ni na-áš-a-ku-um* [10] *ša* ½ *ma-na*.TA *ú-ṣú-bu-ni* [11] KI *I-a—šar ú-šé-ba-lá-ku* [12] *ša Ú-ra-ni na-áš-a-ku-ni* [13] *pá-ni-ú lá-ma ta-áš-pu-ra-ni*, "you wrote me thus: "Aḫūqar and Ia-šar are bringing you each 5 minas of wool". They have not given me anything. Ia-šar said: "I myself will make one textile for him". Urani is bringing you 8 textiles. Those to which I am (they are) adding ½ mina (of wool) each I will send you with Ia-šar. Those which Urani is bringing you were made earlier before you wrote to me".

The first lines of this letter have already been quoted on p. 88, containing an indication about the weight of a textile. In the following lines she informs her husband about 8 textiles sent off to him and explains these were already finished when she received his order (mentioned in text no. 1) to process more wool. The next consignment will be made according to his instructions.

Lines 18ff. and 24ff. read: [18] *i-nu-mì ki-sá-am* [19] *tù-šé-ba-lá-ni* SÍG.ḪI.A [20] *šu-uk-n*[*am*], "when you send the purse, enclose some wool"; [24] *3* TÚG *kam-sú-tum 5* TÚG *ku-ta-ni* [25] *A-šur—ma-lik ub-lá-ma* [26] *2* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ša* SÍG.ḪI.A *I-a—šar* [27] *i-dí-nam 1* GÍN *A-ḫu-qar* [28] *i-dí-nam*, "3

[182]) The copy of line 16 has *ú-a-ḫe-er-šu*, a form interpreted both in *AHw* 18a s.v. and in HECKER *GKT* § 89b as a punctual of *aḫārum*; cf. also *ú-a-ḫe-er-ma* in KUG 40,8 (cast of original tablet). But what could it mean in the context? HECKER *GKT* § 107e considers *lá i-pí-kà-ma* as a nominal sentence containing a negative wish: "you should not say something similar" (lit.: "it should not be in your mouth"). In my interpretation, which requires a minimal emendation of A to ZA, and makes good sense, only the sing.suff. *-šu* after the verb causes problems. One would expect a plur.suff. The text suggests that processing more wool yields not a heavier but a larger textile.

[183]) A TÚG *kamdum* is unique, cf. *AHw* 432a. *AHw* equates it with *kandu*, which should mean according to A. DRAFFKORN-KILMER, *AS* 16, 1965, 263b: "strung", as a name of the warp (cf. *MSL* 10, 133, 198: túg.BALAG.DI = *kandu*). Cf. also the profession *kāmidum*, mentioned between *qātipum* and *māširum* in *MSL* 12, 177, 13: lú túg.šu.dúb.ba (cf. also M. HELD, *JAOS* 79, 1959, 175 and n. 116).

kamsu-textiles and 5 *kutānu*-textiles Aššur-mālik brought (you) and 2 shekels of silver for wool Ia-šar gave me; 1 shekel Aḫūqar gave me". Lamassī expects to receive a "purse"—the proceeds from the sale of her textiles by Pūšu-kēn—and asks for wool to be sent at the same time, cf. no. 3 and 4 below. She reminds Pūšu-kēn that his transporter Aššur-mālik —who also in no. 3 and 4 transports textiles for Lamassī—has delivered a number of textiles (most probably made by her), and that she consequently is waiting for the money. Besides receiving wool for herself, she apparently distributes wool, for which she gets paid in silver.

In all this text mentions 16 textiles, most probably made by Lamassī—the preceding text and those following also mention a fair number of textiles—and shipped to her husband. But the number is too big to be the work of her hands only. Presumably other female members of the household—daughters, slave-girls—helped her in a kind of home industry. In this connection the form *ú-ṣú-bu-ni* in line 10 is interesting, because one may regard it as a 3rd pers. plur. durative with subj. ending, though it could as well be a form 1st pers. sing with double subj. ending (HECKER *GKT* § 79d).

3. BIN 6, 7, 8-13: *1* TÚG *kà-áb-ta-am* [9] *a-na A-šur—ma-lik* [10] *i-na pá-ni-tim* [11] *ḫa-ra-ni-šu a-dí-in-[š]u-um* [12] KÙ.BABBAR-*pí-šu mì-ma* [13] *ú-la ub-lá-am*, "I gave 1 heavy textile to Aššur-mālik at the time of his previous caravan trip, but he has not yet brought me its proceeds in silver". Lines 16-21: *i-nu-mì ki-sà-am* [17] *tù-šé-ba-lá-ni* [18] SÍG.ḪI.A *šu-uk-nam* [19] *ša-áp-tù-um* [20] *i-na a-lim*[ki] [21] *wa-aq-ra-at*, "when you send me the purse, include (add) some wool. Wool is expensive in the City". Cf. for these words also nos. 2 and 4.

4. GARELLI 1965, no. 25, p. 158, 11-16: *i-na a-lim*[ki] [12] SÍG.ḪI.A *wa-aq-ra-at* [13] *i-nu-mì* KÙ.BABBAR *1 ma-na* [14] *ta-ša-kà-na-ni* [15] *i-na qí-ra-áb* [16] SÍG.ḪI.A *šu-uk-nam*, "in the City wool is expensive; when you put 1 mina of silver at my disposal (and send it to me), put it within the wool" (because the authorities have a claim of 1 mina of silver on her, for "export-tax"). Lines 35ff.:...TÚG *ša A-šur—ma-lik* [36] *i-na pá-ni-tim ub-lá-ni* KÙ.BABBAR [37] *mì-in lá tù-šé-ba-lam*, "as for the textile(s) which Aššur-mālik brought you previously, could not you send the silver?" These lines may refer to the shipment sent by Aššur-mālik according to text no. 2 lines 24ff.

5. BIN 6, 11, 2-20: *9* TÚG.ḪI.A [3] *Ku-lu-ma-a na-áš-a-kum* [4] *3* TÚG.ḪI.A *I-dí—Sú-in na-áš-a-kum* [5] *E-lá* TÚG.ḪI.A *lá-qá-a-am lá i-mu-a I-dí—Sú-in 5* TÚG.ḪI.A *lá-qá-a-am* [7] *lá i-mu-a mì-šu ša ta-áš-ta-na-pá-ra-ni* [8] *um-ma a-ta-ma* TÚG.ḪI.A [9] *ša tù-uš-té-né-bi-li-ni* [10] *lá dam-qú ma-nu-um* [11] *za-ak-ru-um* [12] *ša i-na É*[bi-ti]*-kà* [13] *wa-áš-bu-ni-ma i-lá-ku-ma* [14] *ma-aḫ-ri-šu*

TÚG.ḪI.A *ú-nu-ḫu-ni a-na-ku* [16] *a-šu-mì i-na ḫa-ra-an* [17] *ḫa-ra-ma* KÙ.BABBAR *10* GÍN *a-na* [18] *É$^{bi-ti}$-kà li-im-qú-tám* [19] TÚG.ḪI.A *uš-té-kà-ap-ma* [20] *e$^{!}$-pá-áš-ma ú-šé-ba-lá-kum*, "Kulumā is bringing you 9 textiles, Īdī-Suen 3 textiles; Elā refused to accept textiles (for transport); Īdī-Suen refused to accept (another) 5 textiles. Why do you write to me every time: "the textiles which you use to send me are not good." Who is the fellow, who lives in your house, who is decrying the textiles, when they arrive before him? I for my part, in order that from each caravan trip 10 shekels of silver may accrue to your house (firm?), I try my best to make and send textiles."

The translation of this text is not without problems. First we hear that Lamassī uses the services of various transporters, who may take along (*laqā'um*) small lots of her textiles, to be delivered to her husband. Next we hear her complain about the repeated critical remarks made about her products. These lines are similar to text no. 1, 14-15, where we also have *la damqū*, "not good". Her indignant reply causes most of the difficulties. In my interpretation she suspects some collaborator or agent of Pūšu-kēn of decrying her products, and contrasts this mean behaviour with her own dedicated efforts to contribute to the financial well being of the firm. *CAD* Z 23a,a translates lines 10-14: "which man who belongs to your household and travels (for you would permit that) I cheat on the garments in his presence". There are several objections to this translation: a) "who . . travels" assumes *alākum* is used in an absolute sense, without any complement, a use I cannot attest elsewhere in OA; b) "I cheat" apparently derives the verbal form *ú-nu-ḫu-ni* (subj.) from the verb known as *wanā'um*, normally used in the D, cf. HECKER *GKT* § 97 e (with LANDSBERGER 1950, 333 [19] and LEWY 1960, 34 [4]); but all forms of this verb are written without *ḫ*, so that we have to derive the form from a verb *anāḫum*, *AHw* 49a, D "ermüden, belasten, quälen". *CAD* A, 2 105b writes: "For OA refs. to *unnuḫu* (from **wanāḫum*), see *unnuḫu*." which, as *CAD* does not record a verb *wanā'um*, may be this very verb. In view of the rules about writings with ' or *ḫ* discovered by HECKER *GKT* § 29ff.—admittedly not without exceptions—I prefer to keep both verbs apart. My translation of *unnuḫu* gives the verb a special meaning in view of the context; *AHw* 49a writes in connection with our text: "Unkl.". c) the translation of *CAD* makes no sense in the context: Lamassī is not cheating or decrying, but she complains about the criticism of her products. The alternation between the suffixes 2nd pers.masc.sing. and 3rd pers.masc.sing. in lines 12-14 seems to indicate she is making a distinction between Pūšu-kēn and somebody else who is responsible [184]).

[184]) Other problems of the translation are: *i-lá-ku-ma* (13) without vowel

6. CCT 3, 20, 15-25. After stating that Kulumā and Īdī-Suen are transporting for her respectively 9 and 3 textiles (the same consignments as mentioned in text no. 5) Lamassī writes: *a-šu-mì* TÚG.ḪI.A *ša ta-áš-pu-ra-ni* [16] *lá ú-šé-bi-lá-ku-ni li-ba-kà* [17] *lá i-lá-mì-in ki-ma ṣú-ḫa-ar-t*[*um*] [18] *i-ir-ta-bi-ú-ni* TÚG *iš-té-en ú ší-na* [19] *kà-ab-tù-tim a-na na-ar-kà-ab-tim* [20] *e-ta-pá-áš ú a-na ni-ší bi-tim* [21] *ú a-na ṣú-ùḫ-ri-im* [22] *e-pu-uš ú-lá ak-ta-ša-ad-ma* [23] TÚG.ḪI.A *lá uš-té-bi-lá-kum* TÚG.ḪI.A [24] *ma-lá qá-tí i-kà-šu-du iš-tí* [25] *wa-ar-ki-ú-tim ú-šé-ba-lá-kum*, "About the fact that I did not send you the textiles about which you wrote, your heart should not be angry. As the girl has become grown-up, I had to make a pair of heavy textiles for (placing/wearing) on the wagon. Moreover I made (some) for the members of the household and the children. Consequently I did not manage to send you textiles. Whatever textiles I (lit.: "my hand") can manage I will send you with later caravans".

Lamassī is occupied by some important event in the family—mentioned in several of her letters, cf. GARELLI 1965, 156-7 *ad* no. 25 (with previous literature)—, apparently a religious ceremony involving the (oldest) daughter, probably Aḫāḫā, who is known to have been a priestess (cf. above note 178). In view of the ceremonies the family had to be provided with garments and "textiles for on the wagon", which prevented her from sending Pūšu-kēn the textiles he wanted. Unfortunately we do not know who the *nīšī bītim* were, but it is possible that these people co-operated in the production of textiles in Lamassī's house.

7. ATHE 31, a letter from Šu-Kūbum to Pūšu-kēn, mentioning Lamassī's activities in ll.7-13: *3* TÚG *kam-sú-tim* SIG_5 *7* TÚG [8] *ku-ta-ni* ŠU.$NIGIN_2$ *10* TÚG *ša a-ší-tí-kà* [9] *a-na Ku-lu-ma-a ma-aḫ-ri-a* [10] *ta-áp-qí-id-ma na-áš-a-kum* [11] *1 ri-ik-sà-am ša ḫu-sá-ri ša a-*/*ší-tí-kà* [12] ^{d}UTU—*ták-lá-ku* ÌR-*ad-kà* [13] [*n*]*a-áš-a-kum*, "*7 kamsu*-textiles of good quality, 3 *kutānu*-textiles, in all 10 textiles of your wife (which) she entrusted to Kulumā in my presence, and which he is bringing you. One bundle of haematite(?) from your wife Šamaš-taklāku, your slave, is bringing you" [185]).

harmony, but cf. HECKER, *GKT* § 47c; *a-šu-mì li-im-qú-tám*: OA presents several examples of a conjunction followed by a precative, perhaps to lend a conditional or final nuance to the construction. Cf. e.g. BIN 4, 16, 12ff.: *šumma ḫarraššu lillikam*; 35, 40: *adī qāti* URUDU *liṣbat*; CCT 4, 8a, 29ff.: *adī liḫḫidma* KÙ.BABBAR *liddinakkum*. One might translate by adding after the conjunction something like "as we hope", "if in any way possible" etc. Finally in line 19ff. *uš-té-kà-ap-ma...eppašma ušēbbalakkum*. *AHw* 195a, s.v. *ekēpum* translates: "werde ich ganz dicht zusammenpacken" (the form should anyhow be added to *GAG* Paradigm 17, Št-form, durative, I-Aleph "mit Umlaut"), making Št a causative to Gt. I would rather conceive it as an internally passive Št, meaning "to try one's utmost to..."; it should be translated in hendiadys with *eppaš* (cf. *CAD* Ṣ 223a, a'). Cf. Št-forms of *anāḫum* and *epēšum* (*GAG Ergänzungsheft, ad* § 94c).

[185]) This text was misunderstood by KIENAST, who took *tapqid* in line 10 as 2nd

Some conclusions may be drawn from this correspondence:

1. Lamassī provides her husband in Anatolia with repeated consignments of textiles, in all 4 "heavy textiles", 7 *kamsu*-textiles, 15 *kutānu*-textiles, one *namaššūḫum*, one *nibrārum*, and 25 pieces simply called *ṣubātu*, "textiles". She can hardly have manufactured all these pieces with her own hands, and most probably—as stated above—was helped by other female members of the household. Though the total number of textiles is substantial—but how many years are covered by the texts?—I presume that Lamassī *cum suis* were unable to furnish all the textiles in which her husband traded. She herself and her husband's agents in Aššur bought additional ones, when equipping his caravans. An important question, which we can only mention here, is whether we have somehow to distinguish between the "firm" Pūšu-kēn, which may have used money invested by various shareholders and worked along the lines of a "*naruqqu*-enterprise", and the private trading activities of the man Pūšu-kēn, who derived purely private profits from the production of his own household. In this connection one would like to know what in fact *bītum*, used by Lamassī in text no. 5, 12 and 18 means, and whether this *bītum* is to be differentiated from the *bītum* in the composition *nīšī bītim*, found in text no. 6, 20. Only a complete reconstruction of the archives of Pūšu-kēn may provide an answer to this important question. The existence of a home industry, producing textiles in the very 'houses' of the Anatolian merchants, cannot be doubted.

2. For her work she needs wool, which is occasionally sent to her from Anatolia (no. 2) and for which she asks her husband, because "wool is expensive in the City" (nos. 3 and 4; cf. no. 2). The limited amounts sent from Anatolia, and the fact that she argues her request, by mentioning the high costs of wool in Aššur, suggest she normally used local wool (or wool imported from Babylonia). Though the Assyrians traded in wool in Anatolia (cf. below ch. VII), wool was hardly exported to Aššur.

3. For the shipments of her textiles to Anatolia she uses (and pays for?) the services of various transporters, mostly well known from other texts, and frequently found to be travelling for (the firm of) Pūšu-kēn: Aššur-mālik (nos. 1, 2, 3, 4; also CCT 4, 21b, 4-7), Īdī-Suen (nos. 5 and 6), Kulumā (nos. 5-7), Elā (no. 5), Ia-šar (no. 2; also no. 6 line 7) and Aḫūqar

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pers.sing.masc., instead of 3rd pers.sing.fem. In OA, as noted in the grammars, this latter person normally (but cf. CCT 3, 20, 18, quoted above above as text no. 6) has a *ta-* prefix. Contrary to what HECKER *GKT* § 73a suggests, this prefix is not restricted to female persons. Grammatically female words also occasionally have this prefix: BIN 4, 25, 4: *amūtum tabaššī*; 56, 9 *taḫsistum . . . tabaššī*; BIN 6, 25, 13: SÍG.ḪI.A (*šaptum*) . . . . *lu tabšī*.

(no. 2) [186]). Urani, mentioned in no. 2, is frequently attested as a transporter, who ships back amounts of silver to Lamassī, and has close relations with her: BIN 4, 10, 20; 11, 14; 6, 3, 14; 100, 3; TC 2, 14, 5; 54 r. 2; GARELLI 1965, 26 no. 6, 8 and 28 no. 8, 21. One gets the impression that these transporters used to accept—perhaps in addition to the complete caravans they were to lead to Anatolia—packets of merchandise from various sources (against payment?) for shipment to Anatolia. How this fitted in with their work in the service of certain firms is not clear; they seem to have enjoyed some measure of freedom to conduct business on their own. If they could not accept additional packets, they might refuse to take them along (no. 5, 5-6).

4. In return for her textiles Lamassī expects silver and in nos. 3 and 4 she complains about some delay in sending the silver. Twice she calls the amount of silver she expects in this way "the purse" (*kīsum*; nos. 2 and 3), a word mainly known from OB sources [187]). No. 4 mentions as such an amount of silver of 1 mina. In many transport-contracts for the shipment of gold and silver back to Aššur, we meet amounts addressed to Lamassī, cf. the texts quoted *sub* 3) in connection with Urani. In this connection I quote also CCT 2, 36a, 3ff., where Pūšu-kēn writes to Lamassī: *1 ma-na 5* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ni⟨-is-ḫa-sú⟩* [4] DIRIG *ša-du-a-sú ša-bu* [5] *ku-nu-ki-a Dan—A-šur na-áš-a-ki-im* [6] *lu ší-im 1* TÚG *ù 2* TÚG *ša šé*$^{!}$(GA)*-bu-ul-tim* [7] *ša a-na ṣé-ri-a tù-šé-bi*$_4$*-li-ni* [8] KÙ.BABBAR*-áp-kà gám-ra-ki-im*, "1 mina 5 shekels of silver, taxes added extra, duties paid for, Dan-Aššur is bringing you. It should count as payment for a few textiles of the consignment, which you sent to me. Herewith you have received all the silver you are entitled to (lit.: "your silver has been fully paid to you")."

d) *Lamassī's earnings*

Many transport-contracts dealing with the shipment of gold, silver, precious ornaments and objects from Anatolia to Aššur mention Lamassī as one of the receivers of these consignments. E.g. GARELLI 1965, 26 no. 6 mentions in line 1ff. "1½ minas of silver, its tax added extra, its duties paid for, for Lamassī", while the following lines indicate the origin or

[186]) Cf. for Aššur-mālik as transporter also CCT 5, 41a, 10; TC 2, 54, r. 14′; Īdī-Suen may well be the "freighter of the firm of Enna-Suen" mentioned in TC 3/1, 71, 10; Kulumā is frequently attested as transporter for Pūšu-kēn, writes letters to him and receives letters from him; a transporter Elā is found in CCT 2, 2, 31; TC 3/1, 43, 5.39.

[187]) Cf. for *kīsum* in OB F. R. KRAUS, *SD* 5, 76 with note 1, where it denotes the silver and the merchandise; W. F. LEEMANS, *Foreign Trade*, 73[2]; *AHw* s.v. and AL-ZEEBARI, TIM 1, 20, 5.73. In OB texts it is the equivalent of OA *naruqqum*, denoting the funds of the merchant. Cf. for OA also ICK 1, 88, 16: *1* TÚG *išram kīsam*, "one belt (with accompanying) money-bag".

destination of this amount. Lines 6ff. specify: "13 shekels, being silver, proceeds from the textiles transported by Urani, from(?) Aššur-bāni and Šalmaššur" [188]). GARELLI 1965, 27, no. 8, 16ff. mention: "1½ mina of silver, tax added extra, duties paid for, and 6¾ shekels of gold, tax added extra, for Lamassī." She moreover receives the following amounts: a pectoral of 20 shekels silver in TC 2, 54, r. 3′; 17 shekels of silver in EL 127, 13; 10 shekels of silver in ICK 1, 120, 5; and x shekels of gold in BIN 4, 135, 9. In a number of texts she gets smaller amounts of silver, ranging from 3-5 shekels [189]).

Even when normally no information is provided about the reasons for these payments [190]), and one may disagree with the translation offered for GARELLI 1965 no. 6, it is clear that these consignments are too big to be just gifts e.g. from her husband and relatives or amounts sent by Pūšu-kēn to pay for the costs of her household. In view of the information collected above *sub* c) I am inclined to regard these bigger amounts as returns of money in exchange for textiles. The smaller ones may have been gifts of a more private nature. But even the occurrences of a pectoral and beakers of gold or silver should not be understood as just precious gifts, as these objects apparently had money value too.

e) *Data about other women*

Compared with the rich documentation about Lamassī data concerning similar activities on the part of other OA women are rather meagre. They nevertheless show that Lamassī was not an exception, but rather a very striking example of a pattern prevailing among many of the merchants' households.

Women we meet repeatedly in the transport-contracts as receiving con-

[188]) 6 *13* GÍN *ša* KÙ.BABBAR *ši-im* 7 TÚG.ḪI.A-*ti-šu ša šé-ep* 8 *Ú-ra-ni ša A-šùr—ba-ni* 9 *ù Šál-ma—A-šùr*. GARELLI, loc. cit. translates the last words: "prix de ses étoffes, transportées par Urani, revenant à A. et Š.", cf. his comments ad loc. One may compare EL 127, 5ff.: (x silver) *ša* [*y*] 6 TÚG.ḪI-*ti-šu ša* DUMU *A* 7 *a-na B, C* 8 *ù D*, where however instead of a second *ša* the preposition *ana* is used to denote the recipients of the silver (cf. also GARELLI 1965 no. 5, 13). Should this second *ša* have the same meaning as *ana* in EL 127, 7? Note that line 13 of the text under discussion in fact uses *ana* to denote the recipient. Why one in fact uses a construction like *šīm ṣubātīšu ša A* (cf. also CCT 5, 41a, 9-10.20) with a proleptic suffix is not clear to me.

[189]) 3 shekels in EL 230, 15; 5 shekels in BIN 4, 140, 5; CCT 5, 41a, 14; EL 133, 5; TC 1, 70, 18.

[190]) The transport-contracts occasionally provide information about the origin of small amounts of silver shipped to Aššur, cf. "sale price of his tin" (CCT 5, 41a, 7); "sale price of his textile, that of A." (ibid. 10, 20); "deriving from his textiles, for A" (GARELLI 1965, 24 no. 5, 13); "sale price of the textile of his father" (TC 3/3, 203, 1f.); "sale price of a *kusītum*-garment" (TC 2, 54, 12′); "sale price of a fine textile of A" (ibid. r. 14′).

signments of silver, gold etc. are e.g. Tarām-Kūbi, wife of Inā; Tarīš-mātum, daughter of Suēa, wife of Aššur-mālik; Šāt-Aššur, daughter of Šalim-Aḫum; the wife of Šū-Ḫubur; Nanā, daughter of Tutu, wife of Suēa; Aḫāḫā, daughter of Pūšu-kēn, probably to be identified with Waqartum/Waq(q)urtum, as stated above (note 178). Less well known are e.g. Āl(i)-Ābi, Ab-šalim, Bettija, Emmertum, Ennam-Ištar, Ištar-bāštī, Ištar-ummī, Lamaša, Mea, Ṣululā and her mother, Šarrat-Ištar, Šāt-ilī, Šī-Lamassī, Šīmat-Aššur and Šūbultum [191]).

While these ladies receive in most cases small amounts of 1-5 shekels of silver, we also meet bigger amounts: ⅓ mina of *pašallum*-gold for Tarām-Kūbi (EL 138); 55 shekels and a silver beaker for Ištar-bāšti (CCT 5, 41b); 10 shekels of gold and ⅓ mina of silver for Tarīš-mātum, and a pectoral of 13 shekels silver, with 10 shekels of silver for "my daughter-in-law" (TC 3/3, 202); ½ mina of silver for Šūbultum (GARELLI 1965, no. 6); ⅔ mina of silver for the daughter of Pilaḫ-Ištar (BIN 4, 23, 19); ⅔ mina of silver for Ṣululā and her mother (EL 127); ½ mina of silver for Waqqurtum (TC 3/3, 203); 10 shekels for the same lady (EL 125); 10 shekels for Šāt-Aššur (EL 127); 10 shekels for Ištar-ummī.

As in the case of Lamassī I am inclined to consider especially these bigger payments (amounts of 1-5 shekels could in fact also be profits from the sale of one simple textile) as returns of money for textiles, or perhaps other items (cf. the mention of haematite, *ḫusārum*, both in ATHE 31, 11 (above text no. 7) and EL 127, 11), sent to Anatolia for sale. While the transport-contracts again fail to give reasons for these payments, a number of texts show or hint at the manufacture of textiles by several of these women.

Aḫāḫā, daughter of Pūšu-kēn, also called Waq(q)urtum, receives wool (EL 125, 17-18: *3½ mana* SÍG!.ḪI.A), and according to CCT 5, 31a, 12ff. half a mina of silver, in a context which mentions textiles (15:[..... *ṣú-b*]*a-at šu-ri-im*). Various texts mention her as receiving amounts of silver, sometimes together with her mother Lamassī (TC 2, 54, r. 5′; CCT 5, 41a, 14ff.) [192]).

Tarām-Kūbi is the writer of five letters adressed to her husband Inā, which contain some information about her activities. In the fragmentary text BIN 6, 90 she informs him about the equipment of a caravan, transporting various kinds of textiles, among which are Abarnian and Akka-

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[191]) Cf. such texts as EL 117, 124, 125, 127, 130, 133, 138, 148; CCT 5, 40a, 41a, 41b; GARELLI 1965 no. 5, 6, 8; TC 1, 70; 2, 54 r.; TC 3/3, 202-205, 207, 210; ICK 1, 120; 2, 87, 93; BIN 6, 175.

[192]) If she is the writer of the letter TC 3/1, 17, the evidence is indisputable. Aḫāḫā/Waq(q)urtum receives silver etc. in CCT 5, 40a, 18; BIN 4, 140, 6; EL 130, 10; 117, 5; TC 3/3, 203, 3-4; 204, 9; 210, 24.28.

dian textiles [193]). In CCT 3, 23b, 3ff. she excuses herself for not sending her husband the textiles he apparently asked for: *šé-bu-lá-tim ki-a-ma* [4] *tù-uš-té-né-ba-lam* [5] *a-na-kam* TÚG.ḪI.A *ša i-kà-bu-/tù* [6] *lá uš-té-né-ba-la-kum*, "you indeed send me every time consignments (of silver) (cf. for *šēbultum* *Excursus* III), but here I cannot send you each time textiles which are heavy". But it is not clear whether this concerns textiles she was supposed to make herself or buy in the City. Clearer is CCT 3, 24, 34ff. where she writes about "my textiles" in these words: *i-ḫi-id-ma me-eḫ-ra-at* [35] [TÚ]G *ṣú-ba-tí-a* KÙ.BABBAR *i-na* [36] [*ša*] *i-qá-tí-kà-ma i-ba-ší-ú* [37] *šé-bi*$_4$*-lam*, "take good care to send me in exchange for my textiles silver from what you happen to have at hand". This request may be compared with the complaints lodged by Lamassī against those who delay payments due. In TC 1,5—written by Tarām-Kūbi and Šīmat-Aššur to the well known merchant Imdīlim—we read: *ší-im* TÚG-*tí*-a [18] *mì-šu-um* [19] *lá tù-šé-ba-lam*, "why don't you send the sale price of my textiles", as a kind of postscript to a letter dealing with more serious religious problems. Both quotations confirm the impression that she produced textiles herself, and in return received silver. She did indeed get silver and gold, as we know from EL 138, mentioned above, CCT 3, 23b just quoted and CCT 2, 34, 7f.: "truly, you sent Ilum-bāni with ½ mina of gold" (cf. also ICK 2, 87, 21'). Whether all of it was payment for textiles is not sure [194]).

An unpublished letter from the BÖHL-collection [195]), LB 1201, informs us about the activities of Ištar-lamassī. It reads: [1] *a-na A-šur--lá-ma-sí* [2] *qí-bi-ma um-ma* [3] *Ištar--lá-ma-sí-ma* [4] *ṣú-ba-tám E-na--Sú-in* [5] *na-áš-a-kum 12* GÍN [6] KÙ.BABBAR *Šu--A-nim* DUMU *Ḫa-nu* [7] *ub-lam 12* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR [8] *E-na--Sú-in ub-lam* [9] *ù 5* GÍN *a-ḫa-ma* [10] *šu-ut-ma ub-lam* [11] *i-na* KÙ.BABBAR [12] *ša* DUMU *Ḫa-nu ub-lá-ni* [14] *1 a-ba-ar-ni-um* [15] *2 qá-at-nu-tum* [16] *4 ša qá-tim* [17] *e-pu-uš-ma i-na* [18] DÍ-*tim na-ad-ú*, "Speak unto Aššur-lamassī, thus Ištar-lamassī: "Enna-Suen is bringing you one textile; Šū-Anim son of Ḫanu brought me 12 shekels of silver; Enna-Suen brought me 12 shekels of silver and the same man moreover separately another 5 shekels. With the silver which the son of Ḫanu brought me, I made 1 Abarnian textile, 2 fine textiles and 4 normal textiles, and they are de-

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[193]) Read in lines 4ff. most probably: [*x a*]-*b*[*a*]*r*-[*ni*]-*e* SIG$_5$-*tim* DIRIG [5] [*x* TÚG.ḪI].A *qá-áb-li-*[*ú*]-*tim* [6] [*x* TÚG.ḪI].A *ša a-kà-dí-e*.

[194]) The situation concerning Tarām-Kūbi is rather complex. CCT 3, 25 informs us that Inā left her in Aššur without much money, while she even had to meet some financial obligations of her husband. Some of the consignments of silver and gold addressed to her may have been meant to cover these payments. Cf. LEWY 1961, 41[60]; 48[105] for this lady.

[195]) Cf. already F. M. Th. BÖHL, *MLVS* II, 41f.: LB 1201; moreover J. LEWY, *OrNS* 15, 400[7] and LEWY 1950, 372[36].

posited in...." [196]). The use of the verb *epāšum* (cf. ATHE 44, 38, above *sub* 2, b) strongly suggests Ištar-lamassī manufactured the textiles herself; though *epāšum* may occasionally be used in commercial texts in the sense "to earn", "to make (money)" (*CAD* E 210b), this cannot be the case here. The textiles she makes could not be bought for only 12 shekels of silver; but when this amount was used to buy wool, they probably could be financed from it. The Ištar-lamassī figuring in this letter is probably the same as the writer of BIN 6, 111 (a letter addressed to Puzur-Ištar), which also mentions (in damaged context) textiles and Enna-Sūen (lines 8 and 12). She may be identical with the *ugbabtum*-priestess of this name occurring in TC 3/2, 128B, 1.

Šī-lamassī also plays some role in the textile production, according to ICK 1, 88, 6-8, where she quotes a letter of Šū-Anim addressed to her, where he stated: "silver, sale price of your textiles, A is bringing you". In line 15 she again asks: "send my silver". *AAA* I no. 2, a letter from Šī-lamassī to Šū-Anim, also mentions textiles [197]).

Šūbultum writes to Pūšu-kēn in BIN 4, 85 that his transporter Dan-Aššur is bringing him seven *kutānu*-textiles under her seal; GARELLI 1965, 26 no. 6, 4 mentions her as receiving half a mina of silver [198]).

Data of this kind about other women are scarce. KTB 17, r. x + 10 mentions that Tarīš-mātum gave 2 textiles to a transporter (cf. also x + 6), while several texts mention her as receiving small amounts of silver [199]). EL 142, 5f. mentions an Abarnian textile from Nanā, Suea's wife, while BIN 4, 8, 7 records 6 textiles of Šāt-Aššur, daughter of the prominent trader Šalim-Aḫum (cf. TC 3/3, 210, 26), which however in fact belong to Kurub-Ištar (lines 9-11). Both Nanā and Šāt-Aššur receive amounts of silver [200]). CCT 2, 2, 28f and 44 mention 2 textiles (TÚG

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[196]) Mr. POSTGATE tentatively suggests a meaning "in clay (sealings)", reading *ṭīdim*. A reading *ina Ḫa-tim*, notwithstanding the pertinent remarks of J. LEWY (see previous note), is excluded by the original. I am not sure which meaning DÍ-*tim* (one could even read *i-nad/t/ṭitim*) has in this context; a meaning "court of justice" (*CAD* D 165a s.v. *dittum*) does not seem to make sense (cf. for this word also BIN 6, 86, 5'). Another *t/dīt/dum* is found in TC 3/2, 88, 12ff.: 2 GEME.ḪI-*tí-kà ki-lá-al-tí-ma ù* DÍ-*i*-DÍ-*in ki-lá-al-tí-ma a-na* [*šīmim dinā*], "sell both your slave-girls and both the ....."; to be connected with *AHw* 169a *dīdu* and *CAD* D 135b *dīdū*?

[197]) Šī-Lamassī receives silver in CCT 5, 40a, 16f. and TC 3/3, 207, 23.

[198]) Cf. for Šūbultum as a name of a woman, and not a word meaning "gift" (so GARELLI 1965, 27 *ad* l. 4), below *Excursus* III.

[199]) EL 148, 1f.; TC 3/3, 202, 6f.; cf. for this lady LEWY 1950, 373[43]. She is the mother of the well-known trader Enlil-bāni. TC 3/2, 178, 18 mentions 21 textiles of Tarīš-mātum.

[200]) Nanā in EL 117, 9f; TC 3/3, 210, 22; Šāt-Aššur in EL 127, 14 and TC 3/3, 210, 25.

kabtum, kutānum) of *A-sí-a* shipped to Pūšu-kēn by Elā and Kulumā. Isolated cases are recorded in some texts [201]).

If we interpret these facts in the light of what we know about Lamassī there is, as stated, some reason to suppose many women did produce textiles for export to Anatolia. Yet on the whole the evidence is rather limited, and it cannot be proved that all small consignments of silver, gold etc. sent to Aššur had to do with this textile production, though it is likely in a number of cases. Maybe the structure and state of conservation of the archives of Pūšu-kēn account for the uneven picture we have. Normally the contribution of the women—important as it may have been—would not be mentioned especially in letters. Only when problems arose about the quality, types and sizes of the textiles, or when the women had to complain about delay of payments or undue criticism, was full attention focussed on the role of the women.

That many women received small amounts of silver etc. from their husbands or male relatives living in Anatolia is quite natural. They needed financial means to run the household, and occasionally received gifts and presents from abroad. The rich variety of objects sent from Anatolia to Aššur and frequently meant for women (ornaments, luxury goods, objects of refined copper, foot-wear, foreign textile products, also votive gifts) requires no special explanation in a well-to-do society [202]). We even find in

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[201]) ICK 1, 28B, 4ff. shows one Ištar-bāšti asking for payment of a "heavy textile" which she gave to two merchants *ana tadmiqtim*. The unpublished text VAT 13512, quoted by H. Lewy, AS 16, 273, deals with the same incident. Mrs. Lewy remarks, when discussing its contents: "Now it is known from numerous examples that the wives, sisters and mothers of Assyrian businessmen, while staying at home in Assyria, took part in the export business by producing textiles which they sent from Assyria to Asia Minor and for which the male members of that family sent the proceeds in gold or silver." This same Ištar-bāšti in fact receives 14 shekels of silver, in the shape of a beaker, in CCT 5, 41b, 20. EL 166, 25f. mentions "one textile of good quality and 1 Abarnian textile of the lady"; BIN 4, 51, 30f. and TC 1, 80, 33f. record 1 and 2 "fine textiles or our mother", while Chantre 14 r.5′ deals with "two textiles of your wife".

[202]) Cf. e.g. the following items: *ikribū*, "votive gifts" in EL 124, 5; 131, 5; CCT 5, 40b, 6; Garelli 1965, no. 5, 9, 11; TC 3/3, 207, 3.29; 210, 7; ICK 2, 89, 2; *niqū*, "offerings" in EL 124, 11; 131, 22; 151, 8; Garelli 1965 no. 6, 11; TC 2, 54, 13.17; TC 3/3, 204, 11; 207, 4; 210, 19; amounts given to the transporter to buy textiles *en route* and deliver them in Aššur: EL 133, 8; TC 1, 70, 20 (*raqqutum*); ICK 2, 83 r. 6 (*naḫlaptum*); *kāsum*, "beaker": CCT 5, 41b, 15.18.20; *supannum*, some kind of bowl: EL 129, 5; CCT 5, 40b, 7; *dudittum*, "pectoral": TC 2, 54, r. 4′; TC 3/3, 202, 15; *šawīrum*, "bracelet": TC 3/3, 207, 10; EL 124, 9; cf. *BiOr* 24, 1967, 187a *ad* no. 25; *šenān u šaḫirān*, "sandals" (with straps?): TC 3/3, 210, 14.37; *pāšum*, "axe": TC 2, 54 r. 7′; *erīum masīum/damqum*, "refined copper": EL 130, 18; Garelli 1965, no. 6, 12; TC 2, 54 r. 8′; TC 3/3, 210, 7; *nigallum*, "(copper) sickles": ICK 1, 120, 9; *siparātum*, "?": TC 2. 54, r. 16′; *šaptum*, "wool": EL 125, 18; CCT 5, 40b, 9,

these lists of items sent from Anatolia gifts exchanged between women in Anatolia and Aššur [203]).

f) *Some conclusions*

It is not clear to what extent the merchant and his wife kept separate purses. This problem is probably linked up with the kind of activities in which the husband was involved; cf. what has been said about Pūšu-kēn above on p. 116 *sub* 1. Frequently the women acted as their husbands' representatives in all kinds of commercial or legal situations. Lamassī informs her husband about all kind of matters in her letters: GARELLI 1965, 156ff. no. 26; BIN 6, 102; CCT 3, 19b and 20; TC 3/1, 35. The first letter shows how she has to cope with various Assyrian tax-officials, who have a claim on her husband. She enjoys a great freedom of action: the text just quoted shows that she redeemed a slave-girl; in GARELLI 1964, 111, Sch. 14 she has half a donkey load of tin and textiles transported to Anatolia; and in EL 50 (granted this is the same Lamassī) she acts as creditor. Tarām-Kūbi is similarly involved in the affairs of her husband, and she uses her money to pay his debts and taxes, and to run the household (CCT 3, 23b, 7ff.; 24, 34ff.). In the first text she even has to pay 5 minas of silver to the *bīt ālim* in Aššur. This does not suggest that the money of man and woman were kept apart; even though the latter may have enjoyed some private means, and could act independently in various situations, she nevertheless basically worked for the profit of her husband's "house", as Lamassī states in text no. 5 (quoted on p. 113f.).

The material discussed in this paragraph shows that the women produced a great assortment of textiles: *kutānum, kamsum, kabtum, ṣubātum qatnum, ṣubātum ša qātim, namaššūḫum, nibrārum, abarnīum.* This proves e.g. that an Abarnian textile does not automatically prove the existence of commercial relations with and imports from some town Abarne/a; the word simply denotes a type of textile, which could be made locally in Aššur. The situation as to other textiles, with names like *takuštāum, šilipkāum* may have been similar, though we lack pertinent information to prove it.

GARELLI 1965, no. 8, 26; TC 2, 54, r. 13′; various garments: EL 131, 23f.; TC 2, 54, r. 9′; *išrum*, "belt": CCT 5, 41a, 29; TC 3/3, 210, 7; amounts of silver called *tadmiqtum*: EL 151, 6; TC 3/3, 202, 10.12; 207, 15; silver for the raising of a youth: EL 151, 3; silver for buying grain: EL 154, 19; silver for clothing: TC 3/3, 210, 5-6; a *matliḫšum*: CCT 5, 41a, 32; *īlum*: CCT 5, 40b, 10; ICK 1, 120, 13; *asīrum*: CCT 5, 40b, 10; a donkey: GARELLI 1965, no. 5, 20; *warḫalum*: EL 131, 28. Many of these objects recur in letters exchanged between the merchants and their female relatives.

[203]) EL 117, 9f.; 124, 7f.; BIN 6, 175, 12f.; TC 2, 54, r. 10′f.; TC 3/3, 207, 25.

3. TRADE IN ANATOLIAN TEXTILE PRODUCTS

The Assyrians, once settled in Anatolia, not only traded in merchandise imported from Aššur, but also took an active part in intra-Anatolian trade in copper, wool (see ch. VII) and textiles.

a) *pirikannū*

The most important textile, which we meet dozens of times in our texts is called *pirikannum*, written both with [204]) and without the determinative TÚG. Two variant writings of the word are *pí-ra-kà-nu* in OIP 27, no. 55, 19. 24. 46 and ICK 1, 190, 36, and *pá-ra-kà-nu* in L 29-584—H. LEWY 1970, 53f.—12.

That it was a native product is clear from the place-names mentioned in association with it: TC 1, 43, 3-4 deals with *p. ša Mamma* with a value of 5 minas of silver (Mamma was also known for its wool, cf. TC 3/1, 65, 18ff., quoted below p. 131); BIN 4, 162, 33 mentions *p.* in connection with Luḫusaddia (also known for its wool and textile industry, cf. LEWY 1958, 98 [64]); CCT 4, 27a, 10 mentions Tišmurna; EL 226,6ff. 77 *p.* going to Waḫšušana. Kaniš in particular is connected with *p.*: CCT 5, 12a, 6f. mentions 49 *p. ša Kāniš*. L 29-577—H. LEWY 1970, 47f.—, 18ff. reads: *16* GÍN [19] KÙ.BABBAR *kà-ni-ší-ú i-dí-nu-ni-kum* [20] *um-ma a-na-ku-ma pì-ri-kà-ni* [21] *ša-am-ma šé-bi-lam* [22] *šu-ma pí-ri-kà-ni lá taš-am..*, "the people of Kaniš gave you 16 shekels of silver. I told you: "buy *p.* (with that silver) and send (them) to me. In case you have not bought *p.*....". Very clear is L 29-588—H. LEWY 1970, 57f.—, 18ff.: *ší-im pì-ri-kà-ni* [19] *a-na-kam ba-at-qú* [20] *ma-ḫi-ir Kà-ni-iš la ma-ṣí*, "commerce in *p.*-textiles is deficient here; the offer on the market of Kaniš is insufficient" [205]). TC 2, 60, 5f. mentions a payment of 15 shekels of silver for 4 *p.* to a native (*nu'āum*).

LEWY 1958, 98 [64] pointed out that *p.* frequently occur with wool, "woollen fleeces" (*maškū šapīūtum*) and "woollen blankets" (*ēp/bīšū šapātim*) [206]). Besides the texts he mentions—BIN 4, 78; 162; 6, 10; VAT 9254; 9290—I refer to CCT 5, 12a, 6-8: *p. ša Kaniš* together with *saptinnū* (according to LEWY, loc. cit. something like "fleecy clothes"); CCT 4, 27a, 11-12: *p.* together with wool (line 11: SÍG!.ḪI.A), fleeces, and a textile called *menuniānum* (cf. below ch. VIII, 17); and L 29-561—H. LEWY 1968, 15f.—, 28, where *18 p.* are mentioned after 35 *maškū*, being sold by two

[204]) BIN 4, 117, 23; 162, 3; CCT 5, 12a, 6; ICK 1, 53, 4; TC 3/2, 188, 1; twice in unpublished texts of the BÖHL Collection at Leiden. Cf. for this product BILGIÇ, *App.* 56; LANDSBERGER-BALKAN, 1950, 249[c]; GARELLI *AC* 293; LEWY 1958, 98[64].

[205]) Cf. for this text and its translation below p. 377 no. 11 and p. 383.

[206]) LEWY proposes a translation "covers" for *p.*

Assyrians to a merchant's representative(s). LEWY 1967, 14 calls attention to the unpublished text BM 113467, where "large numbers of *pí-ri-kà-nu*" are mentioned with *maškū* and *maškū šapātim* [207]).

The conclusion should be that *p.* are a kind of rough or coarse woollen textile. From CCT 5, 12a, where one donkey carries 49 *p.* and 14 *saptinnū* and ICK 1, 53, 4-5 where one donkey carries 38 *p.* we may infer that *p.*, perhaps not uniform in size or weight (TC 1, 43, 16 requires that *p.* to be sent should be "of good quality and big") [208]), were as a rule much lighter (and smaller?) than the textiles imported by the Assyrians. According to VAT 9254, 4-9 *p.* were transported in a bag (*naruqqum*).

The *p.* could be used to make clothes, cf. BIN 4, 78, 6ff.: *p. ša lubūš ṣuḫārī.....p. ša ana lubūšim dannūni*, "*p.* for clothes of the servants .....*p.* which are strong enough to be used for clothes" [209]). Interesting is the text KTS 10, 4ff., which reads: *20* TÚG *ku-ta-ni pì-ri-kà-nim* [5] *A* [6] *ù B* [7] *na-áš-ú-ni-ku-nu-ti*, "A and B are bringing you 20 *kutānū* made from *pirikannum*". The text suggests *p.* were a tissue which could be used for the manufacture of *kutānu*; the *kutānū pirikannim* perhaps served as a (cheap?) Anatolian substitute of the *kutānū* imported by the Assyrians. Not clear, unfortunately, is EL 284, 17ff., which reads in translation: "As for the [10] shekels of silver under your seals, which you gave me saying: "buy for me *p.* for clothing in the house"—you surely gave them to me for a *kutānum* and the *kutānum* was indeed bought with your silver. But truly, the palace is holding it back" [210]). This text again suggests a relation between *p.* and *kutānum*; *p.* perhaps could be turned into *kutānū* by some treatment. The fact that the palace is involved should not necessarily point at a commercial background, as the addressee is in jail (*kišeršum*, line 25).

Some texts like BIN 4, 162, 4. 35 and TC 1, 43, 24-27 show red *p.* were current. The latter text reads: "buy and send me red *p.*; the *p.* which you take (for sale) should indeed be red!" [211]).

The turnover of *p.* was substantial; CCT 5, 8b, 8ff. mentions that upon a merchant's death 70 *p.* were found in his house. Other large numbers are: 77 (EL 226, 6f.), 63 and 40 (BIN 4, 162); 49 (CCT 5, 12a, 6; LB 1290, 4); 38 (ICK 1, 53, 4); 23 (BIN 4, 117); 17 (TC 3/2, 188). The transaction in *p.* mentioned in L 29-584, 12ff. concerned 7 minas 43 shekels of silver; that

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[207]) Cf. for these items, below p. 132ff.

[208]) *pì-ri-kà-ni* [15] *ša ta-lá-qé-a-ni* [16] *lu* SIG$_5$ *lu ra-bu-*[*ú*].

[209]) Cf. also BIN 4, 162, 1 and EL 284, 19ff.

[210]) Line 19ff.: *pì-ri-kà-ni* [20] *a-na lu-bu-u*[*š-tim*] [21] É$^{bi_4\text{-}tam}$ *ša-ma-am*. The text contains the wording of an oath.

[211]) *pì-ri-kà-ni sá-mu-tim* [25] *ša-ma-ma še-bi$_4$-lá-nim* [26] *pì-ri-kà-ni ša ta-lá-qé-a-ni* [27] *lu sá-mu*.

of TC 1, 43, 5 minas; LB 1290, 5 mentions in this connection 2⅔ minas of silver.

Compared with the Assyrian textiles *p.* were rather cheap: the price ranges from 2 (once 1) to 3¾ shekels of silver, cf. GARELLI *AC* 293. Information from unpublished texts confirms this conclusion: VAT 9237, 11 mentions a *p.* worth 3 shekels, and LB 1290, 4ff. reads: *49* TÚG *pí-ri-[kà-nu]* [5] *2⅔ m[a-n]a* [(*x* GÍN) KÙ.BABBAR] [6] *it-bu-lu*, a purchase price of at least some 3⅓ shekels of silver.

The trade in *p.* was subject to taxation on the part of the Assyrian authorities. In TuM I, 1a—a letter from the *kārum* Waḫšušana to the toll-officers and representatives of Šalatūar (cf. for this text and the Assyrian authorities mentioned below p. 282)—we read that tax had to be paid *en route* over a consignment of *p.* and copper; for the unknown number of *p.* this amounted to only 1 shekel of silver.

b) *The letter VAT 9290*

On the other hand there is unique information, showing that the trade in *p.* and the closely related *saptinnū* (cf. CCT 5, 12a quoted above and LEWY 1958, *loc. cit.*) was put under severe restrictions by the Assyrian government. The information is provided by the unpublished letter VAT 9290, quoted by LEWY 1958, 98-99 with note 66, sent from Aššur to Pūšu-kēn. It reads:

um-ma A-šur—ba-ni ù		"Thus Aššur-bāni and
Ša-lim—A-šur a-na		Šalim-Aššur, unto
Pu-šu—ki-in qí-bi-ma		Pūšu-kēn speak:
a-na-kam a-wa-tum a-šu-mì		Here difficulties have arisen [212])
TÚG.ḪI *sà-áp-tí-ni ù*	5	concerning the *saptinnū*-textiles,
pí-ri-kà-ni e-pí/bi-ší		and the *pirikannū*,
ša-pá-tim i-bi-ší-a-ma		the woollen blankets(?),
ṣa-bu-um ma-[d]u-um		and many people
a-na ar-nim ta-dí-in		have been fined.
ù ku-a-tí 10 ma-na KÙ.BABBAR	10	You too they condemned
ú-ša-dí-nu-kà		to pay 10 minas of silver.
1 ma-na.TA KÙ.BABBAR		You may pay it in annual
i-na ša-tim		instalments of
ta-ša-qal		1 mina of silver.

212) The words may even mean that it came to a legal case and an official verdict, cf. *CAD* A, 2, 38b, 5, a, and for the expression CCT 2, 19, 4: *awātum ina barīni ibbišiāma*, "it came to a dispute (lawsuit) between us".

7½ ma-na KÙ.BABBAR	15	7½ minas of silver
a-na ṣí-ib-tim		we borrowed for you against in-
i-šé-ep Ku-lu-ma-a		terest from (the silver) trans-
ni-il$_5$-qí-a-kum KÙ.BABBAR		ported by Kulumā. Send
ú ṣí-ba-sú šé-bi-lam		the silver and its interest.
a-pu-tum a-na sà-áp-tí-ni	20	Please, don't go in for *saptinnū*-
ù pí-ri-kà-ni		and *pirikannū*-textiles [213]),
qá-at-kà lá tù-ba-al-ma		and don't buy them!
la ta-ša-am bi-it-kà		Your house (family)
ù ṣú-ḫa-ru-kà		and your servants
šál-mu a-wa-at	25	are well. The orders
a-lim^{ki} da-na		of the City are binding!"

Lewy, commenting on the text, states (op. cit., 99) that, because many people were punished and the fine was extremely heavy, "it would appear that regulations which made the purchase and exportation of these woollen commodities unlawful had been disregarded by quite a few merchants". This is in general correct, but we should realise that *pirikannū* according to the texts were not exported from Aššur to Anatolia, but play a part in the inner-Anatolian trade only [214]). Consequently the measures taken in Aššur ("here", line 4) were meant to suppress Assyrian trade in *pirikannū* and *saptinnū* in Anatolia, where *p.* were bought (line 23). The fact that one text—quoted above—shows that a shipment of *p.* was taxed, could suggest this trade was officially permitted. Consequently one might suppose that merchants according to VAT 9290 were fined for dodging these taxes. This seems hardly likely; the amount mentioned in TuM I, 1a is very small and looks more like a simple toll on the passage of a caravan, than a real import-tax or the levy of a fixed percentage for the benefit of the Assyrian authorities. Moreover VAT 9290 does not mention taxes and Pūšu-kēn is warned to abstain completely from this dangerous business. The only possible solution is that at some moment—probably later than TuM I, 1a—the Assyrian authorities at home prohibited the trade in these Anatolian products, although they were not imported to Aššur. The reason could have been, in view of the considerable turnover of *pirikannū* in Anatolia and the fact that they somehow

213) The fact that here the apposition *ēp/bīšī šapātim* of lines 6-7 is not repeated, indicates these words are in apposition to *pirikannī*, which speaks for itself.

214) Only in ICK 1, 53 we have a transport-contract, dealing with the shipment of *pirikannū*: 1 donkey carrying 38 *p.* The amount of "loose tin" for the caravan, which consists of 8 donkeys is so small—1 mina of tin, 5 shekels of silver—that it cannot be a regular transport from Aššur to Anatolia, but must be a secondary transport within Anatolia.

could be worked into or serve as a cheap substitute for *kutānū*, that Assyrian exports of textiles suffered from the flourishing, partly Assyrian, trade in *pirikannū* and similar products. The orders issued by Aššur in this case would be a clear case of protectionism. Unfortunately we know nothing of the effects of this measure, nor of the local Anatolian reaction to it. It may even have stimulated the commercial activity of the Anatolians themselves [215]).

Little is known about the remaining, apparently also Anatolian textile products, like *menuniānum*, and *saptinnum*. They will be dealt with in the ch. VIII.

4. TEXTILE TRADE EN ROUTE BETWEEN AŠŠUR AND ANATOLIA

Finally we should mention a number of texts, showing that Assyrian merchants also traded in textiles on their way from Aššur to Anatolia or vice versa.

A number of texts mention textile products from the town Talḫad, situated somewhere near the upper course of the Baliḫ [216]). Most occurrences of these textiles are in transport contracts dealing with shipments from Anatolia to Aššur. Products from this town—the city itself and its inhabitants occur in OA texts and the *nisbe talḫadīum* therefore cannot be compared with e.g. *abarnīum*, which has lost all connection with the town from which the *nisbe* was derived—were bought by the merchants on their way back to Aššur.

Best known are *ēpadātum talḫadiātum*, "*ēpattu*-garments from Talḫad" [217]), mentioned in CCT 1, 32c, 16ff, (3), CCT 2, 36a, 15ff. (5) and TC 2, 54 r. 9′ (10). We also meet *išrātum talḫadiātum*, "belts/shawls from Talḫad": TC 3/3, 210, 8; BIN 4, 180, 7 [218]). In EL 131, 23 either *epadātum* or *išrātum* has to be restored [219]).

These items could also be imported into Anatolia, as we meet both

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[215]) Another tentative explanation for the measures of the City could be that the official authorities or the *kārum* wanted to monopolise the trade in these fabrics. But the texts show that *p.* frequently belonged to the merchandise of private merchants, which makes this solution unconvincing.

[216]) Cf. for the location of Talḫad GARELLI *AC* 95[11]; ARM 5, 135 *ad* 51; KUPPER, *Nomades*, 5[1], 8[3]; FINKELSTEIN, *JNES* 21, 1962, 78[22]; FINET, *Syria* 41, 125f., 126[2] (*ad* ARM 13, no. 143) and *AfO* 20, 1963, 72b, II, 1. People from Talḫad in OA texts: BIN 6, 142, 2; 237, 7; TC 3/3, 252, 26.

[217]) Cf. for *ēpattum CAD* E, 183a: "a costly garment".

[218]) Cf. for *išrum* below p. 176f. LEWY 1956, 34[117] comments on the "precious *išrātum*" and supposes they were re-exported from Aššur to Anatolia, which cannot be proved. The *išrum* mentioned in BIN 4, 180, 6ff. cost ca. 1¼ mina of copper.

[219]) LEWY's restoration TÚG.ḪI.A is excluded because *ṣubātum* is masc. in OA.

ēpadātum t. (OIP 26, no. 62, 43f.: 20 pieces) and *išrātum t.* (I 471, 11: 11 pieces) in a clearly Anatolian situation.

The epithet *talḫadīum* is so stereotyped for *ēpattum* that there is reason to assume that where an *ēpattum* is mentioned without further qualification, a product of Talḫad is meant [220]).

The trade in *ēpadātum* and *išrātum* belonged to the small scale subsidiary business, called *saḫertum*, as shown by B. LANDSBERGER on the basis of an unpublished text [221]).

Another trading centre, this time in Southern Turkey, on the border of the Anatolian territory, is the well-known town of Ḫaḫḫum, which plays an important role on OA texts. It was one of the first towns the Assyrians reached after crossing the Euphrates, and has been located in the plain of Elbistan [222]). It was the seat of a kingdom, an Assyrian *kārum*, a road junction, emporium and market [223]). But unlike the other Anatolian towns it is not only mentioned as a city which the Assyrians cross, where they pay taxes, visit the *kārum* etc. In BIN 4, 7 Pūšu-kēn is informed that the writer, travelling with a caravan of 17 donkeys, loaded with 310 textiles, will "select" another 100 textiles of good quality in Ḫaḫḫum, to be added to his merchandise [224]). Textiles from Ḫaḫḫum are also mentioned in EL 332, 20 (= KUG 13): TÚG.ḪI.A *ša Ḫaḫḫim*, and GARELLI 1964, 59, Sch. 4, 5: 2' *ḫa-ḫi-a-tim*. Another *ḫa-ḫi-a-tim* occurs in BIN 6, 136, 14, but here the word probably means "(wool) from Ḫaḫḫum", which we also meet in OIP 27 no. 7, 6: SÍG *ša Ḫaḫḫim* and in the unpublished text kt b/k 27: *ší-im ša-áp-tí ša Ḫa-ḫi-im* [225]). Wool and textiles from Ḫaḫḫum apparently were famous and already well known in earlier times, as we may infer from the occurrence of 1 TÚG BÚR *Ḫa-ḫu-um*^{ki} in *RTC* 232 I, 5' [226]).

It will be clear that the textiles and trade mentioned *sub* d) only play a very secondary role in OA business, though the products from Talḫad were valued by the Assyrian ladies.

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[220]) CCT 4, 6e, 6f.; ICK 2, 339, 23f. (*e-pá*$^{!}$*-tám*); TC 3/2, 119, 21f.; VAT 9237, 9ff.: *e*$^{!}$*-pá-tám a-na* ^{10} «*a*» *li-tab-ší-a ša-ma-ma-am*, "buy for me an *ēpattum* to dress me in", a request sent from Aššur. All four cases concern *ēpadātum* to be shipped to Aššur.

[221]) LANDSBERGER 1967, 182, quoting kt g/k 91, 7.

[222]) Cf. GARELLI, *AC*, 109f.; ORLIN *ACC*, 39f. situates Ḫaḫḫum too much to the NE in my opinion; cf. also below p. 243.

[223]) Cf. for the information about Ḫaḫḫum ORLIN *ACC*, 78.

[224]) 1 *me-at* TÚG.ḪI.A *i-na* ^{12} *Ḫa-ḫi-im dam-qú-ti*[*m*] ^{13} *a-bi-a-ar*.

[225]) Cf. BALKAN *Obs.* 65^{9}. Both texts are later than the main body of Kültepe texts.

[226]) Cf. *CAD* Ḫ 29b, *ḫaḫḫû*, and FALKENSTEIN, *AnOr* 30, 53^{7} (reference Prof. KRAUS). Hittite occurrences of *ḫaḫḫītum* mentioned by A. GOETZE, *JCS* 9, 1955, 23a *ad* 25 and FINKELSTEIN, *JCS* 10, 1956, 101, *sub* III, have no force, as according to B. LANDSBERGER, *JCS* 21, 1967, 159b/160a *ḫa-*ḪI*-tum* is to be read *ḫa-šár-tum*, denoting a colour.

CHAPTER SEVEN

WOOL AND WOOL-TRADE

Wool occurs in OA texts in a double function: as a raw material indispensable for the production of woollen textiles by Assyrian women, and as an article of trade in Anatolia. The purpose of the Anatolian wool-trade, which represented a special branch, was not to provide the Assyrian women with wool, but to earn silver, to be exported to Aššur. There are only very few references to the sending of Anatolian wool to Aššur (cf. above p. 116, 2); occasionally Assyrian women ask their male relatives to do so, if wool is expensive in Aššur, but the quantities ordered are always very small (the biggest is 30 minas, mentioned in TC 1, 44, 6ff., to be sent "to my wife", apparently living in Aššur). Normally Assyrian women will have used wool of local origin, but we hardly know anything about wool-production and wool-trade in Aššur (cf. above p. 113). TC 2, 7, a letter from Puzur-Aššur to Pūšu-kēn, states in lines 24ff.: "for the *kutānū*-textiles, about which you keep writing to me, no *šurb/puītum*-wool is available"; the production of the textiles mentioned consequently is impossible for the time being. TC 2, 14, 6 mentions *27* TÚG SIG$_5$ *šu-ur-b/pu-i-tum*, "27 *š.*-textiles of good quality", costing 7½ shekels apiece in Aššur; according to line 9 these fine products were considered to belong to the category of the *kutānū*. But we do not know what *šurb/puītum* really means.

The great majority of the references to wool contained in OA texts bears on the intra-Anatolian wool-trade, in which the Assyrians took an active part. The rest of this chapter tries to analyse the textual evidence for that trade.

1. WORD, QUALITIES, PRICES

"Wool" is written both with the logogram SÍG(.ḪI.A) and syllabically: *šaptum/šapātum*. The logogram, which is not rare (contrary to the statement by KIENAST, ATHE p. 70 *ad* 33) [227]), has to be read *šaptum*, and is

[227]) The logogram SÍG is written in its most complete form as a LU with four horizontals and a "Winkelhaken" in the middle, cf. e.g. KTB 3, 14. In many copies the "Winkelhaken" is not shown: TC 3/2, 98, 5; 180, 1; ICK 2, 101, 1 etc. In ATHE 47, 33 the copy shows only the lower horizontal and the "Winkelhaken". The sign frequently looks like TÚG (cf. e.g. TC 2, 38, 4), but I am not sure that in most cases the Assyrian scribes are to blame for the confusion this "careless" writing caused among the Assyriologists (cf. above note 143).

normally a collective sing.; in ICK 1, 37B 7, 10 and 13 SÍG.ḪI.A alternates with *šaptum*; cf. also the expression SÍG.ḪI.A *waqrat* in GARELLI 1965 no. 25, 12 (quoted p. 113 no. 4). While *šaptum* of course is always treated as a sing. (cf. e.g. TC 3/1, 51, 10ff., quoted below p. 136) SÍG.ḪI.A is at times construed as a plural; so in ICK 1, 98, 13: SÍG.ḪI.A *e-ri-ší-na*, "the wool, ask for it.." (a translation "ask the wool from them (fem.)" is excluded by the context). In such cases one might read the logogram *šapātum* (*šipātum* does not occur), which is found spelled out in BIN 4, 6, 23 and ATHE 47, 17. It also occurs in the combination *maškū šapātim*, "woollen fleeces" and *ēb/pīšū/šapātim*, "woollen saddle rugs(?)", to be discussed below.

Indications about qualities are rare, apart from the distinction between white and red wool, to be compared with that between white and red *pirikannū*-textiles; cf. CCT 4, 47a, 30ff., and below ch. IX, 3. BIN 4, 54, 15 mentions SÍG!.ḪI.A *ší-ni-tí-im*, "dyed wool" (cf. below ch. IX, 3, h) and CCT 4, 45, 36 the enigmatic *šaptam* GA-*tí-tám*. OIP 27 no. 7, 3ff. speaks of *šaptam makrītam*, a kind of red wool (cf. ch. IX, 3, d); TC 3/1, 65, 18ff. contains a request for *ša-áp-tám* [19] *ša Ma-a-ma na-ri-ib-tám* [20] *a-ra-ak-tám da-mì-iq-tám* [21] *ú-ta-ar-tám*, "soft, long, extra fine wool from Mamma".

There is little information about prices. BIN 4, 162 (= OIP 27 no. 55), 16 mentions a price of 3 shekels of silver for 6⅓ minas of wool, which is very expensive (ca. ½ shekel per mina). EL 243, 5, however, assumes a price of 1 shekel for 6 minas, as it mentions as alternatives a payment of either 1⅔ minas of silver or 10 talents of wool(!) [228]). This last price goes well with what is known from the OB-period, cf. F. R. KRAUS, *SD* 5, 99. In the Ur-III period wool was cheaper, mostly ca. 1 shekel for 10 minas (CURTIS-HALLO, *HUCA* 30, 1959, 110 [56] and 120) [229]).

2. PROVENANCE AND QUANTITIES

That the wool was indeed of Anatolian provenance is shown by the geographical names mentioned in connection with it. TC 3/1, 65, 19, already quoted, mentions wool from Mamma; BIN 4, 181, 1ff. two big lots (42½ and 24⅓ talents) from Luḫusaddia, a place also mentioned in BIN 4, 6, 23; 6, 176, 9; CCT 4, 6c, 23 and TC 3/1, 51, 7f. in connection with wool. EL 243, 14 speaks of wool from Ḫurrama; BIN 4, 58, 9 and TTC 27a, left

[228]) OIP 27 no. 10, 4 mentions wool worth 1 shekel of silver; TC 3/1, 65, 7f. and 18f. quantities with a value of 5 and 2 shekels. Cf. also below *ad* KTB 3, 9ff. and 15ff.

[229]) Cf. for the prices of wool in the so called "tariffs", E. SOLLBERGER, *UET* 8, p. 16 with table.

edge 1, mention Tišmurna in relation with wool. Wool from Ḫaḫhum was discussed above (p. 129). BIN 6, 176, 5 connects the North-Mesopotamian town Baliḫ with wool-trade; BIN 6, 84, 5ff. mentions a transport of wool from Zalpa. Transactions in wool, which took place in the town G/K/Qarpata (location unknown), are recorded in CCT 1, 35, 2ff. and TC 3/2, 180, 4 [230]).

The quantities of wool recorded in the texts are considerable. BIN 6, 176 mentions in all ca. 111 talents of wool; ICK 2, 101, 71 talents, shipped on 15 donkeys; BIN 4, 181 in all nearly 68 talents; CCT 4, 47a, 3off. 60 talents of white and 20 talents of red wool; BIN 6, 76, 13, 60 talents; TC 2, 38, 4f. 20 talents; ICK 1, 171, 19f. nearly 13 talents; ICK 1, 98, 3 more than 11 talents, and TC 3/2, 183, 2, finally, records the enigmatic amount of 65 *abnī šaptum*. Quantities of 2-10 talents are not uncommon [231]).

These texts show that the Assyrian merchants disposed of large quantities of wool, which were either stored in their houses for certain periods or shipped to where they could be sold to advantage. TC 2, 27, 4ff. describes the assets of a merchant in this way: "all merchandise which his colleague left behind, either textiles, tin, wool or donkeys", and ATHE 47, 32f. states that the writer owes "neither textiles, nor wool, nor any other salable goods" to the addressee [232]).

3. WOLLEN FLEECES; *maškū*

Besides wool we frequently meet rough woollen products (especially *pirikannū*; cf. above ch. VI, 3, a) and "woollen fleeces", lit. "hides with wool", *maškū šapātim* (once, KTH 1, 19, *maškū ša šapātim*) or "hides thick (with wool)", *maškū šapīūtum* (cf. for *šapīum* below ch. IX, 2, h).

[230]) The places recorded are mainly towns situated south and southwest of Kaniš. LEWY 1958, 97f. writes: "large quantities of wool came from places such as Balichum in Western Mesopotamia, Luḫusaddia in Cilicia and Mama, which lay on the highway from Uršu to Kaniš, and we shall not err in assuming that many a caravan *en route* from Aššur to Cappadocia had instructions to pick up wool in these towns". I doubt whether the last statement is correct, as most caravans normally had no spare capacity for transport. The-wool trade seems to have been directed from Kaniš, and may have constituted in some way a separate branch of the trade.

[231]) 10 talents in GARELLI-KENNEDY 1960 no. 8, r. 14 and KTS 54e, 1; 5 talents: KTB 3, 4; 4 talents 50 minas: TC 3/2, 180, 1; 3 talents 40 minas: BIN 6, 176, 5 (the last three texts record the shares of individual merchants in a collective wool trading enterprise).

[232]) In ATHE 47, 14ff. a merchant, worried about the delay of the pay for his textiles, writes: KÙ.BAB[BAR *ša*] *A*. [15] *u* É *B*. [16] *ša-á*[*š*!*-qí-il*$_5$] *ú-úl* [17] *ša-pá-tim m*[*a-l*]*á ṣ-na* KÙ.BABBAR-*pì-a* [18] *lá a-pá-lu-ḫu ša-dí-a-šu-nu*, "demand payment of the silver of A and the house of B, or else make them deposit so much wool, that I need not be afraid of my silver". The text is closely related to L 29-575 (H. LEWY 1970, 46f.).

These fleeces probably were a form in which wool was traded and could be used for several purposes. There are reasons to believe that many times when the texts mention simply *maškū* in fact *maškū šapātim*, "woollen fleeces" are meant and not "hides". GARELLI 1966, 141 no. 8, 5 alternates between *maškū šapātim* in line 5 and *maškū* in line 8; the price of these *maškū šapātim*, 2 shekels of silver apiece, may be compared with that of 2½ shekels of silver for simple *maškū* in TC 1, 27, 12ff. Two and a half shekels of silver for a hide alone would be very expensive [233]). Cf. also the fact that several times (e.g. in BIN 6, 10, 9ff, and CCT 4, 27a, 11ff.; cf. above p. 124) *maškū* are mentioned together with *pirikannū*-textiles, and that TC 1, 27, 12ff. mentions the writer's intention to deposit *maškū* in the *bīt kārim*, together with *šurum*-textiles [234]).

Other texts in which *maškum* may have the meaning "woollen fleece" are: CCT 1, 40c (BM 113638), 1ff.: 187 *maškū* are brought from Luḫusaddia, a well-known centre of wool-trade; and TC 1, 4, 5: 260 *maškū* are called "merchandise". Interesting is the text KTB 3, a letter from Aššur-taklak to Aššur-nādā: [4] 5 GÚ.TA SÍG.ḪI.A [5] *3 me-at*.TA *maš-ki* [6] *a-na qá-ta-tí-ku-nu* [7] *al-qí 1 ma-na 10* GÍN.TA KÙ.BABBAR [8] *i-qá-ta-tí-ku-nu i-ṣa-ḫe-er* [9] *31½ m[aš]-ku 40 ma-na*.TA [10] *a-na «a-na» ma-na-im* KÙ.BABBAR [11] *ša* ILLAT-*at Pu-šu--ki-in* [12] *ik-šu-da-ma* [13] *12* GÚ *50 ma-na* [14] SÍG.ḪI.A *6 me-at* [15] *maš-ki al-qí 1⅙* GÍN.TA [16] *a-na* SÍG.ḪI.A KÙ.BABBAR *lá-šu* [17] *maš-ku wa-as-mu*, "5 talents of wool, 300 fleeces, I 'took' for each of you as (for) your shares. Your accounts (shares) will be debited with 1 mina 10 shekels of silver each. *The result of the enterprise*(?) of Pūšu-kēn amounted to 31½ fleeces, (or) 40 minas (of wool) for each mina of silver (invested), so that I collected 12 talents 50 minas of wool, 600 fleeces. But it is impossible to obtain silver in exchange for the wool, even at a rate of 1⅙ shekels apiece, though the fleeces are of fairly good quality."

The text is not easy to understand, and especially lines 9-12 are difficult; my translation of these lines is more an attempt to render its meaning as good as possible, than an exact word-by-word translation (cf. for the problems connected with the translation and construction of *ikšudam*, below ch. XX *sub* 3; especially KTS 57b, quoted on p. 414 *sub* 7, shows some relation with the text under discussion). What is important in this connection is the juxtaposition of SÍG.ḪI.A and *maškū*, and the fact that in line 5 and 14 an *u*, "and", is missing. I believe we have to interpret

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[233]) KTB 3, 15ff., to be quoted below, mentions 1⅙ shekels of silver apiece as a rather low price.

[234]) *maškū šapātim*/*šapiūtum* occur in BIN 4, 51, 4; 6, 13, 15; CCT 4, 1b, 4f.; GARELLI 1965, 35 no. 14, 14; 1966, 141, no. 8, 5; KTH 1, 19 (*maškū ša šapātim*) and OIP 27 no. 55, 18.

both lines as "x talents of wool, in the shape of y fleeces". This yields a weight of exactly one mina per fleece in lines 4ff. (the accounts are debited with 1 shekel of silver for every $4^2/_7$ fleeces or minas of wool), and one of ca. 1,3 mina of wool per fleece in lines 14ff. From lines 9ff., if correctly understood, we calculate a weight of ca. 1,23 mina per fleece. These figures are close enough to warrant the conclusion that the amounts of wool in fact consisted of collections of fleeces. A weight of 1-1,3 mina per fleece is rather small, at least when compared with the yield of wool per sheep, as recorded in the early OB period (cf. F. R. KRAUS, *Staatliche Viehhaltung im Altbabylonischen Lande Larsa*, Amsterdam 1966, p. 30 col. 5 and p. 57 table 8). But some difference between the figures obtaining for Babylonia and those reconstructed for Anatolia is not disturbing; it is not so big as to exclude the possibility that *maškum* indeed represents the woollen fleece of one sheep.

This equation between *maškū* and *maškū šapātim*, however, does not mean that real hides did not occur, and at times even were an article of trade. CCT 5, 28b, 11 mentions 800 (minas) of copper, the purchase price of "hides of cows and sheep", 12 *ší-im maš-ki* 13 *ša al-pí lu ša e-me-ri*. CCT 3, 7b/8a, 20ff. mentions an amount of 1 mina $7\frac{1}{2}$ shekels of silver, "the price to be paid for hides, belonging to the son of A and myself, owed by the leatherworker", 21 *ší-im maš-ki ša ma-ri* 22 *A-lá-ḫi-im ù i-a-tí* 23 KI *áš-kà-pì-im*. But hides and leather do not play an important part in the trade.

4. THE PURCHASE OF WOOL

KTB 3, treated above, sheds some light on the ways in which wool was purchased, and the terminology contained in that letter finds numerous parallels in other texts dealing with wool-trade. We hardly ever see individual merchants buying wool from Anatolians. Instead we observe that the purchase of wool was in most cases a well organized collective undertaking, in which several people co-operated, all of which were entitled to receive their share in its proceeds. KTB, just quoted, reflects this situation, using *qatātum*, "shares" in combination with the distributive TA, and the verb *laqā'um*, "to take, to collect", to describe that a "shareholder" collects his share. The text moreover shows that the purchase of wool in this case was an undertaking of (or in which took part) the *ellat Pūšu-kēn*, "the trading-company/enterprise of Pūšu-kēn", while the shareholders paid for their shares by having their accounts ("shares") debited with the amounts of silver due.

Important for our understanding of the procedure is also BIN 6, 176, 1ff., which reads: 1 [*x*] *ma-na* GUŠKIN 2 [*š*]*a 5 qá-ta-tim* 3 [D]UB-*pì-i* É *kà-*

ri-im [4] *[ḫ]a-ri-im i-nu-mì 3* GÚ *40 ma-na*.TA [5] SÍG.ḪI.A *i-na Ba-li-ḫi-im* [6] *il*$_5$*-qí-ú-ni ša 5 qá-ta-tim* [7] *ú qá-tám ša A-ta-ta* [8] ŠU.NIGIN$_2$ *6 qá-ta-tim al-qí* [9] *i-nu-mì i-na Lu-ḫu-sà-dí-a* [10] *10* GÚ *15 ma-na*.TA SÍG.ḪI.A [11] *5 qá-ta-tim i-a-tum* [12] *[ṭ]á-tum ša A-ta-ta* [13] *[a]l-qí i-nu-mì a-na* [14] *[Lu-ḫ]a-sà-dí-a i-tù-ru-ni* [15] *4* GÚ LÁ *5 ma-na*.TA *il*$_5$*-qí-ú-ni* [16] *5 qá-ta-tum i-a-a-tum* [17] *qá-tum ša A-ta-ta* [18] *qá-tum ša Šu-Ištar* [19] *al-qí A-ta-ta qá-su* [20] *i-ta-ba-al i-nu-mì* [21] [KÙ].BABBAR *i-ba-tù-qú-ni* [22] *[šu]-a-tí i-ba-tù-qú-šu-um*, "A tablet of mine, recording (an investment of) x minas of gold, has been officially issued in the *bīt kārim*. When they 'took' each (shareholder) 3 talents 40 minas of wool in Baliḫum, I 'took' an amount equal to 5 shares, plus the share of Atata, in all 6 shares. When (they 'took') each 10 talents 15 minas of wool in Luḫusaddia, I 'took' my own 5 shares, plus the share of Atata. When they came back to Luḫasaddia and 'took' each 4 talents minus 5 minas, I 'took' my own 5 shares, the share of Atata and the share of Šū-Ištar. Atata can take his share along, but if in the meantime the silver become scarce (expensive) it becomes scarce (expensive) for his account" [235]).

The text provides us with the information that the anonymous "I", speaking in this text, is entitled to 5 shares in a particular wool-trading business, because he has been recorded as a fivefold shareholder in a document, officially issued (*ḫarim*) in the *bīt kārim*, on the basis of an investment of a certain amount of gold. This suggests that at some time a wool-trading society was founded, with shareholders investing gold in the business (either actual gold, or "money" expressed in gold valuta), and evokes comparison with the well-known OA *naruqqum*-society, which is at the basis of the OA trading activities. The main text informing us about the foundation of such a society, LANDSBERGER 1940 no. 3 with comments, also mentions investments in gold (which are in general typical for this kind of society). Deposits and bookings of gold are otherwise rare in the administration both of the merchants and the *kārum*. The verb *laqā'um*, used in our text to describe how the wool is acquired by purchase, and to denote that the shareholders 'collect' the amounts to which they are entitled, is also found in the *naruqqum*-text just mentioned. Lines 23ff. of it read: . . . *ša a-dí* [24] *lá u*$_4$*-me-šu ma-lá-e-em* [25] KÙ.BABBAR *i-lá-qí-ú 4 ma-na*.TA [26] KÙ.BABBAR *ki-ma 1 ma-na* GUŠKIN [27] *i-lá-qí né-ma-lam* [28] *mì-ma ú-lá i-lá-qí*, "who (of the investors/shareholders) wants to 'take' (his) silver (back), before the term fixed (12 years according to line 19) has

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[235]) Cf. for the translation of these lines below p. 402f. Their meaning is that if in the meantime the rate of exchange silver: wool changes unfavourably, A has to bear its financial consequences.

expired, will 'take' 4 minas of silver as equivalent of each mina of gold; he shall not 'take' any profit."

Unfortunately the texts tell us nearly nothing about the actual purchase of the wool; they just state that "they 'took' wool" in some place (the various place-names are mentioned above on p. 131f.). Other texts describing similar purchases, while mentioning "shares", are TC 3/2, 180, 1ff.: *4* GÚ *50 ma-na* [2] SÍG.ḪI.A *qá-tám ša* [3] *A* [4] *ša i-na* GA-*ar-pá-ta* [5] *B* [6] *il*$_5$*-qí-ú* [7] *B* [8] *ú-ba-lá-ṭá-šu*, "4 talents 50 minas of wool, A's share, which B collected in G/K/Qarpata, B will make freely available for him" (?; *CAD* B 62, 9: "will credit him with it"). The situation is probably similar to that in BIN 6, 176, where the person speaking also collects the shares of other partners, and makes them available to them on certain conditions (lines 19ff.). TC 3/1, 51, 7ff. reads: *šu-ma ša-áp-tám i-Lu-ḫu-súdí-a* [8] *i-lá-qí-ú A ù* [9] *B ṭù-ru-ud-ma* [10] *li-li-ku-nim*? *ša-áp-tám* [11] *qá-tí lu-ub-lu-nim-ma i-ḫu-ur-ší-im* [12] *pì-ḫi-ší-ma ú ku-nu-uk-ší* [13] *šu-ma i-Kà-ni-iš i-lá-qí-ú* [14] *qá-tí li-qí-ma ku-nu-uk-ší-ma* [15] *li-bi*$_4$*-ší*, "if they 'take' wool in Luḫusuddia, send A and B, and let them come here to take my share of wool along; then lock it up in the store and put it under seal. If one is 'taking' (it) in Kaniš, 'take' my share (there), put it under seal and let it remain in store". Again a merchant does not collect his share personally, but asks his colleague or agent to take care of it. The text suggests the shares could be collected either in the place where the wool was actually purchased, the town of Luḫusaddia, a centre of wool and textile production, or in the administrative centre of the trading business, Kaniš [236]).

BIN 6, 176, 3 states that the "certificate" of the shareholders was issued in the *bīt kārim*, and the question arises whether the *bīt kārim* only served as an office, where documents were written, or was more deeply involved in the wool-trade. I cannot give a satisfactory answer to this question, as the texts provide very little information. That the *bīt kārim* was involved in the trade itself is suggested by TC 3/1, 15, 28ff.: *šu-ma* É [29] *kà-ri-im* KÙ.BABBAR [30] *ši-im ša-áp-tim* [31] *iš-ta-pu-ku* KÙ.BABBAR *šu-qú-ul*, "if one can deposit silver in the *bīt kārim*, as (advance) payment for the purchase of wool, then pay silver". The text belongs to a fairly large group of texts dealing with the depositing of silver and textiles in the *bīt kārim* (this being the only one mentioning wool), which still awaits systematic analysis. The texts, as far as I understand them, suggest that merchants could take part in, subscribe to, trading operations organized

[236]) Lines 26f. of this text consider the possibility that the wool is not yet available, cannot yet be 'taken', *šu-ma ša-áp-tám a-lá-qá-im* [27] *a-ḫu-ra-at*, "if the 'taking' of the wool is delayed".

via the *bīt kārim* on a collective or co-operative basis, by paying in advance silver, which gave them a claim on a share in the proceeds, made them a kind of shareholders. KTB 3, quoted above, suggests these payments were booked as a credit of the merchants in the *bīt kātim*, while, after they had collected their share of wool, their accounts were debited according to a fixed price per mina of wool or per fleece. Lines 9ff. of KTB 3 seem to describe how much wool each shareholder was entitled to receive in return for an investment of 1 mina of silver. For lack of evidence I am unable to make out what exactly the function of the *ellat Pūšu-kēn* (KTB 3, 11) was; was it an instrument by means of which the *bīt kārim* conducted the wool-trade in this particular case, or was it a trading society of a more private nature, which also knew its shareholders?

In connection with the purchase of wool I finally mention the text ICK 1, 98, 3ff.: *11* GÚ *20 ma-na* SÍG.ḪI.A [4] *A is-ni-qám* [5] ŠÀ.BA *34 ma-na* SÍG.ḪI.A [6] É.GAL-*lúm i-sú-ùḫ*, "A checked (= delivered for checking and clearing?) 11 talents 20 minas of wool; thereof the palace levied a tax of 34 minas of wool". The text shows that the Anatolian authorities profited from the wool-trade in the same way as they derived revenues from the trade in textiles and tin. Both the percentage of the tax, 5%, and the verb used, *nasāḫum*, relate this wool-tax closely to the tax on textiles, being also 5%, and called *nisḫatum*. Again we note that this is, as far as I know, the only text mentioning a wool-tax; this shows how poor our information about the wool-trade is, compared to what we know about tin and textiles. The few data which the texts do provide, suggest the organization of the wool-trade was in many ways similar to that of the trade in textiles, tin and copper.

5. THE SALE OF WOOL

As stated above the purpose of the wool-trade was not the export of wool to Aššur. Wool-trade was just another means to acquire and multiply silver for export, profiting from the fact that in some regions of Anatolia (especially around Luḫusaddia) wool was easily available and probably cheap, while it could be sold elsewhere with profit. Moreover we observe that frequently wool was not sold directly for silver, but was first converted into copper, which eventually (elsewhere and after refining?) was again turned into silver (or gold).

CCT 4, 47a, 29ff. mentions 80 talents of wool (white and red) with the request: [31] .....*a-ḫi* [32] *ṣ-ta a-na* URUDU *tí-ri-ta-ra-im* [33] [*x x*] *ma-na dí-ší-ma* [*x*] *x a-ma-kam-ma* [34] [*x*] *ta im-ḫu-ru*[-*x*?], "please, sell it for

copper from Tiritar..minas..even there..they received". BIN 4, 54, 5ff. states: ...*4* GÚ *10 ma-na* URUDU [6] *a-na Š. a-dí-in-ma* [7] URUDU SIG_5 *ub-la-kum maš-ki* [8] *wa-dí-ú-tim šu-ut-ma i-dí-in*, "I gave to Š. 4 talents 10 minas of copper, and he brought you copper of good quality (refined copper); he, moreover, gave (sold?) ..... (cf. for *wadium*, below ch. IX, 2, j) fleeces..". Lines 13ff. read: *ší-tí* URUDU-*kà* [14] *2½* GÚ *7 ma-na 35 ma-na* [15] *ší-im* SÍG.ḪI.A *ší-ni-tim*, "the rest of your copper is 2½ talents 7 minas; 35 minas are the proceeds (from the sale) of dyed wool"; cf. also lines 22ff.: ...*i-na ší-im* SÍG.ḪI.A [23] *pá-ni-tim ša še-ep Š.* [24] *40 ma-na* URUDU SIG_5 *iš-tí* [25] DAM.GÀR *I-dí--Ištar* il_5*-qí*, "from the proceeds of the previous lot of wool, transported by Š., Īdī-Ištar collected with the *tamkārum* 40 minas of copper of good quality (refined copper)". The nature of these transactions is far from clear, but they show wool was converted into copper. A full analysis of the copper-trade, which cannot be undertaken here, may reveal more of the pattern of such transactions [237]).

Some texts show that Anatolian merchants played a role in the wool-trade. Cf. CCT 4, 27a, lower edge, 1ff.: *a-na* URUDU *ša pá-ší-ri lá i-pá-ri-id* SÍG!.ḪI.A *sà-am-tum* [2] *i-ba-ší-ma i-na Tí-iš-mur-na* [*ú i-na Dur*]-*ḫu-mì-id*, "let him not be worried about the copper of the retail merchants [238]); if red wool is available, either in Tišmurna or [in Dur]ḫumid...." (remainder of the text broken away). We meet these "retail merchants" also in BIN 6, 76, 10ff.: ..*lá-ma a-tal-ku* SÍG.ḪI.A [11] *a-na* URUDU *li-tur*$_4$-*ma* $GEME_2$ *ù* [12] *Ú-zu-a a-na* URUDU SIG_5 *lu-ta-i-ru* [13] *a-na 60* GÚ SÍG.ḪI.A *lu iš-tí* [14] *ni-a-ú-tim lu iš-tí pá-ší-ri* [15] *a-mì-gi-ir-ma*, "before my departure the wool should be converted into copper, and the slave-girl and Uzua should turn (that copper) again into copper of good quality (refined copper); I came to an agreement about 60 talents of wool, either with our people or with the retail merchants". From this letter and perhaps also from BIN 4, 54, quoted above, one gets the impression that Assyrians sold wool for copper, then turned this copper into refined copper, which was ultimately sold for silver or gold. It seems logical to assume that this procedure involved the shipment of wool and copper according to the

[237]) Other texts mentioning copper-trade and wool-trade together, though the relation between the two is not very clear, are: BIN 6, 13, 5f. (copper from Taritar), 15f. (gives the order to buy woollen fleeces, [*maš*]-*ki* [16] *ša-pá-tim*); TC 1, 53, r. 5ff.; 3/2, 168, 13ff.; and ICK 1, 171, 18-20.

[238]) Cf. for *pāširum* in OA my remarks in *BiOr* 22, 1965, 37a *ad* p. 183, 2. Cf. for BIN 6, 76 GARELLI *AC* 177 with note 4; he translates URUDU *ana* URUDU SIG_5 *ta'urum* with "échanger du cuivre contre du cuivre de bonne qualité", and comments: "le marchand vend du cuivre bruit et reçoit en paiement du cuivre de bonne qualité, c'est-à-dire probablement du cuivre déjà raffiné suivant un taux négociable. Tout ceci reste encore conjectural". LANDSBERGER *AHK* 23 thought the *kārum* took care of the refining of the native, Anatolian copper.

laws of supply and demand, and commercial traffic between the centres of wool-trade and those of copper-trade or metallurgy. The pattern, however, is not clear to me.

This indirect conversion of wool (via copper) into silver was not the only method attested. At times Assyrians tried to sell wool directly for silver or gold. Cf. TC 2, 37, 17ff.: *ší-im ša-áp-tí-kà* [18] URUDU *i-ba-ší* KÙ.BABBAR [19] *ù* GUŠKIN *a-na-kam a-ší-e-ma lá-šu*, "it is possible to sell your wool for copper (lit.: there is copper as payment for your wool); I looked for silver or gold, but it is not available". A similar situation is described in ICK 1, 135, 4ff.: *x* [*x*] [5] SÍG.ḪI.A *ší-im ša-áp-t*[*im*] [6] *šu-ma* KÙ.KI *za-ku ša áš-pu-ra-ku* [7] *a-ta ú A* [8] *ku-ul-kà* [9] *šu-ma* KÙ.KI [10] *lá-šu* URUDU *ší-im* [11] SÍG.ḪI.A *a-na B* [12] *dí-in*, "*as for*(?) the wool—if gold is cleared (freely aviable), to serve as payment for the wool, then you and A, as I told you, should seal (and send it); if however gold is not avialable, then give copper as payment for the wool to B" [239]).

These texts show we cannot assume one fixed pattern of trade; at times it was necessary or profitable to convert wool first into copper, at other times, however, it was preferred to sell it directly for silver or gold. The situation of the market and the geographical factor of course played a part, apart from more personal circumstances. That it was not always easy to sell the wool is clear from KTB 3, quoted above: the writer is unable to sell it at a price of 1⅙ shekel of silver apiece (per mina or per fleece). This looks extremely expensive, but we note that he himself had to pay 1 mina of silver for 40 minas of wool, or 1½ shekel of silver per mina; this means that he had to sell the wool at a loss. In general, however, the wool-trade must have been a profitable business, with a substantial turnover, in which many merchants took part. It helped to increase the amount of silver which could be exported to Aššur [240]).

[239]) *ku-ul-kà* in line 8 stands for *kunkā*. It may be more than a simple mistake, as HECKER *GKT* § 33a adduces more examples of *l* instead of *n*. *AHw* 435a, 1 uses this same rule in explaining the form *ni-ik-nu-ul* in ICK 1, 149, 9 as standing for *niknun*, from *kanānum*, "to wrap". In this case a scribal mistake for *ni-ik-nu-uk* seems more probable.

[240]) Cf. LEWY 1958, 97b and GARELLI *AC* 113, 177, and 294 for previous remarks on wool in OA texts. GARELLI *AC* 52 and 55 calls attention to the expression *ṣubāt šapti*, "woollen textiles", attested in texts from Kültepe Level I B (cf. BALKAN, *Observations*, 65 note 9); but he is wrong in equating them with the *sapd/tinnū*, attested in texts from level II, cf. below ch. VIII, 15.

EXCURSUS III

ŠĒBULTUM, "CONSIGNMENT"

The small amounts of silver sent from Anatolia to Aššur, *inter alia* to the women engaged in textile production, are called both *riksū* and *šēbulātum*. Cf. for *riksum*, the meaning of which was discussed above, e.g. the text GARELLI 1965, 26 no. 6, 14, where, after several packets of silver have been mentioned, the author summarizes: ŠU.NIGIN$_2$ *7 ri-ik-si* [15] *a-na Ku-lu-ma-a* [16] *áp-qí-id*, "in all seven packets I entrusted to K.". While *riksum* refers to the form and shape of the packet, *šēbultum*, to be discussed in this *Excursus*, describes its function. We already met the word in CCT 3, 23b, 3, quoted above p. 120, in the combination *šēbulātim... tuštēnebbalam*, "you keep sending me consignments (of silver)".

Šēbultum is a derivative of *wabālum* Š, "to have somebody bring, to ship, to send"; *GAG* § 56 i, 21b, takes it as a *nomen actionis* of the Š-stem, "Transport"; HECKER, *GKT* § 55d as a substantivated verbal adj. of the same stem, "Transportiertes", "Transport". The latter interpretation is more in line with the OA occurrences.

The word is a *šaprust*-form (the Ass. counterpart of Bab. *šuprust*), the initial *w*- of the root being treated like initial *j*-: *šēbultum* < **šajbultum*, cf. HECKER *GKT* § 55d, 93g. GARELLI 1965, 27 *ad* no. 6, 4 assumes also for OA (cf. for OB *GAG* § 56 i, 21, b: *šēbultum*, "transport", explained as *šaprust/šeprust*, alongside *šūbultum*, "gift", in *GAG* § 56 j, 23, b, explained as *šuprust*) the existence of a word *šūbultum*, "gift". This seems wrong. The word in fact is a female personal name (cf. for this lady above p. 121; she also occurs in TC 3/1, 27, 3), which may be of Babylonian origin [241]). Moreover an OA *šūbultum* is not well feasible, as the phonetic development **šuw/jbultum* > *šūbultum* (*GAG* § 21, f; 22, f; 103, 3) is impossible in Assyrian, and the contraction of *aw* > *ū* (hence *šūbultum* < **šawbultum*)

[241]) Cf. for the secondary meaning "gift" e.g. *MSL* 5, 12, 39: níg.šu dug$_4$.ga = *šūbultum*; while the Sumerian words mean something like "what has been promised, agreed to", the Bab. equivalent denotes a "(gift) sent" (by the bridegroom to the bride). The use of *šūbultum* in a marriage context is understandable, because the ceremony involved the sending of gifts between homes, in which connection the Š of *wabālum* (and the noun *biblum*) are used, cf. GREENGUS *JCS* 20, 56, (3). The name *Šūbultum* is attested in OB, e.g. in CT 45, 107, 3, though not recorded in STAMM, *Namengebung* (but cf. p. 140 for the use of *wabālum* to denote the bringing of the child by the god). It may be understood as a nominal counterpart to a "Dankname" (cf. names like those beginning with *Qīš-*, *Qīšti-*, STAMM, op. cit. 257f., related to names treated by him in § 17, 1).

is not attested in OA (HECKER *GKT* § 25 c). There is no reason to assume that *šēbultum* means anything else than "consignment" in OA; of course a consignment may be intended as a gift in some cases, but this should not make us posit "gift" as a special meaning in OA as in OB [242]).

šēbultum accordingly means *in concreto* something sent to somebody, using the services of a transporter, hence "consignment". This meaning is clear in *CḪ* § 112 (XVIII, 57-58): a man being away on a journey and hence unable to bring something himself to an addressee, entrusts it to somebody else for transport: *ana šēbultim ušābilšu*, "he had him bring it as a consignment" [243]).

The same holds good for OA. We even have the same expression: BIN 6, 178, l.e. 3: *mì-šu-um* [3] *ta-ad-mì-qá-tí-a a-na šé-bu-lá-tim* [4] *tù-us* ($uš_{10}$) [244])-*té-né-ba-lam*, "why are you constantly sending my interest-free loans (away) as consignments?" Cf. also KTK 67, 16: 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *šé-bu-lá-tí-im* [17] *uš-té-bi*$_4$*-lá-ki-na-tí*, "I had sent you (fem.plur.) 5 shekels of silver as consignments".

That *šēbultum* may have a concrete meaning (as in OB, cf. above note 243) is clear from TC 3/3, 210, 29 where 3 bundles (*riksū*) of silver and an amount of 1 shekel 22½ grains of gold are summarized as: *iš-té-ni-iš ar-bé šé-bu-lá-tum*, "in all four consignments" [245]); the words are the exact counterpart of ŠU.NIGIN$_2$ 7 *riksī* quoted in the beginning of this *Excursus*.

As of course all kinds of objects could be shipped as "consignments", we have various descriptions of what a *šēbultum* in question was, or *šēbultum* used in apposition to different articles. E.g. ICK 1, 89, 3ff.: *10* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *šé-bu-ul-tám* [4] *A Ḫa-wi-li-um* [5] *ḫa-bu-lam*, "10 shekels of

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[242]) The difference between *šēbultum*, "consignment, transport" and *šūbultum*, "gift", posited for OB by VON SODEN, loc. cit., cannot be explained from a difference in nominal formation. In fact the distinction between *šaprust/šeprust* on the one hand and *šuprust* (Ass. *šaprust/šeprust*) made in *GAG* § 56 i-j is made problematic by the remarks made in *GAG Ergänzungsheft* **10 ad loc.; Bab. *šaprust* is only attested for roots beginning with *ḫ* or *l*, *šeprust* is a phonetic variant of *šaprust* (*šeḫluqtu/šaḫluqtu*), and Ass. *šaprust* is the regular counterpart of Bab. *šuprust*; Bab. *šēbultum* (<**šajbultum*) cannot be taken as proof for the existence of a separate Bab. *šaprust*-formation, as it is derived from a verb I-*w*, being treated as I-*j*, which is a special development. The existence of *šūbultum* alongside *šēbultum* finds a parallel in the occurrence of the punctual Š *ušūšib* alongside *ušēšib*. The co-existence of two basically identical nouns, probably being dialectal variants, apparently has led to a secondary differentiation of meaning: "gift"—"transport, consignment".

[243]) Cf. also *bēl šībultim* in line 73, denoting the owner and sender of the consignment, where *šībultum* thus has a concrete meaning.

[244]) Cf. VON SODEN—RÖLLIG, *Syllabar*^{2}, 40 no. 214. The use of $uš_{12}$ in *li-pu-uš*$_{12}$ (quoted there) proves the value *us-* is not simply a positional variant, though BIN 6, 178 uses it twice before *-t*.

[245]) The *status abs. arbē* should be added in HECKER *GKT* § 68b; the form *re-be-et-ni* in *AAA* I no. 3, left edge, is missing in § 69.

silver, a consignment, A from Ḫawila, owes me". EL 110, 2ff. lists: *2 kuta-nu* [3] *ša kà-ṣa-ri-im* [4] *2 ku-ta-nu šé-bu-ul-tum*, "2 *kutānū*-textiles of the freighter, 2 *kutānū*-textiles, a consignment". In this texts the 2 *kutānū*-textiles may very well be pieces manufactured by an Assyrian woman, and sent along with a freighter ready for departure. Accordingly *šēbultum* means here—and also in the transport-contracts mentioning small amounts of silver, gold, etc., sent along with a caravan or messenger leaving for Aššur—a small amount of merchandise, which someone is unwilling or unable to transport himself, and entrusts to somebody else for transportation. Cf. also CCT 2, 36a, 6f. speaking of *1* TÚG *ù 2* TÚG *ša šé*[1]*-bu-ul-tim* [7] *ša a-na ṣé-ri-a tù-šé-bi*$_4$*-li-ni*, already quoted and translated above on p. 117.

Also outside transport-contracts we often meet *šēbultum* in similar meanings. Cf. *AAA* I, pl. 18 no. 2, 4ff.: 1 *sila* of fine oil and a garment for a child, *šēbultaka*, A brought here; ATHE 65, 9ff.: the payment for my grain and my consignments (*šēbulātia*); BIN 6, 169, 14: a belt, *šēbultaka*; TC 3/2, 114, 25ff.: 3 shekels of silver, *šēbultum* of A; TC 3/3, 274, 11ff.: ½ mina of silver *šēbultaša*.

The pers. suffix added to *šēbultum*, while perhaps in a few cases denoting the sender of the consignment (*AAA* I no. 2, 4ff., quoted in the preceding paragraph), normally indicates the consignee: BIN 6, 169, 14; ICK 1, 20, 5; TC 3/3, 274, 11. ICK 1, 20 makes this clear beyond doubt by writing *šēbultašna a-Lamassī u Aḫāḫā*, "their consignment, sc. for Lamassī and Aḫāḫā". Exceptionally one meets the construction *šēbultum* + noun (nom. or gen?): CCT 5, 41a, 11: *1* GÍN GUŠKIN *šēbultum* NU.BANDA *ša rubā'im*, which should mean "1 shekel of gold, a consignment (for) the *laputtūm* of the ruler" (cf. the *laputtūm*, receiving a consignment, in line 8). Grammatically NU.BANDA may be either a nom. in apposition or, less likely, a gen.; in both cases the ungrammatical construction reflects the style of a list, rather than being an outright mistake (cf. for such mistakes HECKER *GKT* § 62a). A few times one meets *šēbultum ana*, e.g. EL 133, 5 and TC 3/3, 206, 16. Finally there is the combination *šēbultum ša* (a construction with a *status constructus*: *šēbulat* + nomen gen., does not occur), meaning normally "consignment meant for..", e.g. in CCT 5, 41a, 14f.: *šēbultum ša Lamassī u Aḫāḫā*, but occasionally denoting the sender of the consignment (perhaps TC 3/3, 207, 17). This shows that a careful analysis of the context and the persons mentioned is needed to establish the meaning in each case [246]).

It is also clear that *šēbultum*, though often used in a commercial con-

[246]) Cf. also LARSEN *OACP* 59 *ad* l. 11 for the meaning of the various constructions of *šēbultum* (with references to earlier discussions).

text, is not a typical commercial word. It may mean, according to the context "(private) consignment", "(small) commercial shipment", "(consignment) as gift" etc. [247]). In general it is used of rather small, and valuable ("money") consignments, and not of the mass of the merchandise, which nevertheless was "sent" (*šēbulum*) to Anatolia. In GARELLI 1965, 167 no. 29, 4 the writer of the letter describes what Pūšu-kēn has shipped to Aššur as *té-er-ta-kà ù šé-bu-lá-tù-kà*, "your goods, and your consignments", the latter probably denoting the amounts of silver shipped to Aššur; *tērtum* is used as a general designation of commercial goods, rather than meaning "instruction" [248]).

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[247]) The OB occurrences of *šēbultum* deserve a special investigation, which cannot be undertaken here. I only point to CT 47 no. 72, where *šēbultum* seems to describe a commercial loan, "sent along" with a travelling merchant, and bearing interest.

[248]) Cf. LANDSBERGER 1967, 180.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE ASSORTMENT OF TEXTILES

In the foregoing chapters we dealt with textiles and textile trade in general, though occasionally attention was paid to special types of textiles like *ṣubātum qatnum, ṣubātum ša akkidīē* and *pirikannum*. This chapter presents a more systematic survey of all types of textiles mentioned in OA texts, analysing their names, recording data about frequency, numbers, prices. The arrangement is not alphabetical, but more or less thematic; this makes it possible to group together those textiles which, for commercial reasons, because of their names, or in view of their provenance, in some way belong together. I begin with a discussion of *kutānum*, the best known type, to which treatments of *ṣubātum, kitūm* and *raqqutum* are appended. Next I deal with the other textiles apparently imported by the Assyrians: the well attested types called *ṣubātum ša akkidīē, šurum* and *abarnīum*, and the less frequently attested ones like *kusītum, lubūšum, šilipkā'um, takuštā'um, namaššūḫum* and *šulḫum*. Then come what are probably native Anatolian products like *makūḫum, saptinnum, d/tiz/s/-ṣābum, menuniānum*, and *ēb/pišum, nibrārum* and *burā'um*, which play a role in the caravan transport. Finally I discuss some miscellaneous items like *šitrum, išrum* and *naḫlaptum* and a number of poorly attested, partly obscure items.

The next chapter deals with the various qualifications of the textiles, represented by adjectives denoting colour, provenance and quality, the latter including a whole scale of qualities, ranging from "extra fine" to "inferior quality".

In many cases we have to conclude that the names remain just names, and that indications about provenance and quality are rather uninformative. This should not be a surprise. On account of the lexical problems of Akkadian, especially in the field of *realia*, and realising what queer etymologies and curious developments of meaning names of modern textile products and garments attest, one should not expect many final solutions or convincing interpretations. Moreover the OA texts which acquaint us with the data we are analysing in this chapter are in many cases extremely stereotyped, and as a rule record only names and numbers of textiles, occasionally with their purchase and sale prices and indications about provenance. They hardly ever describe them, with the exception only of the limited number of letters sent by or to women, analysed above

on p. 103ff. Our analysis is also hindered by the fact that many of the names of textiles do not occur (or only exceptionally; e.g. *kutānum, makūḫum, namaššūḫum*) in texts from other periods, which moreover in most cases do not help to establish their meaning. The consultation of data on textiles from other regions and periods of antiquity—the classical world as represented by the data recorded in PAULY-WISSOWA, *Realencyclopädie*; the Hebrew-Jewish world according to the information provided by the various dictionaries and in S. KRAUSS, *Talmudische Archäologie*—though informative on some general questions, has hardly helped to elucidate the meaning of the numerous names of the textiles.

I hope this survey will nevertheless be useful, allowing a quick orientation and a check of the facts known and problems unsolved.

1. *kutānum*

It is natural to start our survey with this textile, as it is the most frequently attested textile product exported by the Assyrians. The conclusions reached in the foregoing chapters on questions like 'textiles or garments', weight, size, use as wrapping material for tin, purchase and sale prices, taxes to be paid etc., apply in the first place of course to *kutānum*. We also learned that *kutānū* were manufactured by Assyrian women.

What in fact were *kutānū*? This is a much discussed problem. The solution proposed by BILGIÇ *App.* 53: a native Anatolian appellative to be read *kutannum*, will hardly find support today. There is no indication for a double *-nn-* in the OA orthography and the *-a-*, not liable to vowel harmony, need not be 'protected' by a following doubled consonant, but will be a long *-ā-*. Moreover *kutānū*, already attested in OAkk texts from Gasur (*MAD* III, 155 s.v.) and in later times once at Mari (*ARM* 13, 101, 29: *1 ku-ta-na-am*), were made in Aššur. The translation first offered by J. LEWY in KTB 2, 3: "Leibrockstoffe", on the basis of the unique writing TÚG *ku-tí-nu*, has since been abandoned by him; his reference to V R 15, 10 d (= Ḫḫ 19, 118) has no force, because the alleged *kut-tin-nu*, on which he based his translation, has to be read *tar-din-nu*, "of second(ary) quality", cf. below p. 197f.

Two questions should be answered regarding *kutānum*:
1. are *k.* made of wool or linen?
2. what is the etymology of the word?

These questions of course are closely connected. If one opts for a linen

product, one is inclined to connect the word etymologically with GADA/*kitū*, "linen", and to equate it e.g. with Aramaic *ktn* (*DISO ktn* I) with the same meaning [249]). If one rejects this interpretation and etymology, there are two other possibilities. Either one takes the word to be *qutānum*, a *purās*-form of the root *qtn*, "thin", yielding a meaning "fine textile", or one reads *kutānum* and connects it with words like Hebrew *kuttonèṯ*, Aramaic *ktn* (II in *DISO*) and even with Greek χιτών, taking it as an appellative of unknown origin.

Various answers (implicit or explicit) have been given to these questions. GARELLI *AC* 288 writes: "on s'accorde généralement à voir dans le mot *kutānum* une forme élargie de *kitūm*, le "lin", dérivée du sumérien GAD, qui aurait donné naissance à l'hébreu *kuttōnet*, au grec χιτών et au latin *tunica*" (he refers to LANDSBERGER *AHK* 24 and GELB OIP 27, 29 *ad* 11). He gives no translation, but writes on p. 289[1] about *k.* being used for wrapping, that a translation "tunique" is impossible here and that one should consider a translation "des toiles de lin". J. LEWY in all his later publications uses the translation "*kutānu*-Stoffe" (H. LEWY in English "*kutānu*-cloths"), only his writing with *k-* being revealing. LARSEN *OACP passim* translates with "linen cloths", without further comment (cf. 152). *AHw* 518 s.v. *kutānum* refers the reader to *qutānum*, apparently deriving the word from the root *qtn*. M. DIETRICH-O. LORETZ, *WdO* 3, 1966, 224ff., commenting on the bilingual, Babylonian-Ugaritic equation TÚG.GADA = *ktn*, propose a vocalisation *kutānu* for the Ugaritic word (NOUGAYROL, *PRU* VI no. 14, 13 reads ^{túg}GADA as ^{túg}*kitānu*), which they link with OAkk/OA *kutānum*. Their translation "Leinengewand" of the Ugaritic word implies that OA *kutānum* had a similar meaning. Recently OPPENHEIM, *JCS* 21, 1967 (publ. 1969), 251 [82] objects to the reading *qutānum* and opts for *kutānum*, a writing adopted also by *CAD*. LANDSBERGER, *JCS* 21, 1967, 158 [102], discussing DIETRICH-LORETZ' theory stresses that *k.* are made of wool and that the "hergebrachte Etymologie (hebr. *kᵉtōnet* etc.)" is correct; any etymological relation with *qtn* or a word for linen (*kt(n)*) is rejected, "erst das Aramäische entwickelt neben *kuttīnā*, "Leibrock", ein *kittānā*, "Linnen" (cf. for the latter point also the distinction between *ktn* I and II made by *DISO*, and the remarks of OPPENHEIM, op.cit. 250 [79] on *kitinnu*, "a foreign word in NB texts, denoting 'linen fabrics') [250]).

[249]) *ktn* I, "linen", already occurs in the Kilamuwa-inscription, cf. DONNER-RÖLLIG, *KAI* no. 24, 12 and OPPENHEIM *JCS* 21, 1967, 249.

[250]) OPPENHEIM loc. cit. 251 (with note 84) makes no choice between the two possible etymologies for *kitinnum*: "*-innu* formation of *kitû* or a loan from Aram. *ktn*", and leaves the problem of the "ultimate etymological relation between West-Sem. *ktn*, Akk. *kutānu* and Arabic *quṭ(u)n*" open for future research.

That *kutānū* were made of wool is clear from several texts. TC 3/1, 17, 21ff. state that a *ṣubātum qatnum*, a "fine textile", if this woollen product is still hairy after the finishing treatment, should be shorn "as one shears a *kutānum*" (cf. above p. 104); TC 2, 7, 24ff. mention that "for *kutānū*-textiles. . . . no *šurb/puītum*-wool is available"; GARELLI-KENNEDY 1960 no. 2, 19ff. deal with *kutānī ša-pí-ú-tim ú é-ṭí-ú-tim*, "thick and dark coloured(?) *k.*", where *šapium*, as in *maškū šapiūtum*, "thick woollen fleeces", denotes the thickness of the wool. Assyrian women, fabricating inter al. *kutānū*, receive wool for their work [251]). In general one may argue that woollen textiles are a traditional export article of Babylonia, while the production of linen textiles, though already attested for the third millennium B.C. [252]) and occasionally mentioned in OA texts, is much more restricted. The market of linen depended to a large extent on imports, especially from the West [253]).

As for the complex problem of the etymology of the word, we have to acknowledge that VON SODEN's *qutānum*, making it a *purās* of *qtn*, "thin", notwithstanding the objections of LANDSBERGER and OPPENHEIM, is linguistically a serious possibility. Compare the group *qatnum* - *qutnum* - *qutānum* with *ṣeḫrum* - *ṣuḫrum* - *ṣuḫārum*. Both *qatnum* and *qutnum* are used to describe the threads of the wool and the tissue, cf. above p. 105 [254]). In OA *ṣubātum qatnum* is attested in TC 3/1, 17, 6.29, CCT 5, 39b, 20 (counted among "Akkadian textiles") [255]), LB 1201, 15 (quoted p. 120) and TC 3/1, 72, 25 (see below). One might perhaps add CCT 4, 48b, 12: *ra-qá-tám qá-ta-tám* (*qatattam* > *qatantam*). A *purās* from the root *qtn* as a substantivisation of an adjective could well denote the individual, thin piece of textile; cf. other *purās*-forms (derived from adjectival and verbal roots) applied to textiles or garments, like *ḫulāpum*, *ḫulāqum*, *kubārtum*, *kušārum*, *lubārum*, *lubāšum*, *mušāṭum*, *nuqārum*, *nušābum*, *sulāqum*,

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[251]) GARELLI 1965, 35 no. 14, 5: *šīm* SÍG-*té-e-em* [6] *ša kutānī* might be another proof of the fact that *k.* are made of wool, but the sign SÍG is abnormal and the plene-writing (notwithstanding HECKER *GKT* § 42d and 60d) curious. An argument against a meaning "linen" is also the fact that linen tissues normally have a weight of at least 200 grams a square metre, while a weight of only ca 130-140 grams a square metre was computed for OA textiles (including *kutānū*) above p. 93.

[252]) Already in the Jemdet-Nasr period, cf. GAD in FALKENSTEIN, *ATU*, 1936, 'Zeichenliste', p. 111 no. 402; cf. for Ur-III note 146.

[253]) Cf. OPPENHEIM, op. cit., 245ff., on exports from Egypt and imports from the West, especially during the first mill. B.C.

[254]) Cf. *qutnum* in GELB *OAIC* no. 11, describing its fabrication and size; for OB cf. VS 16, 189, 11: *qutnī lubūšti* [*awīlim*], "fine/thin sheets of textile for clothing of the *awīlum*"; these should be woven from thin threads, *qatnātum*, line 4.

[255]) [18] *12* TÚG *ša a-kà-dí-e* [19] *al-qí i-qé-er-bi*$_4$*-im* [20] *1* TÚG *qá-at-na-am A* [21] *il*$_5$*-qí*, "I took 12 Akkadian textiles, of which A took one thin textile".

sunāqum, ṣubātum, ulāpum, urāšum etc. [256]). Prof. KRAUS suggests that the occurrence of the variant *qutīnum* in KTB 2, 3 could be a further argument for taking *qutānum* as a *purās* from *qtn*, as there are other examples of *purīs* alongside *purās*, without observable difference of meaning; cf. e.g. *lubīrum* (*AHw* 560b; also OA: GARELLI 1966, 141 no. 8, 4) alongside *lubārum* (*AHw* 560a).

This etymology in fact makes *qutānum* identical to *ṣubātum qatnum* and we may ask whether the texts favour such a solution. It would indeed make good sense in TC 3/1, 17, 29ff., where Waqartum is told to buy *ṣubātū qatnūtum*, if she is unable to make them herself, as "there are plenty for sale" in the City. This seems contradicted by the fact that *ṣubātum qatnum* is rarely attested in OA, while *k/qutānum* is extremely frequent; an identification of both designations would make the statement in TC 3/1, 17 understandable. But on the other hand there are several indications that we cannot simply equate *ṣubātum qatnum* and *k/qutānum*. According to the same letter TC 3/1, 17 a *ṣubātum qatnum* was a very expensive product, which would yield at least 30 shekels of silver net, which is more than the average *q/kutānum*. A *ṣubātum qatnum* was a piece of better than average quality, as is shown by CCT 5, 39b, 20, where it ranges among the expensive "Akkadian textiles"; the word order in LB 1201, 14ff. also indicates that it was better than the normal (*ša qātim*) quality. TC 3/1, 17 also tells us that a *k/qutānum* was normally shorn or cropped, while a *ṣubātum qatnum* received a different finishing treatment. Finally TC 3/1, 72, 24ff., mentioning *k/qutānum* and TÚG *qatnum* side by side (in a broken text), could prove they are different: [24] [*x*] *ku-ta-ni* [*x x x x*] [25] *ù*[1] *1* TÚG *qá-at-*[*nam x x x*] [26] *ik-lá*, "x *kutānū*-textiles.....and 1 thin textile he kept back".

These facts makes me hesitate to accept the spelling *qutānum* and suggest that one should look for another etymology. The words of TC 3/1, 17, 29ff., quoted above, are no serious obstacle. Indeed, *ṣubātum qatnum* is rarely attested, but we have to realise that *qatnum/qutnum* is a rather technical term, primarily describing the threads of the tissue, the wool, as being thin, and is only secondarily used as a qualification of the tissue itself or the finished garment [257]), for which *raqqum* is more suitable (cf. below *Excursus* IV). In a commercial context (and not in a letter dealing with the fabrication of textiles) such a technical qualification was apt to be replaced by a more general one, describing the quality and value of the

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[256]) Cf. for the *purās*-form, which deserves further investigation, also F. R. KRAUS, *ZA* 43, 112 and *GAG Ergänzungsheft*, 1969, 9** ad loc.

[257]) Cf. both texts mentioned in note 254, dealing with the technical aspect of the weaving, and TC 3/1, 17, also being rather technical.

piece, like *damqum*/SIG$_5$, "good" (cf. below p. 194f.). Textiles called *damqum* are indeed mentioned frequently, and it seems well possible to consider *ṣubātum damqum* in a commercial context the equivalent of *ṣubātum qatnum*.

LANDSBERGER's alternative to the etymology proposed by *AHw* consists in connecting *kutānum* with Hebrew *kᵉṯonèṯ* and Aramaic *ktn* (II), but this means that the etymology in fact remains obscure. *kutānum* could be a primary noun of the *purās*-type (not derived from a verbal or adjectival root) as mentioned in *GAG* § 55k, I, or perhaps be of foreign origin. A connection with Hebrew *ktnt* is indeed a possibility as this word has not the meaning "linen garment" (as some dictionaries state), but simply means a shirt-like garment, a "Leibrock", worn directly on the body (note the occurrence in Gen. 3, 21); the development from a name for a type of textile (OA *kutānum*) into a name for a type of garment, made of this textile, is well feasible. There is uncertainty about the nominal form of *ktnt*, but the possibility that it is originally a *purās* (the various forms and spellings perhaps reflecting its foreign origin) cannot be ruled out [258]).

I do not have the pretention to solve the difficult problems connected with the origin and meaning of *q/kutānum* - *ktn(t)* within the framework of this chapter. The remarks made only tend to show that the choice between *qutānum* and *kutānum* is not a simple one, as there are arguments

[258]) The following forms are attested in the OT: absolute state sing. *kŭttonèṯ*, plur. *kŭttŏnōṯ*; construct state sing. *kᵉṯonèṯ*, plur. *kŏṯnōṯ*; sing. with suffix, *kŭttŏntī*; in *hakkᵉṯonèṯ šēš* (Ex. 28, 39) we most probably have a construct state (in view of the plur. *hakkŏṯnōṯ šēš* in 39, 27) *kᵉṯonèṯ šēš*, "a *k.* of fine linen", being treated as a *compositum* to which the article is added. The word according to most grammars is a fem. *qutul*-form, normally *qᵉtolā* or *qᵉtolèt* in Hebrew, whose first vowel has been preserved by doubling of the second consonant (cf. GESENIUS-KAUTSCH, *Hebr. Gramm.*[28], 290, § 95r; BAUER-LEANDER, *Hist. Gramm.*, I, 469, § 61, 7, z''; BEER-MEYER, *Hebr. Grammatik*[3], II, 26, § 35, 7; C. BROCKELMANN, *Grundriss*, I, 255, § 94, r), the construct state *kᵉṯonèṯ* showing the normal formation. Note, however, that the construct state plur., *kŏṯnōṯ*, is treated as a fem. of a *qutl*-form. LANDSBERGER, starting from an absolute state *kᵉṯonèṯ* (cf. GESENIUS-KAUTSCH, op. cit., loc. cit.) probably takes the word as a fem. of *qutāl*, to be compared with a word like *nᵉḥošeṯ* (from *nuḥāšum*; alongside: *nᵉḥuštām* and *nᵉḥŏštī*; cf. BEER-MEYER, op. cit. 28, § 38, 3); but in that case the construct state plur. *kŏtnōṯ* seems curious. All this could indicate that we have to do with an originally foreign word, adapted to the scheme of the Hebrew nominal forms, with inconsistencies arising from the intention to preserve its original vocalisation as well as possible. Cf. also the variety of spellings in a manuscript of the Pal. Targum from the Cairo Geniza, published in P. KAHLE, *Massoreten des Westens*, II, 1930, ms.D, Gen. 37, 31-33, were we have the forms, partially provided with vocalisation, *kŏṯnᵉṯēh*, *kŭṯnᵉṯā'*, *kᵉṯŏntēh* (*ktwntyh*), and *koṯantēh*! Recent remarks on Hebr. *ktnt*, Akk. *kutānum* and Greek χιτών by M. ELLENBOGEN, *Foreign Words in the Old Testament*, 1962, 96; and E. MASSON, *Recherches sur les plus anciens emprunts sémitiques en Grec*, 1967, p. 27f. are not helpful, as they simplify matters and in most cases start from the equation *ktn* = "linen".

for and against both. My writing *kutānum* merely reflects a preference, based on the observation of a material difference between *ṣubātum qatnum* and *q/kutānum*, and makes it possible to avoid the awkward spelling *k/qutānum* (or an abbreviation *q/k.*). New evidence may call for a change of opinion.

That OA *kutānum* is the name of a type of textile rather than a type of garment is a conclusion to be drawn from the remarks made in ch. V, 1; cf. also what was said about the relationship between *kutānum* and *pirikannum* on p. 125. This conclusion seems confirmed by the occurrence of combinations like *naḫlaptum ša kutānim* in OIP 27, no. 7, 11, "a cloak (made) of *k.*-textile" (rather than "a cloak belonging to a *k.*-garment") and *šitrum ša kutānim*, "a shawl(?) of *k.*" in GARELLI 1965, 35 no. 14, 16f.

The category *kutānum* comprised various textiles; CCT 5, 36a, 17ff. includes in the number of *334* TÚG *kutānū* some Abarnian textiles and some pieces called *namaššūḫū* and *takuštā'ū*. Were the latter (locally or technically determined) variations of one basic type? In TC 2, 14, 6-9 TÚG SIG$_5$ *šurb/puītum* are counted as *kutānū*.

kutānum and *ṣubātum*

k. were the most common type of textiles, regularly shipped to Anatolia in great quantities; cf. figures like 350 (TC 3/1, 36), 236 (BIN 6, 80, 1), 299 (GARELLI-KENNEDY 1960 no. 3) etc. Because *k.* were the main textile product traded the scribes sometimes simply wrote *ṣubātū*, "textiles", while in fact, as the context shows, *kutānū* were meant. CCT 5, 38b, 11ff. mentions 44 shekels paid for 5 *k.*, but the closely related text KTS 48c (EL 175), 9ff. mentions this same amount as paid for *5* TÚG-*ba-ti-a*, "my five textiles". A similar alternation can be observed in texts like BIN 4, 27, 6-22; 61, 49f.; GARELLI-KENNEDY 1960 no. 4, 8-12; TC 2, 14, 6-9; TC 3/1, 49, 8-10; CCT 2, 2, 21 mentions the purchase of *10* TÚG. ḪI.A at 3½ shekels apiece, where *k.* are probably meant.

Many of the data about quantities and prices of *ṣubātū* agree closely with those known for *k.* The highest numbers of *ṣubātū* attested are 594 (VAT 9256, 1ff.), 355 (TC 3/2, 178, 20), 350 (KUG 20, 1), 328 (CCT 1, 24b and GARELLI-KENNEDY 1960 no. 4, 3) etc. The purchase price of 3½ shekels apiece in CCT 2, 2, 21 can be compared with similar prices for *kutānū* mentioned on p. 82f. above. In fact it is remarkable that the "caravan accounts" giving detailed information about purchase prices by means of the word *itbulū*, mention some 15 times prices of *kutānū*, and only once, in the text just quoted, prices of *ṣubātū*. This suggests that when it was important to mention prices and qualities in these detailed accounts one did write *kutānū*, but might shift to simple *ṣubātū* when no precise

information was necessary and it was mainly the number of textiles traded that mattered.

Both *ṣubātum* and *kutānum* receive qualifications like *ša liwītim*, "for wrapping", *ša qātim*, "of normal quality", *damqum* (*watrum*) "of (extra) good quality". But all this does not mean that *ṣubātum* and *kutānum* were always identical; *ṣubātum* was a general designation of textiles, under which all kinds and types could be subsumed, and was not a name for a special type of textile. When one finds TÚG/*ṣubātum* in an enumeration of textiles it is never contrasted as such with *kutānum*. We either have statements like: "x *ṣubātū*, of which y are *kutānū*, and z Akkadian textiles", etc.; or *kutānū* are contrasted with other types of *ṣubātū*, as in CCT 5, 34c, 1ff.: beside 66 *kutānū* are listed *ṣubātū ša akkidīē*, *ṣubātū waršūtum*, *ṣubātū paṣ'ūtum*, TÚG *kusiātum*, TÚG *namaššūḫū*, *ṣubātum kabtum*, *ṣubātum abarnīum*.

2. *kitūm - kitātum*

Though *kutānum* is not a linen textile, this does not mean that linen products are completely absent from OA texts; this would have been remarkable, in view of the numerous occurrences of túg.gada in Ur-III texts.

The word *kitūm* occurs a few times in the following texts:

CCT 3, 25, 27 (cf. 31): *ki-ta-am ú iš-ra-am*, "a *k.* and a belt", according to line 28 a votive offering to the god Amurrum;

CCT 4, 44b, 17ff.: *ki-ta-am* SIG_5 *ša 15 i-dí-im lu 20 i-dí-im*, "a fine *k.* 15 or 20 spans long", cf. *CAD* I/J 15b, 4;

KBo IX, 9 r. 8: *ki-ta-am na-aḫ-lá-áp-tám šé-ni-in*, "a *k.*, a cloak, a pair of sandals".

CAD I/J, *loc. cit.*, translates *kitum* in the second text as "a (nice) mat", deriving the word, like *AHw* 495b s.v. *kītum* I, from *kītum* = ^{gi}KID, "(reed)mat". This is improbable for the first text: a mat could hardly be a votive offering, nor be joined to a belt. The last text describes a complete clothing outfit: linen (under)garment, cloak and sandals. Even though the long vowel is not indicated by a *plene*-writing, one can hardly doubt the word in question is *kitūm*, "linen (garment)". Cf. the statement in HECKER *GKT* § 7d: "In der Hauptsache bleibt aber die Vokallänge unbezeichnet".

The plural, written *plene*, *ki-ta-a-tum*, is found twice: TC 3/3, 271, 9: the inventory of a merchant's house consists of: silver, gold, beakers, tablets, small merchandise (*saḫertum*) and *kitātum*. CCT 5, 12a, 10ff. mentions 14 *saptinnū*, four of which are DÍ-ZA-BU and 2 *kitātum*. *AHw*, loc. cit. and

LANDSBERGER, 1967, 182 with some hesitation opt for a plural of *kītum*, "mat". A writing with a long *-ā-* however is curious in that case, and not attested elsewhere (*AHw*, loc. cit.). Another possibility is to derive the form from *kitītum*, "linen garment" (*AHw* 493b, with lexical references), known from OB Mari (no plural seems attested; also the unpublished OB text O 342 I, 10 (Bruxelles) mentions only *1* TÚG *ki-ti-tum*). CCT 5, 12a however implies that *kitātum* belong to the category of local products called *saptinnū*; there they are followed by the obscure item BA-*li-lu*, which receives the determinative TÚG in TC 3/2, 164, 11. This listing does not favour an identification as "linen textiles". The local Anatolian background of the product would be corroborated, if we could equate our *kitātum* with the *kitātum* occurring in the title of the Anatolian functionary GAL/*rabī ki-ta-a-tim* (BIN 4, 160, 8; cf. GARELLI *AC* 217[7] and *AfO* 20, 1963, 170a, n. 13). This cannot be proved, but is probable. For the time being the scarce data preclude a definite choice.

3. *raqqutum*

Occurrences: frequently attested among the more expensive products exported from Aššur, like *abarnīum*, *takuštā'um*, *šilipkā'um*, *kutānum damqum* et alia, in texts like CCT 1, 32c, 14; CCT 3, 45b, 4; EL 143, 4; KTB 16, 3; 15, 10; TC 1, 47, 3ff. They could be obtained in Aššur in the merchants' houses, as is clear from TC 2, 7, 29 and CCT 5, 5b, 26, letters to Pūšu-kēn, informing him that the *r.* he asked for are not available at that moment. The number of *r.* normally ranges between 1 and 3; in KTB 16, 3, exceptionally, 10 *r.* occur [259]).

Prices: the purchase price in Aššur was in two cases respectively 5 and 7 shekels of silver; in TC 1, 70, 20 and EL 133, 7, a transporter receives these amounts *ana raqqitim*, "for (buying) a *r.*". EL 155, 1ff. mentions 10 shekels for buying a *r.* and a *šurum*. TC 1, 47, 3ff. records the purchase of 3 *r.*, 2 *šilipkā'ū*, 4 *takuštā'ū* and 12 *lubūšū* for in all 110 shekels, or ca. 5½ shekels apiece [260]). The selling price in Anatolia was much higher: 30 shekels in GARELLI 1965, 46 no. 21, 14-15 and KTK 11, 17'f.; 31⅓ shekels: CCT 2, 37b,2 of. In CCT 3, 45b, 4ff. one *r.* together with some other textiles of good quality are sold for an average price of 22½ shekels. Two *r.* "of good quality" probably fetch even 60 shekels in TC 3/3, 269,

[259]) *r.* also occurs in CCT 4, 19b, 5; 26b, 18; 5, 18b, 10; ICK 1, 92, 3; 190, 38 (plur.); KTH 11, x + 6; KTS 57a, 1ff.; KTB 12, 1. Cf. also the references in notes 260f. In all *r.* occur ca. 30 times.

[260]) Cf. also CCT 2, 32a, 13ff. and CCT 4, 48b, 17 for the purchase of *r.*, without mention of prices. The first text deals with the purchase of one *r.* and a number of *lubūšū* for 1½ mina of gold.

5ff.; *r.* of "good quality" also occur in CCT 2, 32a, 17 and 4, 48b, 17, without information on their price. The difference between the purchase and sale prices again shows how profitable textile trade could be.

Functions: besides being sold in the same way as the rest of the merchandise, *r.* were occasionally used as gifts to local Anatolian dignitaries: TC 1, 39, 7 as *erbum*, "entrance-tax", or rather a gift to gain admittance; TC 1, 72, 17, together with a *kutānum damqum*; and KTS 57a, 6ff.: *ana* ZI-GA-*tim*, "as expenditure" or "gift on departure". GARELLI 1966, 112, no. 43, 18 mentions 2 *ra-qá-ta-an* as a votive gift (*ikribū*) to the god Aššur. When used as gifts *r.* are found several times together with *lubūšū*, which would indicate the pair could be used as a set of clothes.

Word and meaning: *r.* is a substantivised fem. adjective, in OA with vowel harmony: *raqqutum* (nom., cf. CCT 3, 4, 10; 1, 32c, 14; 3, 45b, 4; BIN 6, 95, 7). The plur. is *ra-qá-tum* (KTB 16, 3) [261]). Cf. for a dual GARELLI 1966, no. 43 quoted above. The fem. form of the word shows that TÚG which precedes the word in most cases is a determinative, and not the noun governing the adj.; *ṣubātum* is masc. in OA. Once *r.* is used as an adj.: KTB 7, 4f.: *kusiātum ra-qá-tum*, "thin *kusītu*-garments"; this combination may be compared with a lexical entry like Ḫḫ 19, 106: túg.bar.dul$_5$.sal.la = ,, (*kusītum*) *raqqatum*, and earlier Sumerian equivalents like túg.bar.dul$_5$.sal.la (VS 14, 154), túg.bar.sal.la (ITT I, 1091, 8). Cf. from later times *PRU* III 183 (RŠ 16.146 + 161), 10: túg.ma$_6$.meš.sal.la.

r. is one of the few textiles in OA texts well documented in other periods. In OB we meet it in Mari (*ARM* 7, 281 no. 21 and 9, no. 94, 4; 97; 102) where it is written both syllabically and with the logogram túg.sal.la. Elsewhere in OB it is also current, cf. *SLB* I, 1, 17 *ad* 36: *2* túg.sal.la.ḫi.a; GENOUILLAC, *Kich* A 506; KRAUS *AbB* 1, 66, 5f.; unpublished Bruxelles O 342 I, 1′-3′. Cf. for Ur-III, OPPENHEIM, *Eames* 13[31] and 266 *ad* B 3. For lexical texts I refer to CT 18, 12 II 53: *raqqatum* = *lubūštum*; to *MSL* 10, 150, 63 and 155, no. 2, 33; and to 81-4-28 (BM 68366, Diri V; TH. PINCHES, *JRAS* 1905, plate following p. 829) r. 35 and 41: *raqqatum* (beside *kitītum*, *lubūštum* and *lamaḫuššu*) equated to respectively túg.SIG.SUD^{sulumḫi} and túg.GUG$_4^{suluḫu}$ (cf. MSL 10, 132, 156 and 163). The latter references indicate a *r.* was a luxury garment.

BOTTÉRO, *ARM* 7, 281 no. 21, describes a *r.* as "une étoffe mince et légère, plus ou moins analogue à notre mousseline". The frequent equa-

[261]) *ra-qá-tum* in TC 2, 7, 29 and TTC 22, 5 is most probably sing. without vowel harmony, though the predicate in the first text (*laššū*) allows a plural. For an acc. with *laššū*, cf. CCT 5, 5b, 26-27: *ra-qá-tám ša ta-áš-pu-ra-nim lá-šu*, "the thin textile for which you asked (about which you wrote) is not available".

tion between Sumerian sal.la and Akkadian *raqqum*, and the fact that also men wear a *r.*, shows the older interpretation based on SAL.la (= gal$_4$.la) = *ūru*, *biṣṣūru*, making it a loincloth or "cache sexe" for women (so still DOSSIN in *RA* 64, 1970, no. 20, 4) to be wrong; moreover one should write SAL.la (probably to be read galla) in that case. The interpretation proposed by OPPENHEIM, *JNES* 6, 1947, 129, who derives the name from *raqqum*, a name for the turtle, and makes *r.* a "netlike fabric" (patterned as the turtle's shell) has also to be abandoned. *r.* is a "thin textile", characterised by a fine texture and probably a low weight. In fact it may be similar to a *ṣubātum qatnum*, a name which starts from the wool and threads used, while *raqqum* applies to the resulting tissue, the sheet as such. Cf. for the differences between *qatnum* and *raqqum* *Excursus* IV.

4. *šurum*

Occurrences: we meet this textile dozens of times, both as part of the merchandise, and as wrapping for the tin (cf. above p. 36); in the latter case a few times "heavy *šurum*-textiles" are mentioned. As part of the merchandise proper we meet *š.* in numbers of 43 and 32 (CCT 5, 36a, 2.7), 21 and 40 (CCT 1, 40a, 2.22), 49 (BIN 4, 51, 15), 24 (CCT 2, 21b, 3), 23 (BIN 6, 85 r. 6; KTB 16, 2), 21 (CCT 5, 28c, 2), 18 (GARELLI 1966, 112 no. 43 4f. cf. for smaller numbers: BIN 6, 83,6; 141, 3; TC 3/2, 175, 4). We also meet them in texts dealing with the depositing of textiles in the *bīt kārim*: BIN 4, 27, 39; 29, 34f.; 6, 156 (passim); 191 r.; KTS 54c, 13; TC 1, 27, 11f. The figures repeatedly being, or approaching, the average number of textiles in a donkey load—ca. 25—, we may assume their size and weight did not differ much from those of the standard textiles. The *š.*-textiles thus were an important part of the turnover of textiles; also those "for wrapping" were sold after having served as such: BIN 6, 63 passim; 79, 4 and r. 4'.

Prices: *š.* in general were cheaper than *kutānu*. One *raqqutum* and one *š.* cost 10 shekels according to EL 155, 4; 5 *kutānu* and 4 *š.* only 30 shekels according to CCT 3, 5a, 7. As to the sale price, we meet the same problems as discussed in connection with *kutānum* (cf. above p. 83ff.). In the palace a *š.* was valued at 10 shekels in BIN 4, 61, 7f. (a *kutānum* ibid. at 26⅔ shekels). *š.* given on commission for sale cost 14 shekels in ICK 2, 130, 15'f. (*kutānū* 25 shekels), 15 shekels in BIN 4, 61, 28 and ICK 1, 191, 24f. (*kutānū* resp. 30 and 20 shekels). Prices of 8 and 8½ shekels are recorded in TC 2, 24, 8 and *AAA* I no. 10, 1ff. (*kutānū* 13 and 14 shekels) in the case of sale or commission. Other sale prices are 8 shekels in TC 1, 27, 11ff. and GARELLI 1966, 141 no. 8, 3ff. (*10* TÚG.ḪI.A *šu-ru-tim* ^{4} *lu-bi-ri*);

perhaps 9 shekels in BIN 4, 146, 10, and 10 shekels in BIN 4, 61, 51. The damaged text BIN 6, 63 deals with transactions in the *kārum* of the kind mentioned above p. 85 *sub* 4; in l. 7 two š. are bought at 7½ shekels each, in r. 6 the value, when "deposited", is probably [1]3 shekels [262]). ICK 1, 155, 5ff. mentions in a similar context a price of 15 shekels. In CCT 4, 23a, 18 a š. cost 13 minas of copper (a *kutānum* 32) [263]).

We may conclude that the sale price in various situations fluctuated between 8 and 15 shekels, and amounted to ca. $^3/_5$ of the price of a *kutānum*.

Functions: besides being used for wrapping and forming part the merchandise proper, and notwithstanding their lower value, we meet š. as a gift for a local queen (EL 145, 5: as *niš'um*), as a votive gift for Ištar (BIN 6, 186, r. 5') and, when of "good quality", used for clothing: TC 1, 19, 16ff.: *2 šurīn damqīn ana litabšia*, "2 š. of good quality to dress myself in".

Word and meaning: as the plur. *šurūtum* shows š. is an adj. The determinative TÚG, more often written than omitted, probably was pronounced, as the writing TÚG.ḪI.A *šu-ru-tim* (CCT 1, 40a, 2 and GARELLI 1966, 141 no. 8, 3) suggests: *ṣubātū šurūtum*. Without TÚG we have š. in BIN 6, 60, 15; 149, 12; CCT 5, 28c, 2; ICK 1, 155, 5; KTB 16, 2; TC 1, 19, 16. As the word functions as a noun, some isolated writings with the plural ending of a noun (*šu-ru(-ú)* in BIN 4, 189, 19; 6, 60, 17; ICK 1, 90, 45; in all cases with TÚG) need not surprise us. Two exceptional writings: *2* TÚG *šu-ru-in* in BIN 4, 51, 26 and *šu-ru-am* (besides *šu-ru-ú* just quoted) alongside dozens of cases where the case ending is not preceded by *u-*, cannot prove that the word ends in a long vowel; they are probably mistakes.

As meaning of *šurum* one normally gives, following LANDSBERGER *AHK* 14 (translation of TC 1, 27, 11) and J. LEWY (KTB 16, 2, commentary) "black textile". LEWY refers to Hebr. *šaḥōr* and *V R* 14f, 37f.: [túg.x x]-ru = *šu-ru*; but the latter reference has no force as the second column has to be read ŠU-*ru*, indicating that the Akk. word has the same pronunciation as the Sumerian, quoted in the first column (to be read túg.[tak.ki].ru = ŠU-*ru*, *MSL* 10, 132, 170). Equation with the Hebrew word is hardly acceptable, as no OA form betrays any trace of a long or contracted vowel in the first syllable. This speaks also against equation with words like *šuḫurum*, "dirt" (*ZA* 41, 231) and *s/ša'uru*

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[262]) Cf. also TC 1, 27, 1f.: *10* TÚG *šurūtim ša 5.*TA *ú 6.*TA [12] *maṣ'ūni*, discussed in note 143, in connection with a deposit in the *bīt kārim*.

[263]) Cf. also BIN 6, 149, 12: *3* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ù 10* GÍN URUDU *a-n[a ší-i-]im ša šu-ru-tim* (?).

(*MVAeG* 41, 3, 77 *ad* 18; the opposite of *zakū*, "clean, pure"), or a relation with *šur'itu* (= SÍG.ŠAB, 'Practical Vocabulary of Aššur', *AfO* 18, 1957-58, 328ff., 216) [264]. A translation "black", "dark coloured" would moreover add another descriptive adjective to those already representing this notion: *ṣalmum*, "black", *ēṭium*, "dark coloured", and *waršum*, "dirty".

In ICK 1, 172, 13 *šurum* qualifies *ṣuppu*-sheep: *2* UDU.ḪI.A *ṣú-pu-tim šu-ru-tim*, "two.....grazing sheep". If *ṣuppūtum* in this text (with adj. plur. ending) is the same word as *ṣuppū* (treated as a noun) elsewhere (cf. *2* UDU.ḪI.A *ṣú-pu-ú* in ICK 1, 129, 12f., where they also function as "Zugabe" in connection with a loan; cf. L. MATOUŠ *AS* 16, 1965, 181[48]) the qualification *šurum* creates problems as *ṣuppū* according to *CAD* Ṣ 249a s.v. are "a breed.....characterised by a white and curly fleece". If this is true (but cf. *ṣuppā arqa* in ZIMMERN, *BBR* 100, 13) *šurum* can hardly mean "black".

Anyhow, *šurum* was an important, special type of textile. CCT 5, 36a, listing large quantities of various textiles, when summarizing (18ff.) distinguishes three main types: *kutānū*, "Akkadian textiles", and *šurum*-textiles. The apposition *lu-bi-ri* is added to TÚG.ḪI.A *šurūtim* in GARELLI 1966, 141 no. 8, 4 [265].

5. *abarnīum* [266]

Occurrences: frequently mentioned among textiles shipped from Aššur to Anatolia; cf. CCT 5, 33b, 11f.: *a-bar-ni-a-am iš-tù a-lim*^{ki} *ú-šé-lá-am*, "I will send up one Abarnian textile from the City (of Aššur)" (cf. also BIN 4, 94, 12). In a previous chapter we saw that the production of the Assyrian women included Abarnian textiles (TC 3/1, 17, 23ff., p. 104; LB 1201, 14, p. 120; EL 142, 5f., p. 121; EL 166, 25ff., note 201). This type of textile was also for sale in Aššur, as the caravan accounts show, and belonged to the better and more expensive ones. We meet it in enumerations like: TÚG.ḪI.A SIG$_5$ *lū* TÚG *kutānū lū abarnīū lū ša akkidīē* (CCT 4, 29a, 5ff.); and: *20 abarnīū*, *10 namaššūḫū*, *10 ša akkidīē* and *1 kutānum*, all of very good quality (SIG$_5$ DIRIG; CCT 5, 44a). BIN 4, 185, 4ff. mentions

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[264] Also *šu-ú-ru* = gi.šu.kin (ḪḪ 8, 139; ARM 3, 76, 14; *CAD* Ḫ 191a s.v. *ḫimmatu*) is not helpful.

[265] Cf. GARELLI ad loc., who refers to *AHw* 560b: MA *lubēru*, taken as a variant of *lubārum*, "altes (gutes) Gewand". When BIN 6, 60, 14 mentions *24* TÚG *abarniū qādum šurim*, this does not mean that a *šurum* belonged to the type *abarnīum*, but that one *šurum*, perhaps for wrapping, was added to one donkey-load of Abarnian textiles.

[266] Cf. for many data *CAD* A, 1, 35b/36a.

162 textiles, "including 20 pieces of very good quality, among which one Abarnian textile". One normally meets between 1 and 10 A. textiles, but occasionally also figures like 20 (CCT 5, 44a, 1), 24 (BIN 6, 60, 14) and 28 (CCT 5, 36a, 35).

Prices: the purchase price was according to the caravan account TC 3/2, 134, 12′, 10 shekels of silver. The sale price in Anatolia (cf. *CAD* A, 1, 35a, *sub* b): 45 shekels (BIN 4, 4, 4; same price as "Akkadian textiles" and a *kamsum*-textile); 22½ shekels (CCT 3, 45b, 3); 20 shekels (CCT 1, 34a, 3; 4, 28a, 28); 17 shekels (KTS 13b, 6); 200 minas of copper of *šikkum*-quality (BIN 4, 160, 4). In ICK 1, 64, 22 somebody is ready to pay as a fine for one Abarnian textile 1½ mina of silver; that means, starting from a fine of 100% or 200% (both attested in texts) [267]), a price of 30 or 45 shekels of silver. Though of course differences in quality (cf. e.g. CCT 5, 44a quoted above) account for the extreme differences in prices (BIN 6, 90, 4, quoted on p. 196, also mentions *a.* "of extra good quality"; BIN 4, 131, 1f., *a.* "of good quality"), it is clear that an Abarnian textile was a very expensive item. A number of times when a load of textiles is described one finds the phrase: "x textiles, among which y Abarnian textiles", y normally being a rather small number (ATHE 37, 34; BIN 4, 184, 4f.; 6, 60, 14; CCT 3, 49a, 5; TTC 14, 5f.). Apparently they liked to include a few of these expensive pieces in the load.

Word and meaning: the determinative TÚG is added or omitted without any observable rule. One normally writes *a-ba-ar(bar)-ni* + case ending; exceptions are twice *a-bar(ba-ar)-ni-a-am* (BIN 4, 94, 12; TC 3/1, 17, 23) and twice a plural *a-ba-ar-ni* (BIN 6, 265, r. 7; ICK 1, 87, 39) compared with normal *a-bar(ba-ar)-ni-e*. *CAD* loc. cit. regards *a.* as a substantivised adj.; this may be true, though the argument of the non-occurrence of the plur. ending *-ūtum* is not decisive: in OA *nisbes* do not have that adj. plur. ending.

The most probable interpretation of the word is to take it as a *nisbe*, derived from a town Abarna/e (Bilgiç, 1945-51, 32; Gelb, *OIP* 27, p. 11 and note 134; Garelli *AC* 291[3]), identified by Gelb (*AJSL* 55, 56f.) with Çermük; cf. also M. Civil, *JCS* 21, 1967, 37b/38a. Anyhow, the town as such does not occur in OA texts, and the name of the textile has become traditional, as even Assyrian women were producing Abarnian textiles.

What the characteristics of an Abarnian textile were we do not know. Unfortunately TC 3/1, 17, 23ff. does not tell us why the textiles in question were not good, and what changes should be made. Sometimes

[267]) Cf. for a fine of 100%: EL 227, 5ff.; Garelli 1965 ,33, no. 11, 19ff.; ICK 1, 59, 6ff.; TC 3/3, 236A, 16ff.; for 200% the texts mentioned by Lewy 1960, 39f., s.v. *šušalšum*, "triple".

Abarnian textiles are reckoned among the *kutānū*: TTC 14, 3-6: "72 *kutānu*-textiles,...of which two are Abarnian ones" (cf. also ATHE 37, 24). In CCT 5, 36a, 17ff. in an addition 8 Abarnian textiles are added to the *kutānū*. In what respect the two types were related is unkown.

TC 1, 19, 12 mentions *2 šitrē ša abarnīē*, "two veils(?) of Abarnian-textile", showing the tissue was used for clothing. This can also be inferred from BIN 4, 94, 12ff. (quoted above p. 96) and TC 3/1, 17, 28, if the emendation is acceptable: Assyrian men dressed themselves in garments made of Abarnian textiles [268]).

6. *ṣubātum ša akkidīē*

We supplement here the information already provided above p. 98ff., *sub* 1, where we concentrated on the import of these textiles from "Akkad", discussing VAT 9249; TC 1, 11; TC 2, 7; and BIN 6, 75.

Occurrences: Akkadian textiles occur dozens of times, but only a few times does their number exceed 10: KTK 39, 7′ : 80[!]; CCT 5, 36a, 8 : 34; BIN 4, 51, 5; 6, 54, 4; TC 3/2, 128A, 5 : 15; CCT 5, 39b, 18 : 12; BIN 6, 50 l.e.2 and 60, 11 : 11; finally 10 pieces in BIN 6, 180, 3; 249, r. 2; CCT 1, 24b, 3; 3, 49a, 6; 4, 47b, 6, 5; 44a, 4; TC 1, 72, 5.

Prices: fluctuations in the purchase price ("market rate") are stated in TC 1, 11; TC 2, 7; and BIN 6, 75—quoted above—without however giving exact figures. The latter two texts deal with a purchase valued at 1 mina of silver. There were differences in quality: we meet Akkadian textiles being "extra good, of royal quality" (CCT 5, 44a, 4), "extra good" (TC 1, 72, 5), "good" (TC 3/1, 36, 22) and normal (simply *ša akkidīē*) [269]). Sale prices ranged from 45 shekels (BIN 4, 4, 4) and 41¼ shekels (CCT 2, 24, 11ff.) to 35 shekels (BIN 6, 50 l.e. 2f.) and even 17¼ shekels (KTS 55a, 15). The latter text refers to a transaction in the *kārum*. This makes it clear they were expensive products.

Word and meaning: above, p. 98ff., we concluded that "Akkadian textiles" were most probably "textiles of Babylonian provenance/type". Further information is lacking. "Akkadian" probably refers to the kind of tissue or perhaps to the colour. ATHE 46, 7 mentions *kusītātum ša akkidīē*, "*kusītu*-garments made of Akkadian textile", or *kusītu*-garments as worn/made by "Akkadians" (to be compared with túg . bar .

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[268]) Abarnian textiles are found, besides in the texts mentioned in *CAD* A, 1 loc. cit. and above, in: BIN 5, 65, 33 (1); 86, 7 (5); 6, 141, 4 (1); CCT 1, 37b, 14 (1) 39a, 1 (1); 4, 5a, 5 (7); 16c, 24 (1); 34b, 22 (1); EL 123, 2 (6); 135, 2 (1); 143, 3f. (4); KTS 14a, 13 (6); 59f., 6′ (x); TC 1, 72, 4 (10).

[269]) Cf. for these qualifications, below ch. IX, 5.

dul$_5$. uri in OAkk, cf. the reference in *CAD* A, 1, 272b, b, 3′ and recently KRAUS op. cit. (p. 99 note 163), 77, b). Cf. for the qualification *ša akkidīē* added to *šitrum*, below p. 174. CCT 5, 36a, 17ff. mentions "Akkadian textiles" as one of the main categories, besides *kutānu* and *šurūtum*. CCT 5, 39b, 18ff. could imply that among "Akkadian textiles" also "thin" (*qatnum*) pieces were found [270]).

In most cases *ša akkidīē* is preceded by TÚG, to which sometimes ḪI.A is added (BIN 6, 165, 6; CCT 2, 24, 11); we also meet phonetic complements to TÚG: TÚG-*tí ša akkidīē* (BIN 6, 54, 4), and even TÚG *ṣú-ba-tí-a ša a-ki-dí-e* (OIP 27, 60, 5). TÚG is only missing when "Akkadian textiles" occur immediately beside other textiles, e.g. CCT 4, 29b, 4 *lū abarnīē lū ša akkidīē* (cf. EL 145, 6; BIN 4, 65, 21; 6, 122, 5; 184, 9). A full form *ṣubātum ša akkidīē* therefore has been assumed above. Twice we meet a writing *ša a-kà-dí-e* [271]).

7. *kusītum*

Occurrences: not too frequent, and only in limited numbers, normally 1 to 4 pieces, with the exception of EL 145, 9, where, however, the writing may require emendation: *41* TÚG *ku-sí-⟨a-⟩tum* (but cf. the following: *2* TÚG *lu-bu-šu-um*, also in the sing.). The occurrences in lists like EL 145; BIN 4, 23; 201; 6, 141; CCT 5, 34c and TuM I, 25d show they belong to the textiles imported from Aššur; cf. also ATHE 46, 7 where *4 kusiātum ša akkidīē* are mentioned, probably imported from Aššur and moreover KTB 7, 16; KTH 18, 4 and TC 3/2, 169 r. 2ff. [272]).

Prices: few data are available: in BIN 4, 189, 13f. they cost 10 shekels apiece; in TC 1, 81, 36 (in Qatara) 7½ shekels; in CCT 1, 35, 15 7 shekels; CCT 2, 3, 17 combined with L 29-560, 15ff. (cf. LEWY 1957, 19[5]) yields a price of 10 shekels.

Qualifications: the "Akkadian *kusītu*-garments" from ATHE 46, 7-8 have already been mentioned. CCT 2, 3, 15ff. mentions a *kusītum ma-al-a-i-tum*, probably a *nisbe*, also found (according to BILGIÇ, 1945-51, 34b) in the unpublished text *Mat.* II, 4a, x + 15; L 29-560—H. LEWY 1968,

[270]) *18 12* TÚG *ša a-ki-dí-e* *19 al-qí-i i-qé-er-bi$_4$-im* *20 1* TÚG *qá-at-na-am I-na-a il$_5$-qí*, "I took 12 Akkadian textiles, of which Inā took one thin piece". Cf. for *qerbum* EL 129, 10; CCT 3, 2a, 7; 31, 32, and *ina qirab* in GARELLI 1965, 158 no. 25, 15. I take *iqqerbim* in our text as an equivalent of ŠÀ.BA.

[271]) TC 3/2, 128A, 5.10.15; CCT 5, 32a, 15. "Akkadian textiles" are also found in BIN 4, 140, 10 (4); 6, 165, 6 (x); CCT 4, 11a, 14 (6); 5, 26d, 2 (2); TC 3/1, 61, 16 (x); GARELLI-KENNEDY 1960, no. 3, 10 (3).

[272]) In general one may say that a *kusītum* is primarily characterised by its form and the way it had to be worn; it probably could be made from various kinds of textiles.

14f.—, 8ff. calls the same piece *kusītam paṣītam*, "a white *kusītum*". TC 3/2, 169, r. 2ff. mentions: *1* TÚG *ku-sí-tum* [3] *lu al-ku-a-i-tum* [4] *ù lu ši-li-ip-kà-um*. As the latter textile name is not an adjective and occurs repeatedly as a special type beside *kusītum* (BIN 4, 23, 3f.; KTH 18, 4f.; KTB 16, 4f.; GARELLI 1966, 112 no. 48, 6f.; 19f.) we cannot translate "one *kusītum*, either in the style of Alkuwa, or in that of Šilipka"; rather a *šilipkā'um*-textile is an alternative to a *kusītum* of Alkuwa. KTB 7, 4f. mentions "thin *kusiātum*"; CCT 1, 29, 6ff., among the gifts made to the local authorities of the place B/Paḫatima: *1* TÚG *ku-sí-tám* [7] *ma-ar-da-a-tám*. Even if we equate this *mardātum* with the word known from Mari, Susa, Nuzi, Ugarit and Aššur (*AHw* 611a, "ein Teppich"(?) [273]), denoting both a garment and some kind of curtain or rug, the exact meaning escapes us. Finally KTH 1, 17f. mentions "*kusiātum* from Mamma" alongside woollen fleeces and *menuniānū*; this suggests a native Anatolian quality in some cases.

BIN 6, 26, 5ff. This text deals with the trade in *kusītu*-textiles, but is not easy to understand. It reads: *a-šu-mì* KÙ.BABBAR [6] *ša ší-im ku-sí-a-tim* [7] *a-na-kam ku-sí-a-tim áp-ṭur*$_4$*-ma* [8] *5 ku-sí-a-tim qá-qá-sí-na* [9] *im-ta-ḫa-aṣ um-ma a-na-ku-ma* [10] *ú-lu qá-qá-sí-na* [11] *tam-ḫa-aṣ bi*$_4$*-lam* KÙ.BABBAR [12] *ší-im-ší-na ú-ul ma-ṭí-sí-na lá-dí-ma* [14] *a-na ší-im ma-ṭí-tí-ší-na* [15] KÙ.BABBAR *ma-ší-lam*, "(as for the message, which I brought along to Aššur-emūqī), as regards the silver, which is to be paid for the *kusītu*-garments, as soon as I had opened the (packet with the) *kusītu*-garments, here, he "hit" 5 *kusītu*-garments "on the head". I declared (thereupon): "either—because you have "hit them on the head"—bring me silver as their purchase price, or I will sell the least valuable among them and you make me the amount of silver (you pay for your 5 *kusītu*-garments) equal to the price paid for the least valuable among them". The text describes two methods of establishing the value of a number of *kusītu*-garments which one Assyrian merchant somehow wants to take over from his colleague: either an independently established price, perhaps starting from the original purchase price, or a price established by the free sale of the least valuable piece among them. The latter interpretation takes the forms in line 13-14 as derived from *maṭium* (*AHw* 635b, 1, b; cf. for *maṭium* as denoting a low quality, below ch. IX, 5, f). As for the expression *qaqqadam maḫāṣum*, "to hit on the head", the context as translated, seems to indicate here a meaning "to reserve for oneself", "to claim"; the expression may owe its existence to a symbolic gesture. It is used in various literal and idiomatic meanings (cf. *AHw* 580b/581a *sub* 1, g, j; 6; cf. also

[273]) Cf. *MVAeG* 41, 3, 41; *OrNS* 21, 1952, 147 (*ad* ABL 1094); ARM 7, 280 no. 15; KUPPER, *Nomades* 23[1]; *JNES* 11, 1952, 136, 7.

qaqqadam rašūm eli in ARM 10, 90, 22f. "to gain priority over(?)"), which suggests the possibility of the interpretation given above [274]).

Meaning of kusītum and occurrences elsewhere. *AHw* 514b and already OPPENHEIM, *JNES* 8, 1948, 179, derive the word from *kasūm*, "to bind". The latter refers to ABL 870, 7ff., where the verb *rakāsum* is used in connection with this garment. It was somehow bound around the body, a meaning which the Sumerian equivalent bar.dib, "seizing the side", might also suggest. While in texts from the 1st mill. B.C. it was a sumptuous garment, worn by gods and kings on special occasions, as OPPENHEIM, op. cit., showed, it was a more ordinary garment in earlier times. Besides the OB references mentioned in *AHw*, loc. cit., I mention YOS 5, 199, 2: "40 minas of wool for *kusītum*-garments of normal quality" (túg.bar.dul$_5$.ḫi.a gen); ibid., 207, 41: 40 *kusītum*-garments at 3 shekels of silver apiece. In UET 5, 792, an inventory, probably listing the outfit of a bride, line 21 mentions *10* túg.bar.dul$_5$.ḫi.a beside *20* túg.bar.si.ḫi.a in line 24. As in similar texts a wardrobe frequently consists of a number of túg and a double number of túg.bar.si [275]) we may infer

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[274]) Another OA occurrence is in CCT 4, 29a, 23f. and 27f. Because of an unsettled claim for 20 minas of silver some Assyrians don't want to release merchandise (*luqūtam ikallū*, 19) to a trader. The writer urges the addressee to sell copper in Burušḫanda, in order to earn ([*e*]-*pu-ší-im*, inf.D *epāšum*, 21) silver there. "Until the silver comes forth *qá-qá-sà-ma*? [24] *ma-ḫa-aṣ*" (*-ma* is not very clear; it even may belong at the end of line 22, reading *a-bu-u*[*k*]-[*ma*]; we might translate "hit it (the merchandise) on its head", which apparently means the addressee has to claim or to reserve merchandise, without paying cash, but promising to pay shortly "when the silver comes forth". As for the unsettled debt of 20 minas of silver, the writer states in lines 27f.: *a-na 20 ma-na* [28] [KÙ.BABBAR] *qá-qí-di a-ma-ḫa-aṣ*, "for the 20 minas of silver I will "hit my head" ". Here *qaqqudum* has a personal pron. suff.; we may compare KUG 36, 9-10, where in a similar situation (a payment due) they write: *qá-qá-ad-ni* [10] [*ni-ma-ḫa*]-*aṣ*. The expression most probably refers to an originally symbolic gesture, a tapping on the head, by means of which the person (*qaqqudum* is *pars pro toto*) responsible for the fulfillment of an obligation identifies and presents himself, or perhaps even "pledges his head", stakes his life. For the latter meaning we may compare the expression *napištam lapātum* (G and D) attested in OB Mari and MA (cf. *AHw* 535a, 3, a; 536 a,D, 1, a) as a ceremonial gesture accompanying the taking of an oath (cf. also the gesture called *uznam lapātum*, used in OA, *AHw* 535a, 1, b,γ). The expression is also attested in ATHE 44, 25-26 (cf. for this text above p. 110), where a lady writes: "today I am worth even less than a *amtim qaqqidim maḫṣim*", what perhaps may be translated with "a pawned/pledged slave-girl". In general one may state that *qaqqadam maḫāṣum* is rather similar in meaning and background to Bab. *pūtam maḫāṣum*, "sich verbürgen" (cf. *AHw* 580b, 1, d, γ). The meaning "in Bearbeitung nehmen?" proposed for *qaqqadam maḫāṣum* in the text quoted by *AHw* 581a, 6 (cf. 586b s.v. *maḫṣum*) is too vague and most probably wrong.

[275]) Cf. texts like *AbB* 1, 46, 33; 4, 152, 22; BE 6/1, 84, 7; 101, 2f.; CT 6, 25b, 5; 8, 34b, 7f.; 45, 119, 7f.; TLB 1, 229, 13. The number of TÚG.ḪI.A and TÚG.BAR.SI however is the same in CT 8, 2a, 5 and UM 8/2, 252, 1ff.

that in the text from Ur túg.bar.dul$_5$.ḫi.a function as normal garments, perhaps of a special or somewhat better quality.

In Ur-III texts we frequently meet this textile under the name túg.bar.TÚG (cf. L. LEGRAIN, *UET* III, Index 174 passim; V. CHRISTIAN, *AfO* 19, 1959/60, 230[4]), to be read, on the basis of *Ea* I 142 (YOS 1, 53: du-ul : KU : *tukullum* : ŠÀ BAR.KU *ku-si-tum*) as túg.bar.dul$_5$ (cf. E. SOLLBERGER, *TCS* I, 104, no. 98, 3); cf. now *MSL* 10, 130, 105. In the 'Practical Vocabulary of Aššur', 237-8, we find two writings: túg.bar.dul$_5$ and túg.bar.dul. The latter is also attested in a variant of *Ea* I, 142 (quoted above): CT 35, 4, 35: du-ul : KU : ŠÀ BAR.DUL *ku-si-tum*, where however DUL in the latter column must be a mistake, as this part of the tablet explains compositions with KU [276]). This mistake, as a similar one in *Malku* VI 90: BAR.SI [ ] = *ku-si-tu* (*STT* II 393 r. II, 89), is perhaps to be explained by a confusion between bar.di b, bar.dul$_5$ and bar.dul. The use of dul is mainly attested in the combination túg.an.dul = *taktimu*, occurring in ḪḪ 19, 136 and 176 and attested in OB texts like *SLB* I, 1, 14 ad 19; *ARM* 9, 20, 23; 102, 8; TCL 10, 120, 15; unpubl. Bruxelles O 342, 7′; later: *Sumer* 9, 34ff. no. 26, 4.

ḪḪ 19, 104 equates *kusītum* with túg.bar.dul$_5$, and lists in 105ff. various types and qualities: *raqqatum*/sal.la, "thin"; *šapītum*/šà.ba.tuk, "thick"; *ḫabītum*/šà.ba.tuk, "thick", "soft"; *ḫuššutum*/ḫuš.a, "reddish"; *ša lubūši*/níg.mu$_4$, "as clothing"; *ša ṣal*[*mi*]/alam, "for a statue"; *aguḫḫum*/a.gu.ḫum, "with belt or sash".

8. *kuš(š)utum*

Attested in the forms *ku-šu-tum* (nom., OIP 27 no. 11, 6), *ku-ši-tim* (gen.), *ku-ša-tám* (acc.) and *ku-ša-tim* (plur; cf. *AHw* 517a). There are indications that in Hittite texts *š* could be written to represent spoken *s* (FRIEDRICH, *Hethitisches Elementarbuch*, I, 1960[2], § 27) and both A. GOETZE (*JCS* 10, 1956, 36 (2); cf. *JCS* 1, 1947, 177f. and his remarks in *Festschrift Sommer*, p. 57f.) and J. J. FINKELSTEIN (*JCS* 10, 1956, 103, III) identify Hittite TÚG *ku-uš-ša-di* in I Bo I, 31 with Akk. *kusītum* (cf. also *PRU* VI no. 6, 26 túg\ *ku-u*[*š-ši-ti*], and p. 158[5]). But there is no reason to consider *kuš(š)utum* a writing for *kusītum*, due to Anatolian

[276]) I do not understand why *AHw* 514b wants to read túg.bar.díb in 'PVA' line 237; the last sign of the combination in later times was the source of much confusion, being similar to túg. Note that in YOS 1, 53, *Ea* I, 142 the sign DUL$_5$ in bar.dul$_5$ has one horizontal wedge more than KU in the second column. Further proof of confusion is provided by Akkadian synonym lists, containing words like *bar-dip-pu* and *bar-si-lum* (*CAD* B 113b s.v. *barsillu*, discussion) partly based on misunderstanding.

substrate influence, for the influence of the Anatolian, Nešite, linguistic environment on OA writing conventions is minimal (traces are almost exclusively found in native personal names, and allow various interpretations, cf. HECKER *GKT* § 40b and h). Moreover the same word is attested in early OB Mari in the *status constructus*: *ku-ša-at da-ba-du* GAL (in *RA* 64, 1970, 32 no. 21, 1), where it seems to be a Babylonian word. The short second vowel in OA also precludes identification with *kusītum*. We better follow *AHw* loc. cit., who gives as its form *kuššatum* (now confirmed by the Mari reference), *kuš(š)utum* being the OA form with vowel harmony. We note that *AHw* lists under this entry also TÚG *ku-uš-ša-ti*$_4$ from the Hittite text, mentioned above [277]).

What exactly a *kuš(š)utum* is, is unknown. The Mari reference does not help much, though we observe that *kuššatum* is a qualification or part of a textile or garment called *da-ba-du* GAL, an item surely to be identified with the TÚG *da-ba-tum* occurring in many Ur-III texts (cf. above p. 91). OIP 27 no. 11, 6 mentions a *k.* qualified as *ša lubūšti*, "as clothing"; according to TC 3/1, 61, 3 a *k.* costsno less than 20 shekels of silver, which makes it an expensive item.

9. *lubūšum*

This word occurs in OA texts with various meanings. First there is a meaning "clothing (ration)", already mentioned above p. 97 with note 160, and typical for caravan accounts. To the examples quoted there we may add texts like: TC 3/2, 97, 17ff.: *4 ma-na* URUDU *a-na lu-bu-uš* [18] *A* [19] *B* [20] *na-ší*, "4 minas of copper (to pay for/to buy) clothing for A, B is bringing"; and BIN 6, 187 r. 12'ff.: *26 ma-na* URUDU [13'] *i-ri-ḫa-ma a-na lu-bu-uš* [14'] *a-ší-ti-kà ù me-er-i-kà* [15'] *ù ú-ku-ul-tí-šu-nu* [16'] *ni-ta-dí-in*, "26 minas of copper were left over, and we successively spent it (Gtn) for clothing for your wife and your sons, and for their food". Cf. also L 29-604—H. LEWY 1970, 68—, 16f.: "5 minas of wool *lu-bu-ší-ša*, her clothing ration". This general meaning "clothing, dress" is also attested in the combination *lubūš šarrūtim*, "royal clothing", used as a description of quality, to be discussed below p. 192ff [278]).

In other cases one may hesitate between "clothing" and "garment(s)", especially when TÚG is used: BIN 6, 84, 30: *1* TÚG *ana lubūšim ša ṣuḫrim*, "one textile, for clothing/as a garment for the youngster"; ATHE 47,

[277]) *AHw*, loc. cit. does recognise *ku-ši-ti* in *VAB* II 34, 23 as a writing of *kusītum*, but here the second vowel is correct.

[278]) Note that *AHw* 561b s.v. *lubūšum*, 2, under "zustehende Bekleidung", fails to note OA examples, and only records them under 1, "Gewand".

2of.: TÚG.ḪI.A *ana lubūš ṣuḫārē*, "textiles/clothes as garments for the servants". "Garment" is probable in *AAA* I no. 2, 5: *lubūšam ša ṣuḫrim*, "a garment for the youngster"; and GARELLI 1966, 139 no. 7, 18ff.: *a-šu-mì lu-bu-ší-im* [19] *ša a-na A-ḫa-ar* [20] *lu-bu-ša-am dam-qám* [21] *áš-e-ma ú-lá ú-ta-ma*, "as for a garment meant for Aḫar, I looked for a good garment, but I could not find one". Practically all these references bear on personal, non-commercial matters.

Finally we often meet *lubūšum*, most probably denoting a garment, as part of the merchandise.

Occurrences: in limited numbers, seldom exceeding 10, as part of a donkey-load or purchase: CCT 5, 28c, 6 (2); EL 132, 4 (3); 145, 10 (2); GARELLI 1964, 64 Sch. no. 7, 4 (3); ICK 1, 92, 1f. (13); KTB 16, 5 (9); 7, 3 (13); KTH 11 r. 9′ (1). Equally in a commercial context: BIN 4, 19, 36; CCT 1, 39b, 12 (10); 2, 28, 26 (// TC 3/1, 26, 9) (5); 32a, 16; 4, 33a, 31; 5, 18b, 9: GARELLI 1966, 112 no. 43, 6; ICK 2, 290, r. 13′; TC 1, 13, 16; TuM I 2a, r. 6.

Qualities: there was a certain preference for white specimens: *lubūšu paṣīūtum* (cf. for *paṣīum* below p. 187f.): CCT 2, 32a, 15f.: "buy white *lubūšū* for an amount of 1 mina of silver, and one thin textile"; cf. also CCT 2, 28, 26; 4, 33a, 31; BIN 4, 19, 36; TC 3/1, 26, 9; 161, 1; ATHE 66, 22. ICK 1, 92, 1ff. distinguishes between white and yellow (green) ones: *6* TÚG *lu-bu-šú* [2] *pá-aṣ-ú-tim* [3] *3* TÚG *ra-qá-tim* [4] *7* TÚG *lu-bu-ší* [5] *er-qú-tim*, "6 white *l.*, 3 thin textiles, 7 yellow(green) *l.*".

Prices: *l.* as part of the merchandise—not *lubūšū* as clothes for the personnel; cf. ATHE 47, 20f.—were rather expensive. CCT 4, 49a, 36f. and 5, 37a, 22f. mention a sale price of 20 shekels (in the latter text a "textile of good quality" only fetches 15 shekels). In *RHA* XVIII, 37, 8ff. one *l.* is valued at 10½ shekels, and ATHE 66, 22ff. mentions 12 white *l.* at not less than 2½ talents of copper each, which means (cf. GARELLI *AC* 287) ca. 1 mina of silver apiece.

Functions: as mentioned above, *lubūšū* are frequently presented (together with *raqqātum*) as gifts to local Anatolian rulers and their dignitaries, cf. TC 3/2, 161, 2ff. (*2 lubūšū* and *1* TÚG *paṣīum*[1]); TC 1, 39, 5ff. (a *raqqutum* and a *lubūšum*); KTS 57a, 1ff. reads: *2 ra-qí-t[í-in]* [2] *3 lu-bu-ší Pé-ru[-a]* [3] *il₅-qí 2 ra-qí-tí-[i]n* [4] *i-nu-mì* TÚG.ḪI.A *ni-dí⟨-ú?⟩* [5] *Pé-ru-a il₅-qí* [6] *2 ra-qí-tí-en a-na* ZI.GA-*tim a-ru-ba-[im]* [8] *ù Pé-ru-a i-dí-nu* [9] *7 lu-bu-ší* [. . ., "2 thin textiles (and) 3 *l.* Perua took; 2 thin textiles Perua took, when we deposited(?) the textiles; 2 thin textiles they gave to the local ruler and to Perua as departure-tax/gift(?); 7 *l.*. . ." (remainder broken away).

The question whether (TÚG) *lubūšum* in commercial contexts is a textile

or denotes some kind of garment is not easy to answer. From the text just quoted one might deduce the second possibility is the more probable: a gift of a set of fine garments would make sense. Perhaps the combination of *l.* with *raqqutum* also points in this direction. Note that there occurs three times a *šitrum ša lubūšim* (OIP 27, 58, 25; TC 1, 19, 10f.; GARELLI 1966, 113 no. 43, 33: [*ší*]-*it*^{1}-*ru-um*); it may be either a *š.* made of the textile called *l.*, or a *š.* belonging to a garment called *l.* [279]).

10. *šilipkā'um/šulupkā'um*

Occurrences: this textile is attested some twenty times, most frequently in enumerations of textiles bought or shipped, which show they were exported from Aššur; cf. KTB 16, 4 (4); KTH 18, 5(4); CCT 3, 45b, 3f.; 5, 28c, 8; TC 3, 169 r. 4; and an unpublished text from the collection WINKENBACH, quoted *HUCA* 38, 1967, 13. The highest number is four. We normally meet them with textiles of better quality like *raqqutum, lubūšum, kusītum, takuštā'um* etc.

Price: the sale price in Anatolia amounted to 33 shekels of silver in BIN 4, 228, 7; to ca. 22½ shekels in CCT 3, 45b, 6; to 50 minas of refined copper in GARELLI 1966, 96 no. 35, 9. As for the purchase price in Aššur, we only know from TC 1, 47, 3ff. that 3 *raqqātum*, 2 *š.*, 4 *takuštā'ū* and 12 *lubūšū* together cost only ca. 1 mina of silver. The profit on *š.* was probably high.

Word and meaning: a variety of writings and forms are attested. The first part of the word is written either *šulup-* or *šilip-*. As neither *šilup-* nor *šulip-* occur we will have to emend BIN 4, 218, 7 to either *ší*$^{!}$-[*l*]*i-ip-* etc. or TÚG ⟨*ší-*⟩[*l*]*i-ip-* etc. Three times we meet a writing without the labial: *šu-lu-ki-am* (CCT 2, 26a, 11), *ší-li-kà-ú-um* (CCT 4, 5a, 6) and *šu-lu-kà-ú* (KTB 16, 4), a fact not recorded in HECKER *GKT* § 37 or 39. The end of the word is often written without assimilation of the final *-ā*: *-kà-um* (CCT 5, 28c, 8; TC 3/2, 169 r. 4), *-kà-im* (EL 176, 30), *-kà-ú* (KTH 18, 5; KTB 16, 4), *-kà-e-kà* (BIN 4, 23, 4; GARELLI 1966, 96 no. 35, 9, cf. *-kà-e-a*, ibid., line 5). A plene-writing, possibly indicating the hiatus, is attested in CCT 4, 5a, 6: *-kà-ú-um* and in TC 3/1, 5, 19: *-kà-a-kà*, if we may interpret the latter writing as indicating *-kā'aka* (acc.). In some cases however the *-a* has been assimilated: *-ku-um* (KTS 55a, 11; CCT 3, 45b, 4: copy: LU-*um*).

[279]) *AHw* 560b s.v. *lubāšu(m)*, "Kleid", and LANDSBERGER 1967, 182 find this word in CCT 5, 48d, 4: *saḫertam ina lu-ba-ší-im ša-ṣí-ir-ma*, "keep the small merchandise well guarded in a *l.*" The reading however is not completely sure (also in CCT 1, 27a, where this text was published previously, the signs LU and BA are somewhat peculiar). What makes one sceptical is that the only other attested reference mentioned in *AHw*, *VAB* 6, 154, 18 is now read *lu-ba-r*[*a*] by FRANKENA in *AbB* 2, 83, 18.

The dual ending in *-kà-an* (EL 132, 6) may be derived from *-kā'um* or *-kūm*. Some genitive forms in *-ki-im* are not necessarily proof of contraction (CCT 2, 26a, 17; BIN 4, 228, 7), as some references also attest an ending *-kīum*: *-ki-ú* (TC 1, 47, 4; VAT 9213, 2), *-ki-ú-um* (BIN 4, 148, 11), *-ki-um* (GARELLI 1966, 112 no. 43, 6). There are no indications of a preference for combining the base *šilip-* with the ending *-kīum*, nor *šulup-* with *-kā'um/kūm* or *vice versa*. As writings with GI and GU do not occur, and GA is passim used for *kà* we have to posit the word as *šilip/šulupkīum/kā'um/kūm* [280]).

The variety of writings suggests a non-Assyrian word and it has been regarded as a *nisbe* (BILGIÇ 1945-51, 36a). This is possible though the absence of any writing with added *-i-* (*-kājum*) is a difficulty, if we posit a GN *Ši/uli/upka(t)*, cf. HECKER *GKT* § 57b, but also note 282 below.

GARELLI 1966, 112 no. 43, 6 and 19 mention one *š.* exported from Aššur, designated as *ša ikribīa ša Aššur*, "being temple property of Aššur entrusted to me".

11. *takuštā'um*

Occurrences: several times among textiles exported from Aššur: CCT 5, 34c, 11; 36a, 12; KTB 16, 6; GARELLI 1964, 115, Sch. 15, 11; TC 1, 47, 5; VAT 9213, 28. TC 1, 47, 5 mentions that this textile could be bought in Aššur. Greatest number attested is 10 (VAT 9213).

Prices: purchase price in Aššur ca. 6 shekels of silver or a little more, according to TC 1, 47. The sale of *t.* is mentioned in CCT 5, 46b, 6ff.: *. . . . 2 ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR [7] *ṣa-ru-pá-am me-eḫ-ra-at* [8] *10* TÚG! *ta-ku-uš-ia-e A-bu-na* [9] *ta-ku-uš-ta-ú a-na* [10] [*š*]*u-mì-kà a-na-num* GÁN$^{eq\text{-}lam!}$ [11] *e*!*-tí-qú ù* KÙ.BABBAR-*áp-šu-nu* [12] *a-na šu-mì-kà* GÁN *e-tí-qam* [13] [*t*]*a-ku-uš-ta-e-kà Šu-*^{d}IŠKUR [*ú*]*-bi*$_4$*-il*$_5$!. . ., "2 minas of refined silver, equivalence (net proceeds) of the 10 *t.*-textiles of A.; the *t.*-textiles crossed the country from here on your account and their (proceeds in) silver crossed the country hither (equally) on your account. Šū-Adad brought your *t.*-textiles." From the text, if interpreted correctly, we learn that the net proceeds of *t.*-textiles exported from Aššur amounted to 12 shekels apiece [281]). The

[280]) The single occurrence in EL 176, 30f. of (*šīm*) *ṣubātia šilipkā'im*, where *š.* is used as an adjective, does not prove that *ṣubātum* (TÚG) was always pronounced before *š.*; TÚG was rather a determinative, several times omitted (e.g. EL 132, 6; KTB 16, 4; KTH 18, 5 etc.).

[281]) Cf. for the reading and interpretation of lines 10-12 similar phrases in BIN 6, 247, 15ff.; EL 108, 8ff.; ICK 1, 84, 14ff. (here and in EL 226, 17 the ventive *e-tí-qam*). The writing GÁN$^{eq\text{-}lam}$ is not attested elsewhere, but cf. GÁN alone (cf. l.12) in ICK 1, 122, 32; *eq-lam* in BIN 6, 247, 14 and GÁN-*lam* in ICK 1, 81, 14. Cf. for the meaning of the phrase LEWY 1956, 6[26] and LARSEN *OACP* 27.

same text mentions in line 17: *ba-a-ba-at ta-ku-uš-té-/kà*, "outstanding claims for your *t*-textiles".

Word and meaning: the word never ends in the normal *nisbe*-ending *-īum* or *-ājum*, but nearly always in *-ta-ú/e/am*; the acc. sing. (to be read in GARELLI 1964, 115, Sch. 15, 11) is *ta-ku-uš-ta-a[m]*; twice we meet contracted forms: *ta-ku-uš-tù-um* in CCT 5, 34c, 11 and *ta-ku-uš-té-kà* in CCT 5, 46b, 17, quoted above (but line 13: *ta-ku-uš-ta-e-kà*).

Several authors have regarded the word as a *nisbe*, derived according to LEWY KTB 39[1] from a place-name Taggašta. GELB, OIP 27, 11 reconstructs a town Takkušta (cf. also BILGIÇ 1945-51, 36a); A. GOETZE, *Kleinasien* 1957[2], 77[9] raises doubts. Nevertheless, as with *šulupkā'um*, this possibility cannot be rejected, and the rather irregular *nisbe*-ending (*-ā'um*, and even with contraction *-ūm*) may be an indication of the fact that an original non-Assyrian gentilic had acquired an Akk. case ending, serving as a name whose original meaning may have fallen into oblivion [282]). Anyhow this solution is much more probable than the one also proposed by LEWY, KTB 39[1], giving *t.* the meaning "purple blue", accepting a phonetic development: *takiltu* > *takištu* > *takuštu*. Even though the word *takiltu* may not be Semetic in origin [283]), LEWY's theory is in conflict with the facts that a) the change *lt* > *št* is not attested for OA; b) the ending *-ā'um* cannot be explained in this way.

12. *namaššūḫum*

Occurrences: only a few times in limited numbers: CCT 1, 39a, 2 (2); 5, 34c, 8 (x); EL 132, 5 (3); GARELLI 1964, 118, Sch. 15, 12 (1). CCT 5, 44a, 3 mentions *10* TÚG.ḪI.A *na-ma-šu-ḫi* SIG$_5$ DIRIG, "10 *n.* of very fine quality", together with a number of typical Assyrian import-textiles (Abarnian, Akkadian and *kutānū*-textiles). Above p. 123 we saw that an Assyrian woman shipped *n.* (of her own production) from Aššur to Anatolia.

Some texts from other periods confirm that it was a Babylonian product: it occurs in some texts of the Ur-III period and in TCL 10, 100 (*AHw* 726a s.v. *namaššu'um*). The oldest form seems to have been *nawaš(š)ūḫum* (GELB *MAD* 2, 123 *sub* 2: *na-wa-šu-ḫu-um*), though also a writing with *-b-* instead of *-w-* occurs (cf. HECKER *GKT* § 26e).; the form of the word in TCL 10, 100, 34: *na-ma-an-šu-ú-um*, suggests secondary

[282]) Note also the OA peculiarities in writing the *-j-* and the hiatus (especially in native Anatolian words); cf. HECKER *GKT* § 23b (but note: *ta-i-ša-ma-ú-um* and *té-ga-ra-ma-ú*, both without *-i-*) and § 27e.

[283]) DIETRICH-LORETZ, *WdO* 3, 1966, 228[93].

dissimilation of *-šš-* to *-nš*, and *aleph* in the last syllable. The meaning of the word is unknown; the opinion of BILGIÇ *App.* 73 (s.v. *makūḫum*) that it is an Anatolian appellative is unfounded in the light of the new evidence.

From OA we only note that CCT 1, 39a, 13ff. lists five times in a row the combination of *5 kutānū ú na-ma-šu-ḫu-um*, which suggests they somehow belonged together or could be combined. This is in line with CCT 5, 36a, 4 mentioinng *2 n.*, included among the *kutānū* in the addition of line 17. CCT 5, 44a, quoted above, shows that *n.* could be very expensive and fine products; information about the price is lacking, except for a note in the text just quoted, stating that for a big lot of very good textiles, including 10 *n.*, a price of 25 shekels apiece will be put on the account (?; lines 15-17).

13. *šulḫum*

Occurrences: few, though the number of *š.* in these cases is substantial. An unpublished text in Ankara (*Illustrated London News* of 14-1-1950 p. 70 fig. 16 = *OrNS* 20, 1951, p.l XX) mentions in l. 11′: *40* LÁ *2* TÚG *šu-ul-ḫi*, and LB 1293, 15ff., also unpublished, reads: *56* TÚG *šu-ul-[ḫu]* [16] *ù ša a-k[i-dí-e]* [17] *7⅓* GÍN.TA *[x x x]* [18] *6⅚ ma-na* K[Ù.BABBAR *it-bu-lu*(?)], "56 textiles, *š.* and Akkadian ones, at 7⅓ shekels (silver) apiece [cost?] 6⅚ minas of silver...". Line 37 of this text: "send me with the first caravan 9½ minas 3⅔ shekels of silver" seems to indicate the writer lived in Aššur, and consequently the price is the purchase price, and *š.* belonged to the Assyrian imports in Anatolia. An unpublished text from Istanbul, known to me from a transliteration of Prof. GELB, after mentioning textiles which are in Zalpa and Ḫurrama, reads: [13] *iš-tí šu-ul-ḫi-i* [14] *ša ta-ša-a-ma-ni-ni* [15] *iš-tí I-ku-pì-a* [16] *še-bi-lá-ni-šu-nu*, "send them to me, together with the *š.*-textiles which you will buy for me, with Ikuppia"; as the text also mentions a smuggler (*mupazzirum*, cf. below p. 317 no. 26) and "the country" (*mātum*), the scene of the action most probably is Anatolia, though the addressee, who is to buy *š.*, did not necessarily stay here.

Prices: besides the purchase price of 7⅓ shekels, mentioned above, we have: 8 shekels in EL 175, 4f. (*8* TÚG *šulḫī*) [284]); 35 minas of copper in ICK 2, 296, 4f. Other texts where *š.* are mentioned give no figures: CCT 4, 34c, 19; TC 1, 109, 2 (11 pieces), and TC 3, 49, 27 (depositing of *2* TÚG *šulḫī* as somebody's "share").

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[284]) CCT 5, 38b, 6, dealing with the same shipment, reads: *7* TÚG! *šu*!*-ul-ḫi*.

Word and meaning: EL 167[a] connects the word with *šalḫum*, a garment or textile occurring mainly in NB texts [285]) and mentioned in CT 18, 17, 19, left column, beside *lu-bar* GADA; cf. *MSL* 10, 138 (ḪAR-gud *ad* Ḫḫ 19), 17. The identity of course cannot be proved. The text LB 1293, quoted above, connects *š.* with Akkadian textiles; ICK 2, 296 mentions *š.* together with *13 maš-ḫi-tim* (line 19), an item perhaps to be connected with *mašḫu* III (*AHw* 625b; only MA; cf. *mašḫant/du*, ibid.). The identity of *š.* remains obscure.

14. *makūḫum*

Occurrences: few times but in considerable quantities: 50 *m.* in EL 132, 3: *50* TÚG *ma-ku-ḫi* [4] *ku-nu-ki-a*, mentioned beside *kutānū*, *lubūšū*, *namaššūḫū* and *šulupkā'ū*. This does not prove they were imported—like the latter ones—from Aššur; the transport contract mentions "wagons" (*ereqqātum*) in l.11, and deals with transport within Anatolia. EL 261, 4ff. deals also with a transaction in Anatolia, mentioning an amount of 32½ talents of copper, *lu ša* TÚG *ma-ku-ḫi-šu* [5] *lu ša* TÚG *ku-ta-ni ša* [6] *ik-ri-bi-šu*, "(payment for) both his *m.*-textiles and the *kutānū* being his 'temple-trust'", owed by an Anatolian to an Assyrian merchant. KTB 18, 5ff. mentions that the palace of an Anatolian ruler bought *20* TÚG *ma-ku-ḫi* at a price of 20 minas of copper apiece, and ICK 1, 190, 8f. records a similar transaction: *18* TÚG *ma-ku-ḫi i-na* É.GAL-*lim* [9] *i-na Bu-ru-uš-ḫa-tim ad-ma-ku*, which perhaps can be translated: "I am entitled to a share of 18 *m.*-textiles, in the palace of B" (cf. *CAD* A, 1, 96b, c); here the local palace seems to sell *m.*, unless we may interpret that the speaker is entitled to a payment for a share of 18 *m.*, bought by the palace. TC 3/2, 132, 1 mentions *60*[?] *ma-ku-ḫu lu e-b/pi-šu*, sold at 9½ shekels apiece; BIN 6, 186, 7: *5* TÚG *ma-ku-ḫu ù* DU-DU-*ru* in broken context.

Prices: besides those of 20 minas of copper (KTS 18, 5f.) and 9½ shekels of silver (TC 3/2, 132, 1) mentioned above, I note line 5 from the latter text, stating: *1 ma-ku-ḫu-um i-ḫa-ra-nim* [5] *il*$_5$*-qí-ú-ma 15* GÍN *iš-qú-l*[*u*], "they 'took' *en route* 1 *m.* and paid 15 shekels".

Word and meaning: little can be stated with certainty. None of the texts can prove it was imported from Aššur; if ICK 1, 190, 8ff. really means that the palace sells *m.*, we might consider it as a native product, as its association with *ēb/pišū* could confirm. One never meets it in transports coming directly from Aššur. Though it was not cheap its role was limited. The fact that it is once attested in Ugarit (*AHw* 591a, s.v.; written with-

[285]) Cf. UNGNAD, *ZA* 31, 258f.; KING, *BBSt.*, p. 127, 3: *2* GADA *šal-ḫu*; STR., *Cyrus* 232; STR., *Nbn* 696.

out TÚG, occurring in a letter from the king of Sidon to the king of Ugarit) does not help us. One may regard it, with BILGIÇ *App.* 73 and GELB *OIP* 27, 32 as a non-Assyrian appellative.

15. *sab/pd/tinnum*

Occurrences: about a dozen times, twice next to *pirikannum*, cf. above p. 125ff., where CCT 5, 12a, 6-8 and VAT 9290, 5.20 are quoted. Both texts show it to be a native Anatolian product, as is also clear from KTS 36c, 9ff. dealing with the purchase of TÚG *sà-áb/p-d/tí-ni* SIG_5 in Ḫaḫḫum, where they should be paid for from the proceeds of the sale of two Abarnian textiles.

Prices: BIN 6, 227, 8f. mentions a price of $5\frac{1}{3}$ minas of copper in the shape of two chains (*ša-ar-ša-ri-tí-in*) as price of 1 *s.* TC 1, 81, 6 gives a sale price of $5\frac{1}{4}$ shekels of silver. ICK 1, 55, 5 describes a transaction of an unnamed number of *s.* amounting to 73 shekels of silver.

Word and meaning: BILGIÇ *App.*, 42 takes it as a native, Anatolian appellative, "eine Stoffsorte" (quoting also an unpublished text). LEWY 1958, 98[63] proposes as a 'tentative rendering' "fleecy cloths", relating the word to Syrian *spudnā*, hence his writing *sapdinnum*. We can only state that such a meaning is not contradicted by the context and does make sense. LEWY's proposal is to be preferred to GARELLI's translation (*AC* 56) "étoffes de laine" (TÚG.ḪI *sà-áp-tí-ni*); he connects the word with TÚG.ḪI.A *ša-áp-tí/tim*, occurring in some texts from the later level Kültepe I B. Other occurrences make this identification—it disregards the difference of the first consonant—impossible.

KTS 36c, 9 and TC 1, 19, 17 show one distinguished normal and "good" *s.*; the latter text in line 11 mentions *2 ší-it-re-e ša sà-áb/p-d/tí-ni*. CCT 5, 12a, 8f. states that "of 14 *s.*, 4 were DÍ-ZA-BU"; the latter word defies identification [286]).

Unless one accepts the etymological relation with *spudnā* proposed by LEWY, loc. cit., the correct spelling of the word remains uncertain. Only the quality of the first consonant as *s* is certain, due to alternation between writings with ZA(*sà*) and DI(*sá*).

16. DI-ZA-BU-*um*

This word, whose exact consonants have to remain in doubt owing to the peculiarities of OA writing, occurs, as far as I know, six times.

[286]) Other occurrences of *sab/pd/tinnum* are in KTS 54b, 4f. and an unpub. text mentioned in BILGIÇ *App.* 42.

Besides CCT 5, 12a, 9—where this textile is shown to belong to the category of *sab/pd/tinnū*—we meet it in: LB 1268, 15 (cf. above p. 38), preceded by *burā'um* and *nibrārum* and followed by *pirikannum*; in BIN 4, 51, 39: 7 TÚG DI-ZA-BU-*ú*, along with "woollen fleeces"; in KTB 7, 5f. in an enumeration of import-textiles and tin: *20* LÀ *2* TI-ZA-BU; in ICK 2, 160, 3ff., mentioning a payment for a slave and a DÍ-ZA-BU-*um*; and in BIN 6, 84, 6 (cf. 14): one TÚG DÍ-ZA-BA-*am* has been sent to a woman (in Aššur). I cannot make any suggestion about its meaning, save noting some relation with rough woollen textile products.

17. *menuniānum*

Apparently a native textile product from Anatolia. In CCT 4, 27a, 11f. mentioned together with wool, woollen fleeces and *pirikannū*. BIN 4, 78, 6ff. contains an order from Inbīštar to buy: [6] *pí-ri-kà-ni* [7] *ša lu-bu-uš ṣú-ḫa-ri* [8] *lu me-nu-ni-a-nu lu i-bi/pí-šu* [9] *lu pí*[!]*-ri-kà-ni ša a-na* [10] *lu-bu-ší-im da-nu-ni-ma* [11] *pé-lu-tám ú-bu-lu-ni*, "*pirikannū* being/for garments for servants, or *m.*, or *ēb/pīšū*, or *pirikannū* which are strong enough to be used as clothing and which have a reddish colour(??)". KTH 1, 17f. mentions *m.* beside *kusītum*-garments from Mamma and woollen fleeces; KTH 6, 6 shows they can be used—as implied by BIN 4, 78—for clothing of the personnel, and cost only 1 shekel of silver apiece. EL 131, 26—with the unique writing *1* TÚG *me-nu-né-nu-um*—lists one *m.* among goods shipped to Aššur.

No etymology is known; BILGIÇ *App.* 54 regards *m.* as a native Anatolian appellative, which is possible.

18. *ēb/pīšum*

Occurrences: in BIN 4, 78, 6—just quoted—as a product comparable to, or a variety of, the *pirikannum*. Similarly VAT 9290, 6-7 (quoted p. 126) *pirikannī e*-BI-*ší* [7] *ša-pá-tim*, for which line 21 simply writes *pirikannī*, showing the last words to be a description or specification of *pirikannū*: "*e.* of wool". TC 3/2, 132, 1 mentions *makūḫū* and *e*-BI-*šu*; AnOr VI, 15, 3f. describes a transport unit as consisting of 1 donkey, 27 *kutānū*-textiles and one [*e*]-BI-*ša-am* (cf. for the first vowel line 19); KTK 11, 16′ mentions a loss of *20* TÚG *e*-BI-*ší*[!].

Word and meaning: normally it is written with *e-* as first vowel, but once with *i-* (BIN 4, 78, 6). LEWY 1958, 98[65] takes the word to be *epišum*—adducing also TC 3/2, 91, 33f.: *ša 7* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *e*-BI-*šu-um*, "an *e.*, worth 7 shekels of silver"—and to mean "blanket", used as a saddle rug,

mainly referring to AnOr VI, 15 just quoted. According to line 17 of this text the donkey and the *e.* are sold together for respectively 12½ and 15 shekels of silver. The combination with *pirikannum* is not surprising since "woollen blankets" can be used as saddle rugs as well as for the manufacture of heavy garments. For the etymology he refers to Hebrew *ḥofèš* in Ez. 27, 20, serving the same purpose: for riding an animal [287]).

CAD E 14b/15a s.v. *ebišu* (*ebiššu, ibi(š)šu, ip/bi(š)ša*) regards *e.*, following BILGIÇ *App.* 71, as a native Anatolian appellative, and describes it as a cloth or garment, "a low-priced textile, a subcategory of the *pirikannum*". It also includes two references to *i*-BI-*ša*: BIN 4, 162, 34ff.: *ina pirikannī(m)* [35] *samūtim 4 pirikannū* [36] *ša i*-BI-*ša*, "of the red *p.* four are of *e.*-quality"; TC 3/1, 65, 3ff.: *15* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR [4] *ša i*-BI-*ša ana A* [5] DUMU *B addin*, "I gave 15 shekels of silver for *i.* to A son of B". In both cases the solution of *CAD* is more probable than the one proposed by LEWY, loc. cit., who considers *I-pí-ša* as a PN.

While *AHw* 230b s.v. *e/ipišum* calls it a "Fremdwort unbekannter Herkunft", LANDSBERGER, *The Datepalm*...(1967; *AfO Beiheft* 17) 25[71] derives our word from a verb *epēšum* (II), meaning "to weave *aru*", formerly read as *ebēšum*, and given a meaning "to plait" (ibid. 24 with note 70); it would refer to "the cheapest quality of woollen garments". The noun could be a substantivised verbal adj. (*parīs*): *eb/pīšum*.

As it seems probable that both occurrences of *i*-BI-*ša* belong under this lemma, a decision about etymology and meaning is not easy to make. Anyhow the interpretation proposed by LANDSBERGER is convincing in the other cases, certainly for *ēb/pīšū šapātim*, "(rough) woollen tissues", "blankets"; the writing with *p* is likely but not yet certain in my opinion.

19. *nibrārum*

Occurrences: in KTB 7, 12, after listing the merchandise proper, mention is made of 10 minas of tin and *2* TÚG *ni-ib-ra-ru a-qá-ti-kà*, "2 *n.*-textiles for (in) your hand". CCT 1, 36a, 7ff. list: 1½ talent 1½ mina and 8 shekels of loose tin, plus oil, one *burā'um* (see below) and (in line 11) one *n.* LB 1268 (above p. 38) 13ff. list as contents of one bag: 3 *burā'ū*, *2 ni-ib-ra-ru ša a-bi-im*, *1* DI-ZA-BU and *1 pirikannum wa-dí-um*; what *ša a-bi-im* here means is not clear; if it refers to the caravan station Abum (cf. above p. 240) it could indicate that *n.* were bought *en route*(?). Lamassī writes in BIN 4, 10, 35 (above p. 112 no. 1) that *inter alia* one *n.* (made by her?) is shipped from Aššur to Anatolia. KTB 16, 7 lists *3 ni-ib-ra-ru*

[287]) Ez. 27,20 mentions *biḡdē ḥofèš leriḵbā*, "*ḥ.*-cloths for riding".

among various textiles, typical import-goods, and similarly L 29-574— H. LEWY 1968, 33f.—, 16ff.: *6* TÚG *ku-sí-a-tum* [17] *1* TÚG *ni-ib-ra-ru-um* [18] *ša šé-ep Dan--A-šùr, "6 kusītu*-garments, one *n.*, transported by Dan-Aššur". The unpublished I 686 (*HUCA* 38, 1967, 13) mentions *1 nibrārum lu ša šubirīm lu ša ālim*^{ki}, "one *n.* either from Subartu (?) or from the City (of Aššur)" [288]). An unpublished text from the collection WINKENBACH, quoted ibid., mentions *ni-ib-ri-ru*, beside import-textiles like *kusiātum, šilipkā'ū* and *raqqātum*. ICK 2, 162 r. 2 provides no further information.

Word and meaning: LEWY KTB 29 *ad* 12 tentatively proposed a derivation from *barārum*, "to glow, shine"; but the dictionaries do not mention *nibrārum* under this verb, for which in that case we would expect *nabra/irum*.

The first two texts quoted show that a *n.* could be part of the outfit of the caravan, being mentioned beside the "loose tin", and also LB 1268 connects it both with cheaper products and *burā'um*. The other texts prove it could be imported from Aššur. The two facts do not exclude each other and suggest a *n.* was a not very expensive woollen textile, which could be traded, but also used on the way.

20. *burā'um*

Occurrences: CCT 1, 36a, 10 and LB 1268, 13 (quoted above under *nibrārum*), both without TÚG; furthermore CCT 1, 38a, 1ff.: to supplement his "loose tin" a transporter sold *en route* a *b.*: [2] ... *1* TÚG *bu-ra-am* [3] *a-ší-mì-im i-ḫa-ra-nim* [4] *i-dí-in*, which yielded another 6 minas of tin. ICK 1, 189, 14: a caravan consists of 10½ donkeys loaded with tin and textiles, *1* TÚG *bu-ra-um* and amounts of oil (cf. CCT 1, 36a); TuM I, 2c, 4ff. lists a transport consisting of 46 *kutānū*, 1 *burā'um*, 5 minas of loose tin and 2 donkeys; and a similar combination is attested in the damaged text EL 110, listing again *1* TÚG *burā'um* (line 1) after *x kutānū* and before 2 donkeys and 5 minas of loose tin. Cf. furthermore CCT 1, 20b, 2 and BIN 4, 160, 12f. which reads: *1* TÚG *bu-ra-am* SIG$_5$ DIRIG *ú-lá-bi$_4$-šu* [13] ⅓ *ma-na* ½ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *iš-tí* [14] *Nu-ur-ki-li* ÌR *ša kà-ri-im*, "(because) I dressed him in a *b.* of very good quality, Nurkili, the slave of the *kārum*, owes me 20½ shekels of silver".

Word and meaning: *CAD* B 328b states: "all refs. list only one *b.*-garment; the garment is apparently not one of the textiles traded, but is the personal property of the merchants. Its name is probably derived from

[288]) The translation "from Subartu" is of course not completely certain, cf. already note 168.

a geographical name". *AHw* 142a s.v. *burû(m)*, 4 equates *burā'um* with *burû*, "reedmat", and suggests a meaning "Teppich" for the OA occurrences. BILGIÇ, *App.* 64[153a] is against the interpretation as a *nisbe*, already proposed in EL 96[a], and takes the word as an Anatolian appellative *bura*, provided with a case-ending in Akkadian.

The latter theory is improbable; the texts show that the item was repeatedly shipped from Aššur, and hence its name probable of Akkadian origin. The meaning proposed by *CAD* fits the occurrences in the context best. BIN 4, 160 clearly shows that a *burā'um* could be worn or used for fashioning a garment. The other texts make it clear that a *b.* could belong in some way to the equipment of a caravan, perhaps for wrapping or protecting other merchandise. But it could also belong to the merchandise proper: LB 1268 lists 3 *b.* packed in a bag, and CCT 1, 20b, 2 mentions a *b.* of very good quality (DIRIG) sealed and shipped together with *15 kutānū* (or were the latter wrapped in the *b.*?). The price of 6 minas of tin paid *en route* means at least ½ mina of silver, and shows with BIN 4, 160 (price 20½ shekels for a "very good *b.*") that a *b.* could be very expensive. What in fact were the characteristics of this textile, written with and without the determinative TÚG, is not known. A connection with *burû*, though etymologically possible, is not likely in view of the meaning.

21. *šitrum*

Occurrences: in most cases we meet *šitrum* + *ša* + the name of a textile in the gen.: *ša abarnīē* (TC 1, 19, 12); *ša akkidīē* (BIN 6, 64, 7); *ša kutānim* (GARELLI 1965, 35, no. 14, 15f.: *šalšat šitrim ša kutānim*, "one third of a š. of *kutānum*"; note that line 24 writes simply *šitram*); *ša lubūšim* (GARELLI 1966, 113, no. 43, 33: [*ší*]-*it*[1]-*ru-um*; cf. *2 ší-it-re-e ša lu-bu-šé-e* in TC 1, 19, 10-11, and *5 ší-it-ru ša lu-bu-šé* in OIP 27, no. 58, 25); *šitrum ša sapd/tinnim* (TC 1, 19, 11: *2 ší-it-re-e ša sà-áp-dí/tí-ni*).

šitrum only occurs in GARELLI 1965 no. 14, 24, quoted above; in BIN 4, 75, 14: *1 ší-it-ra-am ku-nu-ki-a*, sent to a woman; in CCT 3, 14, 36: *3* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ú ší-it-ra-*[*am*] (end of a letter); in CCT 1, 50 (EL 296), 6: *6 ší-it-ri ša Za-al-pá*, sold for 20 shekels or about 3⅓ shekels of silver apiece; and in BIN 6, 184, r. 10', which also mentions a *šitrum ša Zalpa*, given to a merchant *ana šiamātim*, "for making purchases". In the letter BIN 6, 122 the addressee is forbidden to give a single textile (garment?) or 1 mina of tin to a *rādium* (a soldier or a guide?) or a "writer" (in his function as tax-collector?) (lines 7-10), and a little later we read the warning: [13] *lu ší-it-ra-am* [14] *lu par-ší-gám lu* AN.[NA] [15] *10* GÍN *i-na ku-u*[*l*.....], "(not to deposit) even a š., a headdress, or 10 shekels of tin in any.....". Not clear

is BIN 4, 1, 17ff.: *3* TÚG.ḪI-*tí ší-it-ru šé-lu*[?](copy: UR)-*ú-ma* [18] *ší-mì-tum ta-bu-uk* [19] *ra-dí lu-qú-tim ta-me*, a tentative translation of which reads: "(as for the textiles under the seals of A and B) the *š.* of three textiles have been *removed*(?) and consequently(?).....Take an oath from the transporter of the merchandise" [289]). BILGIÇ *App.* 82f. quotes the unpublished text Kayseri no. 26, 7-9: "20 minas of fine and extra fine wool(!) for my *š.*'s" (*ana ší-it-ri-a*). BIN 6, 84, 14ff. lists *1* TÚG [15] [DÍ-ZA]-BA-*am 1* TÚG *ší-it-*ḪU-*a* [16] [*a-š*]*í-ni-šu ma-áš-ku-nam* [17] [*ša ṣú*]*-ba-tí-im 1 ší-it-ra-am* [18] [*x ri*]*-ik-sú..*; a translation of these lines is nearly impossible; according to the context all these items were delivered to a woman.

Word and meaning: these occurrences show that a *š.* was or was made of woven tissue; once clearly a woollen product (Kayseri no. 26). A comparison between BIN 6, 122, 7ff. and 13ff. shows that a *š.* and/or a headdress compare with a normal textile as 10 shekels of tin with 1 mina of tin; a *š.*, like a headdress, accordingly was a smaller and probably less valuable product than a *ṣubātum*, which could be part of the clothing, being mentioned alongside *paršīgum*. The price recorded in CCT 1, 50 (3⅓ shekels of silver apiece) is less than that paid for a normal textile. Combinations like *šitrum ša kutānim* (plur.: *2 šitrē ša abarnīē*) may indicate that a *š.* belonged to, was part of (a garment made of) a *kutānum*-textile, or that it was made of a type of tissue called *kutānum* (etc.). We note, without being able to explain it, that in GARELLI 1965 no. 14, quoted above, *šalšat šitrim ša kutānim* alternates with simple *šitrum*. BIN 4, 1, if correctly interpreted, may imply that *š.*'s accompanied or were attached to textiles shipped by caravan.

The only etymology, which has been proposed, is a derivation from a root *str*, "to hide, to cover", which relates *š.* to Arabic *sitr* and Hebrew *sēṯèr*, cf. GELB, OIP 27 p. 64 *ad* 25, who notes that the correspondence between the first consonants is not regular. This etymology has been adopted by J. LEWY 1956, 33[116], who describes *š.*'s as made of a "more or less transparent material, destined to be worn as upper garments over ordinary clothing". A relation with *šiṭrum*, amply discussed by GELB in his *Standard Operating Procedure for the Assyrian Dictionary* (1954), 29ff. seems excluded. I can only point to a word *šataru*, equated with *nalbašu* in CT 18, 12, II, 55; the meaning of *ši*-ID-*ri* occurring, most probably as an equivalent of TÙN, in OA 3555 obv. 11 (commentary A VIII/1, published in *RA* 6, 131) is not clear to me.

The translation "stacks(?)", proposed in *CAD* A, 1, 35b, a in the translation of TC 1, 19, 12, is hardly acceptable; it creates difficulties in texts

[289]) I have no idea what ší-MÌ-*tum*, which returns in l. 20, in fact means.

like CCT 1, 50, and Kayseri no. 26 shows that a *š.* was indeed some textile product. Arguing from the context only one could think of a meaning "cover"—denoting a woollen fabric in which small lots of textiles could be packed and shipped; perhaps secondarily referring to its contents: a standard packet of textiles—or "strip" of woven tissue, either a part of the clothing (e.g. a veil or a sash) or used for packing textiles.

There may be a relation with a word *ši*-ID-*ru-um* attested at Mari in the following texts: ARM 13, 22, 40: SAL.MEŠ *ša 7 ši*-ID-*ri*, a qualification added to SAL.MEŠ *aštal*[*ētum*], a kind of female singers; ARM 10, 125, 5 and 10: SAL.TUR.MEŠ *ši*-ID-*ri-im*/*ši*-ID-*ra-am*, where *š.* is in apposition to SAL.TUR.MEŠ, "girls (being) a *š.*"; 19: SAL.TUR.MEŠ *ana ši*-ID-*ri-im*, "(to select) girls for a/the *š.*"; 126, 17f.: *A ši*-ID-*ra-am šu-ba-re-em* [18] [*l*]*i-ša-ḫi-is-sí-na-ti*, "A should teach them (beautiful girls, from top to toe without physical defect, to be selected from among the weavers) a/the Subarian *š.*". The editor of ARM 13, 22 takes *šitrum* to mean "veil", referring to the etymology for OA *šitrum* mentioned above, probably prompted by the number 7; the girls in question become serpentine dancers. DOSSIN (cf. ARM 13, 162 *ad* no. 22, 40) now wants to read this same *šitrum* in the OB Mari ritual (*RA* 35, 1938, 2ff.), where in IV, 9 and 27 (I, 11′ and IV, 32 are in broken context) water is poured out as a libation *ana pān* the god or goddess and *ana pān ši*-ID-*ri* (IV, 9) or [*ši*]-ID-*ri-im* (IV, 27); does he think of a veil or curtain?

The passages quoted from ARM 10 are difficult to understand. They most probably refer to girls acting as singers (*aštalētum*) and dancers (the importance of physical beauty). In 125 *š.* seems to be used as the name of a group of chorus-girls, but that creates problems in ARM 13, 22, 40 and in 10, 126, 17f., where they should be teached "the Subarian *š.*". Here *š.* seems to denote a specific kind of singing or dancing. But even if we adopt the latter interpretation, we do not automatically arrive at *šitrum*, "veil", as it is not easy to see how *š.* only may be used with a meaning "serpentine dance". Another possibility is to take the word in question as *šiṭrum*, which according to GELB, op. cit., loc. cit., may perhaps have a meaning "composition, recitation" in a musical context (KAR 158 rev. I, 14; IV, 16), as was pointed out to me by Mr. M. STOL. Both interpretations, however, remain doubtful, and we have to conclude that the meaning of *šitrum* (or *šiṭrum*?) in these texts and in OA remains to be determined.

22. *išrum*

Occurrences: mentioned about ten times, cf. the texts quoted by *CAD* I/J 261b and LEWY 1956, 34[117]—BIN 4, 180, 7; 88, 4-5; CCT 3, 25, 27.31

(collated by LEWY 1961, 49[110]); 5, 41a, 29; ICK 1, 88, 16; KTH 7, 34; OIP 27, no. 58, 26; TC 1, 19, 19; 3/3, 210, 8; VAT 9237, 13 (quoted LEWY 1956 loc. cit.)—moreover I 471, 11 (H. LEWY 1964, 183[3]): *11 iš-ra-tum tal-ḫa-dí-a-tum* and L 29-606—H. LEWY 1970, 69—, 10ff.: *iš-ra-am* [11] *ú ša-ḫi-ri-in* [12] *ú ša-am-na-am* [13] *ú-šé-bi$_4$-lá-kum*, "I sent you an *i.*, sandals and oil". The qualification *talḫadītum*, "from/in the style of Talḫad" is several times attested, cf. above ch. VI, 4.

Word and meaning: *CAD* loc. cit. translates both "*i.*-belt" and "*i.*-garment", and comments: "a woollen belt or scarf of special make"; LEWY 1956 loc. cit. gives "belt" as its meaning, and *AHw* 308a "Wollbinde". These translations more or less fix the meaning of the word; we probably should think of woollen belts or scarves, normally worn around the waist, as is still done by some Turks and Kurds, but which are also suitable for other uses.

LEWY loc. cit. supposes that a considerable amount of copper was worked into these scarves, basing his theory on BIN 4, 180, 6ff.: "20½ minas 2 shekels of copper for 16 *i.* I paid to people of Talḫad" (reading in line 8: *a-Tal-ḫa-dí-e*; *CAD* I/J loc. cit. reads: *3 Tal-ḫa-dí-e*); and OIP 27 no. 58, 26f. *3 iš-ra-tum ⅔ ma-na* URUDU", which he translates: "3 belts, (weighing) ⅔ mina (and made) of copper". LEWY's interpretation is not convincing. In the first text the copper may be the price paid for the belts, in the second, listing gifts to a local ruler, "3 belts" and "⅔ mina of copper" may be separate items. Note that the use of the determinative TÚG in ICK 1, 88, 16, suggests it was primarily a textile product, even though perhaps some copper was worked into these belts.

That *išrātum* were worn around the waist is clear from some texts: VAT 9237, 13 mentions "a belt for my waist" (*išram aqqablia*); ICK 1, 88, 16 connects the belt with the *kīsum*, "moneybag", "purse", probably kept in this belt; and TC 1, 19, 19f. mentions an *i.* in close connection with a "butcher's knife" (*patrum naṭbaḫum*), perhaps also worn in the belt.

While *i.* waspri marily a belt or scarf of wool, *musarrum* (the OA equivalent of OB *misarrum/mesirrum*; once, BIN 6, 169, 13 written *mì-sà-ru-u[m]*) [290]), frequently written with the determinative KUŠ, is the leather belt or girdle, also worn around the waist, cf. TCL 17, 62, 27 (OB) [291]). There seems to be no cogent reason to translate (TÚG) *išrum* with "*i.*-garment" (*CAD* I/J loc. cit.).

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[290]) *AHw* 658b does mention the OB form ^{kuš}*mu-sa-ar-rum* in CT 45, 99, 15, but does not record the OA equivalent. Cf. for the OA word LEWY 1959, 224; BALKAN 1965 col. 161 *ad* no. 344, 14.

[291]) *misarrū* (etc.) could also be made of metal, cf. *AHw* loc. cit.

išrātum only play a secondary role in the trade; those from Talḫad were also imported in Aššur, to meet the wishes of people there (CCT 5, 41a; TC 3/3, 210). Once an *i.* is a gift to a local ruler. The numbers where normally small, but two texts mention respectively 16 and 11 pieces.

23. *naḫlaptum*

This article occurs only rarely in OA texts, but is well-known from other periods where it is written both logographically (túg . gú . è . a) and syllabically. It is a "cloak". In OA it is normally an article for private use. CCT 3, 31, 36 mentions the transport of one *n.*; in ICK 2, 83 r. 6′ a transporter receives 10 shekels to buy a *n. en route* to or in Aššur; TC 3/3, 193, 6 mentions one *n.* beside an item called *ḫa-at-lu-nu*, of unknown meaning. It occurs more frequently in the slightly later OA texts from Alişar and Boğazköy: OIP 27 no. 7, 11-13 mentions a *naḫlaptum ša kutāni*, "a cloak made of/belonging to a *kutānum*"; OIP 27, no. 11, 8 proves there was some trade in *n.*, mentioning 10 pieces (*na-aḫ-lá-pá-tí*). KBo IX no. 9 r. 8′ lists three articles making a complete set of clothing: a linen garment, a cloak and a pair of sandals (*kitām naḫlaptam šenēn*), while no. 26, 3 tells us that one *n.* cost 5⅔ shekels 9½(?) grains of silver.

24. *Some rare textile names*

The following words are badly attested, but seem to denote textiles or garments, though the precise meaning is often unknown.

b/palilum: CCT 5, 12a, 9-10: 2 ŠÍ-ta [10] *ki-ta-a-tum b/pa-li-lu*, where *b/p.* seems to qualify the *k.* (discussed above p. 151f.); TC 3/3, 164, 11-12: 6 shekels of silver for 2 TÚG *b/pa-li-li*. Meaning unknown (*AHw* 816a: "Gewänder für *pá-li-le*", sub *palīlum*, "Wächter"; but *AHw* 495b does not interpret *kitātum* as garments) [292]).

ḫirišnānum: TC 3/1, 5, 18ff.: *ḫi-ri-iš-na-na-kà* [19] *ù ší-li-ip-kà-a-kà* [20] *A na-áš-a-kum*, "A is bringing you your *ḫ.* and your *š.*"; ATHE 64, 21: *ḫi-ri-iš-na-na ù ša e-mu-qí/-i[m?]* [22] *1½ ma-na 5* GÍN *šu-qú-ul-ta-áš-nu* [23] *ú-kà-al*, "I hold a *ḫ.* and an ....., weighing 1½ mina 5 shekels, in my possession"; an unpublished text, called F.T. 4, transliteration provided by Mr. M. T. LARSEN, line 30f.: *i-ší-im ḫi-ri-iš-na-na* [31] *4⅓*

[292]) This meaning is hardly convincing. The reference to *Malku* VI where [d]*Èr-ra--pa-lil* is a symbolic name for a garment or shroud (cf. *AHw* 560a s.v. *lubāru(m)*), cannot prove that *palīlu* is a garment. There is more reason to connect it with *AHw* 816a *palīlu*, "ein Stoff", mainly attested at Nuzi.

GÍN GUŠKIN *ad-ma-ku*, "I am entitled to a share of 4⅓ shekels of gold in the proceeds of a *ḫ*.". Only the first text could be taken as an indication that *ḫ*. is a textile, but that is not certain. The price would be substantial and the weight (usually not mentioned with textiles!) very small (cf. previously BILGIÇ, *App.* 64; not mentioned in *CAD* Ḫ).

illūkum: BIN 4, 168, 16 mentions *121* TÚG *i-lu-ki*, packed in 14 bags; TC 3/2, 192, 8 lists *4* ANŠE *ša pí-ri-kà-ni i-lu-ki*. The name of the textile might be the same as *illūku*, *CAD* I/J, 86b, 2: "a sumptuous garment", but neither *AHw* nor *CAD sub illūku* mention OA texts.

kuzippum: only in TC 3/1, 5, 51, cf. *AHw* 519b s.v.

mardatum: only in CCT 1, 29, 7, cf. above p. 160 *ad kusītum*, with note 273.

**nasistum*: OIP 27 no. 55, 8 and 43 mention 10 and 2 *na-sí-sà-tum* at ⅓ and ½ shekel of silver apiece. The interpretation as a garment or textile product is not certain. Perhaps one may refer to CT 18, 12 (K 169, *An* VII/VIII), 88: *na-si-iḫ-tum* = ,,(*naḫlaptu*) *ú-re-e*, for which a variant (DT 58 = *Malku* VI; cf. STT 2, 393, 125) gives: *na-si-iš-tum* (see also GELB, OIP 27 ad. loc.).

paršīgum: once in BIN 6, 122, 13f., cf. p. 174 above (*ad šitrum*).

pūkum: GARELLI 1966, 120, no. 48, 24: *ší-im* TÚG *pu-ki-im*; his emendation to SÍG! *pu-⟨ší-⟩ki-im* is not necessary, as the unpublished text F.T. 4 (quoted above sub *ḫirišnānum*), 6 also mentions: *1* TÚG *pu-ku-um*. Perhaps also GARELLI 1964, 117, Sch. 17, 5 might be read: SIG_5 TÚG *pu-ki* (?). The meaning of the word seems unknown.

**tudiqum*: TC 3/1, 49, 30: *tù-dí-qam a-ma-la ta-aq-bi₄-a-ni* 31 *ša 3 i-na-mì-tim al-qí*, "I took, according to your instruction, a *t.* of three cubits". The previous line mentions *2* TÚG *šulḫī*, but the interpretation as a textile (with perhaps standard width, so that only the length is mentioned?) is uncertain. The writing here is analogous with *tēdiqum* (from *edēqum*), but *tudiqum* (*tud/ṭik(k)um*) would require a root I-*w*.

25. *Uncertain designations*

I list the following words, which may denote textiles; their meaning is unknown to me:

DU-DU-*ru* in BIN 6, 186, 7: *5* TÚG *ma-ku-ḫu ù* DU-DU-*ru*.

mašḫitum in ICK 2, 296, 19: [x minas of copper] *ší-im 13 maš-ḫi-tí*, following a note about a price paid for TÚG *šulḫū*. Cf. above p. 169 *ad šulḫum*.

tadum?: KTS 54b, 2: 1 *i-na 22 ku-ta-ni* 2 *1* TÚG *ta-dí-im* 3 *1* TÚG *kà-am-sí-im* 4 *2* TÚG *sà-ap-tí-ni*. *CAD* A, 1, 96a s.v. *adāmum* lists several forms *a*-DÍ-*im*, which are to be interpreted as permansives from *adāmum*,

meaning "to keep a share in, to be entitled to a share in". This verb is excluded here by the context, as we have to translate: "Of 22 *kutānū*, 1 *t.*-textile, *1 kamsum*-textile, 2 *saptinnū* (which I sent to A, B brought you 11 *kutānū*-textiles and one *saptinnum*)". *tad/tum* should denote some textile.

OIP 27, no. 11, 11f. lists between *naḫlaptum* and *kusītum* the following items: *2* BA-*ku 3 ší-ší-ru 4 ḫa-ma*; these may well be native (Ḫattian?) names of textiles, as GELB, ad loc. suggested (cf. also BILGIÇ, *App.* 64[153a]) [293]).

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[293]) Some putative textile names, recorded by L. MATOUŠ, *BiOr* 16, 1959, 177ff. (review of CCT 5), are based on wrong interpretations of the texts: CCT 5, 13b, 14: not: *pa-la-ku-tim*, but *ba-at!-qú-tim*, "missing"; 35a, 18: TÚG *a-la-ḫu*, read: (TÚG) *a-la-qí*, "I will take"; 36a, 7: TÚG *ša-a-b/pu*, read: TÚG *ša a-bu / i-dí-na-ni* (from the next line), "textile, which my father gave me".

CHAPTER NINE

QUALIFICATIONS OF TEXTILES

1. DESCRIPTIONS BY MEANS OF *ša* + NOUN IN THE GEN.

This type of qualification is relatively rare; but there are some interesting examples:

TÚG *ša ālim*^{ki}: "textile of/from the City (of Aššur)": I 686 (LEWY 1967, 13) lists: *1 nibrāram lu ša šu-bi*$_4$*-ri-im lu ša a-lim*^{ki}; and F.T. 4 (cf. p. 178 *ad ḫirišnānum*) mentions in line 34ff.: *14* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *1* TÚG *ku-sí-tum* ^{35} *ša šu-bi*$_4$*-ri-im* ^{36} *2* TÚG *ša a-lim*^{ki}. *ša ālim* qualifies native, Assyrian products, and accordingly is used only when such textiles are contrasted with other ones, like:

TÚG *ša šubirīm*, which occurs, besides in the two texts just quoted, also in BM 113467 (LEWY 1967 loc. cit.): *22* TÚG.ḪI *ša šu-bi-ri-im*, and in GARELLI 1964, 117, Sch. 7, 4f.: TÚG.ḪI.A *ša šu-bi*$_4$*-ri-im*. After studying the discussion about the meaning of *šubarūm* (etc.)—cf. the literature listed p. 100 note 168—a translation "of/from S/Šubar(t)u" seems to me the most likely one.

TÚG *ša ma'ēšu*: in the unpubl. texts kt a/k 524, 5 and 629, 6 (transcriptions of which were kindly provided by Mr. M. T. LARSEN) a list of textiles ends with *kusiātum* and 1 TÚG *ša ma'ēšu*. The meaning of this combination is not clear to me. Comparison with *ḫurāṣum ša ma'īšu* (TC 1, 47, 16), translated as "Waschgold" (BALKAN, 1965, col. 150 *ad* no. 99), or "alluvial gold" (*CAD* A, 1, 55b), does not help, though providing a formal parallel. Purely theoretical possibilities are to regard this item as either a bag to contain water, or one which is waterproof. The second alternative seems very improbable, even though there are some indications of greasing textiles (*CAD* Ṣ 221b: túg.Ì.LU.AG + A = *pašāšu šá* TÚG, "to grease a textile"; H. LEWY 1964, 185[1]). Taking TÚG *ša ma'ēšu* to mean "water-bag" would suppose a similar treatment, but naturally skins were primarily used to keep water. From a purely formal point of view one might compare our combination with the professional names of the type (LÚ) *ša karānišu*, "wine-seller"; *ša ṭābtišu*, "salt-retailer", etc., cf. LANDSBERGER, 1967, 186[1], but this does not show what our item could be.

TÚG *ša maštīti*: OIP 27 no. 55, 63: GELB: "*banquet* garment", but not mentioned in *AHw* 630b.

TÚG *ša rapādim*?, both in GARELLI 1964, 63, Sch. 7, 2 and VAT 9212, 29; the latter text runs: 1 TÚG *ša Ša-at—A-šur ša ra-pá-dí-im kà-áb-tum*; a translation is difficult, as "a garment for running", seems contradicted by the qualification "heavy". Possibly the signs *ra*-BA-DÍ-*im* require a different reading and interpretation.

2. GENERAL DESCRIPTIVE ADJECTIVES

a) *b/palītum*, "?"

In CCT 4, 45b Aššur-mālik complains to Aššur-Īdī that he left him behind in Aššur with some women, without sufficient means. He is short of food and clothing, and writes: [29] *ú i-a-tum ba-li* [30] *i-ṣé-ri-a im-tù-qú-ut* [31] *ḫu-lá-pì ki-ma sú-ub-ri* [32] *ḫa-lu-lá-ku*, "and mine ..... has fallen on (from?) me; I am wrapped in rags like a slave". Because he has not received any wool, he asks: [43] *a-ma-kam ba-li-tám* [44] *mì-ma šé-bi*$_4$*-lá-ma* [45] *ú a-na-ku lá-tal-kam*, "send me (from) there at least something....., then I myself can depart". The interpretation of *ba-li* and *ba-li-tám* is difficult. LEWY, *RHA* V no. 36, 1939, 121 with n. 19, emended the first word to *ba-li-⟨at⟩*, translating "is worn out", and interprets line 43 as a request to send at least an old, worn out garment, so he may anyhow make the journey. However if the meaning is "worn out garment" in line 29, we should except *jā'um*, as *ṣubātum* (used in line 27) is masc., and *lubuštum* (used in line 24) does not mean garment [294]). We should rather restore in line 29: *ba-li-⟨tum⟩*, taking it as a fem. name of a textile (cf. *ba-li-tám* in 43 and a word like *raqqutum*.) The plur. *b/paliātum* is attested in ATHE 47, 24: Inbīštar has asked to buy garments for her personnel, costing between ½ and 1 shekel of silver. But the addressee has not strictly conformed to her order: [24] *a-ta ba-li-a-tim* [25] *ša* 1 GÍN.TA *ù* 1½ GÍN.TA [26] *tù-uš-te-bi*$_4$*-lam*, "you sent me .... costing each 1 or 1½ shekel".

The latter two occurrences seem to prove the word denotes a garment. *AHw* 816a reads the word *palītum*, and translates: "Palā-Gewand", and his reference to CCT 4, 45b, 29 seems to suggest he wants to read there also *pá-li-⟨tum⟩*. As this "Palā", written with a capital, will have nothing to

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[294]) A derivation from *ba/elūm* is theoretically possible; note also that the expression *iṣṣēria imtuqut* could perhaps mean "has fallen from my body"; cf. a similar expression in Hebrew, with the verb *bālā* in Deut. 8, 4 and 29, 4: *śimlāṯᵉḵā lō' bālᵉṭā mēᶜālèḵā*, "your garment is not worn away from your body". A possible occurrence of the verb *balūm*, noted by LEWY in KTH 37, 18: *a-ba-lu-i a-dí-in*, "gab Ich zum Verbrauchen", has been corrected by GELB, OIP 27, 29 *ad* 5, reading *a-Ma-lu-i*, "to Malūi".

do with Sumerian pala (TÚG.NAM.EN), denoting a ceremonial garment, it probably refers to the Anatolian land Palā. This however seems hardly likely, as CCT 4, 45b deals with a situation in Aššur, and so probably does ATHE 47. Garments from Palā do not occur in OA texts [295]). The context makes it clear that the word means simple, rather cheap garments; as however LEWY's proposal is not acceptable—one does not buy "worn out" garments for 1½ shekel of silver—an etymology is lacking and the meaning cannot be established.

b) *dannum*, "strong"

KUG 29, 12: *6* TÚG.ḪI.A *da-nu-tim a-na ni-ší* É-*tim*, "6 strong garments/textiles for the members of the household"; cf. also BIN 4, 78, 9ff. (quoted above p. 125): *pirikannū* which are strong (enough) to serve as garments".

c) *kabtum*, "heavy"

Used frequently, even developing into a name of a textile: TÚG *kabtum*: BIN 4, 10, 4; 6, 7, 8; 85 r. 7'; CCT 2, 2, 28; 4, 8a, 4; 21b, 4; 5, 34c, 9; ICK 1, 28B, 4.8; TC 2, 7, 27; in all these texts only one piece is mentioned. We meet it not only in the private sphere (cf. CCT 3, 20, 18ff., where Lamassī reports why she made "some heavy textiles/garments for (wearing) on the wagon", cf. above p. 115, 6; also VAT 9212, 29: *1* TÚG *ša Šāt-Aššur ša rapādim*(?) *kabtum*, cf. above p. 182), but also in the trade. Lamassī made some "heavy garments" for commercial purposes (BIN 4, 10, 4; 6, 7, 8; cf. above p. 111ff., no. 1 and 3); ICK 1, 28B mentions one given *ana tadmiqtim*, and according to TC 2, 7, 27 it could be bought on the market in Aššur. The text published in *Berytus* III, 76 mentions in line 3: *3* TÚG *kà-áb-tù-tum* as part of a donkey load, and TC 1, 60, 6 even 13 "heavy textiles", deposited in the local palace, together with other textiles, in connection with the levy of an import-tax (*ēribtum*, line 8).

As stated above (p. 36) "heavy textiles" were sometimes used for wrapping the tin; they were probably less liable to damage and offered good protection to the merchandise.

I am not convinced that *kabtum* in these combinations has a meaning "coarse" too, as *AHw* 418a, 1, b states. The lack of data on prices of these textiles precludes conclusions about their relative value. But "heavy", which in practice can also mean "thick", could very well imply more warmth and more protection, qualities probably much valued in the climate of Anatolia. I also refer to TCL 11, 245, where the statue of

[295]) A. GOETZE, *Kleinasien*[2], 77[9] recorded *palanīūtum*, as a nisbe indicating the provenance of some textiles, in ICK 1, 92, 2; we should read, however, *pa-aṣ-ú-tim*, "white (textiles)", cf. below p. 187, f.

^{d}Ninkimara is dressed in a túg.dugud. Note that the adj. *kabrum*, "thick", used *inter alia* in Nuzi of textiles, does not occur in OA.

d) *kamsum*, "?"

There are ca. 10 occurrences of this word which, originally probably an adj., develops, like *kabtum*, into a name for a textile. While Bilgiç *App.* 71 regarded it as an Anatolian appellative (related to Greek καμασον and Latin *camisia*), Kienast (ATHE p. 46 *ad* 7) translates with "completed, finished", starting from the verb *kamāsum*. However the verb only has this meaning in connection with various agricultural activities (*AHw* s.v.; cf. *AbB* 3, 34, 19); it could not well denote a special finishing treatment, and a meaning "completed" cannot yield a textile name, as all products of the weaver should be "completed". *AHw* 433a writes "etwa mit Appretur versehen (Stoff)"?". I cannot propose a better solution, as I doubt whether Sumerian níg.nam.nu.tag$_4$.tag$_4$ ("with nothing left over(?)") = *kamsu*, refers to *kamsum* used of textiles.

Above, p. 116,1) we noted that these textiles were also made by Assyrian women. They apparently belonged to the more expensive ones, as a price of 45 shekels silver (sale price; BIN 4, 4, 3f.) indicates. Normally they are also mentioned among the better qualities: BIN 6, 65, 5: between "extra good" and "good" *kutānū*; BIN 4, 221, 8: after "good" *kutānū*; BIN 4, 9, 24 and 10, 6 before simple *kutānū*. BIN 4, 68, 10, mentioning *1* túg *kamsum ša ṣuḫrim*, shows they could be made into or even were garments. The number of *k.* is normally very small [296]).

e) *narbum*, "soft"

This adjective (*AHw* 746b, also in later texts used with textiles) is attested in LB 1287, 9′: *1* túg *na-ar-bu-um*. In connection with wool we meet it in TC 3/1, 65, 19, quoted above p. 131, and probably in Garelli-Kennedy 1960 no. 2, 25f.: *šu-ma* síg! *wa-ší-a-at* (^{wa}dirig-*at*?) [26] *ma-lá na-ar-ba-at*, "if the wool is as ..... (extra fine?) as soft", cf. below p. 328. Cf. also the remarks in *OrNS* 24, 1955, 390 on this adjective.

f) *qatpum*, "shorn"

In ICK 2, 299, 11′: *1* túg *la qá-at-pá-am*, cf. Balkan 1965 col. 159 ad loc. and above p. 106 on *qatāpum*.

g) *rabūm*, "large, big"

TC 1, 43, 16ff., quoted in note 208, requires that *pirikannū* should be

[296]) TC 1, 72, 26 (acc.) and KTS 54b, 6 provide no further information.

big; cf. the criticism by Pūšu-kēn, that the textiles made by Lamassī are "(too) small", *ṣaḫḫurū* (BIN 4, 10, 14, above III no. 1) [297]).

h) *šapīum*, "thick"

Once used of textiles: GARELLI-KENNEDY 1960 no. 2, 20: 7 *kutānū ša-pí-ú-tim ú e-ṭí-ú-tim*, "7 thick and dark coloured(?) *kutānū*". Thrice used with *maškum* to describe the woollen fleeces: BIN 4, 51, 4; 162, 18 (= OIP 27, no. 55); GARELLI 1965, 35 no. 14, 14: *ana šinišu maškī ša-áp-ú-tim ša Kaniš*, "double(?), thick woollen fleeces of Kaniš" [298]), cf. above p. 124f.; once said of *ukāpū*: CCT 4, 20a, 17, cf. above p. 7.

The meaning "thick (with wool)" is established by the variant *maškū šapātim*, lit. "hides with wool", discussed above p. 124 and 133f. with note 234. *šapīum*, "thick" is elsewhere attested for garments or textiles, cf. Ḫḫ 19, 107: túg.bar.dib.šà.ba.tuk = *kusītum šapītum*, followed by *kusītum ḫabītum*, with the same Sumerian equivalent, but perhaps meaning "soft, balmy" [299]). *šapīum* may furthermore describe clouds: A. FALKENSTEIN, *ZA* 49, 140 and *CAD* E 302b s.v. *erpetu*: [sír] = *šapū ša* IM.DIRIG. This equation should not suggest the basic meaning "thick, soft, woolly", because *šapīum* also qualifies a stone vessel: Ḫḫ 10, 174 (*MSL* 7, 91): dub.bur.zi.šà.ba.tuk = *šapītu* (beside *raqqatu*, "with a thin body"). In Sumerian texts we meet sír.ra = (*šapīum*) in connection with túg.bar.si and túg.bar.dul$_5$, cf. OPPENHEIM, *Eames* 13 [31] and POHL TuM NF I/II no. 227, 1; 238, 16; 242, 13 etc. [300]).

i) [*tapšum*], "?"

KUG 32, 16ff.: *miššum ina būlātia* [17] *2* TÚG.ḪI.A *tab/p-šum* É *A* [18] *ú-kà-al*; HECKER translates "die 2 *tab/pšum*-Stoffe". However the absence of case and number congruence does not favour this interpretation; perhaps one should translate: "Why is Tab/pšum, who belongs to the firm of A, holding back two textiles, belonging to my "working-capital' ". In KBo

[297]) *ṣaḫḫurū* should be a form of the D-stem, the meaning of which is difficult to establish, but perhaps was comparative: "too small ".We also meet this "Steigerungsform" of the adj. in EL no. 290, the tablet with "*kārum*-regulations", where in line x + 15 we should not read with LEWY *sà-ḫu-ru-tim*, "those present", but *ṣa-ḫu-ru-tim*, "the minor ones", a category of the members of the *kārum*, contrasted with the "big ones", written GAL-*ú-tim* in line x + 7.

[298]) Cf. for the writing *ša-áp-ú-tim*, below note 305.

[299]) Cf. *CAD* Ḫ s.v. **ḫabû*, 18b, used of textiles in NA; and *ḫabû* B, 19b, "to be balmy", which may be one and the same word, cf. *AHw* 306a *ḫabû* I and II, "weich (sein)".

[300]) Cf. for *šapū* already VON SODEN, *BiOr* 10, 1953, 11b and DELITZSCH, *HWB* 678 s.v. Note that "thick" and "thin" are also used in connection with the voice or the recitation of texts, cf. for *šapīum*/šà.ba.tuk LANDSBERGER *ZA* 43, 261[2] and FALKENSTEIN, *ZA* 49, 95; for sal/*raqqum* in eme.sal, cf. KRECHER, *HSAO* 87[1].

IX, 6, 7 *tapšum* occurs to denote an inferior quality of tin. The equation túg . du_8 . du_8 = *tapšum* in ḪḪ 19, 271 (between *ša nēmedi* and *illūku*) is not helpful here.

j) *wad/t/ṭium*, "?"

Used twice of *maškū*: *wa*-DÍ-*ú-tim*, in BIN 4, 54, 8 and TC 2, 62, 2. In LB 1268, 16-17 (quoted above p. 38) *pirikannum wa*-DÍ-*um*. Owing to the polyvalence of DÍ (*dí, tí, ṭí*), and the uninformative context, the meaning is difficult to establish. Moreover initial *wa-* does not only indicate a root I-*w*, but occasionally also one I-*j*, cf. *wāniqum*, "suckling, ass foal" (compared with *ēniqu*, *CAD* E 168b). There are, theoretically, various possibilities for a derivation of the word. One may think of *atû* C in *CAD* A, 2, 518a, meaning "black wool". A derivation from the D-stem of *idū*, "to know", formed by means of a *w*-prefix is unlikely. It is also possible to combine *wa*-DÍ-*um* with the adj. *ēṭium*, "dark coloured", mentioned in GARELLI-KENNEDY 1960, no. 2, 20 (cf. above *sub šapīum*), and included in *AHw* 266a, *eṭû* I, 4. In OA there are some examples of an alternation between *e-* and *wa-* as first syllable: *i-ir-dam* (CCT 5, 37c, 3) and *ir-dé-e-ma* (TC 1, 25, 14), "slave(s)", beside normal *wardum/urdum* (cf. GARELLI 1964, 113 *ad* 26); *warqum* beside *erqum*, "yellow", cf. below *sub erqum*, 187; *ītertum* beside *watartum*, "extra"; perhaps also, if related, *e-nu-um*, a designation of an ass in BIN 4, 24, 10, and *wa-ni-im* in TC 1, 16, 30 [301]). As a tentative solution I therefore would like to equate *ēṭium* and *waṭium* (the latter, theoretically, could also be a "Steigerungsadjektiv" of *ēṭium*: *waṭṭium*, but this is less likely).

3. COLOURS

A limited number of colours [302]) is attested, most of them we have already noted in discussing the various textiles:

a) *barrumum*, "multicoloured"

Occurs only once in TC 3/1, 69, 22: TÚG *ba-ru-ma-am ù ší-ni-tám lá ta-ša-a-ma-nim*, "don't buy multicoloured and dyed textiles". *barrumum*, "Steigerungsadjektiv" beside *barmum*, seems to denote that the garment

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[301]) LARSEN *OACP* 89 emendates *e-nu-um* to *e-nu-sú*, "its harness", comparing *e-nu-sú-nu* (for *ú-nu-sú-nu*) in CCT 2, 34, 6. An emendation of [*w*]*a-ni-im* in TC 1, 16, 31 to [*w*]*a-ni-*⟨*qí-*⟩*im*, referring to *wāniqum*, "donkey foal" in BIN 4, 27, 33, has also been proposed.

[302]) Cf. for colours in general the article by B. LANDSBERGER, *JCS* 21, 1967, 139ff.

has been woven with threads of at least two different colours, and was not dyed afterwards [303]).

b) *erqum*, "yellow"

ICK 1, 92, 5 lists after 6 white *lubūšū*: 7 TÚG *lu-bu-ší er-qú-tim*; the same adj. occurs in GARELLI 1964, 64, Sch. 7, 5 in the combination: *13* TÚG BAR-*qú-t[u]m*, the latter word being a writing for *warqūtum*, cf. GARELLI ad. loc., and HECKER *GKT* § 26e where examples of *barkīum* for *warkīum* are quoted. Cf. for "yellow wool" and a MA reference to a "yellow" textile product *CAD* A, 2, 300. Cf. for *a/erqu*, "grün-gelb", B. LANDSBERGER, *JCS* 21, 1967, 139ff. especially note 14 [304]).

c) *ēṭium*, "dark coloured"

In GARELLI-KENNEDY 1960 no. 2, 20, said of *kutānū*, cf. above *sub* 2, j *wad/t/ṭium*, which in fact may be *waṭium* = *ēṭium*.

d) *makrūm*, "reddish"

Used only once of wool: OIP 27 no. 7, 3f., cf. above p. 131. Cf. for *makrū AHw* 590b and LANDSBERGER, *JCS* 21, 144a [24].

e) [*pelūm*, "bright red"]

A possible occurrence in OA of the abstract formation *pelūtum* in BIN 4, 78, 11, quoted above p. 171 *sub menuniānum*: *pirikannū*-textiles "showing a bright red colour" (*ša pé-lu-tám ú-bu-lu-ni*). Cf. for *pelū*, *AHw* 853b, *pelû(m)* I and B. LANDSBERGER, *JCS* 21, 1967, 141ff. *sub* c, and especially 145 [29].

f) *paṣium*, "white"

Used of *lubūšum*, cf. above p. 164; of *kusītum* in L 29-560, 8f., cf. above p. 160; CCT 5, 34c, 6 mentions: *3* TÚG *pá-aṣ-ú-tim*; cf. for this writing *paṣ'um*, also attested in ICK 1, 92, 2, HECKER, *GKT* § 16f (*saḫ'at* // *saḫiat*), where however no examples from adj. are mentioned [305]). CCT 4, 47a, 31 mentions "white wool" beside "red wool" [306]).

[303]) Cf. for the noun *birmum* and its meaning, LANDSBERGER, op. cit. 160b[106], supplementing *CAD* B s.v.

[304]) Perhaps TÚG *er*-KUM in YOS 5, 96, 5 should be mentioned here; or should it be connected with *er*-KU = *ṣubātu* in *Malku* VI, 27?

[305]) I have noted the following examples of adjectives III-*infirmae*, where final *-i* was replaced by a hiatus: *pá-aṣ-ú-tim* in ICK 1, 92, 2 and CCT 5, 34c, 6; *ša-áp-ú-tim* in GARELLI 1965, 35 no. 14, 14; *ma-aṭ-ú-tim*, "inferior" in L 29-558—H. LEWY 1968, 11f.—, 15; *ša-an-ú-tim* "other" in VAT 9301, 23 (unpub.); *ma-al-ú-tim*, "full", CCT 2, 36b, 7; *ma-al-a-ma*, "full", BIN 4, 226, 8 and 6, 207, 15.

[306]) "White wool" is known from Ḫḫ 19, 23: síg.babbar = *peṣātum*, "white

g) *sāmum*, "red"

Used of wool, cf. CCT 4, 47a, 31, and of *pirikannū*: BIN 4, 162, 4. 35 (= OIP 27 no. 55) and TC 1, 43, 3.

h) *šinūm*, "dyed"

Occurs in the form *šinītum*, a subst. fem. adj., meaning "dyed textile"; mentioned beside *barrumum* (masc., used as adj. with *ṣubātum*) in TC 3/1, 69, 22; cf. also CCT 3, 49 b, 24: *2* TÚG.ḪI.A *ší-ni-a-tum*; and BIN 4, 54, 15: 35 minas of copper price of SÍG! ḪI.A *ší-ni-tí-im*, "dyed wool", cf. above p. 131. Cf. for the meaning of this adjective *MSL* 10, 133 (Ḫḫ 19), 209: túg.a.gi_4.a = *ši-ni-tum*, alongside *ṣi-pu-tum* and *ṣi-ir-pu*; and LANDSBERGER *JCS* 21, 1967, 169a; also *MSL* 12, 177, OB LÚ, 19-20 (as restored from Ḫḫ 19, cf. p. 187 ad loc.): [lú.túg.sa].gi_4.a = *ša er-si-i-im*; [lú.túg.a].gi_4.a = *ša ši-ni-ti*.

i) [*šurum*, "?"]

Cf. for this word, frequently translated with "dark" or "black", above p. 154ff., where no convincing arguments for such a translation could be offered.

j) *waršum*, "dirty"

CCT 5, 34c, 3; 36a, 27 and LB 1233, 3 mention *ṣubātū waršūtum*. *waršum* denotes the dirty colour before washing and bleaching. The adj. is well known from various sources, cf. *CAD* A, 2, 309b, where the equation *ūrāšu* = *ṣubāt aršu* is quoted. Cf. for the meaning the passages from Gilg. Penn VI, 3ff. and BORGER, *Esarhaddon* 23, Episode 32, 15f., where "dirty" garments are cleaned. In such a garment one should not appear before a deity, as the "*ēzib*-clauses" from KNUDTZON, *Assyrische Gebete*.., 38f. and KLAUBER, *PRT* (texts quoted *CAD*, loc. cit.) show.

k) *zakūm*, "clean, pure"

BIN 4, 23, 4: *1* TÚG *za-ki-am* might be quoted here, although *zakūm*, the opposite of *waršum*, does not denote a colour in the strict sense. *zakūm* is also used elsewhere of textiles and garments, cf. *CAD* Z 24a, 2,a. One might add texts like YOS 5, 94, 6; 96, 12; ARM 7, 253, 2 and 251, 4 (cf. p. 277, 50). A lexical reference in CT VI 14, XII 32 (Forerunner Ḫḫ 19) SÍG *za-kum*, probably "bleached wool". The "cleaner", *ašlākum*, was the man to clean and bleach garments, as the name of his profession

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wool", followed by síg.si.sá = *išarātum*, "wool of normal (natural) colour"; and síg.ge_6 = *ṣalmātum*.

in Sumerian shows: lú . túg . babbar. Cf. for the verb *zukkūm* in connection with textiles besides VS 8, 110, 3 (quoted *CAD* Z 29a, e) also C. J. GADD, *Iraq* 25, 1963, 183, U 7793, 1 [307]).

4. INDICATIONS OF PROVENANCE BY MEANS OF NISBES

Above, in treating various textiles and wool, we noted that several times textiles and wool were qualified by *ša* + GN: *pirikannū ša Kaniš* (CCT 5, 12a, 6f.); TÚG.ḪI.A *ša Ḫaḫḫim* (EL 332, 20), *kusītum ša Mamma* (KTH 1, 17), *šitrum ša Zalpa* (BIN 6, 184 r. 10′) etc. In many cases these qualifications indicate textiles originating from these places, but the possibility cannot be ruled out that such expressions, e.g. TÚG.ḪI.A *ša Šalatuar* (BIN 4, 148, 8), simply mean that the textiles in question happen to be stored temporarily in such a town. The context has to decide in such cases, unless there are sufficient data pointing to a town as a source of textile (or wool) production. In such a case a geographical name may be used to denote a special quality or type of textile product.

Similar qualifications are also attested in many other texts. Cf. e.g. TÚG.GÚ.È.A *Ḫurri*, "Hurrian cloaks" (A. GOETZE, *Festschrift Sommer*, 52f.; *JCS* 10, 1956, 36, (2)). Ibid. *sub* (3) GOETZE also gives references for designations of linen garments (gada) like *ša* KUR ^{uru}*Amurri*, ^{uru}*Alašia*, ^{uru}*Palā*, "from Amurru, from Cyprus, from Palā". *PRU* VI, 119, no. 156 mentions TÚG.ḪI.A^{meš} ^{uru}*áš-da-di*; FINKELSTEIN, *JCS* 10, 1956, 103, III mentions TÚG *Wašḫanija*. As for wool, one should point to the qualifications in ḪḪ 19, 82ff. (V R 14): síg . ma . rí . ki, síg . su . bir$_4$. ki, síg . nim . ma . ki, síg . gu . ti . um . ki and síg . ḫé . a . na . ki. This list could easily be expanded.

Besides descriptions by means of *ša* + GN—or a simple genetive relation—there is a limited number of *nisbes*, used to denote textiles. We list them in alphabetical order:

abarnīum, interpretation as *nisbe* fairly certain, in view of the occurrences (outside OA) of a town Abarna, cf. above p. 156ff.

alkuaītum, once in TC 3/2, 169, r. 3, quoted above p. 160 under *kusītum*; this *nisbe* has the regular form after place-names ending in *-a*: "from Alku(w)a".

gasurīum: CCT 4, 2a, 31f.: *ikribū ša Aššur* [32] *ù* ^{d}*Ištar ša* TÚG *ga-sú-ri-im*,

[307]) *zakūm* used of textiles in BIN 4, 158, 17 does not mean "clean" but refers to the passing of the customs and duties: "cleared". Note finally that *ṣalmum* is not used of textiles, though it occurs with *zappū*, "bristles", *CAD* Z 50a, 1, alongside *paṣīum*.

"votive offering(s) for Aššur and Ištar consisting of a textile from Gasur". This interpretation can point to the use of *gasurīum* with persons: TC 3/2, 173, 6 and 3/3, 262B, 4, both in the gen., interpreted by LEWY (*RHR* 110, 1934, 42[25]) as meaning "from Gasur". In fact commercial relations with ancient Gasur (Yorghan Tepe = later Nuzi) in OA times are probable, because the excavations at that site have brought to light a few Old Assyrian tablets, published by Th. J. MEEK in HSS 10, nos. 223-227, and discussed by J. LEWY in *JAOS* 58, 1938, 450-461: 'Notes on Pre-Hurrian Texts from Nuzi'. The interpretation of *gasurīum* as a *nisbe* is also accepted by E. BILGIÇ 1945-51, 34a and *CAD* I/J 64b, *sub* 2′, in the translation of CCT 4, 2a (but not found in *CAD* G as *gasurūm*).

H. HIRSCH, *UAR* 19b[97], following a suggestion of VON SODEN, proposes the meaning "geknüpfter (Stoff)", apparently reading *kà-ṣú-ri-im* = *kaṣṣurim*, being verbal adj. D of *kaṣārum*, "to knot". This meaning, which can only point to the professional name *kāṣirum*, "carpet-maker" (*AHw* 458a, "Knüpfer, Gewandschneider(?)") is not probable, because *kaṣārum/kaṣrum* does not occur in OA in this meaning. *AHw* 515b s.v. *kuṣṣuru*, "verknotet" in fact does not mention OA *kaṣṣuru*.

That textile products from Gasur (later Nuzi) were current and valued (as could be expected on the basis of the many indications for a highly developed textile industry in the Nuzi-texts) would receive confirmation if the equation from An VII 194: *ka-šu-ri-tu* = *naḫlaptu bur-um-tú*, is to be translated: "garment of Gasur-style = multicolored cloak", with *CAD* B 331b s.v. *burrumum*. Note however that *AHw* 463a s.v. *kašurrītu* derives the word from the name of a stone *kašurru* (Sumerian loanword), "Basalt", and translates "Stoff mit Basaltmuster".

ḫaḫḫīum, cf. above p. 129f., "from Ḫaḫḫum".

mal'aītum: CCT 2, 3, 16: *kusītum ma-al-a-i-tum*, cf. above p. 159, where it is shown that a parallel text indicates that this type of *kusītum* was white. Interpretation as a *nisbe* is probable, but hardly to be derived from the Anatolian river-name Mala (cf. simply GARELLI *AC* 159 s.v. *Malaš*). A connection with Malatya is also unlikely, because the town may already be represented in the *nisbe ma-li-ta-i-im* in OIP 27, 54, 21, derived from Ma(l)lita, attested in OIP 27, 54, 10 and TC 1, 53, r. 3′.

šarzuāium, attested in ICK 1, 88, 18: 9 TÚG.ḪI *ša-ar-zu-a-i-ú*. Cf. H. HIRSCH, *AfO* 21, 1966, 58, who showed that an interpretation like *ša ar-zu-a-i-ú*, meaning "from Arzuwa" is hardly possible. A place-name Šarzu(w)a seems to be unknown.

šilipkā'um (and variant writings), cf. above p. 165f., possibly a *nisbe*.

šurb/puium, attested as qualification of wool, TC 2, 7, 26, and textiles,

TC 2, 14, 6. Interpretation as *nisbe* probable because of the ending in *-ium*.

takuštā'um, cf. above p. 166f., interpretation as *nisbe* possible.

talḫadīum, cf. above p. 128f., used with *ēpattum* and *išrum*: "from Talḫad"; the *nisbe* denoting persons from Talḫad is also several times attested: BIN 4, 180, 8; 6, 142, 2; 237, 7; TC 3/3, 252, 26; LB 1286, 4. The town is found as Tilḫad in VAT 9271, cf. LEWY, *Halil Edhem hâtira kitabi*, 1947, 13[8] and KTH p. 47 [308]).

The use of *nisbes* to denote garments and textile products is a widespread custom, both in ancient times and to-day. The link with the original town after which a textile was named may have lost most of its meaning, cf. above p. 102 *ad arattū* with note 173, *ad abarnīum*. Most of the towns figuring in putative *nisbes* in OA texts, are not mentioned as such. Nevertheless the link with them may still have meant something, perhaps denoting a style of garment or technique of weaving (cf. our designations muslin, "manchester" (Dutch for corduroy), cashmere), which could be imitated elsewhere, but retained its original name: Abarnian textiles were made by Assyrian women.

Similar *nisbes* are found in Akkadian texts from various periods. I only quote the following, illustrative examples: *jamḫadūm*, "of Aleppo"; *luḫajītum*, "of Eluḫut/Luḫaja"; *maratūm*, "of Marad"(?); *gublaītum*, "of Byblos", all attested at Mari (cf. ARM 7, 276ff. no. 8, 13, 14; DOSSIN, *Syria* 19, 1938, 111). Cf. also: *8* TÚG *tu-tu-ba-tum*, "8 textiles of Tuttub" in TIM 4, 7, 10, to be compared with ARM 9, 307 no. 98: TÚG *tu-ut-tu-baḫa'-tum*.

5. THE SCALE OF QUALITIES

As noted when discussing the various types of textiles, the OA merchants distinguished various qualities; the adjectives used as such form a scale ranging from the top quality, "extra fine", to "normal" and "of inferior quality". The adjectives used will now be discussed, starting at the top of the scale.

[308]) Not included in this list are the following *nisbes*, which are either the result of wrong readings, or do not apply to textiles:

ninaššāium, mentioned by BILGIÇ 1945-51, 35a; GELB, OIP 27, 11[131] and GOETZE, *Kleinasien*[2], 77[9]: this *nisbe* in TC 2, 38, 22 should not be connected with preceding *3* TÚG.ḪI.A!, but taken separately, meaning "the man (local ruler) of Ninašša";

palanium, misread by A. GOETZE, *Kleinasien*[2], loc. cit., for *pá-aṣ-ú-tim*, "white", in ICK 1, 92, 2 (cf. above note 295);

waḫšušanāium, in EL 150, 1; the governing noun is not *ṣubātum*, but, with EL II 180 ad loc., *rubātum*, "female ruler".

burā'um may be a *nisbe* but this is not certain.

a) (*damqum*) *watrum*/(SIG$_5$) DIRIG, "*extremely good*"

This qualification, normally used in its full form, is attested both for textiles and other items [309]). With gold (*ḫurāṣum*) and electrum (*pašallum*?) in CCT 4, 22b, 19; 25c, 29; EL 138, 1; with tin in TC 1, 2, 21; with haematite (*ḫusārum*?) in KTS 30, 14; and with wool in TC 3/1, 65, 21 (*šaptam ú-ta-ar-tám*) etc. Moreover we meet it with the following textiles:

kutānum: KTS 14a, 12: SIG$_5$ *watrūtim*; CCT 2, 4b, 4f.: SIG$_5$-*tim watrūtim*; CCT 5, 44a, 7: SIG$_5$ DIRIG. Cf. moreover BIN 6, 165, 1; 184, 7; KTS 41b r. 6; TC 1, 36, 5; 3/1, 18, 11; 3/3 270, 6. Predicatively in TC 1, 36, 8f.: TÚG *kutānūka* SIG$_5$ *watrū*, "your *kutānū*-textiles are of extremely fine quality".

ṣubātum: ATHE 59, 22; BIN 4, 185, 2; CCT 3, 44b, 7 (read: *me-at* TÚG.ḪI.A SIG$_5$ *w*[*a*]-⟨*at-*⟩*ru-tim*); EL 145, 4; KTH 13, 4 (212 pieces); TC 3/2, 118, 7; 178, 2. In TC 3/2, 195, edge, only *watrum* without *damqum*: *63* TÚG *watrūtum*.

abarnīum: CCT 5, 44a, 2; BIN 6, 90, 4 (? cf. below p. 196.)

namaššūḫum: CCT 5, 44a, 2.

burā'um: BIN 4, 160, 12; and probably EL 136, 2: *1* TÚG *bu-ra*⟨*-am*⟩ DIRIG.

When *watrum* alone is used the meaning may be "extremely good", as in TC 3/2, 195 edge and EL 136, 2, but also "extra", in the sense of "in addition to a number previously mentioned". This is the case in BIN 4, 61, 44, where the palace buys an additional 5 *kutānū*, alongside the 8 *kutānū* already mentioned in line 8; LARSEN *OACP* 123 misunderstood this use of *watrum*. In connection with silver, *watrum*, "extra", occurs in VAT 13458, 14 (EL II 104 note). The opposite of this *watrum* is *batqum*, "missing", used in TTC 14, 5: *1* TÚG *ba-tí-iq*; and CCT 5, 13b, 14: *4* TÚG *ba-at*$^{!}$*-qú-tim* (cf. above note 293) [310]).

CCT 5, 44a, 4-5 mentions: *10* TÚG *ša a-ki-dí-e* SIG$_5$ DIRIG *ša lu-bu-uš ša-ru-tim*, "10 Akkadian textiles of extremely fine quality, royal clothing". The apposition "royal clothing" underlines the very high quality, but should not necessarily mean that they were really meant for kings. One may compare *ša šarruttim* used in BIN 6, 23, 14ff.: *ú a-dí ma-tum* [15] *i-ša-li-*

[309]) Cf. *CAD* A, 2, 501, 4, a-c for examples, where also an OA text from Nuzi, using *watrum* alone, is quoted.

[310]) *kaspum watrum* in CCT 4, 7a, 25, quoted by *CAD* loc. cit. a) as meaning "excellent", in fact means, with LARSEN *OACP* 110, "extra, additional". Note that URUDU DIRIG in BIN 4, 1, 5—also quoted by *CAD* loc. cit.—indeed means "excellent copper", as is proved by the fact that line 7 uses URUDU *masīum*, "refined copper" instead.

mu [16] TÚG-*ba-tí 5 ša ša-ru-tim* [17] *lá-ni-ší-a-ma*, "as soon as the country has become peaceful, I will bring the five textiles of royal quality along and...". The letter makes it clear that these textiles are meant as a gift for a high local official, the *rabī sikkitim*, line 9, who, however, is not the ruler or king of the town in question. *šarrut(t)um* has a more general meaning, "royalty, royal standing", or even "royal court" [311]); as such it is used in lines 7-8 of this same letter, where it is said that in consequence of a serious outbreak of fire "the heart of the royalty (= royal court) is upset" (lit.: "the fire keeps the heart of the royalty in its grip", *libbi šarruttim iṣabbat*) [312]).

Are there arguments for giving *ša šarruttim* besides the concrete meaning "of royalty", "for royal people", also a more general one like "royal, topmost quality"? On the one hand we note that in OA the use of *šarrum*, "king" is rather restricted—normally *rubā'um* is used to denote local rulers, and in the letter of Anum-Ḫirbi (cf. the last treatment in ORLIN *ACC* 97ff.) *šarrū* are even the vassals alongside *rubā'ū*, their suzerains [312])—which might suggest the expression is not of Assyrian origin. On the other hand BIN 6, 23 shows that *šarruttum* was used to denote the court of a local ruler. This shows that the literal meaning may still have obtained. The fact that CCT 5, 44a does not simply write TÚG *ša šarruttim*, but adds *ša lubūš šarruttim*, suggests that *ša šarruttim* was not yet merely a mark of quality, though BIN 6, 23, 16 could use it as such.

What however suggests that one might nevertheless see in this expression a qualification like our "royal", or "king-", is the fact that Sumerian texts from Ur-III use LUGAL as a clear mark of quality, at the top of the scale, cf. the evidence presented below *sub* 6, a). There is reason to believe that the Old Assyrians—successors in their territory to this empire—were influenced by the Sumerian administrative and economic terminology (cf. below p. 345f.). They may have translated LUGAL, in the absence of a *nisbe* **šarrīum* with *ša šarruttim*, the use of the abstract (instead of *ša šarrī*) suggesting a more general notion. From later times I point to VAB II, no. 14, III, 11 as a possible parallel: *1* GADA *lu-pa-ru-di ša 2* TÚG NÍG.LÁM *lu-bu-ul-du* LUGAL, "a linen dress consisting of two luxury

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[311]) Note that in OA an abstractum can at times be used as a plural of the basic word: HECKER *GKT* § 57d; also *tamkaruttum* in EL 290, y + 2; and KUG 12, 10 denotes "the merchants". *šarruttum* consequently means "people of royal standing", "people at the court".

[312]) See for the occurrences of *šarrum* in OA BALKAN *Letter*, 20 (e); LANDSBERGER 1950, 337[45]; LEWY 1956, 14[64]; cf. moreover CCT 4, 5b, 8; the month-name *ab šarrāni* (?; HIRSCH *UAR* 54[277]). For *šarrum* in the Irišum-inscription, BALKAN-LANDSBERGER 1950, 252f. The local ruler of Ḫaḫḫum in particular was called *šarrum*, cf. ORLIN *ACC* 128.

garments, royal wear", where again the items may be meant for the court itself, but *lubultu* LUGAL also functions as an indication of quality (cf. GADA LUGAL ibid. no. 34, 25 and the remarks of OPPENHEIM *JCS* 21, 1967, 249f.). Cf. for *lubušti šarrim/(ša) šarrūti* also *AHw* 561a, 2, a.

b) *damqum*/SIG$_5$, "of good quality"

This qualification is used numerous times with all kinds of items. I only mention gold, electrum, silver (also *kaspum liti*, ICK 2, 43, 2), copper, tin, oil (KTH 6, 22), donkeys (TC 3/1, 43, 17; CCT 3, 35, a, 4; BIN 6, 122, 17), a ram (OIP 27, 6, 9), a dagger (TC 1, 19, 21) etc., cf. *CAD* D, 71-72, 5.

With textiles it is used of: *kutānum* and *ṣubātum*, passim; *abarnīum*, BIN 4, 131, 1; *ša akkidīē*, TC 3/1, 26, 22; *šurum*, TC 1, 19, 16; *raqqutum*, CCT 2, 32a, 17; TC 3/3, 269, 5; CCT 4, 48b, 18 (*1* TÚG *raqqatam* SIG$_5$ *qatattam*, "one thin, fine textile of good quality"); *šurpuītum*, TC 2, 14, 6; *pirikannum*, TC 1, 43, 13; TÚG *kamsum*, ATHE 31, 7; *ṣubātum ša liwītim*, GARELLI 1957, HG 74, 11; *sapd/tinnum*, KTS 36c, 9; TC 1, 19, 17f.; *kuš(š)utum*, OIP 27, 11, 4; *maškū šapīūtum*, BIN 4, 51, 40 [313]).

Textiles "of good quality" are frequently mentioned as the better quality alongside *ša qātim*, "normal quality": BIN 4, 7, 8f.; 65, 16ff.; 6, 249, 1f.; CCT 4, 36a, 23ff.; EL 295, 7f.; GARELLI 1965, 46 no. 21, 4ff.; GARELLI-KENNEDY 1960 no. 4, 3ff.; ICK 1, 73, 4f.; JSOR XI, no. 1. 6'f.; KTS 57c, 4f.; KTB 17 r. 5'f.; TC 1, 72, 2f.; 2, 14, 6f.; 3/1, 12, 26f.; 3/3, 270, 6f.; VAT 13547, 10f. etc. Moreover *damqum* is contrasted both with *tardium*, "second quality" and *maṭium*, "inferior quality", to be discussed below *sub* d) and f).

When the taxes had to be paid in the local Anatolian palaces (*nisḫatum*, "import-tax" and *išrātum*, "tithe" (= *ša šīmim*, "pre-emption"), the Anatolian dignitaries had a preference for textiles of good quality: BIN 4, 65, 10ff.; 123, 3ff.; 6, 50, 7ff.; TC 3/2, 158, 20ff. The Assyrians no doubt also preferred textiles of good quality, when they were sure there was a market for them in Anatolia: "good textiles" required the same investments and expenses for transport, but yielded a better profit.

Two letters *expressis verbis* require the shipment of good textiles: CCT 2, 50, 24ff.: *šu-ma ku-ta-ni tù-šé-/ba-lam* [25] *ša tù-šé-ba-lá-ni* [26] *lu* SIG$_5$, "if you send me *kutānū*-textiles, what you send me should be of good quality"; TC 1, 43, 14f.: *a-pu-tum pì-ri-kà-ni* [15] *ša ta-la-qí-a-ni lu* SIG$_5$ *lu ra-bu-*[*ú*], "I beg you, the *p.*-textiles which you take should be of good quality and big". Once we find a comparison between two lots of textiles, and it is

[313]) Also *damqūtum* alone, without TÚG, used in BIN 4, 65, 16 and ICK 1, 73, 6 denotes "good textiles", according to the context.

stated, ATHE 61, 15ff.: *8 ku-ta-ni ša i-na* [16] *ṣé-er ku-ta-ni-kà* [17] *dam-qú-ni*, "8 *kutānū*-textiles, which are better than your *kutānū*-textiles".

There are almost no indications of what the difference between "good" and "normal" quality was. Starting from the purchase price, we may assume that as a rule those costing more than ca. 7 shekels of silver in Aššur, may have been considered "good", cf. above p. 82f. TC 1, 43, just quoted, states in the same breath that the textiles should be "good" and "big", and also the letter BIN 4, 10, 15 (quoted above p. 111 no. 1; cf. BIN 6, 11, 10, above p. 113f. no. 5) links these two concepts by stating: your textiles are "too small, they are not good"; Lamassī should process more wool. I doubt however whether we may conclude that "good quality", primarily an indication of value, means "large" (and *maṭium* accordingly not "less good", but rather "too small, too light"); *damqum* in the latter two texts rather means: they are not good, not as I want them.

Finally BIN 4, 65, 16f is informative: *i-na dam-qú-tí-kà 2 ma-ṭí-ú-ma* [17] *a-li-bi ša qá-tim na-ad-*[*ú*], "among your textiles of good quality, 2 are less good and consequently have been put among those of normal quality"; cf. ibid. 30ff.: *25* TÚG ŠÀ.BA *14* [TÚG] SIG_5 *ú 2* TÚG *ma-ṭí-ú-ma a-li-bi*$_4$ *ša qá-tim* [32] *ni-dí*, "25 textiles, among which 14 of good quality; moreover 2 are less good and we put them among those of normal quality". Here textiles labelled and shipped as being "of good quality" on closer inspection turn out not to be good enough to belong to that category and are degraded to "normal quality". Unfortunately neither this nor other texts inform us of the criteria used for passing the verdict "not good". Again *maṭium* could refer to the size (as in the well-known *līṭir-limṭī*-formula in OB deeds of sale of land), but the meaning is probably more vague: "less good" than expected according to the norm.

c) *qablīum*, "of medium quality"

This adjective is used a dozen times, always with textiles. As "medium quality" is a relative concept, texts in which a number of *ṣubātū*/*kutānū qablīūtum* are simply listed, like AnOr VI, no. 13, 10; BIN 6, 131, 4; CCT 2, 25, 24; 46a, 8; 3, 31, 4; OIP 27, 11, 2, do not tell us which quality in fact is meant; we only see that substantial numbers of textiles, up to 50 pieces, receive this qualification. Sometimes however *qablīum* is found in relation to other indications of quality:

BIN 6, 64, 16ff.: [*x* (TÚG) *ku*]*-ta-nu* SIG_5 [17] [KI/*išti*] *A* [18] [DUMU/*ú*] *B* [19] [*x* (TÚG) *ku*]*-ta-nu qá-áb-li-um* [20] *iš-tí C* [21] DUMU *D*, "x *kutānū* of good quality, owed by A son of/and B; x (one?) *kutānu*(*m*) of medium quality, owed by C son of D". The text alone allows of hardly any conclusion, as the order *damqum* - *qablīum* in this memorandum of a creditor may be

accidental. But compare also BIN 6, 90, 4ff., probably to be restored: [*x a-bar-ni-*]*ẹ* SIG$_5$-*tim* DIRIG [5] [*x a*]-⌜*bar*⌝-[*ni*]-*ẹ qá-áb-li-*[*ú*]-*tim*, "x Abarnian textiles of extra good quality, y Abarnian textiles of medium quality" (the restoration is somewhat conjectural; perhaps [TÚG.ḪI].A is possible in both lines).

LB 1268, 7ff. (quoted in transliteration above p. 38): "in the third bag 4 textiles of good and 2 textiles of medium quality". EL 123, 1ff. lists: "77 textiles of good quality, 6 Abarnian textiles, 32 textiles of medium quality".

Furthermore I quote two unpublished texts in a transliteration kindly provided by Mr. M. T. LARSEN:

kt a/k 629: [1] ŠU.NIGIN$_2$ *2 me-at 54* [2] TÚG *lu* SIG$_5$ [3] *lu qá-áb-li-ú-tum* [4] *lu ša qá-tim* [5] *lu ku-sí-a-tum* [6] *lu ša ma-e-šu*, "in all 254 textiles, either of good quality, or of medium quality, or of normal quality, or *kusītum*-garments or *ša ma'ēšu*-textiles". kt a/k 524: [1] *58* TÚG SIG$_5$-*tum* [2] *69* TÚG *qáb*?-(copy: DA; value *qáb* so far not attested in OA)-*li-ú-tum* [3] *98* TÚG *ša qá-tim* [4] *13* TÚG *ku-sí-a-tum* [5] *ù* TÚG *ša* [*m*]*a-e-šu*; cf. for a translation the previous text.

These quotations show that *qablīum* was the quality following *damqum* and preceding *ša qātim*. Perhaps the boundaries between the various qualities were not so strict, as in BIN 6, 90 *qablīum* succeeds *damqum watrum*, and in BIN 4, 65, quoted *sub* b), textiles which do not meet the qualifications required for *damqum* become *ša qātim*, "normal", and not *qablīum*.

The interpretation of *qablīum* as "of medium quality" is to be preferred to that which connects the word with *qablum*, "middle, waist". LEWY, EL p. 135[d] *ad* no. 147, 1 translated "die zum Inneren (zur Leibesmitte) gehörigen". Though *qablum*, "waist" in the form *ša qablim*, "of the waist", is found in the names of some textiles or parts of the clothing [314]), and does occur several times in OA [315]), this solution is not acceptable. It would mean a *nisbe* based on a secondary meaning of the word *qablum*, "middle", which is not very likely. Moreover if LEWY's interpretation

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[314]) Cf. e.g. TÚG *ša* MURUB$_4$ (*qabli*) in the 'Practical Vocabulary of Aššur', AfO 18, 1957-8, 328ff, line 277; TÚG *ša qabli*: *AfO* 17, 274, 43 and TCL 9, 117, 9.11; TÚG.MURUB$_4$.ÍB.LÁ in STR. *Nab.* 410, 5 and STR. *Cyrus* 7, 5f.; ARM 5, 13, 8: TÚG GADA *ḫiri ša qablim* (so with VON SODEN, *OrNS* 22, 206f.); *PRU* VI no. 7 A, 8: TÚG *ša qabli*; *BBSt.* no. 7, I, 24: *1* TÚG *šá qab-lu*.

[315]) KTS 10, 35: KÙ.BABBAR.....*i-na qá-áb-*[*li*]*m li-ir-ku-us-ma*, "let him bind the silver in (the belt around) the waist.."; CCT 5, 9b, 26ff.: *ku-nu-ku*!*-šu A* [27] *i-na qá-«qá»-áb-li-šu* [28] *ip-ṭù-ur-ma i-dí-nam*, "A detached his seal from his waist and gave it to me".

were true, the word should denote something like loincloths or short skirts, which would mean much smaller and less heavy products. But from AnOr VI, no. 13; CCT 2, 25; and 46a, 8 we know a donkey load comprised ca. *25* TÚG *qablīūtum*, which means they were as heavy and big as the large sized *kutānū* or *ṣubātu*.

The use of *qablīum* to denote what is in the middle is well attested, cf. e.g. *ubān ḫāšim qablītum*, "the middle finger of the lung". The development into an adj. denoting a quality is well within the semantic range of the word, both in ancient and modern times. Besides the Sumerian counterpart, to be discussed below, mention should be made of Ḫg II 2 *ad* Ḫḫ XIX 31, quoted in *CAD* Ḫ 18a s.v. **ḫabšānû* (now *MSL* 10, 139, 2, obv. 2): [síg.bal.bal] = *ḫab-šá-na-a-ti* = *qa-ba-l[a-ti]*, "medium quality (wool)", between bad and purple wool [316]). The best parallel is OAkk *qablīum*, qualifying beer and aromatics (GELB, *MAD* 3, 224) .

d) *tardium, "of secondary quality"*

In BIN 6, 75, 14ff. we read: [*ša mì-iš-lim*] AN.NA *ša mì-iš-lim* [15] TÚG.ḪI.A SIG$_5$-*tim ù tár-dí-ú-tim* [16] *li-iš-ú-mu-ma*, "let them buy [for half (of the silver)] tin and for half of it textiles, either of good or of secondary quality". The adjective *tardium* is moreover found in BIN 6, 165, 1ff. in the enumeration: *15*? TÚG *ku-ta-nu* SIG$_5$ [2] *wa-at-ru-tum* [3] *5 ka-am-sú-tum* [4] *20* TÚG *ku-ta-nu* SIG$_5$ [5] *20*? TÚG *ku-ta-nu ta-ar-[dí]-ú-tum* . . ., a translation of which is superfluous. Finally in the text *RHA* XVIII p. 37 line 4 we may have to read: *12* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ší-im* TÚG *tár*!*-dí-im*, "12 shekels of silver the price of a textile of secondary quality", though GARELLI wants to read SÍG-*tí-im*, "of wool", which seems less likely in view of the copy.

tardium is a problematic adjective. In the two most complete references it follows the quality *damqum*, "good", and I am inclined to derive the adj. from the root *rdj*, "to follow, to come after. . .", meaning "following, of secondary quality". A semantic parallel is the qualification uš, clearly denoting "the next (to good) quality". *tardium* in that case should be a *tapris*-form, which is normally derived from the D-stem of the verb [317]),

[316]) *qablīum* in another meaning in OA: CCT 4, 7c, 16: *ina maknakim qablīm ašar kaspum ibaššīū*, "in the most interior "sealed room" where the silver is kept". Perhaps the much discussed *qabliātum* occurring in several OA texts (cf. LEWY 1950^2, 33f. and GARELLI 1964, 127 *ad* line 5; a new reference in an unpublished text printed on a postcard of the Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesi (Seri 18/1), line 20′: *2 qá-áb-li-a-tum ša ½ ma-na*.TA?), is also a form (substantivated fem. adj.) of *qablīum*, "in the middle"; as *ṣubātum* in OA is masc., this *qabliātum* cannot be regarded as an ellipsis for "(textiles) of medium quality", as *CAD* I/J 44a s.v. *igru* a, 1′ does in the translation of TC 3/2, 107, 13.

[317]) Cf. *GAG* § 56l and HECKER *GKT* § 55e, where however *tardium* is not mentioned. Cf. ibid p. 84 n.1. for a rule concerning the treatment of the final vowel

and does not seem to form adjectives. I cannot solve the problem, but feel sure about the meaning of the word and its derivation, especially in view of the ending *-ium*.

tardium is etymologically related to its equivalent *ta/erdennu*, attested in later texts. Ḫḫ 19, 118 mentions túg . níg . lám . uš = *terdennu*, while also in line 265 some textile (broken away) is equated with *tardennu*. In Nuzi there is a reference to TÚG . MEŠ *te-er-te-en-nu* in HSS 15 no. 164, 2. In Ḫḫ 4, 78 we have the equation: giš . gu . za . ki . uš = *tardennitum*, but I suppose this line may contain a mistake in confusing uš, meaning "of secondary quality" and ki . uš, some technical specification of the position or structure of the chair (cf. line 91). In later texts *tardennum* is used in the meaning "of less good quality", also "smaller", with several animals (pigeons, cattle, sheep), as pointed out by VON SODEN, *BiOr* 11, 1954, 207b *ad* CARDASCIA, *Murašû*, 173[2]. Furthermore *tardennu* is used to denote the second son, and even the second course of a meal, cf. THUREAU-DANGIN, *Rituels Accadiens*, 75, 6.

The form best comparable to *tardium* is *terdū* equated with *ma-ar*, "son", in CT 18, 20 (KK 107 +), III, 11, and meaning either "the son who succeeds (his father)", the future heir, or "the son who follows after (his older brother)", the younger son. Cf. for the latter meaning *tardennu* in KING, *BBSt* 67, 20 in the series: *rabū*, *tardennu*, *šalšu*, and moreover LAMBERT, *BWL* 84, 249/50 (with p. 308) in the order *aplum - terdennum*; for the first meaning the difficult dumu . uš(. sa), recently discussed by F. R. KRAUS, *SD* 9, 1969, 22 § 4, and 35ff., § 10ff.

Both in view of this later form *terdū* and the fact that in OA DÍ is not used with the phonetic value *din* (cf. already GELB OIP 27, 30 *ad* 2; VON-SODEN-RÖLLIG, *Syllabar*[2], 45 no. 231), the reading *tár-din*[1]*-ú-tim* proposed by *CAD* Ṣ 223b, b′ for BIN 6, 75, 15 is wrong [318]).

While the comparison with uš, frequently used in Ur-III and OB texts, suggests that one may see in *tardium* a well-defined indication of quality: "second quality", following *damqum*, this is not as clear in OA. The very few occurrences, compared with a dozen for *qablīum*, "medium quality", suggest that it was not very common, and perhaps was used in a more general meaning "a lower/secondary quality", including both *qablīum* and *ša qātim* [319]).

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in derivatives of III-*infirmae* roots; this rule does not favour an interpretation of the word as *tapras-* or *taprus*-form, to be derived from the G-stem.

[318]) There hardly is reason to derive *tardennum* from an original Semitic root, meaning "two", also attested in Aramaic *tartēn*, as C. H. GORDON *OrNS* 19, 1950, 89 proposes. *GAG* § 56r derives *ta/erdennu* also from the root *rdī*. The adj. *tardium* lends additional support to this interpretation.

[319]) Nuzi-texts use besides *terdennum* also *šinaḫilum* to denote "second quality",

e) *ša qātim, "of normal, current quality"*

One of the most frequent designations of quality. The literal meaning, "that of the hand", does not immediately make clear what the words mean, in view of the various meanings *qātum* has in OA. We may compare it with the use of *qātum* in the combinations *annak qātim* (passim), *annakum ana qātišu* (CCT 2, 4a, 4-5; 4b, 6-7), and *annak qātišu* (CCT 2, 5b, 18), denoting the amount of tin given to the freighter to meet expenses *en route*; it is the tin "put into his hands", and not placed in a sealed packet, to be ready for immediate use *en route*. H. LEWY 1964, 184 took this meaning as starting point for her interpretation of *ša qātim* used of textiles: "loose (ones)", "simply wrapped in some kind of wrapping cloth (*ṣubātū ša liwītim*)", as distinguished from the more expensive pieces, shipped in leather bags. She revives the interpretation formerly given by J. LEWY (EL I p. 125[c]; *OrNS* 15, 1946, 391[4]). The results of our investigation in ch. III show this interpretation to be wrong: textiles for wrapping were in fact used for packing the tin, and all kinds of textiles were packed and shipped in bags, textiles *ša qātim* being mentioned *expressis verbis* among them.

It is better to take *ša qātim* as an indication of quality, as J. LEWY did (LEWY 1950, 372[41]); commenting on LB 1201, where textiles *ša qātim* are mentioned after *ṣubātū qatnūtum*, he writes: "I now prefer the translation "cheap(er) cloths" to my former rendering "cloths ready for retail sale"." But a meaning "cheap" is only a secondary possibility; primarily the words should mean, as LEWY's rejected "ready for retail sale" may indicate, that they pass easily "from hand to hand", are "current" merchandise, and hence are of "normal, current" quality. A rendering "cheap" contradicts the fact that the purchase prices of these pieces were nevertheless rather high (3½ to 5 shekels apiece), compared with the ½-1½ shekel paid for garments for the personnel [320]). It would be a

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e.g. HSS 15, 132, 17 with a bed (GIŠ.NÁ); with horses, HSS 16, 186, 23; with grain, HSS 16, 189, 17f.; the word certainly does not mean "two coloured", as H. LEWY, *OrNS* 28, 1959, 9-11 assumes; cf. LANDSBERGER, *JCS* 21, 1967, 157b[101]. This 'hurrianised' adjective is also attested in OA: TC 3/1, 75, 7: (we went) *ana ru-ba-im* [7] *ú ši-na-ḫi-li-im*, "to the ruler and the second-in-command", cf. J. LEWY, *AHDO* 2, 1938, 129[1]. BILGIÇ, *DTCFD* 6, 1948, 505[78] quotes the unpublished text "Neṣr. C, 1, 17" where the word is said also to occur. The OA occurrence may be compared with HSS 16, 143, 3ff.: a delivery *ana ekalli ana ši-ni-ḫi-la*. Note also that a putative parallel to *tardium*, the NB textile name, commonly read TÚG *tar-din* (ADD 810, 9f.; MARTIN *St.Or* 8, 1, 47) has to be read *sad-din*, cf. OPPENHEIM, *JCS* 21, 1967, 249 with notes 72 and 73.

[320]) Cf. also LARSEN *OACP* 77-78 *ad* 14-15 on *ša qātim*, with previous literature. My interpretation concurs with that of GARELLI, who translates "(étoffe) de qualité courante" (*AC* 285).

surprise if a substantial part of the textiles exported by the Assyrians were of "cheap quality". Many *kutānū*, a carefully made product, were qualified as *ša qātim*. That BIN 4, 65, 16f., quoted above *sub* b., p. 195, states that some of the textiles, classified as "good" were *maṭiū*, and therefore only counted as *ša qātim* does not prove they were "of inferior quality"; *maṭium* only means they failed to reach the standards set for "good", which did not make them automatically "cheap". An additional argument for a meaning "of normal, current quality" is that *ša qātim* has a semantic parallel in Sumerian gen, "current" used at about the same point in the scale of qualities, cf. below p. 209f.

Besides *ša qātim* we meet a number of times a word written *qātum*; cf. e.g. BIN 4, 185, 1ff.: *162* TÚG.ḪI.A *qá*-TUM *20* TÚG.ḪI.A SIG_5 DIRIG. One might be tempted to read *qadum*, and translate: "162 textiles, including 20 extra fine pieces", as a phrase "x textiles-a *qadum (qadī* in TC 3/2, 134, 9′; BIN 4, 61, 4; ATHE 62, 5) y textiles-b" is frequently attested. But it is primarily used to indicate that among a lot of textiles a smaller number can be singled out because of their function ("for wrapping"), or their owner ("of the freighter") and not to state the composition of a load of mixed textiles. In the latter case the use of ŠÀ.BA, "thereof..", is preferred cf. ATHE 37, 34; TTC 14, 6 and the texts quoted in *CAD* A, 1, 35b sub a). Moreover when we read in GARELLI-KENNEDY 1960 no. 4, 3: *324* TÚG *qá*-TUM *5* TÚG *a-ḫa-ma*, an interpretation *qadum*, "including", seems excluded by *aḫamma*, "separately", which already indicates the presence of a separate lot. The same text in line 7 distinguishes this big lot of textiles from 13 pieces of "good quality". This suggests that *qá-tum* serves as an equivalent of *ša qātim*, also denoting "of current quality".

This same *qātum* can be found in BIN 4, 7, 8: *300* TÚG *qá-tum 10* TÚG *dam-qú-tum*; ICK 1, 53, 2: *151* TÚG *qá-tum 9 ku-ta-nu* SIG_5; CCT 3, 49a, 5: *1 me-at ku-ta-nu qá-tum 10 a-bar*^{1}*-ni*^{1}*-ú*, followed by *14* TÚG *ku-ta-nu* SIG_5 *10* TÚG *ša a-ki-di-e*. Note that in BIN 4, 185, 7-9 we twice have *1* TÚG *qá-tum ša PN*.

The interpretation of *qātum* = *ša qātim* is supported by two facts:

a) in nearly all cases *qātum* is found in an enumeration of various qualities in ascending or descending order, and it always occurs next to *damqum*/SIG_5 as one would expect for *ša qātim*.

b) the word following *qātum* is normally in the nominative, and not in the genitive, which *qadum*, "including" would require [321]).

One may explain this *qātum* in two ways. It may be taken as a loc. adv.,

[321]) *CAD* A, 1, 35, a reads in CCT 3, 49a, 5 end: *qá-dum x a-bar* (copy: *me*)*-ni*^{1}*-ú*, but this is grammatically incorrect, as one would expect *a-bar-ni-e*.

equal to *ina qātim*, "in the hand" or *ana qātim*, "for the hand", like *annak qātim* alternates with *annakum ana qātišu*. But this does not seem very likely, both on grammatical grounds (the loc. adv. would be used as a prepositional adjunct without *ša*) and for reasons of interpretation: the textiles are not, as the loose tin, unpacked, unsealed, to be used for retail sale *en route*, but are shipped in sealed bags, and sold like the other more expensive ones. Another, more likely possibility in my opinion is to regard *qātum* as a nominal apposition, an attribute, characterising the textiles in question as "hand" = "what one has in the hand", "what passes through the hands" [322]). One could translate "x-textiles, current merchandise" [323]).

f) *maṭium*, "*defective, of inferior quality*"

The word has already been mentioned in connection with

1. BIN 4, 65, 16, cf. above p. 195 *sub* b) and 200 *sub e*), where it was used predicatively: "two textiles are defective (less good than required according to the standard)". The other occurrences are:

2. CCT 4, 14, 7ff.: *2* TÚG *ku-ta-ni al-qí* [8] TÚG.ḪI-*tù-kà*? *ma-ṭí-ú* [9] *a-na* ½ *ma-na 6* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR [10] *ta-ad-nu*, "I took two *kutānū*-textiles, (but) your textiles proved to be less good than expected; they have been sold for (only) 36 shekels of silver".

3. TC 3/1, 73, 35ff.: *A 1* TÚG il_5-*té-qé* [36] *ù 1* TÚG SIG$_5$ il_5-*qí-ma ma-ṭí-a-am* [37] *i-dí-i ṣú-ba-tí a-na kà-ṣa-re-e* [38] *ú-ta-na-šu-ru*, "(you wrote me): "A has taken one textile"; but in fact he did take one textile of good quality and (instead of it) deposited one of a less good quality. They keep on yielding textiles to freighters! (Why did you keep silent towards B?)".

4. KTH 11, x + 8ff.: *2* TÚG *ra-qá-ta-an ù*? [9] *1* TÚG *lu-bu-šu-um ma-ṭí-tum* [10] *i-ba-ší-ú*, "two thin textiles and one *lubūšum*-textile of not so good a quality are available".

5. BIN 4, 53, 15ff.: *i-na* TÚG.ḪI-*tí-a ma-ṭí-ú-tim* [16] *li-qí-a-ma a-na ni-kà-sí-a* [17] *qá-tí i-ta-dí-a*, "take from among my textiles those deficient in quality, and deposit them (away; Gt imp.) [324]) as my share for the account". This text is to be compared with the next:

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[322]) Prof. KRAUS compares *pūm*, "mouth" and "what is in or comes out of the mouth", "utterance".

[323]) A nisbe derived from *qātum* of course is excluded, as is also clear from the absence of an ending *-īum*. Another question is whether SÍG-*tám qá-tí-tám* in CCT 4, 45b, 36f. has anything to do with the *qātum* we are discussing, meaning "wool of current quality"; or should one derive the adj. of the root *qtj*, "to be finished"? Neither possibility seems very attractive, and it maybe that GA-DÍ-DAM requires another interpretation and reading.

[324]) Cf. for the reasons of taking *i-ta-dí-a* and *i-ta-du-um* in BIN 4, 56, 23 as forms Gt, my remarks in *BiOr* 24, 1967, 187a *ad* no. 28.

6. BIN 4, 56, 18ff.: *10 ku-ta-ni* SIG$_5$-[*tim š*]*a*? [19] *i-ba-ší-ú-ni* [*x x x*] [20] *iš-tí A* [21] *áb-kà-šu*⟨*-nu*⟩? *ú* TÚG.ḪI.A *ma-ṭí-ú-tum* [22] *iš-tí-kà a-qá-tí-a* [23] *i-ta-du-im šu-ma* [24] *ta-ḫa-ša-aḫ li-bi*$_4$*-ší-ú*, "10 *kutānū*-textiles of good quality which are available - send them(?) with A, and let the textiles of less good quality, in case you need some to deposit as my share, remain with you". A similar situation is envisaged in:

7. L 29-558—H. LEWY 1968, 11f.—, 14ff.: *i-na* [15] TÚG.ḪI-*tí-a ma-aṭ-ú-tim* [16] *li-iq-a-ma a-na ni-kà-/sí-a* [17] *qá-tí i-ta-dí-a*, "take from my textiles those being of less good quality, and deposit them as my share for the account". Finally:

8. CCT 5, 39b, 11ff.: . . . *i-na* [12] *ša pá-zu-ur-tim* [13] [*x ku-ta-*]*ni ma-ṭí-ú*[1]*-tim* [14] [*x ku-ta-n*]*i ša li-wi-tim* [15] [*ù x* +]*2 ku-ta-ni* [16] SIG$_5$ *a-na A* [17] *e-zi-ib*, "from the smuggled merchandise I left to A x *kutānū*-textiles of less good quality, y *kutānū* for wrapping and z *kutānū* of good quality."

We need not quote again BIN 6, 26, 12ff., discussed above p. 160 in connection with *kusītum*; *maṭītum* here meant a piece of less good quality, whose sale price served as a means to establish the value of a small lot of *kusiātum*.

The meaning of *maṭium* is clear from these texts; several times *ṣubātū maṭiūtum* are contrasted with those of "good quality". The word nevertheless is only a relative indication of value, and is not a fixed label like *damqum* or *ša qātim*: those being *maṭiutum* in BIN 4, 65, 16 do not make a special category, but are reckoned among those called *ša qātim*. Whether CCT 5, 39b implies that those "of less good quality" were even less valued than textiles used for wrapping is not sure. Interesting are those texts using *maṭium* in connection with "*kārum*-transactions". These difficult texts probably show that the merchants were forced to deposit from time to time textiles *inter alia* as their shares in the *bīt kārim*, "for the accounts"; this should mean these deposits served for clearing their accounts in the *bīt kārim* and perhaps also as investments in the collective funds of the *kārum*, in which the merchants were obliged to take part. Apparently this obligation was not always appreciated, and merchants or agents were instructed to deposit or even to keep in store for depositing when necessary, textiles "of less good quality", which fetched a lower price in free sale, as CCT 4, 14 seems to suggest.

maṭium is also used in other contexts in OA. In CCT 4, 37a, 25f. we have the contrast *damqum*: *maṭium* in connection with *šaḫirātum* (meaning not clear; *AHw* 635b, s.v. *maṭû(m)* I, translates "Strohbündel", which seems unlikely). TC 3/1, 53, 26 uses *maṭium* of a person: the writer calls himself: *awīlum maṭium*, probably because of his economic status: a less well-to-do (important) man [325]).

[325]) LEWY 1956, 75[321] discovers *maṭium* also in TC 3/1, 34, 14 and BIN 6, 157

6. A COMPARISON OF THE OA SCALE OF QUALITIES WITH DATA FROM OTHER PERIODS (MAINLY FROM UR-III)

The OA terms denoting the qualities of the textiles invite comparison with similar terminology in use in other texts. As such the material from Ur-III presents itself in the first place, and accordingly will receive most of our attention, with occasional references to data from other periods. We follow the order of presentation used above *sub* 5.

a) LUGAL, *"royal quality"*

The best parallel is obviously the qualification LUGAL, frequently used. Cf. OPPENHEIM, *Eames*, 5[11] for text references, where this word qualifies consumer goods, bitumen, wood. On p. 65 he mentions a túg.ḫuz.za LUGAL. On the basis of the phonetic complement added to LUGAL: LUGAL-ra (occurring besides ús.sa.a) he proposes a reading šàr, a phonetic value attested in lexical sources (cf. LANDSBERGER *JCS* 13, 1959, 128, ea - *naqû* VII, 150), and accepted by FALKENSTEIN (*JAOS* 72, 42[b] *ad* p. 5[10]). His translation is "royal quality".

šàr, used of textiles, is frequent in UET III, and is applied to the following types: túg.níg.lám (1585 II, 10) túg.da.ba.tum.gal (1673, 1); túg.ḫuz.za (1585 II, 10f.); túg.PI.túg (ibid.; cf. also 1505 o. VIII: síg.za.rí.in túg.LUGAL). In the so-called "Practical Vocabulary of Elam" (V. SCHEIL, *RA* 18, 1921, 49ff.) we have in col. I, 20': túg.bar.dib.DAG.KISIM x x.šàr; in II, 7'-8': gada.a.rá.šàr and gada.šu.tag.šàr. That LUGAL/šàr denotes the top quality in these cases is clear from ibid. II, 10'ff., where the following qualities of oil or lard are enumerated: ì.nun.šéš.šàr, ì.nun.dùg.ga, and ì.nun. As for textiles I refer to Ḫḫ 19, 116ff. (*MSL* 10, 131), where we have the triad: túg.níg.

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r. 9'. Both texts mention a person ŠU-ZU-IN-MA-TIM, which he takes to mean *Šu-Sú-in ma-ṭim*, "Š. the weak one", the adjective *maṭium* serving to distinguish him from namesakes. This seems unlikely. A better solution is to take both words together as representing one name, to be read either *Šu--ZU--in--ma-tim*, or *Šu--Sú-in--⟨in⟩--ma-tim*, Šū-Sīn is the eye of the land", cf. the name-type mentioned in *CAD* I/J 156b, d. It would in fact be remarkable to discover an OA name, in which the (deified?) king of Ur, Šū-Sīn, lives on, more than a century after his death. Similar names in which a king figures on the other hand are not uncommon: cf. for the Old-Sumerian period: SCHOLTZ, *MVAeG* 39, 2, 1934, 65 below (reference Prof. KRAUS); for Ur-III: SCHNEIDER, *ArOr* 17, 2, 1950, 351-358; for Isin-Larsa EDZARD, *ZZB* 61[282]; BIN 9, p. 28; YOS 8 p. 18b; for the OB period GELB, *JCS* 15, 1961, 31[4], and names like *Ḫammurapi-andullī* (CT 45, 32, 21), *Samsu-ilūna--nūr--mātim* (*AbB* 2, 72, 1), and texts like *AbB* 2, 35, 4 (cf. *JCS* 7, 51, 1); *AbB* 1, 44, 3; CT 45, 55, 11; 58, 3; 47, 21, 25; 48, 101, 6. Cf. for data about the Akkad-period, OPPENHEIM, *Eames* 14 B 3, d; for an example from Chagar-Bazar, LEWY 1956, 78[332], with references to FALKENSTEIN, *ArOr* 17, 1949, 212ff, and H. LEWY, ibid., 83ff. and *Mélanges Isidore Lévy*, 1955, 270ff. [Cf. also GELB, *MAD* 4, 1970, XVf.]

lám.bán.da.LUGAL, túg.níg.lám.sag and túg.níg.lám.ús, equated with *lamaḫuššū šarri*, *l. rēštū* and *l. terdennu* (the parallel passage in the Nippur Forerunner is broken; that from Ras Shamra, l. 74, has no qualification LUGAL, cf. *MSL* 10, 146, 43ff.; 150, 74ff.).

Of course LUGAL originally meant that the item in question was for use by the king and his court: they received the finest products. This concrete meaning may have obtained, even when LUGAL had become an indication of quality; we cannot easily distinguish the two. When LUGAL is mentioned alongside the titles of other high dignitaries, the original meaning probably dominated. So e.g. in Ḫḫ 19, 138ff. (*MSL* 10, 131)., where we have túg.NAM.LUGAL, besides túg.NAM.EN and túg.NAM.NIN (in all three cases according to glosses to be read túg.pala; cf. also the text of *Diri* V, published by PINCHES in *JRAS* 1905, plate following p. 829, (81-4-28 = BM 68366), "Back" (= obv!) 28-30) equated with *tēdiq šarri*, *t. bēli*, *t. bēlti*. Lines 287ff. list three times a túg.níg.mu$_4$ qualified as dingir.ra, lugal and nin.dingir.ra (cf. in the RS Forerunner lines 210-258, passim). In UET 3, 1586, LUGAL in túg.ús.LUGAL beside túg.ús.nin, will also mean "for the king". We may even go further; there are numerous examples in Ur-III textile texts of the sequence túg.níg.lám.LUGAL followed by túg.níg.lám.(3.kam.)ús, cf. e.g. ITT II, 1, no. 909, I 1ff. But suddenly we may meet a combination (in ITT II, 1, no. 902, II 3ff.) like: 1 túg.níg.lám ^{d}Šu--^{d}EN.ZU, followed by 1 túg.níg.lám.ús, showing that LUGAL was still more than just an indication of quality [326])! How extraordinarily fine and expensive the quality LUGAL was is shown by ITT II no. 909 where 335 workdays were spent on 1 túg.níg.lám.LUGAL, weighing only 2 minas.

Nevertheless I still believe LUGAL was also used as a indication of quality. This may be inferred from the use of the combination sig$_5$.LUGAL, attested with several items; cf. e.g. with beer, OPPENHEIM, *Eames*, 5 *ad* A, 3, a: kaš.sig$_5$.LUGAL alongside kaš.sig$_5$; ITT IV no. 7396 (cf. 7522) a.su.ḫuz.za.sig$_5$.LUGAL followed by a.su.ḫuz.za.sig$_5$ (cf. also túg.ḫuz.za.sig$_5$.LUGAL in UET 3, 1563, beside frequently attested túg.ḫuz.za.sig$_5$). This combination sig$_5$.LUGAL indicates that LUGAL was a specification added to sig$_5$, "good", by means of which the quality

326) Another example showing how concrete the meaning of qualitative appositions was is provided by the lexical text published by JEAN in *RA* 31, 1934, 164ff. In r. IV-VI it lists the items ì.giš, ḫašḫur, zú.lum and u$_4$.ḫi.in, with the following qualifications: ki.sag, ka.lugal, and igi.sag.ga, neaming "first ranking", "royal taste" and "carefully selected" (the latter in lexical texts equated with *nasqum* or *bērum*, used *inter alia* of wool). ka.lugal is what befits the mouth/taste of the king, which is equal to extremely delicious. One may compare Gen. 49, 20: *ma^{ca}ḏannē mèlèḵ*, "royal delicacies", being the best food one may hope to obtain.

"good" could be subdivided into various subcategories. For beside sig_5. LUGAL we have simple sig_5 and also occasionally sig_5.ús (sig_5 beside sig_5.ús with sacrificial animals, cf. BLOME, *Opfermaterie*, 1934, 138[27]; also SCHNEIDER, *Orientalia* 22, 15ff.): "good", beside "extremely good" and "less good", or "top class", "normal", and "secondary class good".

The use of simple LUGAL, beside this sig_5.LUGAL, may betray a double use and meaning: on the one side the use of LUGAL in its original concrete meaning: e.g. túg.lugal, "a garment for a king"; on the other hand, once LUGAL had become a qualitative apposition and had been coupled with sig_5 to denote the best quality (in a standard which originally knew only: good, normal and bad), sig_5 could be omitted, resulting in the use of LUGAL alone as denoting the top quality [327]). In my opinion the very combination in OA of *ša lubūš šarruttim* (or even of simple *ša šarrim*/*ša šarruttim*) with the clear mark of quality sig_5.dirig —being comparable to túg.sig_5.LUGAL alongside simple túg.lugal—is an indication that *ša šarruttim* had in fact developed from its direct, concrete meaning into a mark of quality.

b) sig_5, *"of good quality"*

Compared with the frequency of this qualification in OA it is rather rare in Ur-III and OB texts, especially in connection with textiles. Cf. besides the references in *CAD* D 71f., 5, especially under c, the indices of UET 3 and OPPENHEIM, *Eames*, Index s.v. The latter knows it only for gada and túg.ḫuz.za. I also mention ITT IV no. 7052: 1 túg.bar.dul_5.sig_5, followed by the same item qualified as ús (cf. also no. 1445 and 1752); and ibid. no. 7322: túg.níg.lám.sig_5. It is not attested with textiles in ḪḪ 19 and its Nippur Forerunner, but it is used—followed by ús—in a Forerunner from Susa, cf. *MSL* 10, 155ff., no. 2, 21 and 31 and no. 4, 7: túg.níg.lám.sig_5, túg.dul_5.sig_5 (cf. exceptionally in the Nippur Forerunner, 77: túg.A.SU.sig_5). It is occasionally attested with other items, cf. besides *CAD* loc. cit. (mainly quotations from later texts and lexical sources) the use with beer (BLOME, op. cit. 324[33-4] and OPPENHEIM, *Eames* 5 *ad* A, 3, a), with sacrificial animals (BLOME, *op. cit.* 138[37]) and e.g. dida.sig_5 (JONES-SNYDER no. 181, 11f.) [328]). Even though I certainly have missed references—having only incomplete collections on

[327]) Note e.g. in TCL 5, 6036, XI, 9 gi.ma.an.sim.sig_5.LUGAL alongside gi.ma.an.sim.ús (line 15; the meaning giving by SALONEN, *Hausgeräte* I, 72g is obviously wrong, as he confuses ki.ús with ús as a mark of quality), where instead of the normal order sig_5-ús, we have sig_5.LUGAL-ús. The very occurrence of LUGAL with this item shows its metaphorical meaning; the same holds good for še.LUGAL (JONES-SNYDER no. 189, 1 and elsewhere).

[328]) In JONES-SNYDER no. 188 we have the qualities: kaš.ge_6/sig_5/gen.

Ur-III material—a consultation of the indexes of old and new text editions confirms the general impression.

The most reasonable explanation for the curious disappearance of sig_5, especially in Ur-III texts, is that it has been replaced by another qualification. Above *sub* a), I pointed out that original sig_5 . LUGAL developed into LUGAL, and this may have brought about the disappearance of numerous cases of sig_5. If one starts from an original distinction between "good" and "normal", and believes that "good" was subsequently divided into "first class good", sig_5 . LUGAL, and "second class good", sig_5 . ús, a simplification of the terminology could result in the use of only LUGAL and ús. Another factor may have been the use of sag as a mark of quality.

c) sag, *"top, first quality"*

In Ḫḫ 19, 116ff. (quoted *sub* a) túg . níg . lám receives the qualifications LUGAL, sag and ús, and sag is equated, as in line 175 (túg . sag = *rēštu*) with *rēštū*; cf. also the sequence sag-ús in Ḫḫ 19, 264f., 269f., and in its RS Forerunner 75ff., 180ff. (sag-ús-ḫuš); in these cases sag occupies the position which seems well suited for sig_5. In Mari text textiles are qualified as sag, followed by ús, cf. ARM 7, 277 no. 4; 9, no. 97, 12-14 [329]). Also in later texts we occasionally meet the sequence sag-ús, cf. dug . sag, followed by dug . ús in TORCZYNER, *Tempelrechnungen*, 91 *ad* BE XV, 25, 3 (MB).

In Ur-III texts sag qualifying textile products in this way seems to be missing. When OPPENHEIM, *Eames* 14 [33] writes: "sag is not everywhere an adjective denoting fine quality", even this is too positive. He refers to his text H 46, which mentions sag . ganám alongside sag . ùz, and the word order already indicates that sag may have a different meaning here. A reference to the well known máš . sag is equally unconclusive, as máš . sag(.gal) is a well-attested name for the bell-wether, and cannot be translated with "ram of top quality" (cf. LANDSBERGER, *MSL* VIII/1, 30 *ad* 217). OPPENHEIM himself, loc. cit. already stated that sag . (nu .) tuku, used as a qualification of textile products or garments, has nothing in common with sag as mark of quality, as a text mentions a túg . níg . lám 3 . kam . ús sag . nu . tuku; perhaps sag . (nu .) tuku is to be taken as a typological description of the garment (describing the way it fitted the body), to be compared with a qualification like *ša pē* ("Practical Vocabulary of Aššur", *AfO* 18, 1957-8, 300 III 33), probably meaning "with

[329]) Earlier Mari-texts also use *bērum*, "selected (quality)" (cf. note 326) with textiles, apparently instead of sag, cf. DOSSIN, *RA* 64, 1970, 31ff., nos. 20, 1.3; 25, 4.

collar" (LANDSBERGER, *JCS* 21, 1967, 160b[104]) [330]). Cf. similar typological distinctions in later texts, e.g. VAB II no. 22 IV, 15 and no. 25, IV, 50 where a túg.ḫuz.za.sag and túg.ḫuz.za.gú are distinguished, and sag and gú will refer to the head and the neck.

We do meet sag as what could be a mark of quality in combinations like ì.sag, kaš.sag etc. However, sag may have primarily a local or even temporal meaning in such combinations. ì.sag (cf. *Laws of Ešnunna* A, I, 9; CT 6, 25b, 12f.; CT 45, 119, 19f. etc.) could mean the "first pressing" of the oil, or the "top layer", and only so denote the best quality, as GOETZE, *AASOR* XXXI 27 puts it: "top oil"... "the very light oil, which stays *on top* when a mixture is left standing" (italics mine), and *CAD* E 103a, *sub* 2′ states in the translation of CT 17, 39, 41ff.: "oil of the first pressing" (ì.sag translated with *šammu rūštu*).

Such a local or temporal interpretation of sag would also make sense for combinations like máš.sag (= *ašarēdum*; cf. above), the ram walking in front of the herd (cf. LANDSBERGER, *MSL* 8, 1, 30, Nippur Forerunner on ḪḪ 13, 217), and perhaps in pa_4.sag (equally = *ašarēdum*, synonym of šeš.gal), "the first, oldest son/brother" (compared with seš.ús, šeš.3.kam etc.) [331]).

LANDSBERGER, *Symbolae M. David*, II, Leiden 1968, 68ff. challenged this "local" or "temporal" interpretation of sag, pointing out that it cannot account for combinations like *ṣubātu rēštū* and *šizbu rēštū* (CT 46, 45 V, 11) and stressing that a meaning "top/first quality" of sag is not certain, as Sumerian uses LUGAL as such and not sag.

Such a meaning of sag, however, cannot be denied, as the examples quoted in the first paragraph of this section show. The only reasonable explanation to be given for this use of sag is to assume sag first qualified items where a distinction between what is first and what follows or what is on top and what is lower is significant: máš.sag, ì.sag etc. [332]). Later

[330]) FALKENSTEIN consequently is wrong in assigning a meaning "of high quality" and "of inferior quality" to sag.(nu.)tuku in *JAOS* 72, 1952, 43 ad. loc. (cf. also RÖMER, *SKIZ* 160 ad nin.sag.tuku). FALKENSTEIN refers to the equation gu_4.sag.tuku = *alpī ašarēdāti*, which however is attested in a late bilingual text (*CAD* A, 1, 365a, lexical part, translating "the best oxen"); cf. also gú.tuk= *ašarēdum*, *CAD* A, 2, 416b.

[331]) Cf. SJÖBERG, *HSAO* 1967, 217[28], who notes that pa_4.sag is attested only once, the "elder brother" normally being called pa_4, pa_4.šeš or pa_4.gal. The use of sag could be a later development, started once sag had acquired a metaphorical meaning. One could compare this case with kaš.sag, "top quality beer" attested frequently in later texts (BLOME, *Opfermaterie*, § 296, 297, 303) alongside kaš.sig_5 in Ur-III documents.

[332]) As for ì.sag, which was the starting point for LANDSBERGER's observations, the equation ì.sag = ú *lubkānu* from *Uru-anna* III, 593 (LANDSBERGER: "Salböl") informs us more about the function of ì.sag, than about the original meaning of

on sag shared the metaphorical meaning which words for "head" and "top" acquired, denoting what is pre-eminent, most important, best. By then it could be used to denote first class quality in other semantic areas, like textiles, milk, and in fact became an equivalent of sig_5, "good", as stated above [333]).

d) ús, *"next, secondary quality"*

In the scale of qualities applied to textile products (e.g. UET 3, 1585, V, 4ff.; RADAU, *EAH* nos. 47-50), to sacrificial animals (SCHNEIDER, *Orientalia* 22, 51) and elsewhere, we meet after LUGAL or sig_5 . LUGAL the following series: ús, 3 . kam . ús, 4 . kam . ús and gen (the latter is followed in a few cases by the designations ge_6, "black" or mug, "shaggy") cf. *MSL* 10, 155 no. 2, 21-23 (Susa Forerunner Ḫḫ 19), listing túg . níg . lám sig_5/ús/ús . 3 . kam. In lexical lists ús corresponds to *terdennu* (Ḫḫ 19, 118, 265, 270), and the basic meaning can be derived from the equation uš = *redūm*, *Ur-Ea* 518, "to follow, to go after" [334]).

ús is also found with textiles in Mari, cf. ARM 1, 54, 21; 9, 97; 9, 102, where it is used alongside sag. ARM 9, 271, no. 40 uses it for wine (alongside geštin . dùg . ga), and BLOME, *Opfermaterie* 324[33], 325[43], gives references for its use with beer; HROZNÝ, *Getreide* 200 mentions occurrences of zíd . gu . ús besides zíd . gu . sag, denoting two qualities of flour, while TORCZYNER, *Tempelrechnungen* 91 lists the pair dug . sag and

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sag. Note that in OA texts besides simple ì . giš and ì . giš . dùg . ga, *rēštūm* occurs: BIN 4, 81, 7; 6, 84, 21; CCT 4, 18a, 24; ICK 1, 189, 14′. This could well be the OA equivalent of OB ì . sag. One should not compare ì . sag with ninda . SAG, occurring in Chagar Bazar text no. 994, 5; the latter is found alongside ninda . GU, and SAG/GU may be abbreviations of zíd . SAG and zíg . gu, two kinds of flour.

[333]) Perhaps the pronunciation may have contributed to the confusion between sig_5 and sag. Note the equation in *Ur-Ea* 411: sa_6-ga = SIG_5 and Sb A 356: sa[g] = SIG_5 = *damqu*, besides *MSL* 3, 78, X, 1′: sag = SIG_5 = *damāqu*. This suggests SIG_5 could have a pronunciation sag. E. SOLLBERGER, *TCS* 1, 163b, 586 states: "sa(g), wr(itten). $ŠAG_5$ (.GV), SIG_5 (cf. Voc.Sb A 356), DI, ZA", and transcribes SIG_5 as sa_6; in his texts it is used to qualify ú buru, dida, na_4, su_{11}-lum and še. Another complication which obscures the historical background of these qualifications is the fact that in earlier texts KAL is also used with a similar meaning, cf. e.g. kaš . kal, "fine quality beer", in the earliest Sum. texts, and zíd . gu . KAL in presargonic texts, besides later zíd . gu . sig_5 (HROZNY, *Getreide*, 200), with the lexical entry KAL = si(g) = *damqu* in *Chic. Syll.* 296f. (p. 26), besides *Ur-Ea* 341: KAL = sag.

[334]) The transcription ús of UŠ follows OPPENHEIM, *Eames* 24 *ad* C, 4 (in view of UŠ . sa(. a)); but I do not claim this is the only possible solution, as one could also retain uš, and adapt the reading of the sibilant in SA (granted that a combination *-šs-* is unacceptable for Sumerian). Note the writing by the authors of MSL 10: Ḫḫ 19, 118: níg . lám . uš, p. 146, 46 (Forer.): níg . lám . ús . [ ], and p. 155 no. 2, 22: níg . lám . uš.

dug . ús. A systematic investigation could no doubt reveal more occurrences.

In the Ur-III scale simple ús denotes the second-best quality, coming after (sig_5.)LUGAL. As stated above (p. 205) the occasional use of sig_5 . ús instead of simple ús suggests ús could be an abbreviation of sig_5 . ús, perhaps due to the fact that a word with an originally local or temporal meaning could at first not simply be used to indicate a quality, but needed a semantic indicator like sig_5. Normally ús is followed by 3 . kam . ús and 4 . kam . ús, and occasionally (e.g. UET 3, 1522, 6 and 1537, 2) by 5 . kam . ús, though normally we have gen instead of 5 . kam . ús (passim). It is hard to say what in fact the differences between these "third, fourth, fifth/normal quality" were, and we cannot, of course, equate them simply with OA words. There is reason to combine ús with *tardium*, both on semantic grounds, and because both follow immediately after sig_5. But 3 . kam . ús and 4 . kam . ús have no clear OA counterparts. Some indication of their meaning can be derived from texts showing that the amount of workdays needed for a "third quality" product is less than for a first or second quality one, cf. e.g. ITT II, 1 pl. 16 no. 909, I, 1ff. Moreover the wool used in manufacturing textiles of a lower quality will have been less fine, as may be deduced e.g. from the enumeration of various qualities of wool in ITT II, 1 no. 909 r. III, 10f., where the qualities (in brackets the quantities): [LUGAL] (2 minas), 3 . kam . ma (4⅓ minas), [4 . kam . ma] (6⅔ minas), [gen] (70 minas), and mug (4 minas) are enumerated (cf. ibid. 17ff.). Finally there are indications that products of a lower quality could have a smaller weight, cf. e.g. JONES-SNYDER no. 274, 204ff. dealing with túg . ḫuz . za, of which a "third quality" piece weighs 5,4 minas, a "fourth quality" one 4,75 minas and a "normal, current" one only some 4 minas (cf. a similar situation with the same kind of textile in UET 3, 1688, 1-3). The type túg . níg . lám however hardly shows any difference in weight for the various qualities (cf. e.g. JONES-SNYDER no. 274, 198-213). Only a systematic investigation of the vast Ur-III material, which cannot be undertaken here, may yield more exact conclusions.

e) gen, *"current, normal quality"*

As stated *sub* d) this quality normally follows the "fourth quality" in Ur-III texts. It is attested *inter alia* for túg . ḫuz . za, túg . níg . lám, gada, for wool (cf. *sub* d), ITT II, 1 no. 909) and for beer. Cf. also túg . uri . sag alongside túg . uri . gen, quoted in KRAUS, op. cit. (ch. VI note 163), 76 *sub* 31, b. The tentative conclusions drawn in the last paragraph *sub* d) also hold good for gen. Neither ḪḪ 19 nor its Forerunners use gen.

In OB texts gen is attested for wool and textiles. In the texts discussed

in F. R. KRAUS, *Viehhaltung*, 29 F and W. F. LEEMANS, *SLB* I, 2, no. 38, 1ff., and also in YOS 2, 77, 7, síg.gen is distinguished from a better quality called síg.igi.sag.ga, "selected wool", equated in Ḫḫ 19, 29-30 with *nasqātum/bērētum* (cf. also T. JACOBSEN, *Festschrift Pedersen*, 175). Cf. for gen with textiles CT 45, 36 II, 2 and YOS 5, 199, 1-2. An unpubl. OB letter uses *damqum* and gen with textiles (ref. Prof. KRAUS). In lexical texts gen with wool is not attested. In Ḫḫ 19 the sequence seems broken away after síg, síg.sig$_5$, síg.za.rí.in and síg.gú.un.nu.um, but in the forerunner CT 6, 14, XII, 13ff. (cf. *MSL* 10, 143) we have the series: síg, síg.za.rí, síg.gú, síg.šà.en.na and [síg].šà.sig. The 'Practical Vocabulary of Elam' (V. SCHEIL, *RA* 18, 1921, 49ff.) offers in VII, 9'ff.: síg, síg.sig$_5$, síg.ús and síg.gù.zi, the latter qualification being obscure to me. The Ur-III scale of qualifications for sacrificial animals apparently does not include gen either, as udu.niga.4.kam.ús is followed by udu.niga.é.ús.sa and simple udu.niga; the latter of course may represent the normal quality [335]).

Already HROZNÝ, *Getreide* 104[1] interpreted DU as a designation of quality, to be connected with DU/gen = *alākum*, "to go", meaning "current", "normal quality". BLOME, *Opfermaterie* 324[34] deemed HROZNÝ's interpretation too mechanical a transfer of the German metaphor, but nevertheless points out the relationship between ús and gen, both to be correlated with a verb of movement. BLOME's doubts are unwarranted, especially in the light of an expression like SIG$_7$.LAM-ga ì-DU-*a*/*maḫīr*(*at*) *illakū* (etc., cf. *CAD* A, 1, 310a, f; EDZARD 1970, 31a), b), "at the current rate of exchange", where *alākum* is used with the same meaning. One might also compare dub.gen noted in OPPENHEIM, *Eames* 31 *ad* S 1, b, denoting a "tablet circulating" [336]). These examples suggest that DU, as has been done in the preceding pages, is to be read gen, and the form be interpreted as an act. participle [337]). As such it is a good semantic parallel

[335]) In RADAU *EAH* no. 50 síg.gen is followed by síg.ge$_6$, "dark-coloured wool", being a still lower quality. With textiles we meet ge$_6$ mainly with túg.uš.bar, e.g. in the series: túg.sag.uš.bar, túg.uš.bar.gú.TAR and túg.uš.bar.ge$_6$ (UET 3 nos. 1585, VI, 4ff.; 1664, 6ff.). With beer ge$_6$ is found e.g. in JONES-SNYDER no. 188.

[336]) When *CAD* translates "to fluctuate" in expressions like *maḫīrat illakū* (A, 1, 310a, f.), it gives a wrong impression of the meaning of *alākum* in this case. The actual translations of the texts however have "the current rate", "the going rate". The Sumerian version has SIG$_7$.LAM-ga ì-DU-*a*, ki-SIG$_7$.LAM ì-DU-a, SIG$_7$.LAM-ga gin$_7$-nam, ganba i/al-DU-a(-gin$_x$) (cf. *CAD* A, 1, 301a, 310a, f., and EDZARD 1970, 31).

[337]) With an intransitive verb the participle should be DU/gen-a, but this form does not occur, so the final-a may have been dropped. In ÇIĞ-KIZILYAY, *Neusumerische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden aus Nippur*, I, 1965, nos. 37, 2, and 38, 2 we have kaš.ú.SA.gen.áš beside kaš.ú.SA.sig$_5$ (no. 36, 1) and kaš.gen (no.

to *ša qātim*, which denotes what is in and passes from hand to hand [338]).

f) murub$_4$, "*medium quality*"

The best parallel to OA *qablīum* is murub$_4$, normally written UD-*gunū*. It is used with several textiles, cf. OPPENHEIM, *Eames* 96f. *ad* I 34; JONES-SNYDER no. 274, 222ff.; HALLO, *HUCA* 29, 1958, 95 no. 18, 14. This qualification is moreover used for containers, houses, milk, cheese, beer and fields, as OPPENHEIM shows. While he proposed a meaning "round", "oval" for the majority of the occurrences, UD-*gunū*, when used alongside sig$_5$, should denote a quality (with beer, and fields), which he describes as "not the best one". G. PETTINATO, *Untersuchungen zur neusumerischen Landwirtschaft* I, 1967, 21 e (with n. 35), following a suggestion of FALKENSTEIN, defines UD-*gunū* as "medium sized", when used of fields, stating that it may apply as well to size as to quality. With the meaning "in the middle" we have the same sign in CḪ § 243 (r. XX, 89) in the combination gud.áb.UD-*gunū*.sag, which means, as DOSSIN (*RA* 31, 101) has already pointed out, "plough-ox in the middle or the front position" (before the plough). The contrast with sag, "in front position" makes the meaning very clear [339]). UD-*gunū* in this meaning has to be read murub$_4$, as above, cf. LANDSBERGER, *AOS* 53, *Essays in Memory of E. A. Speiser*, 1969, 140, *Ea* III 174-5: mu-ru: MURUB$_4$: *iti*-[*gunū*]: *qablum*; alongside: ni-sag: MURUB$_4$: *iti*[*gunū*]: *niqū*. We should take into account the close relationship between the signs UD-*gunū* (LAK 157) and ITI-*gunū* (*LAK* 158, the latter probably the *gunū*-form of the former) and the possibility of interchange. In view of the unambiguous references a reading murub$_4$ and a meaning "middle, medium", for UD-*gunū* are inescapable, even though this may not be the only, or even the original meaning of the sign (perhaps derived from ITI-*gunū*). The recent interpretation by J. J. A. VAN DIJK of this complex of related signs

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35, 1) or kaš.ú.sa.gen (290, 1). This suggests that áš serves as a complement to DU/gen (a unit of measure is out of the question here); meaning? (Note that kaš.ú.SA—also written kaš.ús.SA—has nothing to do with ús as an indication of quality; kaš.ú(s).SA denotes a special type of beer, Sum. dida, Akk. *billatum* (CIVIL, *Studies Oppenheim* 81; *CAD* B s.v.), which may be qualified sig$_5$, "good", cf. BLOME, *Opfermaterie* 325[41]).

[338]) The equivalent of *ša qātim* seems not to be attested in Sum., unless one interprets ŠU/*qāti* in the combination giš*ši-iq* ŠU/*qāti* in EDZARD 1970 nos. 203, 6 and 204, 1 as "normal, current measure".

[339]) Cf. Ḫḫ 13, 289: murub$_4$.sag.gá = *qablū*, according to *AS* 16, 5 correcting *MSL* 8/1; moreover sag.murub$_4$ in UM 55-21-71, II, 6′ (*AS* 16, loc. cit.). The use of sag has a clear local function, as is proved by the equation gud.sag.gá = *maḫrū*, Ḫḫ 13, 288 (*MSL* 8/1, 42). Cf. for murub$_4$/*qablūm* used of fields in OB: CT 47, 58, 5 and 62, 7 (both with env.; reference M. STOL).

leaves no place for a meaning "middle, medium" for UD-*gunū*, but this is hardly acceptable [340]).

g) murgu$_x$/egir$_x$, "*inferior quality*"

The only qualification to be compared with OA *maṭium* is the sign read as murgu$_x$ or egir$_x$, used to qualify fields, alongside sig$_5$ and murub$_4$, cf. PETTINATO, op. cit., loc. cit. The sign looks like and is often written as SIG$_4$, though both are not identical. It is attested in the *Louvre Syllabary*, OA 7661, II, 12, and equated with *arkātum*, which in this connection could mean "last, lowest quality". The sign is mentioned in *AS* 16, 6a, where the reader is referred to a study of the sign in *MSL* IX. In this work we only have on p. 11 line 189: [uz]u . MUR$_7$ = *ṣe-*[*ṣi-en-tum*], and the note on p. 24 mentions that one source instead has: [uzu . mur-gú SIG$_4$] = [*ṣi-e-ru*], and comments "Nabnitu A 88-90...mur$_7$ (without gloss, different from SIG$_4$ and LUM)" [341]). The Akkadian equivalents of the sign give as its meaning "back" or "backbone" (cf. *CAD* Ṣ 138b lexical part, fourth paragraph), thereby confirming the possibility of a meaning "low quality".

Summing up we may state that there is a substantial argeement between the terminology used for the various qualities in Ur-III (and to some extent in OB) texts and OA sources. In Ur-III the scale of qualities of textiles products is more refined ("third, fourth, fifth quality)". The sources for OA bear only on textiles, and are consequently somewhat one-sided.

As for the words used, we note a predominance (except for LUGAL and probably sig$_5$) of words with an originally local or temporal connotation, like sag, ús, murub$_4$, murgu$_x$ (*rēštūm*, *tardium*, *qablīum*, *maṭium*). Also

[340]) Cf. VAN DIJK's analysis in *JCS* 19, 1965, 18-24 and *HSAO* 1967, 248ff., where he points out the confusion between LAK 159 and 158 (ITI-*gunū*) and the relation between LAK 158 and 157 (UD-*gunū*), and proposes for all three a reading sag/nisag, and a meaning "first, foremost, prime". UD-*gunū* should be read iti$_{xx}$ as equivalent of Akk. *ellum*, "pure"; usar$_x$ in the combination a . šà . UD-*gunū*; and sag$_{xx}$, meaning *rēštū* in the combination kaš . sag$_{xx}$. A meaning "medium quality/size" is to be maintained also because of the order in which UD-*gunū* occurs in enumerations, coming after the best or first quality (cf. OPPENHEIM, loc. cit.). Cf. also HALLO, *BiOr* 26, 1969, 174 *ad* UD-*gunū*. Note that JONES-SNYDER no. 130, 7ff. mentions as products of goats several times ì . nun, ga . UD-*gunū*, and síg . ùz (sometimes also ga . ga . zi).

[341]) Cf. for this sign also *AS* 7, p. 41, AO 7661, II, 9ff., where it is identical to SIG$_4$ and ibid. 72 *ad* II, 16; moreover FALKENSTEIN, *JAOS* 72, 44a *ad* OPPENHEIM, *Eames* 128. Recently we are informed by J. J. FINKELSTEIN, *JCS* 22, 1969, 75a, with *addendum* on p. 82, that the comments on this sign were not included in *MSL* 9 and that M. CIVIL has abandoned the reading murgu$_x$ in favour or eğir$_x$ (eğer or eğar). [Cf. for murgu$_x$ *CAD* B, 305a]

dirig/*watrum* originally denotes that what passes a limit, exceeds a boundary, and hence is "exceedingly good". gen/*ša qātim* on the other hand, though probably also referring to a movement (of goods), uses a different metaphor, in denoting what (normally) circulates, is current in private use and exchange.

That OA terminology in this respect underwent some influence from Ur-III administrative, professional vocabulary is not surprising. Though the Old Assyrians should be credited with the elaboration of their own Assyrian economic and commercial terminology, they retained some Sumerian terms, like ŠÀ.BA, "thereof", introducing expenditures, ŠU.NIGIN$_2$, "total", KÙ.BI, "its value in silver", and descriptions of the price like *x* mana./GÍN.TA, "for each mina/shekel" [342]).

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[342]) Cf. p. 346.

EXCURSUS IV

QATNUM AND RAQQUM

Both *qatnum* and *raqqum* describe textiles in OA texts, cf. above p. 148 with n. 257 and 152ff. s.v. *raqqutum*; there even occurs once *1* TÚG *ra-qá-tám* SIG_5 *qá-ta-tám*, "one thin textile of good quality, with a close weave". Though we indicated the meanings of and distinction between both adjectives on the pages just mentioned, a closer look at the use and distribution of both is rewarding, and will be undertaken here.

qatnum, Sumerian sig, denotes what is thin, narrow, and also long-drawn. It applies to all kinds of fibres, like wool (cf. above p. 105 *ad* 6), the string of a musical instrument (*šalšu qatnu*, *AS* 16, 264, line 3), the yarn forming the meshes of a net (sa . sig = *qatantum*, *MSL* 12, 171, 431), hair (see below), etc. [343]). It is also used to describe a narrow alley, *sūqu qatnu* (UNGNAD, *NRVU*, Glossar s.v.; cf. e . sír . sig = *suqāqu* with a similar meaning), a thin and slender person: lú . al . sig . ga = *qatnū* (*MSL* 12, 160, 86; cf. 85: lú . al . sig . sig = *quttunū*, "very slender").

raqqum, Sumerian sal . la, qualifies an object as "thin and flat". Cf. the derivative *ruqqum*, meaning a) a bronze kettle, made of flat hammered copper, and perhaps even a sheet of metal, beaten out (*MCT* 139[322]; but cf. LANDSBERGER 1967, 193[1]); b) a part of the *exta*, probably a membrane or a flap (Sum . uzu . sal . la, cf. recently BIGGS, *RA* 63, 1969, 165[1] with literature). The corresponding verb will be mentioned below. We further meet *raqqum* as a name for the turtle, probably inspired by his shell, and in combinations like *šemīr qāti raqqātum*, "thin (and flat) bracelets" (in the shape of curved sheets of metal; cf. *VAB* II, no. 25, II, 28); *raqqatum*, a type of alluvial field, being flat and covered with a thin layer of sediment (a . šà . sal . la in *RA* 31, 1934, 164ff., II, 26, equated with *raqqatum* in *ZA* 43, 235, 46 VI 4). Sumerian sal . la is attested in various combinations [344]).

qatnum is normally contrasted with *kabrum*, "thick": besides síg . sig = *qatnātum*, "thin wool", there is síg . gur_4 . ra = *kabrātum* "thick wool" (Ḫḫ 19, 36f.); *irru qatnu*, "small (thin) intestines", are matched by *irru*

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[343]) Cf. also zú . sig . ga gišimmar = *sū qattanūtu* (*MSL* 5, 125, 370).

[344]) Cf. also gi . sal . la (*MSL* 7, 181, 7); giš . gišimmar sal . la (*MSL* 5,122, 345 = *raqqu*); giš . ná . umbin . sal . la (*MSL* 5, 164, 156; = *eršu ša ṣupuršu raqqat*); še . laḫ . sal . la (*RA* 31, 164ff., V, 2); dug . sal . la (CT 2, 6, 10) etc.

kabru, "large (thick) intestines" (*CAD* I/J 181a lexical part); one distinguishes a *qutun zibbatim* and a *kubur zibbatim*, "thick and thin part of the tail", and in extispicy a *qutun martim* occurs besides a *kubur martim*, "narrow, thin/thick part of the gall bladder" (cf. YOS 10, 47, 42-3; 25, 75; VON SODEN *OrNS* 16, 1947, 81 and recently BIGGS, *RA* 63, 1969, 159f., and 163[5] for *qutnum* used with other parts or figurations of the *exta*); *JCS* 21, 1967, 181b (OA 7539, 55-56) attests the pair *qerbū kabbarūtum* and *qerbū qattunūtum* [345]). With textiles *kabrum* is rare, cf. the references in *AHw* 418a, sub *kabrum* 6, b, and ARO 1970, 26 s.v.; cf. also *2* TÚG *ku-ba-ra-tum* in CT 48, 22, 2 (and cf. *AHw* 417a s.v. *kabbarum*, 3, a).

raqqum is contrasted with *šapīum*, "thick", used of textiles, pottery and the clouds (cf. above p. 185 s.v. *šapīum*). A secondary contrast exists with *ēbū*, cf. KAR 395, 23ff. (*CAD* E 16a, a) where eyelids are called *ēbū* and *raqqū*. Though *ēbū* is not used with textiles in Akkadian, I may refer to imperial Aramaic, COWLEY, *Aramaic Papyri*, no. 26, 14, where textile products of linen are either *'byn*, "thick" (costing 180 *karš*) or *rq'n*, "thin" (costing 250 *karš*; cf. also line 25: *ktn' rq't'*) [346]).

The verbs confirm the conclusions reached above. For *qatānum* I quote the *locus classicus* (reference Prof. KRAUS) TCL 3, 332: *qurādīa . . . iltēr uqattin*, "I made my warriors march in single file". For *raqāqum* one point to the use of the D-stem with the meaning "to flatten, to ha flat", cf. BIGGS *TCS* 2, 54, KUB 4,48 I, 4 and ABL 997, 10 and 1194, metallurgical context; cf. *CAD* Ṣ 59b, 2) .Cf. also in YOS 10, 28, *iqtin*, "its head becomes thin" (tapers), alongside *ressa kabar* in 42, 5.

A clear example of the meaning of the various words and their positions is provided by the physiognomic omina, published by F. R. KRAUS in *MVAeG* 40, 2, 82 as nos. XC-XCI (cf. XCIV-V), where somebody's hair is said to be either *raq* or *ēbī*, or *qattan* or *kabbar*. As KRAUS suggests the first pair describes the general appearance of the hair (collective), as being "thin" (there are few hairs) or "thick" (much hair); the second pair refers to the single hairs, which may be either "thin" or "thick".

The contrasts however are not always as clear. In Sum. ninda.sal.la, a thin, pancake like loaf, is mentioned alongside ninda.gur$_4$.ra, a thick loaf (= *akalum kabrum*) (cf. B. LEVINE, *Lešonēnu* 30, 1965, 3ff.; *HUCA* 38, 1968, 57); here *kabrum* is the opposite of *raqqum* (sal.la), probably because the use of *qatnum* would suggest a long and thin piece of bread (stick-like), and *kabrum* in fact means thick and short (*kabrum* re-

[345]) *kabrum* is also contrasted, in late texts, with *baḫū*, cf. *CAD* B 30b ("thin, emaciated").

[346]) *ēbū* is also used of liquids, and once describes urine as being less fluid and transparent (*CAD* E loc. cit.).

ferring to the vertical section; cf. the references in *CAD* A, 1, 244b, where ninda.gur$_4$.ra is contrasted with ninda.gíd.da).

Another example is the OB measure of capacity *mešēqum*; it has three standards: *raqqum*, *birujum* and *kabrum*. If indeed *mešēqum* implies the use of some measuring vessel or basket, again the vertical section, the depth of the container, determines the choice of the adjectives: "flat, shallow", "medium-sized" and "thick, deep" (cf. for references *AHw* 648b). More problematic is the OB letter *AbB* 3, 34, 28ff., dealing with the construction of a door. After the required length and width (gross and net) have first been stated, there follows: GI.IG *lu-ú bi-ru-ja-at* [29] *ma-di-iš la i-qá-ti-in ù la i-ka-bi-ir*. As it seems unlikely that this instruction again refers to the size (length, width) just specified, the words seem to indicate how thick (and not how wide) the door should be. In that case one would have expected the verb *raqāqum*. Or does *qatānum* refer to the thickness of the individual reeds, from which the door should be made?

As for textiles, finally, the combination of *raqqum* and *qatnum* (once attested) was not felt as a tautology, and hence *raqqum* should denote the finished sheet of textile, as being "thin", while *qatnum* refers to the texture of the woollen threads, in line with the letter TC 3/1, 17, stating that *ṣubātum qatnum* should have a close weave (*šutūšu lu madāt*; cf. above *raqqum* line 14) [347]. But the possibility remains that when *ṣubātum qatnum* the deis used *qatnum* does not primarily refer to the weaving technique, copperthe finished product as such, in the same way as the OB letter just qut cf could use *qatānum*. Such a development is not surprising, though it would in fact make *ṣubātum qatnum* and *raqqutum* nearly synonymous [348].

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[347]) In some way comparable is *AfO* 19, pl. VI, 9, where *1* TÚG.ḪI.A *qatnu ṣa'upu*, "one thin, compacted set of garments" is used; *qatnum* and *ṣa'upum* apparently are not mutually exclusive, but indicate that this thin, fine product had a very close weave (cf. *CAD* Ṣ 249a, 2).

[348]) A secondary and late development gives *qatnum* the same meaning as Hebrew *qāṭōn*, "small, young", cf. *qatnu* contrasted with *maḫrū*, "first, older" (*AHw* 586a, 2, e).

PART THREE

TAXES: THE MEANING OF DĀTUM

CHAPTER TEN

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS ON THE MEANING AND SPELLING OF *DĀTUM*

1. PREVIOUS INTERPRETATIONS

Among the many words denoting taxes, duties and fees found in OA texts—*nisḫatum*, *šaddū'utum*, *išrātum*, *waṣītum*, *mētum ḫamšat*, *ēribtum*, *qaqqadātum* and *dātum*—the last one, closely related to *qaqqadātum*, has proved to be one of the most difficult, as the variety of interpretations thus far shows. LANDSBERGER *AHK* 23 considered it a kind of commercial investment ("Handelsanteil"), to be contributed periodically by the merchants to the (*bīt*) *kārim*, and partly creating the "shares" or "accounts" which they were obliged to maintain there. He connects the word especially with the copper trade, in which "shares" (*qātum*) frequently occur. LEWY 1956, 68[290] defined *d.* as "a roadtax, imposed upon travellers and caravans, determined in accordance with the distance they covered on their journeys". He held that this tax or toll (sometimes called *dātum ša ḫarrānim*), regardless of where and by whom it was collected (some texts mention the *wabartum ša Šalatuar* and the *kārum Waḫšušana* in this context, see below), eventually accrued to the *kārum* Kaniš. GARELLI *AC* 190ff, mainly follows LEWY's interpretation, but specifies that this toll ("péage") was imposed on living beings (persons, donkeys). LARSEN *OACP* 169ff. considers *d.* a complex word, which may be used in different meanings in various contexts. Sometimes it means "travel expenses" (in which he follows BALKAN 1965 col. 155; cf. also the translation by *CAD* A, 2, 524a, b); in other cases it has "a more general range of meaning"; in a few texts he considers it clearly "a tax". In his discussion he rightly states that "the specific and technical implications of many of the words used by these full-time merchants often escape us, probably because, in part at least, the Old Assyrian traders had evolved a kind of *argot*, and could use the same words with different meanings in various contexts" (172). As we shall discover later on, *d.* is indeed a notorious example of this state of affairs, as we have to distinguish at least two rather different technical meanings.

2. *dātum* IN TEXTS FROM VARIOUS PERIODS

Though the exact, rather technical meaning of *dātum* (henceforth *d.*) has

to be established primarily on the basis of OA texts, a brief look at occurrences elsewhere is useful as a general introduction to the semantics of the word.

a) Some OB texts use *d.* in a commercial context. TIM 1, 28 mentions as the costs of transport of and trade in grain in lines 28ff.: the hire of a donkey [29] *e-zi-ib* DA-*ti-im ù gi-im-r[i-im]* [30] *ša a-na* ŠAGINA *ù* UGULA DAM.GÀR [31] *ib-ba-ab-ba-lu-ú*, "apart from the *d.* and the expenses, to be delivered to the prefect and the head of the merchants". The mentioning of two high administrative officials and perhaps also the use of the verb *wabālum* suggest that one should regard *d.* as a kind of impost or surtax in connection with trade in grain. The same combination of *d.* with *gimrum*, this time in reversed order, is found in JEAN, *Tell Sifr* no. 70, 7ff.: *ḫa-ra-an ṣe-ri-im* [8] *gi-im-ra-am ù* D[A-*t*]*a-am* [9] *i-na-ad-di-in*, "he will pay (the cost of) the journey through the steppe, the (normal) travelling-expenses and the *d.*". The text stipulates the obligation of the leader of a trading company to pay for the items mentioned. The fact that a commercial contract contains advance stipulations on the payment of *d.* shows it was a regular, predictable feature [349]). TIM 1, 22, 26, a letter again dealing with grain-trade, mentions: *1 ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR *a-na* DA-*tim ni-it-ta-di-in*, "we paid 1 mina of silver as *d.*", alongside expenses for a messenger and donkeys; the *d.* in this case was a substantial amount of silver.

b) Elsewhere in OB texts the commercial notion is absent or at least not clear. An unpublished administrative account (LB 952) lists in three columns amounts of silver and dates, paid by persons recorded in the last column. In the additions recorded on the tablet the items of the first column (ranging from 2½ to 20 shekels of silver) are called MU.DU *a-na* É.GAL (r. 6/7), "deliveries to the palace"; those from the second column (ranging from 1 to 2½ shekels of silver) DA-*tum a-na* ^{d}IŠKUR--*šar-rum* URU *x* x^{ki} (ibid.), similarly in l. 10, where the place-name is URU.MÁ.LAḪ^{ki}, "(from) Āl-malāḫi". *d.* seems to be an additional, probably not voluntary, gift or surtax, accruing to Adad-šarrum personally, alongside the large amounts paid to "the palace [350])". In the letter VS 16, 73, 20ff.

[349]) Cf. for an interpretation of this text, but with the wrong reading *b[a-ab-t]a-am* instead of D[A-*t*]*a-am* (followed by *CAD* B, 13b, 3), LANDSBERGER, *MSL* 1, 222 (cf. my remarks in *BiOr* 24, 1967, 185[1]). His reading *ir*-WI-*ti-šu* of line 6, "his group of four", is uncertain, not only because of the use of WI for BI, but also because the first sign according to the copy is SA. In this introductory paragraph I transliterate DA-*ta-am* etc., in order to be able to use the quotations later on in a discussion of the correct spelling of the word (*sub* 3). In the title of this chapter the conclusion, *dātum*, has been anticipated.

[350]) The same ^{d}Adad--šarrum occurs in the closely related text FRANK, *Strassburger Keilschrifttexte* no. 35, where line 28 mentions É.GAL *ša* ^{d}IŠKUR--*šar-rum*, which shows him to be a high administrative official.

(= *MVAeG* 35/2, 35, with note d), we have to read according to a collation by Prof. FRANKENA, which he kindly communicated to me: [20] [*š*]*a-al ki-ma a-na* DA-*tim* [21] [*ù*¹] *ṣi-bi*-TA-*tim* [22] *a-ki*¹ ⅓ *ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR [23] *wa-at-ru-um* [24] *ga-am-ru*, "ascertain by questioning that for *d.* and 'seizure of *d.*' (?) [351]) additional expenses were made amounting to ⅓ mina of silver". Unfortunately the context of this letter is not very clear. In line 4 the writer states: "we have been released by the king" (*it-ti šarrim uššu-rānu*; cf. KRAUS *SD* 5, 45, *sub* 1, a, B, a) and *d.* may have to do with this release and a subsequent journey; but there may also be a relation with the taking and retaining of a pledge, mentioned in lines 5ff. Equally unclear is a passage in the letter A. GOETZE, *Sumer* 14, 1958, no. 13 (p. 32f.), 21ff.: "since the day I was [22] detained here 3 shekels of silver [23] *a-na* ŠE.GIŠ.Ì [24] *a-na* DA-*tim* [25] *le-qé-a-ku*". There may be a logical connection with lines 19ff., where the writer asks his correspondent to retain ⅙ kor of sesame from a larger consignment. and to give it to "the house". We might translate: "I have collected 3 shekels of silver for sesame as *d.*", but this does not help us in establishing the meaning of *d.* If *d.* is indeed attested in TIM 1, 20, 45f.: *i-na* DA-*at ra-ma-ni-ni ú-la-di-i-ni* [46] *i-da-ak* (A. AL-ZEEBARI, *Altbabylonische Briefe des Iraq-Museums*, 1964, 51: "mit unserem eigenen Bestechungsgeld wird er unsere Kinder töten"), the word has a more general, less technical meaning. I am not sure the translation quoted is correct, as also *ulādum*, "child", is so far unique; perhaps the meaning is "at our own expense" [352]).

In the OB letter *AbB* 2, 11 Ḫammurapi writes about a case of TA-*a-tum* which has occurred and was reported to him (line 7); line 9 mentions "the persons who accepted *d.*" (*leqūm*), and line 22 specifies this by writing *kaspam u* [23] *mimma ša ina* TA-*a-tim ilqū*, "silver or anything which they have accepted/taken at the occasion of (by means of?) the *d.*" No details are given, but it is clear that *d.* has an unfavourable connotation, consists of accepting money and other items, and may have been "bribery" (FRANKENA translates "Bestechungsgelder").

c) The negative notion of *d.* in the text just quoted is typical for *d.* in literary texts. The Šamaš-hymn (LAMBERT, *BWL* 132, 98-99) contrasts the judge *māḫir* DA-*a'-ti la muštēšeru*, with the one *la māḫir* DA-*a'-ti*

[351]) FRANKENA takes *ṣi-bi*-TA-*tim* (which he proposes to read as *ṣi-bi-ṭá-tim*) as a crasis of *ṣibit ṭātim*, "the seizure/collecting of *ṭ*". The writing with TA unfortunately does not help us in establishing the nature of the first consonant; we may assume both *t* + *d*>*tt* and *t* + *ṭ*>*ṭṭ*, both of which could be rendered by TA.

[352]) The reading of *d.* in the following OB texts is a mistake: *BB* 203, 21: DA-*ti* to be read *it-ti* with *AbB* 2, 160, 21; CT 45, 118, 25: not with LEEMANS, *JESHO* 11, 1968, 203: *ù* DUB *ša ṭà-tim*, but with the copy: *ù* DUB *qá-ta-tim*. I am not sure about the meaning of *UET* 5, 439, 8 (DA-DA-*am*) and 503, I, 5 (DA-*a-a-ti*).

ṣābitu abūti enšē, the former, who "accepts bribes" obviously being Šamaš' foe, the latter, refusing them, his favourite. DELITZSCH *HWB* 208a quotes the still unpub. text Sm 949, 7 where Šamaš himself is called *dajjān la* DA-*a'-ti*, "Judge who cannot be bribed"; *Šurpu* III, 24 mentions the curse befalling a man because of his *dīn* DA-*a'-ti dānu*, "passing judgment based on a bribe". We may compare the so-called "Advice to a Prince" (LAMBERT *BWL* 114), where the future king is warned against a courtier who: *amatsun ulamman* DA-*as-sun imaḫḫar*, "speaks against them (the population) in a trial (or) accepts their bribes" [353]). The text envisages a royal judgment in which the kings' trusted counsellor may play a decisive and unfair role, in backing or obstructing the cases of the citizens. A similar situation must be meant in KING *BBSt* no. XI, II, 6ff. (p. 78), when the text describes the possibility that an official accepts a bribe to cancel the grant of land: *ša* DA-*a'-ta* NÍG.BA *ù šu-ul-ma-na* [7] *i-na* ŠU *mu-šad-bi-bi* [8] *ù pa-qí-ra-an* A.ŠÀ [9] *i-maḫ-ḫa-ru-ma i-dab-bu-bu*, "who will accept a bribe, a gift or a present from anyone who wants to have a charge brought or a claim raised against the land, and does start a legal action." Cf. finally the text CT 46 no. 45, edited by W. G. LAMBERT as '*Nebuchadnezar King of Justice*' in *Iraq* 27, 1965, p. 1ff., col. II, 7: LÚ DI.KUD DA-*a-tú kát-ra-a i-leq-qé-ma*, "(if) a judge accepts a bribe or gift...". (ref. Prof. FRANKENA).

d) While in these cases giving or accepting a *d.* is condemned, in other contexts (above a and b) it seems to be an accepted custom. This applies also to the admittedly non-Babylonian, autochthonous, Hurrian, customary law of Nuzi, which however used Babylonian terminology. J. FINKELSTEIN, in dealing with 'Middle Assyrian *Šulmānu*-Texts' (*JAOS* 72, 1952, 77-80), compared the MA custom of giving and accepting *šulmānu*-gifts in exchange for juridical support, with the situation at Nuzi, where giving a *dātum* apparently was "a recognized form of gratuity, which obliged the recipient to help the donor". This help consisted of legal assistance or the use of influence at court (*dīna epēšum*, cf. *CAD* E 206a, a'). The acceptance of a *d.*, which could be a substantial gift (in one case a sheep, a bronze kettle and a pair of doors), is mentioned in records of court hearings, because the one who gave the *d.* complains that the receiver failed to render the services due (*AASOR* 16, 8, 26ff., 63ff.; 9, 1ff.).

The close relation between *d.* and *šulmānu*, also borne out by the synonym lists quoted by FINKELSTEIN, loc. cit., is moreover attested in

[353]) LAMBERT, loc. cit., translates the second part of the line: "and so obtains bribes from them", supposing that the official first denounces people to extract later on bribes from them. I would rather consider both acts as alternatives, though it cannot be proved.

KING *BBSt* no. 11, II, 6 (quoted above *sub* c), and NA ABL 345+ (M. DIETRICH, *AOAT* I, 1969, 84, IIIa, 1), 18f., where it appears that people will die, unless a *šulmānu* and DA-*a'-ti* are given.

e) Finally in the historical texts, where *d.* plays a role in the political sphere, it is an amount of money paid or gift donated in order to buy off a superior enemy, to maintain good relations with a powerful neighbour, or to win the support of a possible ally. An example of the last possibility is Sennacherib, Chicago Prism V 34ff., where the Babylonians use the temple treasure to send a DA-*a'-tú* (lines 34 and 40) to the king of Elam to obtain his help. Aššurbanipal, Rassam Cyl. III, 137ff., describes a king *ša* DA-*a'-a-tu imḫurūšuma itbā ana kitrišu*, "who had accepted from him *d.* (plur.?) and had come up to his help"; a similar statement is contained in the Aššurbanipal text published by STRECK, vol. II, 185, r. 5ff.: DA-*a'-a-ti matāti ša ana kitri it*[*bāni*], "*d.*'s of the countries which he had come to help". The king receiving such *d.* is liable to interpret it as a gift of suzerainty, a more or less regular tribute, and accordingly Tukulti-Ninurta I can call himself (*AfO Beih.* 12, 5, 37; 8, 37): *rubū māḫir* TA-*te-šunu*, "the ruler who receives their *d.*".

f) The scanty lexicographical references do not contribute much to solve the problems of the precise meaning of *d.* They consist of:

A) Ḫḫ 13, 228 (*MSL* 8, 1, 32): máš . níg . DU . a = „ (*uriṣ*) DA-*a'-tum*, "a kid as *d.*" (line not found in the Forerunner). níg . DU . a/*dātum* here is found in a series of expressions qualifying heads of cattle etc. as gifts in connection with marriage: line 231: máš . níg . SAL . ús . sa ("as *terḫatum*"); 232: máš . níg . šu . tak$_4$. a ("as divorce gift"); 233: máš . níg . sum . ma ("as present"). The same series is found with udu in lines 131ff., to which are added: 131: níg . dé . a ("as *biblum*"); 135: níg . mu . sig$_5$. ga ("for a good reputation"); 136: kadra ("as welcoming gift"). The Nippur Forerunner contains the equivalents of line 131, 132 and 136, and adds (line 96a) udu . níg . dé . a . munus . e . ne (*MSL* 8, 1, 84). The Ras Šamra Forerunner (op. cit., 101, II, 5) contains in a similar enumeration with gud, the broken line: gud . níg . D[U . a].

LANDSBERGER, *MSL* 8, 1, 32 note ad line 228, pointed out the uniqueness of the Sumerian equivalent and wrote: "Note, however, that (1) of Nabn. V 14f., cited in *AHw* and *CAD* (*AHw* 168b and *CAD* D 130b, both s.v. *di'atu* - K. R. V.), contains the element DU and may be restored as [níg] . du . di(. di); (2) has *di-'a-tum, da-a-tum*". This seems to mean that LANDSBERGER, 1) distinguishes between níg . DU . a here, and níg . dé . a in similar enumerations in Ḫḫ 13 and its Forerunners, where its equivalent is *biblum*; and 2) that he connects, or perhaps identifies, DA-*a'-tum* with *di'atum*/*da'*/*ḫtum*. Both suggestions are problematic.

For 1) we note that the virtual identity of the enumerations in various places in Ḫḫ 13 suggests níg . DU . a and níg . dé . a to be only orthographic variants. This is not only suggested by the two Akkadian equivalents *da'tum* and *biblum*, which, though with a different meaning, are nevertheless semantically related, both denoting some gift, but also by the enigmatic níg . DU . a itself. This returns in the Ras Shamra Forerunner in a similar context, and is moreover attested in *MSL* 4, 31, 50, where manuscript A has níg . DU . a for B níg . dé . a (= *biblu*). One may also point to the enigmatic níg . a . DU in *SLTN* 35, 21 (cf. GREENGUS, *JCS* 20, 1966, 69b), again in a "marriage context". This makes it very probable that níg . DU . a is a variant for níg . dé . a. The change of vowel may be purely orthographic, but one may also point to the variations in the reading of the second element of the word, according to lexical entries bearing on *biblum/wabālum*: níg . e . na . a = *biblum* (Bog.); da-a : DÉ : *babālu ša biblu*; de-e : DI : *biblu* eme . sal; moreover de-e : DU : *babālum ḫamṭu* (cf. *CAD* B 220a and A, 1, 10b lex. part). *Ad* (2) the following remarks can be made. All OB spellings of *di'atum/da'(ḫ)tum* clearly show the presence of an aleph or hiatus after the first vowel, which in most cases is *i* (or *e*); only some texts from Mari and the letters VS 16, 93, 18 and *AbB* 2, 87, 34, both probably from outside Babylonia proper, have an *a*. Only the unique OA reference TC 1, 67, 14 has *da-tám*, where the context shows this to be the OA equivalent of *di'atum/da'tum*, "notice" (cf. for all references *CAD* D 130b-131). *di'atum/da'tum* is convincingly derived from *wd'*$_4$, "to know", the different spellings being comparable to the Hebrew pair *dē'ā* and *daᶜat*. No convincing etymology has been suggested for *dātum*, probably originally also *da'tum* (cf. below *sub* 3, b). I would suggest this word is also derived from *wd'*$_4$, which supposes the following development in meaning (not without parallels): "information, notice" > "token of attention, mark of sympathy" > "gift, attention"; cf. the range of meaning of its English equivalent "attention". This etymology would fix the first consonant as *d*, and suggests that the differentiation in meaning was matched by a differentiation between the two nominal derivatives of *wd'*$_4$, *di'atum* and *da'tum*, which in OB became connected each with a different shade of meaning; in OA and in Mari there are traces that this differentiation was not yet firmly established.

B) The unpub. OB lex. text UM 29-15-73, Rs? III/IV, 14′ (made known by A. SJÖBERG, *OrNS* 39, 1970, 81 no. 6) has: NÍG . ŠÀ . A (kadra) = DA-*a-tum*, an equation repeated in a commentary on *Enūma Ēliš* VII, 110: *kadrū* = DA-*a'-tu*, cf. *AHw* 419b s.v. *kad/trû*, 1. kadra/*kadrū* is used to denote a ceremonial gift, presented to a suzerain or on the occasion of a wedding, as well as a "bribe" (cf. *AHw* loc. cit. (3. "als Be-

stechung") and SJÖBERG, loc. cit.). The same holds good for a word like Hebrew *šōḥad*, "bribe" and "loyalty gift" (cf. J. C. GREENFIELD, *Papers of the Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, I, Jerusalem 1967, 119b).

LTBA II no. 2, 276 mentions *d.* as an equivalent of *šulmānu*, alongside *igisū* and *tāmartu*. The correctness of this equation is shown by the use of *d.* in texts from Nuzi, as pointed out by FINKELSTEIN (above *sub* d). GREENFIELD, loc. cit., points out that Hebrew *šalmōn*, when used alongside *šōḥad*, may also acquire an unfavourable meaning.

These lexical equations provide only general information about the semantic range of the words. We may even doubt whether the exact meaning of some of them was still sufficiently known in later times, in view of an equation like *igisū* = *bilāt matāti* preserved in *Malku* IV, 238. At least we will have to reckon with developments in meaning. As for *d.* we can state that the lexical sources confirm the conclusion to be drawn from the context references, that *d.* may have an unfavourable as well as a favourable (or more neutral) meaning during all periods in which it is attested.

3. THE CORRECT SPELLING OF *dātum*

There is no unanimity about the correct spelling of the word, the two phonetic problems being: does the word contain an aleph or a long vowel (*-a'-* or *-ā-*), and is the initial consonant *d*, *ṭ*, or *t*.?

a) The variations between writings with initial DA and TA made MEISSNER (*BAW* 2, 1932, 6) opt for *ṭ* as the first consonant, but the mere fact of such an alternation cannot settle the problem as LANDSBERGER pointed out (*ZA* 41, 225 no. 3). DELITZSCH, *HWB* 208a lists the word as *da'tum*, mainly on the basis of writings with DA in later texts, while *CAD* A, 2, 524a, b and *AHw* 165a (referring to *ṭa'tum* s.v. *da'tum*) posit an initial *ṭ*. LANDSBERGER recently (*MSL* 8, 1, 32 *ad* line 228 (2)) opts for *da'tum*, quoting the inscription of Tukulti-Ninurta I, which has TA-*te-šu-nu* (cf. above, 2, e). His choice may have been influenced by the connection he sees between our word and *di'atum* (etc.), which however is questionable unless the etymology proposed for *dātum* above proves correct (above p. 226 *ad* (2)) [354]).

A choice between the various possibilities, without using the etymology proposed, is difficult as it should be based almost exclusively on an analysis of the orthographic conventions. We can only add that on the basis

[354]) The second line of LANDSBERGER's note reads *ta'tu*, which is obviously a misprint for *ṭa'tu*.

of BIN 6, 91, 11ff.: DA-*tum*! 12 [*m*]*a-ri-iš-tám a-dí* 13 [*a*]*r-be-e-šu áš-ta-qal*, "I paid up to four times a severe *d*." the word should be fem., *-tum* being the female ending. Cf. also DA-*tim a-ni-tim* in CCT 1, 19a, 10-11.

In OA the word is always written with initial DA and this clearly points to *d-* as initial consonant. In almost all cases where the lexicon or etymology require a syllable *ṭa*, OA uses TA, as is clear from the writings of *muṭā'ū*, "deficiency", cf. the references collected above p. 17ff., 46ff. In four texts both *dātum* and *muṭā'ū* occur (BIN 4, 29, 6.13; 6, 79, 8 and r. 18'; TC 2, 69, 7.8; 3/1, 24, 23 and 29) and the former is written with DA, the latter with TA. Further proof is provided by the writing of words like *ṭābum* (and derivatives: *ṭābiš*, *tābtum*, *ṭiābum*), *ṭabā'um*, "to suppress"; *ṭarādum*, "to send"; *ṭaḫā'um*, "to approach"; *ēṭārum*, "to take away, to save"; *naṭālum*, "to regard"; etc. [355]).

The OB evidence is ambiguous, but seems rather to point to *ṭ* as first consonant [356]). The Nuzi-references, always using TA, are difficult to evaluate, but do not contradict initial *ṭ-* [357]). The MA reference from Tukulti-Ninurta I (TA-*te-šu-nu*), used by LANDSBERGER to claim a first

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[355]) The only exception I have noted is the writing DA-*ba-am* for *ṭābam* in CCT 2, 16a, 28. In view of the conclusions reached, the statement in VON SODEN-RÖLLIG, *Syllabar*^{2}, 37, 191 *ad* DA:"*ṭa*, 1-8, passim," requires modification for OA. Compared with OAkk (GELB *MAD* 2^2, 92, 191) we observe a tendency towards a functional distribution within the syllabary.

[356]) Letters from the royal Babylonian chancellery normally use TA for *ṭá*, cf. *AbB* 2, 33, 8.10; 41, 15; 43, 20; 57, 5; 4, 94, 8; 109, 6. Other letters as a rule DA for *ṭa*, cf. *AbB* 2, 81, 6; 82, 5; 85, 5; 97, 2; 4, 138, 20; 145, 34 (but note *ṭá* in 2, 105, 8). Was there a distinction between Southern and Northern Babylonia, comparable to the distribution of the use of TU and DU for *ṭu*? A. GOETZE in *MCT* 146ff. opts for TA = *ṭá* in the North, and DA = *ṭa* in the South, which tends to agree with the pattern discovered in the OB letters just mentioned. In Hammurapi's letter *AbB* 2, 11, 8, TA points to either *tātum* or *ṭātum*. In the other texts the use of DA points to either *dātum* or *ṭātum*. As TIM 1, 28, 46 writes *mi-ṭa*(DA)*-am* ("deficiency"), DA-*tim* in line 29 most probably stands for *ṭa-tim*. Unfortunately the other texts do not provide data for such a comparison. In *Sumer* 14 no. 13, 23 DA-*ti-im* points to *da-ti-im*, as the same writer in no. 10, 10 uses ḪI for *ṭa* (*ṭà*). If we assume an inconsistency in the last case (and the same sender does not automatically mean the same scribe!), we can say that the OB evidence points to *ṭātum*. Another possibility is to assume the existence of a doublet *dātum*/*tātum*; this could explain OA *dātum* and the MA pair DA-*te-šu-nu*//TA-*te-šu-nu*. I have to conclude with a *non liquet*.

[357]) As for Nuzi, we have to take into account the Hurrian substrate, probably responsible for the lack of distinction between voiced and voiceless dentals, and the fact that the syllabary did not include special signs for emphatics. We note however that personal names containing the element *ṭābum* are regularly written with TA, while names containing etymological DA alternate between DA and TA. Cf. for the general orthographic situation, GELB et al. *Nuzi Personal Names*, 1943, p. 4 and 284 with note 9; and recently G. WILHELM, *AOAT* 9, 1970, 15; for the names with *ṭābum* GELB, op. cit., p. 305b/306a; note however that Nuzi society did include scribes of Babylonian provenance, ibid. p. 282 with note 4).

consonant *d-* (cf. above a) has to be used with caution. In another text (*AfO Beih.* 12 no. 16, 86 = KAH II no. 60, IV, 86) the same king writes: *māḫir* DA-*te-šu-nu*, and on the whole a value *ṭá* for TA seems more probable than a reading *dá* [358]). Later texts, written in 'Standard Babylonian' and the Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions contribute little to the solution; they always use DA for the first syllable, which may be equally well *ṭa* as *da*, because there are no alternative possibilities for writing *ṭa*.

Our conclusion should be that, at least for OA, a *d* as first consonant seems certain, which does not mean that it has automatically to be claimed for other periods also, though it makes initial *d-* everywhere very probable.

b) The choice between *da'tum* and *dātum* is equally difficult. We note that OA knows no *plene*-writing of the word in the *status rectus*: always *da-tu/i/am*. With suffixes we have: *da-at-kà* (BIN 4, 172, 7) and *da-a-sú* (*-nu*) (CCT 1, 21b, BM 113601, 7; 41a, 10; TC 2, 54, 16). In the *status constructus* we have: *da-at* (OIP 27, 54, 5; CCT 4, 13a, 31) besides *da-a-at* (ICK 1, 72, 9; LB 1202, 20) [359]).

HECKER *GKT* § 42c (p. 67 with note; cf. *CAD* A, 2, 524a, b: *ṭātum*) interprets these writings as evidence for a long *-ā-*. HECKER regards *plene*-writings as "bemerkenswerte Langschreibungen...für überlange Silben" (loc. cit.). One could compare *da-a-sú* with *za-ku-ú-sà*[!] < *zakūt* + *ša*; and *da-a-at* with forms like *du-ú-uk* and *dí-i-ik* (imp. G and permansive G of *du'ākum*). It is remarkable, however, if the vowel is long, that there is not a single case of *plene*-writing among the dozens of forms in the *status rectus*. This may suggest another possible solution: original *da'tum* lost its "silbenschliessendes Alef" (HECKER *GKT* § 28e), in the *status rectus* becoming *dātum* with lengthening of the vowel (which is not subjected to vowel harmony); but in the *status constructus* original *da't* by means of anaptyxis becomes *da'at*, a form represented by both *da-a-at* and *da-at* (cf. for the latter *ta-ša-am* = *taša'am*, as the plural *i-ša-ú-mu* proves). The disappearance of the aleph in the *status rectus* may have led secondarily to the formation of a *status constructus* with contraction: *dāt*, which of course was also written *da-at*. The OA texts perhaps acquaint us with this initial and temporary differentiation between *status rectus* and *status constructus*. The younger OB form—a *status constructus* DA-AT (cf.

[358]) Note the use of DA in forms of the verb *šaṭārum* in no. 13, 13; 14, 8; 15, 49. Does the word (*bēl*) DA-*at-ti-ka* belong to our dossier (no. 36, 5)? Note by the way that according to DELLER (cf. *Syllabar*[2] p. XIX) Neo- and probably also Middle-Assyrian did distinguish between *d* and *t*.

[359]) The *status constructus* forms with '*plene*-writing'—in fact rather indicating aleph or hiatus—should be added to HECKER *GKT* § 42c[1].

p. 221) is once attested—was probably *d/ṭātum*, with a long vowel, as attested in *AbB* 2, 11 and in the Nuzi texts. The original aleph, still faintly attested in OA, turns up again in the later Standard Babylonian, its earliest occurrence being KING *BBSt* no. XI (about 1100 B.C.). This restoration of the aleph, which supposes a knowledge of the etymology of the word, which we lack, is a typical feature of the later dialects (cf. *GAG* § 24e: "Als 2. Radikal wird $'_1$ m/spB und m/nA bei manchen Nomina wiederhergestellt"; cf. also § 191b about verbs with aleph) which has been observed, but not yet properly explained as far as I know.

The above observations account for my writing *dātum* in the following pages.

4. PRELIMINARY REMARKS ABOUT *dātum* IN OA

In many cases *d.* was apparently a levy imposed according to fixed regulations, mainly affecting the caravans travelling from Aššur to Anatolia. It was paid by the leader of the caravan from the "loose tin" put at his disposal in Aššur. The evidence for this meaning of *d.* is contained in two types of texts. Firstly texts mentioning the calculation, levy and payment of the *d.*; these are either memoranda drawn up by the caravan leader, in which he renders account of the use of his "loose tin" (often wrongly called itineraries, because they mention many place names), or the letters, called "caravan accounts" by LARSEN, sent by the representatives or agents in Anatolia to Aššur and informing their superiors about the arrival of a caravan, the amounts spent *en route*, and the taxes paid after the goods have reached their destination. Secondly there is a number of texts dealing with secondary settlements concerning amounts paid as *d.*, e.g. when the leader of the caravan had made payments out of his own money, or when the *d.* paid on a load which was common property, had to be apportioned among the partners in the undertaking.

There are also a number of texts which attest some relation between the *kārum* and the *d.*, in which connection people called *šāqil dātim* also occur; this kind of *d.* looks like a (compulsory?) contribution to the commercial funds of the *kārum* or a participation in the collective trading enterprises of the *kārum*. The relation between these two kinds of *d.* will have to be investigated, as well as the possibility of other less technical meanings of *d.* as attested in other sources.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

DĀTUM, A TAX OR TOLL LEVIED ON CARAVANS COMING FROM AŠŠUR

The numerous OA texts mentioning *d.* will now be analysed. I group the references—which will be numbered consecutively for easy reference—under various headings, showing the various situations and types of texts in which *d.* occurs.

1. *dātum* AND *awītum*

Various texts attest the close association of the two words, as:

1. BIN 6, 79, 6ff.: ŠU.NIGIN$_2$ *9* GÚ [7] *a-wi-it-kà 3⅔ ma-na 2* GÍN.TA [8] *33⅓ ma-na da-tum a-dí Tí-mì-il$_5$-ki-a* [9] *ik-šu-dam iš-tù* [10] *Tí-mì-il$_5$-ki-a a-dí Kà-*[*ni-iš*] [10] [*9½*].GÍN.TA *1⅓ ma-na 5½* GÍN *ik-*[*šu-dam*] [11] [*x x ma*]-*na 5* GÍN *qá-qá-*[*da-tum*], "the total of your *awītum*: 9 talents; the *d.* at a rate of 3⅔ minas 2 shekels each, amounted until Timilkia to 33⅓ minas; from Timilkia until Kaniš, at a rate of 9½ shekels each, to 1⅓ mina 5½ shekels;....mina 5 shekels was the "head-tax"."

2. BIN 4, 29, 3ff.: *5* GÚ *20 ma-na a-wi-it-kà* [4] *5^5/$_6$ ma-na 5* GÍN.TA [5] *da-tum ša a-dí Kà-ni-iš* [6] *30⅔ ma-na da-tum ik-šu-dam* [7] *15* GÍN *qá-qá-ad* [8] *sà-ri-dim ½ ma-na ta-ší-a-tum ša* SA.DU, "5 talents 20 minas your *awītum*; the *d.* until Kaniš had a rate of 5^5/$_6$ minas 5 shekels each and the *d.* amounted to 30⅔ minas. 15 shekels "head-tax" for a harnesser, ½ mina costs of transport in the mountains".

3. TC 3/1, 24, 21ff.: *a-na 2* GÚ *18 ma-na* AN.NA [22] *a-wi-tí-kà 13^5/$_6$ ma-na* AN.NA [23] *da-tum ik-šu-ud-kà*, "on 2 talents 18 minas of tin, your *awītum*, the *d.* amounted for you to 13^5/$_6$ minas of tin".

The first two texts describe the *d.* in great detail, mentioning a) the merchandise, called *awītum*, on which (cf. *ana* in no. 3) it had to be paid; b) the rate or tariff; c) the actual amount to be paid; d) the stage of the journey to which the *d.* applied. The verb which expresses the idea "to amount (to)" is *kašādum* in all three texts; we shall meet it repeatedly, and postpone a discussion of its precise meaning and construction to ch. XX, 3. The close relation between *awītum*, describing in some way the goods on which *d.* had to be paid, and *d.* is also attested elsewhere, cf. below texts nos. 31 and 32 (the *d.* has to be deducted from the *awītum*) and ICK 2, 242, 5'ff.

awītum (cf. *CAD* A, 2, 523b) in no. 1 describes a load consisting of 4 talents 20 minas of sealed tin, 40 minas of loose tin, 108 *kutānū*-textiles, and 8 textiles for wrapping, carried by 6 donkeys. In no. 2 the load consists of 4 talents 40 minas of tin (of which 20 are loose tin, line 15), 10 *kutānū* and 8 textiles for wrapping, carried by 2 donkeys. The weights of the *awītum*, respectively 9 talents and 5⅓ talents (perhaps to be read 5 talents and 11[!] minas in view of the following figures), do not match with the number of donkeys, 6 and 2. Neither can GÚ/*biltum* be a "donkey load" (as *AHw* 126a, 1 translates in text no. 5 below), as is obvious, nor can the weight of the *awītum* be the same as the weight of the merchandise. In text no. 1 this would mean that the 116 textiles should weigh 4 talents, or 2 minas apiece, which is far below the calculated 5 minas (cf. above p. 87f.). In the second text we would arrive at an equally impossible weight of 2½ minas apiece. Nevertheless the *awītum* was a carefully calculated amount or weight, as we have even figures like 2 talents 13 minas (below text no. 8) and 8 talents 10 minas (below no. 14).

The solution, given in the translation of *CAD* loc. cit.: "shipment of merchandise evaluated in tin", is hidden in text no. 3. Here the *awītum* is expressed in tin, and the *d.* also. But the caravan in question consisted almost exclusively of textiles: 61 pieces, to which were added only 12 minas of loose tin, carried by 2 donkeys. They could not have transported additional tin, nor is tin mentioned in connection with the import-tax (*nisḫatum*). The *value* of a caravan load consisting only of textiles accordingly is expressed in tin valuta. This is confirmed by some other texts where the *awītum* is said to be tin: ICK 2, 96, r. 4′: "in all 11 talents tin, my *awītum* (a load of 4 talents 40 minas of tin and 175 *kutānū*); VAT 9210, 39ff. (LEWY 1958, 92[17]): "in all 410 talents [x] minas, *awītum* of the firm of Imdīlim". Tin is also mentioned in similar contexts in texts nos. 4 and 17 below, which however do not contain the word *awītum*. [360])

To facilitate the procedure of the *d.*-payment the value of the merchandise had to be converted into one valuta, tin (which was one of the com-

[360]) ICK 2, 339, 1f. mentions small amounts called *awītum*, but in this case, exceptionally, a shipment to Aššur is meant, as the stereotyped *nisḫassu watar šaddū'assu šabbū* shows. When *awītum* is used to describe a consignment of silver and gold sent to Aššur, its meaning apparently is "value of the shipment computed in silver". This is clear from VAT 9220 (communicated by K. HECKER, *OLZ* 1970, col. 357f.), where a shipment of 17 minas of silver and 2 minas of gold (line 3) later on is described as: ŠU.NIGIN$_2$ *33 ma-na* [8] *a-wi-sú*, "in all 33 minas (of silver) is the value of his shipment". In order to express the value of the shipment in one valuta only, gold was converted into silver at a rate of 8 : 1. This use of *awītum* shows that the valuta into which the value of a shipment was converted could vary from case to case, and that *awītum* should not always necessarily be related to tin, as the translation proposed in *CAD* A/2, 523b seems to suggest.

ponents of the load), and the *d.* consequently was paid in tin, from the "loose tin" the transporter received in Aššur for expenses *en route*.

The correctness of the meaning attributed to *awītum*, "value of the merchandise computed in tin" [361]), can be checked by computing the value of a caravan with the help of the data we have at our disposal. A load normally consists of tin and textiles; the donkeys should probably be included in the total value of the shipment, because they were sold in Anatolia, and the export-tax, *waṣītum*, to be paid on departure from Aššur most probably affected them too. [362]) The value of one donkey was ca. 20 shekels of silver. The amount of "loose tin" has been added, in the calculations made below, to that of the "sealed tin"—it was also hit by the export-tax just mentioned—though one could say that it did not belong to the merchandise proper, being used for expenses *en route* (in the first place for the payment of the *d.* itself). The amount of loose tin ranged per donkey between ca. 3 and 12 minas of tin—according to the composition of its load—and if the "loose tin" is left out of consideration the value of a load drops by some 5-8%. For our calculations we start from a purchase price of tin in Aššur of 14 shekels of tin for 1 shekel of silver, and

[361]) Prof. KRAUS suggests the possibility to derive *awītum* from the verb *awā'um*/*ewūm* (HECKER *GKT* § 99a gives *ewā'um* as the OA form, on the basis of the single occurrence of the form *e*-WI, which however is a 3rd pers. sing. masc., hence $< i'_2wī$; the inf. however should be *awā'um* on the basis of *GAG* § 9a and HECKER *GKT* § 13a; a fem. verbal adjective *awītum* denoting "what something has become", "into what something has been converted", thus would be quite regular). The fact that the verb itself is not attested with the meaning "to turn into, to be converted into (another valuta)" is not decisive (the quotation from *Laws of Ešnunna* § 20, A II, 11, given in *AHw* 267a, 1 has no demonstrative force, as the reading of the verbal form is uncertain; cf. B. LANDSBERGER, *Symbolae David*, II, 74 ad loc., with the remarks of J. J. FINKELSTEIN, *JAOS* 90, 1970, 250b ad loc.; a translation of a possible *i-te-wi-š*[*um*] with "was turned into (silver) for him", could indeed account for the acc. *še'am*).

[362]) Cf. for this tax GARELLI *AC* 193/4, LARSEN *OACP* 43 and 152 and *CAD* A, 2, 355, 1. It amounted to $^1/_{120}$ part or 0,85% as shown by LARSEN. That also donkeys and "loose tin" were subject to this tax is clear from texts dealing with small shipments like BIN 6, 65 and CCT 4, 7a. In the first text (LARSEN *OACP* "type 3 : 4") the merchandise proper has a value of 3 minas of silver, but the *waṣītum* is not 1 ½ shekel, but 2 shekels; this means the value of the donkey, its harness and the loose tin, with a total value of ca. 35 shekels, has to be added to the amount on which the tax was levied. In the second text (LARSEN *OACP* "type 3 : 6") the amount of the *waṣītum*, 2 ½ shekels, is exactly $^1/_{120}$ of the value of merchandise (4 minas $18^2/_3$ shekels) plus donkey, harness and "loose tin" (together 42 shekels of silver). Cf. for *waṣītum* besides the texts mentioned in the literature listed above, also BIN 4, 226, 15f. (½ shekel); CCT 1, 39b, 9 (*wa-ṣí-sú-nu*, sc. on the donkeys) and ICK 1, 82, 20 (4 ½ shekels). Whether there is a relation between this tax and the persons called *mūṣium* (HECKER, *GKT* § 97e; *AHw* 679a *mūṣium* I, "eine Ausreiseabgabe"; *CAD* A, 1, 335a, 1 translates "comptroller" in GARELLI 1965, no. 25, 19) requires a new investigation, cf. GARELLI ad loc. p. 160. *AHw* 679b, *muṣû* considers *mu*-ZA-*am* in TC 2, 47, 12 a garment.

for textiles we assume an average price of some 5-6 shekels apiece. One may question the correctness of this method of calculation, because the *d.* imposed *en route* would not necessarily be based on the prices paid in Aššur; the value of tin and textiles may have increased the more one approached Anatolia. This may be true, but we have no comparable exact data for Anatolia, let alone for some point *en route*. The effect of this possible increase in value of the merchandise can moreover be ignored: the total value was expressed in tin; if the value of tin rose, that of the textiles, expressed in tin valuta, would increase at the same rate. The only problem is that tin in Anatolia is worth 100% more silver than in Aššur, but textiles at least some 200%. A calculation of the value made somewhere *en route* therefore could yield prices of textiles somewhat higher than those known from Aššur.

Using these suppositions we make the following calculations:

a) BIN 6, 79: after deduction of the tin (5 talents) there remains a value of 4 talents for textiles and donkeys; 6 donkeys cost 2 minas of silver, or ca. 30 minas of tin; for the 116 textiles there remain some 3½ talents of tin, which means ca. $1^4/_5$ mina of tin apiece, or ca. *8 shekels of silver*.

b) BIN 4, 29: after deduction of the tin there remain for the 18 textiles (10 *kutānū* and 8 *šurum*-textiles for wrapping) and the 2 donkeys about 40 minas of tin; for the textiles this yields a value of ca. 1⅔ mina of tin apiece, or ca. $7^1/_2$ *shekels of silver* on average.

c) TC 3/1, 24: after deduction of the "loose tin" and ca. 10 minas of tin for 2 donkeys, the 61 textiles are worth some 116 minas of tin, or about 1,9 mina of tin or slightly more than *8 shekels of silver*.

Similar calculations may be made for texts like KTH 18, ICK 2, 321 (there apparently were ca. 100 textiles in this caravan) and TC 2, 57, and the calculated prices of the textiles amount to ca. 7½, 8½ and ca. 8,6 shekels of silver. [363])

These results in my opinion prove the correctness of the interpretation of *awītum*, given above. The fluctuations between the prices computed in this way are surprisingly small. One may even venture the conclusion that they operated with one and the same standard value for all textiles as a

[363]) The caravan mentioned in KTH 18 contained ca. 5½ talents of tin, 240 textiles, $^2/_3$ mina of silver, 10 minas *samruātum* (used for expenses *en route*), which are said to make up 13½ talents *awītum*, from which the amount spent for *dātum* should be subtracted (cf. below text no. 32). The shipment of ICK 2, 321 comprised tin and textiles and moreover 5 minas *ḫušā'ū* (for expenses *en route*, probably copper), 11 shekels *sāmtum* and *20 kišādī zigašarrī*, "20 necklaces with *zigašarrū*-beads". Cf. for TC 2, 57, below text no. 8.

simple and, on average, correct device. This value could have been ca. 8 or 8½ shekels, in which case the equivalence used by the tax officials could have been: 1 textile = 2 minas of tin. [364]) This uniformity suggests the *d.* was levied according to a well-defined, uniform system, about which apparently some agreement had been reached between the Assyrian merchants and the bodies entitled to impose it.

2. THE TARIFF OF THE *dātum*

The tariff of the *d.* in texts nos. 1 and 2 is indicated by a figure followed by a distributive TA. This TA obviously means, as the absolute figures of the amount of *d.* actually to be paid show, "for each talent *awītum*". As texts nos. 1 and 2 do not mention "tin" at all, and no. 3, which does mention "tin", lacks a statement on the tariff, I first quote some texts which throw additional light on this tariff:

4. TC 3/2, 157, 1ff.: *i-na 4* GÚ *4[8 ma-na* AN].NA [2] *6 ma-na 1* GÍN.[TA] [3] *1* GÚ-*tám da-tum ik-šu-dam* [4] *28⅚ ma-na 3* GÍN [5] AN.NA *da-tum ik-šu-ud-kà*, "on (an *awītum* of) 4 talents 48 minas tin, the *dātum* amounted to 6 minas 1 shekel for each talent (of the *awītum*); (in all) the *dātum* amounted for you to 28⅚ minas 3 shekels of tin."

5. CCT 3, 34b, 3ff.: *5 ma-na 11⅔* GÍN *15* ŠE [4] *bi-il₅-tám da-tù-um* [5] *a-dí Za-al-pá* [6] *ik-šu-dam*, "the *dātum* until Zalpa amounted to 5 minas 11⅔ shekels and 15 grains per talent (*awītum*)".

I add some texts which, though not mentioning the word *dātum*, obviously belong to the same category; two of them however mention *qaqqadātum*, a tax or toll closely related to *dātum* (cf. the references above in nos. 1 and 2; cf. for *qaqqadātum* below *sub* 7). Perhaps *qaqqadātum* and *dātum* on some occasions could stand *pars pro toto* for both, or the one could for sake of brevity be subsumed under the other.

6. CCT 1, 34b, 11ff.: *1* GÚ-*tám* [?] [12] *4⅔ ma-na 3½* GÍN.TA [13] *4* GÚ *23* ⟨*ma-na*⟩ *a-wi-it* [14] *a-bi₄-ni*, "on each talent 4⅔ minas 3½ shekels (*dātum*); 4 talents 23 (minas), the *awītum* of our boss" [365]).

7. LB 1250, 1ff.: [*1* GÚ]-*tum a-dí-i* [2] [*Ḫa*]-*ḫi-im 6⅔ ma-na*.TA [3] *ik-šu-*

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[364]) This is confirmed by BIN 6, 185, cf. below note 371. The prices calculated vary from 7½ to 8½ shekels, but the calculations made above had to be approximations, and we have to take into account e.g. the uncertainty about the value of the items mentioned in note 363.

[365]) I suspect the reverse and obverse of this text have been reversed in the copy. One would expect the information about the *dātum* and the *awītum* to preceed statements about balance payments (*napālum*, "obv", 2) and expenses. Cf. the order in BIN 6, 153 and CCT 2, 6, 27ff.

dam [4] *iš-tù Ḫa-ḫi-im* [5] *a-dí Kà-ni-iš* [6] *1* GÚ-*tum* $\frac{2}{3}$? *ma-na 3* GÍN [7] *ik-šu-dam* [8] $\frac{2}{3}$ *ma-na* [9] *qá-qú-du-tum* [10] *ik-šu-da-am*, "per talent (*awītum*) until Ḫaḫḫum (the *dātum*) amounted to each time $6\frac{2}{3}$ minas; from Ḫaḫḫum until Kaniš per talent $\frac{2}{3}$? mina 3 shekels; the "head-tax" amounted to $\frac{2}{3}$ mina."

8. TC 2, 57, 1ff.: *2* GÚ *13*' (copy: *16*) *ma-na* [2] *a-wi-it I-tur*$_4$--DINGIR [3] *1* GÚ-*tám 2 ma-na «15* GÍN.TA» [5] *qá-qá-da-tum* [6] *a-dí A-bi*$_4$*-im* [7] $4^5/_6$ *ma-na* $9\frac{1}{2}$! GÍN [8] *áš-qúl* $1\frac{2}{3}$ *ma-na*.TA [9] *a-dí Áb-ri-im* [10] $3\frac{2}{3}$! (copy: $\frac{1}{3}$) *ma-na* $1\frac{2}{3}$ GÍN [11] *áš-qúl* $2\frac{1}{3}$ *ma-na* $1\frac{1}{3}$ GÍN.⟨TA⟩ [12] *a-dí Kà-ni-iš* [13] $4\frac{2}{3}$ *ma-na* $4\frac{2}{3}$ GÍN *áš-qúl*, "2 talents 13 minas the value (in tin) of the merchandise of Itur-ilum; per talent the "head-tax" until Abum amounted to 2 minas 15 shekels, so that I paid $4^5/_6$ minas $9\frac{1}{2}$ shekels; until Abrum $1\frac{2}{3}$ mina per (talent), so that I paid $3\frac{2}{3}$ minas $1\frac{2}{3}$ shekel; until Kaniš $2\frac{1}{3}$ minas $1\frac{1}{3}$ shekel (per talent), so that I paid $4\frac{2}{3}$ minas $4\frac{2}{3}$ shekels" [366]).

The tariff of the *dātum* (or *qaqqadātum*) is mentioned "per talent" *awītum*. Besides the use of the distributive TA (no. 1, 7; no. 2, 4; no. 4, 2(?); no. 6, 12; no. 7, 2; no. 8, 3.8.11(?) we note two different writings of the word *biltum*, "talent":

a) an accusative, written *biltam* or GÚ-*tám* (nos. 4, 3; 5, 4; 6, 11; 8, 3). Cf. also ICK 2, 280, 5ff.: *14*$\frac{1}{2}$ GÍN [6] *bi*$_4$*-il*$_5$*-tám ik-šu-dam* [7] *ša ḫa-ra-nim*, "the travel-costs (or abbreviation for *dātum ša ḫarrānim*?) amounted to $14\frac{1}{2}$ shekels per talent" [367]). The acc. *biltam* cannot be construed as direct object of the verb *kašādum*, as this verb in our texts has a personal acc. object; cf. *ikšudka* in nos. 3, 22; 4, 5. It should have a distributive function here "per talent", though I can adduce few other examples of the use of the accusative with this meaning. I only mention the OB text *RA* 62, 1968, 17 (HE 118), 12ff., where the words: *su-tam a-na ṣi-im-di-im* [13] *ú-ul*' *ik-šu-dam* could mean, "per *sūtum* it did not reach a *ṣimdum*" (but cf. the translation proposed by M. BIROT); and furthermore S. D. WALTERS, *YNER* 4, 1970, 124, no. 96, 5: (A, B, C) *20* IKU *a-wi-l*[*a*]*-am*, "20 iku per person", to be connected with the verb in the sing. in l.9 (ref. Mr. M. STOL).

b) a form *biltum* or GÚ-*tum*, in no. 7, l.6. This should be a locative *adverbialis*, standing for *ana biltim*, "per talent", a meaning which this form frequently has in OA, cf. *GAG* § 66b and HECKER *GKT* § 66c. Cf. the name of a tax *mētum ḫamšat/ḫaššat*, "5%-tax" (lit.: "per hundred

[366]) Cf. below p. 298f. for my reasons for emending the figures of this text.

[367]) Another possibility is to equate *ša ḫarrānim* with *ša ḫarrānātim*, "caravan personnel", attested in BIN 6, 17, 20; CCT 4, 35b, 19; 48b, 20. The meaning would be in that case: "expenses for a freighter", but why should one specify this amount "per talent"?

five") [368]), and the phrase stating the rate of interest: (*1*) *ma-na-um x* GÍN(.TA), "per mina x shekels", a variant of *ana* (*1*) *ma-na-em x* GÍN(.TA), attested in EL 34, 6; 65, 7; ICK 1, 10, 9; 143, 9; 2, 18, 8; 47, 10; TC 3/3, 219, 10 and *Berytus* 3, 76 line 15. Cf. also the phrase in case of loans of less than one mina: *10* GÍN-(*t*)*um x* GÍN(.TA), "x shekels for each 10 shekels" (EL 45, 9; 90, 15; 97, 20 and unpublished texts mentioned by BALKAN *AS* 16, 165), which alternates with *ana 10* GÍN(-*tim*) or *ana ešartim* (cf. e.g. ICK 1, 34, 12) [369]).

The use of the accusative or the distributive loc. adv. and the distributive TA are not mutually exclusive, so that the restoration of [*1* GÚ]-*tum* in line 1 of no. 7 is a good possibility, though a reading [*da*]-*tum* cannot be excluded (note that line 6 has the loc. adv. without distributive TA).

The distributive TA indicating the rate or tariff of the *dātum*, *biltum* (loc. adv.), and *biltam* are also attested in:

9. CCT 2, 21b, 7ff.: *iš-tù* [8] *a-lim*[ki] *a-dí Pu-ḫi-tár* [9] *3 ma-na*.TA *da-tum* [10] *ik*[!]*-šu*[!]*-dam 10* GÍN.TA [11] *qá-qá-da-tum*, "from the City (of Aššur) until Puḫitar the *dātum* amounted to 3 minas for each (talent *awītum*), the "head-tax" to 10 shekels for each (person)".

10. unpublished fragment quoted by LEWY 1952, 288[3]: [3'] [*i*]*k-šu-dam* [4'] *iš-tù Ḫa-ḫi-im* [5'] *a-dí Kà-ni-iš* [6'] *1* GÚ-*tum* ⅔ *ma-na 3* GÍN [7'] *ik-šu-dam*, "(from X until Ḫaḫḫum the *dātum*) amounted to (x minas per talent); from Ḫaḫḫum until Kaniš it amounted per talent to ⅔ mina 3 shekels." Note that the wording of this fragment is identical to no. 7, 3-7, quoted above. Theoretically LEWY could have copied the text with a dealer,

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[368]) Besides *mētum ḫamšat* one has also *ana*, *ina* and *ša mētum ḫamšat*/*ḫaššat*, cf. BIN 4, 72, 4; CCT 1, 43, 3'; 5, 42b, 22; TC 3/2, 165, 37 and TuM I, 2b, 30.

[369]) Cf. also the expressions: *1 ma-na-um 1 ma-na ú-ša-šé-er*, ICK 2, 314, 17; *ša ma-na-um ½ ma-na* [*r*]*a-ku-sá-tí-ni*, ICK 1, 70, 8; *1 ma-na-um* ²/₃ *ma-na-ma*.... *i-ša-kàn*, ICK 1, 108, 4ff.; and *1 ma-na-um 10* GÍN *ša-du-a-tám ú-ša-da-ú-kà*, BIN 4, 33, 36ff. Note that when in the interest-clause one uses the verb *waṣābum*, "to add", the construction with the locative adv. is extremely rare (only in EL 34; 65; ICK 1, 143; TC 3/3, 219 among more than hundred cases); but it is frequent when the verb *alākum* + pers. dat. suff., "it amounts him to.." is used, a construction with a non-personal subject, comparable to *ikšudam* used with *dātum*, where the subject is also not personal (cf. EL 90; 97; ICK 2, 18; ICK 1, 10; TC 3/3, 219 env.; *Berytus* 3, 76). EL 45 uses the locative adv. with *išaqqal*. The preference for the construction with *ana* (instead of the locative adv.) when *waṣābum* is used can be explained by the fact that this verb normally goes with this preposition. In the majority of cases the use of the locative adv. brings about the omission of the distributive TA, showing that the former replaces not only the preposition *ana*, but also contains an iterative nuance. Why in deeds of loan dealing with copper, where the interest is normally stated "per talent" (ATHE 1, 12; CCT 5, 23b, 13; EL 52, 12; 316, 18; ICK 2, 54, 24), one never uses the locative adv., but always writes *ana biltim*, I cannot explain.

before BÖHL acquired it, but in no. 7 the first two lines are fairly well preserved, which does not seem to be the case in no. 10. As the *dātum* was imposed according to some fixed tariff, and Ḫaḫḫum was an important road-station for caravans, we need not be surprised to find the same tariff, twice in identical contexts.

11. VAT 9295, 8'ff. (quoted in LEWY 1952, 266[2]; cf. KTH p. 5[2] *ad* 13): *ša 5* GÚ *a-wi-tim* [9'] *ša šé-ep Ì-lí--áš-ra-ni* [10'] *iš-tù Ra-za-ma a-dí Bu-ra-lim* [11'] *6⅚ ma-na 1⅔* GÍN AN.NA *iš-ku-ni-a-tí* [12'] *iš-tù Bu-ra-lim a-dí Kà-ni-iš* [13'] *2⅚ ma-na 7⅓* GÍN.TA *1* GÚ-*tám* [14'] *ik-šu-dam*, "on merchandise with a value of 5 talents (tin), transported by Ilī-ašranni, it (the *dātum*) cost us from Razamā until Burālum 6⅚ minas 1⅔ shekel of tin; from Burālum until Kaniš it (the *dātum*) amounted to 2⅚ minas 7⅓ shekels per talent."

12. AnOr VI no. 1,r. 5'ff.: *a-na 3* GÚ [*a-wi-tim*?] [6'] *ša A-šur*--DÙG *6* [+ *x ma-na*.TA] [7'] *da-tum ik'-šu'-*[*dam x x x*] [8'] *1 ma-na*.TA *ú* [*x x x*] [9'] *1½ ma-na*.TA [10'] *15 ma-na* AN.NA [*x x*] [11'] *ša-bi'-am*, "on 3 talents (*awītum*) of Aššur-ṭāb, the *dātum* amounted to 6 (+ x) minas per (talent)..... 1 mina each and..... 1½ mina each, making(?) 15 minas of tin..... pay off for me(?)".

13. TC 1, 106, 1ff.: *3⅚ ma-na*.TA [2] *da-tum ik-šu-ud* [3] *3 ma-na ta-ší-a-tim* [4] *⅚ ma-na*.TA [5] *ú-kul-tám iš-ku-nam* [6] *10* GÍN.TA *qá-qá-da-tum*, "the *dātum* amounted to 3⅚ minas per (talent); transport costs were 3 minas; food(!) cost ⅚ minas each; "head-tax" 10 shekels per (person)".

Most of these texts offer no special difficulties. Note the alternation between *ikšud*(*am*) and *iškun*(*am*), to be discussed below, where the interpretation of *iškunam*, "it cost", lit.: "it imposed" will be argued. Text no. 12 is very damaged, and I cannot give any meaning for lines 8'-11'. The 15 minas of tin mentioned in line 10' may be the amount of tin actually paid as *dātum*, because the tariff frequently fluctuates around 10%, as will be shown below.

Text no. 13 has been discussed by LARSEN *OACP* 169f.; he takes *dātum* as a word denoting all expenses incurred *en route*, in this particular case comprising the "transport costs" (*taššiātum*) and costs for food (*ukultum*). I cannot accept this interpretation, cf. below p. 255ff., *sub* 3, where the relation between *d.* and the other caravan expenses will be discussed.

I finally quote three other texts, containing the distributive TA, each with their own particularities:

14. CCT 2, 6, 27ff.:..*ú a-na* [28] *8'* GÚ *10 ma-na a-wi-tí-ku-nu 1 ma-na 4⅔* GÍN.T[A] [29] [*d*]*a-tám i-Kà-ni-iš e-mu-du 8⅔ ma-na 8* GÍN [30] AN.NA *ta-na-pá-al*, "and on your merchandise with a value of 8 talents 10 minas they imposed in Kaniš a *d.* of 1 mina 4⅔ shekels per (talent); you will have to make a balance payment of 8⅔ minas 8 shekels".

The text records according to me a payment of *d.* over the final stretch of a caravan journey ending in Kaniš, and imposed in that town. The people speaking have paid this amount and the person addressed, the owner of the merchandise, has to pay it back. The figure 8 in line 28 is required by the calculation contained in the text.

15. ICK 2, 293, 1ff.: *4* GÍN.TA KÙ.BABBAR *a-dí* [2] *Ú-ul-ma-a* [3] *da-tum ik-šu-ud-/ni-a-tí*.... [9] *1½* GÍN.TA KÙ.BABBAR *iš-tù Du-ur-ḫu-mì-id* [11] *ik-šu-ud-ni-a-tí*, "we incurred a *d.* of 4 shekels silver each until Ull(a)ma....; we incurred one of 1½ shekels each from Durḫumid (and onwards)...". The text offers several difficulties, which cannot be discussed here, but it seems clear to me, both from the fact that the tariff is exceptionally low (only 4 and 1½ shekels each; i.e. pro unit of value, which could have been a talent of tin, as in the previous cases, or per person, if the text concerns a collective enterprise) and because the payment is in silver (and not the normal tin), that the journey was not one from Aššur to the places mentioned, but an inner-Anatolian trip over relatively short distances[370]).

16. TC 1, 83, 9ff.: *52½ ma-na da-tum* [10] *i-ší-ki-in* [11] *9 qá-qá-da-tim 10* GÍN.TA, "a *d.* was incurred of 52½ minas; 9 persons, at 10 shekels each". The text lists expenses from the "loose tin", among which the *d.* is by far the biggest. But I cannot understand the relationship between the amounts mentioned in this memorandum.

3. THE GEOGRAPHICAL ASPECT

When stating the tariff or the amount of *d.* to be paid most texts mention place names, almost without exception—only no. 15 and OIP 27 no. 54, 5ff., quoted below as no. 25, mention typical Anatolian places like Ullama, Durḫumid and Wašḫania—to be located somewhere on the caravan road between Aššur and Southern Anatolia. The places are mentioned because the texts specify the tariff of the *d.* frequently by mentioning the successive stages of the journey of which the *d.* had to be paid. The following table lists these stages and the tariff obtaining for them, both with the figures mentioned in the texts, and in percentages, calculated on the basis of the fact that TA means "per talent". Texts which simply mention one tariff, or an amount of tin to be paid as *d.*, without specifying stages or mentioning place names, are taken to refer to a journey Aššur-Kaniš. When only the final station Kaniš or an inter-

370) The text moreover mentions a second payment "until Ull(a)ma" in line 7ff., this time of 1 shekel, without a distributive TA, a payment *ana* ŠA TA DAM, a payment of 10 shekels to the *kārum*, and a payment for military protection (*maṣṣar-tum*).

mediary halting-place is mentioned the City of Aššur has been assumed as starting point, as is suggested by text no. 9. Reconstructed place-names are put in brackets; texts nos. 3 and 11 do not state the tariff, but only the value of the merchandise (*awītum*) and the amount of tin actually paid as *dātum*, which also allows a calculation of the percentage. In the table t. means talent, m. minas and sh. shekels.

Stage	*Text*	*Tariff*	*Percentage*
[Aššur] — Timilkia	1	3 m. 42 sh.	ca. 6,1 %
Timilkia — Kaniš	1	[9½] sh.	ca. 0,27%
[Aššur] — Kaniš	1	3 m. 51½ sh.	ca. 6,4 %
[Aššur] — Kaniš	2	5 m. 55 sh.	ca. 9,9 %
[Aššur] — [Kaniš]	3	[13 m. 50 sh. on 2 t. 18 m.]	ca. 10%
[Aššur] — [Kaniš]	4	6 m. 1 sh.	ca. 10%
[Aššur] — Zalpa	5	5 m. 11¾ sh.	ca. 8,6%
[Aššur] — Kaniš	6	4 m. 43½ sh.	ca. 7,8%
[Aššur] — Ḫaḫḫum	7	6 m. 40 sh.	ca. 11,1%
Ḫaḫḫum — Kaniš	7	43 sh.	ca. 1,2%
[Aššur] — Kaniš	7	7 m. 23 sh.	ca. 12,3%
[Aššur] — Abum	8	2 m. 15 sh.	ca. 3,7%
Abum — Abrum	8	1 m. 40 sh.	ca. 2,8%
Abrum — Kaniš	8	2 m. 20½ sh.	ca. 3,9%
[Aššur] — Kaniš	8	6 m. 15½ sh.	ca. 10,4%
Aššur — Puḫitar	9	3 m.	ca. 5%
Ḫaḫḫum — Kaniš	10	43 sh.	ca. 1,2%
Razamā — Burālum	11	[6 m. 51$^{2}/_{3}$ sh. on 5 t.]	ca. 2,3%
Burālum — Kaniš	11	2 m. 57$^{1}/_{3}$ sh.	ca. 4,9%
[Aššur] — Kaniš	13	3 m. 50 sh.	ca. 6,4%
[.....] — Kaniš	14	1 m. 4$^{2}/_{3}$ sh.	ca. 1,9%

It seems clear that there is a relation between the percentage of the *d.* and the distance covered. For the stage Aššur-Kaniš we have four times ca. 10%. We might add text no. 5 (8,6% until Zalpa in Northern Syria, to which should be added ca. 2% for the final lap to Kaniš (cf. text 10 for a comparable distance, and text 14, for an unknown final stage ending in Kaniš), and no. 11, attesting 7,2% for Razamā-Kaniš, to which one should add something for Aššur-Razamā (cf. the percentage for Aššur-Abum, 3,9%, in text no. 8; but Razamā was closer to Aššur). The percentage of 7,8% attested in text no. 6 perhaps receives confirmation from the following text:

17. BIN 6, 231, 1ff.: *ša 8* GÚ *45 ma-na* AN.NA ^{2} *36 ma-na 14* GÍN ^{3} ½ *ma-na qá-qá-da-tum* (= BIN 4, 159, 1ff.), if we may translate and interpret as follows: "on 8 talents 45 minas tin (the *awītum*), 36 minas 14 shekels (were *dātum*), ½ mina "head-tax". This is the only interpretation which makes sense out of the apparently unconnected figures in line 2-3, and is

moreover suggested by the presence of *qaqqadātum*, so frequently mentioned alongside *dātum*.

The lowest percentage, 6,4% in nos. 1 and 13, is perhaps also attested in the text:

18. BIN 6, 185, 11ff.: *a-na 12 ma-na* [12] *a-wi-tí-šu* ⅔ *ma-na 5* GÍN [13] AN.NA *áš-qú-ul*, "on his merchandise with a value of 12 minas I paid 45 shekels of tin (as *dātum*)". The presence of *awītum*, the figures in tin, and the resulting percentage of ca. 6,3 suggest this interpretation. The text deals with a small consignment belonging to Ištar-pilaḫ and sent along with somebody else's caravan: 1 bag with 6 textiles, or about $^1/_5$ donkey load. Ištar-pilaḫ accordingly has to pay a proportional share of the caravan expenses: 4 shekels silver for the donkey, ⅓ shekel for harness, 1⅓ shekel for the wages of the personnel, and, in my interpretation, also his share of the *dātum* [371]).

I cannot offer a convincing explanation for the variety of percentages attested for the whole stage Aššur-Kaniš. The fact that the *dātum* had to be paid on the value of the merchandise computed in tin seems to exclude the assumption that the composition of the load was responsible for the differences. A serious possibility is that the route choosen, the distance covered and the number of towns visited *en route* was related to the rate of the *dātum*, especially if it was, as I hope to show, some kind of toll. One could suppose that a visit to Ḫaḫḫum (text no. 7) in fact was a detour, or that the tariff of the town was rather severe. But these are speculations; the texts, as far as I understand them, do not provide a solution to this problem.

Notwithstanding this difficulty, it is worthwile to compare the data about *d.* with what is known about the location of the towns mentioned. If the *d.* was a toll and the tariff had to do with the choice of a certain stage or the distance covered, the percentages which resulted from our

[371]) This little text, dealing with such a small shipment, is a very important source for our knowledge of the investments and expenses of the caravan trade. Besides the silver paid for what could be called "investments" (donkey, harness, harnessor), we have the expenses proper, headed by *dātum*, and moreover including costs of food for the donkey and the harnesser (14-16, figures broken away), extra transport costs (*taššīāt* ANŠE, 17) and some shekels for the "underweight" of the (loose) tin, used for paying these expenses (18: *bitqat* AN.NA). The text continues by mentioning a tax payment of 7½ shekels silver (to the local palace) on the textiles, a payment of 6 shekels to the [*bīt kà*]-*ri-im* (22), and a "loss" (*ḫuluqqā'ū*, 23) of ½ shekel 10 grains. If, as assumed, 12 minas (tin), called *awītum*, represent the value of the 6 textiles (+ some investments in the donkey), this means a value of 2 minas (cf. p. 233) or ca. 8 shekels of silver apiece. As the *nisḫatum*-payment amounted to 7½ shekels, the value of the textiles in the palace was estimated at ca. 25 shekels apiece (the tariff of the *nisḫatum* was 5%), which confirms my previous assumption of a profit of at least some 200% on textiles.

calculations should be correlated with the relative positions of the towns on the caravan route from Aššur to Kaniš. At least there should not be a contradiction between the topographical facts known from various sources, and those to be inferred from the *dātum*-texts. Comparing both sets of data one should bear in mind that the exact location of many of the towns is still uncertain, and that the conclusions about their possible location in OA times are partly based on these very *dātum*-texts, often wrongly called itineraries. The danger of a circular argument, however, is very small, as there are enough references from other texts on which a tentative location of the main places can be based.

Starting from Aššur we meet the following places, arranged according to their distance from that city as inferred from the percentage of the *dātum*: Aššur - Razamā (?) - Abum (3,7%) - Puḫitar (5%) - *Burālum* (x + 2,3%) - Abrum (6,5%) - Zalpa (8,6%) - Kaniš (ca. 10%) and Ḫaḫḫum (once: 11,1%). Starting from Kaniš we have: Timilkia (¼%) - Ḫaḫḫum (1,2%) - ..... (1,9%) - Zalpa (ca. 2%?) - Abrum (3,9%) etc.

What do we know about the location of these places?

a) *Razamā*: starting from a percentage of ca. 10% for the whole stage Aššur-Kaniš, the distance Aššur-Razamā should be in *dātum*-units ca. 2,5-3%. As pointed out by GARELLI *AC* 83ff., the town is not too far from Aššur, being associated with Qaṭarā (TC 3/2, 163, 9ff.; CCT 1, 42a) and Karanā (probably identical with Tell al Rimah), itself not too far from Qaṭara (GARELLI *AC* 85; *Iraq* 30, 1968, 96 and 137). In fact there are two Razamā's, which might be located (cf. C. B. F. WALKER, *Iraq* 32, 1970, 29 *ad* 5) south(-east) and north(-west) of Tell al Rimah. Both would be roughly 150 km north-west from Aššur as the crow flies. As there is uncertainty about the course of the road the Assyrians took on this first stage towards the Ḫabur (most probably passing south of the Jebel Sinjār, via the upper Tharthar, to the Ḫabur Valley; but in some cases a route through a pass in the Jebel Sinjār, or even north of this mountain massif does not seem to be excluded) [372] it is hardly possible to select one of the two Razamā's. Anyhow the actual distance from Aššur does not conflict with what the *dātum*-text no. 11 seems to imply.

b) *Abum*. Should be a little less than twice as far from Kaniš as from Aššur, the distance to Aššur being 3,7%, to Kaniš 6,7%. This suggests a location in the southern or rather south-western part of the Ḫabur

[372] Cf. most recently D. OATES, *Studies in the Ancient History of Northern Iraq*, London 1968, 7; 19-20; 35ff., with note 3. Only the eventual identification of one of the towns along the OA caravan route(s), mentioned in OA texts, may settle the question. Unfortunately neither Karanā, nor Apqum ša Adad, nor Kaḫat nor Urkiš occur in OA texts.

triangle. This town, attested five times in OA texts, is located by GARELLI (*AC* 92f.; following A. GOETZE) in the region between Mardīn and Ḫarrān, i.e. between the Ḫabur triangle and the Baliḫ, rather to the north. The town occurs together with Amaz and Naḫur and is the most eastern one of this triad, cf. CCT 5, 44c and TC 3/3, 163. This location seems rather too far to the west, on the basis of the *dātum*-text. The main argument for GARELLI's localisation seems to be that Abum lies west of Tarakum, which in CCT 1, 26b is associated with Usuḫi(n)num. This text mentions a payment *a-na ma-sú-im* 2 *ša Ú-sú-ḫi-ni-im*, according to GARELLI (90) "pour le bateau d'U.", which would mean that a river, viz. the Ḫabur, had been crossed near Tarakum; Abum should be west of the Ḫabur. This argument however is doubtful, as the meaning "boat" of *massū*, first proposed by Lewy, is not certain; *AHw* 619a and HIRSCH *UAR* 16 [81] take it to mean "(local) ruler, prince". If this is correct the necessity to locate Abum two days west of the Ḫabur disappears and a location further east is possible. It is supported by the fact that in TC 3/2, 163 and CCT 5, 44c Tarakum is preceded by respectively Qaṭara and Razamā.

c) *Puḫitar*. If we may trust our interpretation of the *dātum*-text it should be somewhere halfway between Aššur and Kaniš, or ca. 400 km. from both as the crow flies. The place is also mentioned as a station *en route* in CCT 2, 21, 8 = CCT 4, 20b, 8. Nothing is known about the location, but the place is probably to be identified with Paḫutar, mentioned in one of Jaḫdun-Lim's year-names (DOSSIN, *Studia Mariana*, p. 52, no. 1). As the territorial expansion of this king was still restricted, the place might be located not much farther west than in the region between Ḫarrān and Rās el Ain, or between the western part of the Ḫabur triangle and the Baliḫ, not too far to the north.

d) *Burālum*. According to the *dātum*-data it should be located roughly halfway between Aššur and Kaniš, 2,3% west of Razamā, and 4,9% from Kaniš. The town is rather well known, especially from the Mari texts (cf. GARELLI *AC* 88ff.). ARM 1, 109 mentions the function of governor over Razamā, Burullē (to be identified with Burālum) and Ḫaburātum (cf. ARM, 5, 67; GARELLI *AC* 89 and M. FALKNER, *AfO* 18,24). The situation in ARM 5, 67 and the connection between Razamā and Ḫaburātum [373]) point to a location not too far to the west, probably (the eastern part of) the Ḫabur triangle. This is not necessarily in conflict with the conclusion from the *dātum*-text, as the percentage for the first lap Aššur-Razamā is

[373]) Cf. for (*māt*) *Ḫaburātum* and *Ḫaburā* the new evidence in J. LAESSØE, *Det Første Assyriske Imperium*, 1966, 83f., SH 809, 59: the region where Šamšī-Adad is staying (the territory in which Šubat-Enlil has to be located?); M. CIVIL, *JCS* 21, 1969, 36a *ad* Simānum and Ḫaburā.

missing, and the distance to Kaniš, 4,9%, could be somewhat more than half of the entire stretch.

e) *Abrum*. The *dātum*-text places this town 2,8% after Abum and 3,9% before Kaniš, which points to a location west of the Baliḫ, possibly not too far from the Euphrates. In fact GARELLI situated the town on the shore of the Euphrates (perhaps in the vicinity of Bireçik) on the basis of CCT 1, 27a (= CCT 4, 48d; cf. GARELLI *AC* 94). The text (6-7) mentions expenses *ana ma-sú-e-em ša Abrim* (GARELLI interprets again: "for a boat at Abrum") and A NA AK *da-ma-tim* (8), which he takes as *ana aqdamātim*, "pour (passer sur) la rive Est". He asserts that even if one does not believe in *massū*, "boat" (cf. above *sub* b)) the second item makes a location on or near the Euphrates fairly certain [374]). In CCT, 5, 44c the towns of Amaz, Naḫur and Luḫā(ja) are situated between Abum and Abrum. They should probably be looked for in the western part of the Ḫabur triangle and the region of the Baliḫ. Luḫa(ja) is perhaps to be located in the region of Ḫarrān (cf. A. FINET, *Syria* 41, 138) [375]). A geographical relation between Abrum and Luḫā is also clear from TC 2, 57, 18ff. where we read that people from Luḫā stole a donkey in Abrum. Naḫur is situated by FINET (loc. cit.) in the same region, not far from Talḫad, by M. FALKNER (*AfO* 18, 20, 35) near Rās el Ain, and by GOETZE (*JCS* 7, 67) in the eastern part of Ḫabur triangle, while BIROT opts for the western shore of the Ḫabur itself, thus more to the south than the others believe (*Syria* 41, 39 with note 5). Amaz lies within the geographical horizon of Eluḫut (ARM 2, 109, 9) [376]), which is significant if Eluḫut = Luḫā (cf. note 375). Other OA texts where Abrum is mentioned (GARELLI 1959, 41 no. 17, 2; CCT 4, 29a, 9 and ICK 1, 190, 3) are not helpful for a localisation, though they show it was a fairly common road station. Anyhow a location west of the Ḫabur (triangle) and perhaps even of the Baliḫ seems most

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[374]) The main question is whether *aqdamātum* has an independent geographical meaning "eastern", or only means "what is in front of", what is nearby, as contrasted with *aḫarātum*, what is farther away, yonder (cf. *CAD* A, 1, 170a: *aḫarātum*, "the far bank of a river"). The reading *a-naktamātim* in our text, proposed by *CAD* A, 2, 207a, meaning "for sheltering"(?), seems less likely to me; the word does not seem to be attested elsewhere in OA, and the reading *tá* for DA is not very common.

[375]) The problem is complicated by the question of whether Eluḫut = Luḫā; FINET, op. cit., 138[2] rejects an identification; GARELLI *AC* 92f. accepts it. In OA it may be argued with a reference to the sequence Luḫā (line 7 of the "obv." = rev!: payment of 3 shekels ⟨*ina*⟩ *Lu-ḫa-im*, yielding a form *Luḫā'um*, but perhaps better ⟨*ana*⟩ *Luḫajim*, "to the man (local ruler) of Luḫā")—Abrum—Ḫaqqa in CCT 5, 44c, "obv." 7ff. alongside Eluḫut — Ḫaqqa in TC 3/2, 164, 1ff. Note that while Eluḫut is not rare, a *nisbe* from this place-name does not occur; but there are some references for *Luḫājum*.

[376]) The words URU.KI *Amaz*[ki] *i*-WA-*ú-um* mean "the city of Amaz is mine"; the last word in some way stands for *jūm/jā'um*, cf. *CAD* I/J 330b.

probable (GOETZE's location is too far to the east), and does not contradict the indication derived from the *dātum*-text.

f) *Zalpa*. According to the *dātum*-text probably not very far from the Euphrates (there are no figures for the stages Zalpa-Aššur, so we can only speak in very general terms). This agrees with the locations recently proposed: between Ḫarrān and the Euphrates (cf. HALLO *JCS* 18, 1965, 78 with the pertinent remarks of GOETZE, ibid. 115f.). This location fits in with the OA data, which attest a geographical relation between Zalpa and the towns Dadania, Badna and Eluḫut (BIN 6, 180; 265; TC 3/2, 164), all situated in the territory between the Baliḫ and the Euphrates. Zalpa was a well-known road station *en route* to Kaniš, cf. TC 3/1, 18, 22 and TC 3/2, 165, 14f., attesting the hire of a donkey for the journey from Zalpa to Kaniš.

g) *Ḫaḫḫum*. Rather close to Kaniš according to the *dātum*-text. Note that text no. 5, mentioning Zalpa, also contains a reference to Ḫaḫḫum (cf. GARELLI *AC* 110[3]). Ḫaḫḫum was an important road station, frequently mentioned. GARELLI concludes from TC 1, 18 that the most current road to Kaniš from the Euphrates passed Uršu and Ḫaḫḫum, with the alternative of a road by way of Uršu via the more eastern Mamma (GARELLI *AC* 107; he locates Uršu to the west of Bireçik). Both GOETZE and GARELLI (*AC* 109f.) locate Ḫaḫḫum in the plain of Elbistan, but it should not be very far from the Euphrates in my opinion (cf. also *JCS* 18, 4a). The town occurs at times in a context which connects it even more with the North Syrian/North Mesopotamian scene, than with Anatolia; cf. *RA* 60, 1966, 20, line 27ff., in the series Eluḫut, Lullū, Ḫaḫḫum, *māt* Zalmāqim, Burundum and Talḫad [377]).

That the town was important as a road station and a place where *dātum*-payments could be made, is also clear in the text

19. CCT 4, 28b, 19ff.: *i-na li-bi* [20] *da-tim ša a-dí* [21] *Ḫa-ḫi-im lá* (collation C. B. F. WALKER) *ta-dí-na-ni* [22] *ṣí-pá-ra-tim* [23] *ša 2* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ša-ma-ma* [24] *lu-ša-ak-ší-du'-nim* [25] *a-ḫi a-ta ší-tí da-tí-a* [26] *iš-tí pá-ni-im-ma šé-bi$_4$-lam*, "from the amount (needed) for the *d.* due until Ḫaḫḫum, which you did not give me, you should buy *ṣ.* for a value of 2 shekels of silver, and let them make it catch up with me. Please, send me the rest of my *d.* at the first opportunity." The writer apparently is a transporter who has to pay *d.*, but has not received the amount needed from his superior. He urgently requests him to send part of it in the form of *ṣiparātum*—

[377]) The location of Ḫaḫḫum proposed by ORLIN *ACC* 39ff. with note 53, ca. 100 km north-east of Malatya, seems to me to be much too far to the north and east. GARELLI's proposal seems more likely, though I think he makes the distance to the Euhphrates rather too great.

probably a form of copper money, cf. GARELLI *AC* 277[4]; LEWY 1958, 94[33]; *CAD* I/J 104b: "vegetables"—which should catch up with his caravan *en route*, and the rest (as normal, in tin?) with the first possible caravan.

Our conclusion at the end of this geographical orientation should be that the percentage of the *dātum* indeed provides correct information about the location of the towns in question, and that consequently the tariff of the *d.* was somehow determined by the course followed and the distance covered. Of course we cannot mechanically transpose percentages in kilometres, e.g. on the assumption that 1% should correspond to some 100-120 km. (the actual distance between Kaniš and Aššur, as the crow flies is about 800 km; the distance really covered by the caravans may have been up to 50% more; the percentage for the whole journey was ca. 10). If the *dātum* really was some kind of toll, it was most probably not the exact number of kilometres, but rather the number of towns visited and borders crossed, that may have been decisive. But on the other hand we have to admit that even such a mechanical procedure would not bring us into serious conflict with the proposed location of most of the towns. Anyhow we should admit that LEWY (KTH 32f.; 1956, 68[290]) calling the *dātum* a road-tax, and taking account of the stages covered, hit the mark.

4. PAYMENTS OF *dātum* IN SILVER AND COPPER

As is clear from texts nos. 3, 4, 12 and 14, and from the meaning of *awītum*, "value of the merchandise expressed in tin", the *dātum* was imposed and paid in tin. I add two additional references for such payments in tin:

20. BIN 4, 102 (EL no. 304), 6: AN.NA *ša da-tí-kà* [7] *dí-in*, "give the tin of your *d.*" The person addressed in this legal protocol is accused by the claimants of not having paid them the tin he owes them; probably they shipped his merchandise and he has to pay a proportional share of the expenses.

21. TC 2, 54, 15ff.: ⅔ *ma-na* 5 GÍN AN.NA [16] *da-a-sú-nu* 10 GÍN.TA [17] 4½ GÍN KÙ.BI, "45 shekels of tin is the *dātum* on them (sc. on the textiles, mentioned before), which amounts, at a rate of exchange of (silver: tin =) 10 : 1 to 4½ shekels of silver". The *d.* on a lot of textiles—cf. EL 233, 10f.: *da-a-sú-nu ša 8* TÚG—originally imposed and paid in tin, is secondarily converted into silver, when the final account of the trading enterprise is drawn up in silver, and the proceeds are sent to Aššur in the form of silver (or gold).

We have also a *d.* expressed in silver in

22. CCT 4, 13a, 30f.: ½ *ma-na* 5 GÍN [31] *da-at Bi-ni--ma-ḫi-im áš-qúl*, "35 shekels (of silver) I paid as the *d.* of Bini-ma-āḫum".

The text has been discussed by LARSEN *OACP* 130-132 as "type 3 : 13", and is remarkable in many respects. The lines quoted are a quotation from an earlier letter, in the form of a "caravan account", sent by Aššur-nādā and Zikur-ilī to Aššur-kāšid to inform him of the safe arrival of a caravan in Kaniš, the expenses incurred and the sales made. As the text deals with the net proceeds of the caravan, expressed in silver valuta, it is not surprising that the *d.*, as one of the main expenses, is also expressed in silver. Using the methods set forth above, we can compute that the *d.* on the caravan, which comprised 2 donkeys and 52 *kutānū*-textiles—their value in tin ca. 1,9 talent—should have amounted to ca. 11 minas of tin, or about 50 shekels of silver according to the price of tin in Aššur. The problem is that the amount of silver of the *d.* according to the figures of the text is deducted from the proceeds to be sent to Aššur. If, as normally happened, the *d.* had been paid out of the "loose tin", this would have been superfluous; several "caravan accounts" contain separate statements on the use of the loose tin, and the proceeds from the sale. But our text does not mention "loose tin" at all. Does this mean that *d.* for (the caravan of) Bini-ma-āḫum (also elsewhere attested as transporter, cf. LARSEN *ad* line 6) was only paid after arrival in e.g. Kaniš? But in that case the amount mentioned would be very small, as in Kaniš the rate of exchange silver: tin was only 6 or 7 : 1, and 35 shekels would be equivalent to some 3½ minas of tin; this would mean a *d.* of only some 3%. Another possibility is that Bini-ma-āḫum paid (part of) the *d.* out of his own money, and had to be paid back on arrival in Kaniš (*napālum*), which as normal, was done in silver. We only point out these problems here, to which we shall return later on, when dealing with the question of who actually cashed the *d.*-payments (cf. also p. 267 below). In some way related to this text seems to be:

23. LB 1200, 19ff.: *15* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR DINGIR-*ma-lik* [20] *il*$_5$*-qí um-ma šu-ut-ma* [21] *da-a-at ṣú-ḫa-ri*, "Ilum-mālik took 15 shekels of silver, saying: it is the *d.* of the servants". The place of action is Aššur, where the well-known transporter Ilum-mālik has arrived with a shipment of silver and gold from Anatolia. The writer mentions this amount of silver because it has to be deducted from the silver eventually available for making purchases. As it seems unlikely that *d.* has here a completely different meaning, such as "bakshish" (for the servants)—the amount of 15 shekels would be astonishingly high in that case—, the words probably mean that Ilum-mālik paid this amount *en route* to or upon arrival in Aššur, as a kind of tax or toll levied on the number of servants accompanying the caravan, and now recovered it, as it eventually had to be paid by this superiors. We cannot completely rule out the possibility that the *d.* was

in fact paid *en route* from Aššur to Anatolia—as was normal—and was only claimed back after the return to Aššur. But there are indications that also in Aššur a tax like the *d.* was imposed. TC 2, 14, 18ff., treated below as no. 35 on p. 265 states that "they imposed as *qaqqadātum* for two servants of yours" nearly 4 shekels of silver. The place of action again is Aššur, and this expense is mentioned before the *waṣītum*, the export tax imposed on departure from Aššur. In view of the close relation between *d.* and *qaqqadātum*, "the head-tax", it seems possible to equate *d.* in the last text(s?) with this "head-tax". But the rare data on such payments in Aššur do not allow a convincing reconstruction of what really happened.

A payment of silver in connection with *d.* is also attested in

24. ICK 1, 72, 9ff.: (A took 2½ shekels of the silver of B, saying): [9] *da-at* ANŠE-*šu* [10] *a-na-ku i-ra-mì-ni-a* [11] *ú-ša-qí-il*$_5$ [12] *ma-ṣa-a-ku a-lá-qé*, "the *d.* for his donkey(-load?) I paid out of my own funds; I take it (back) on my own initiative". The situation may be compared with that of no. 23, where Ilum-mālik performs a similar act. The text does not mean that the *d.* itself was originally paid in silver, only that it was balanced in that valuta. One may compare:

25. OIP 27 no. 54, 5f.: *3* GÍN AN.NA *da-at* ANŠE-*šu* [6] *i-na Uš-ḫa-ni-a-ma áš-qúl*, "I paid 3 shekels of tin as *d.* for his donkey(-load?) also in Wašḫania". Here the actual payment is recorded, and the valuta is, as expected, tin. The amount is very small, and perhaps the payment was not on a donkey-load of merchandise, but only on the animal itself, just as the *qaqqadātum* were exacted on the personnel. This may be the case in no. 24 too, but the lack of data about the load and the distance covered preclude a final decision.

In the following text, still unpublished, a transporter indemnifies himself for payments made during a caravan trip in another way:

26. ROSENBERG tablet (LEWY 1956, 68[289]), 29ff.: ANŠE *a-na 30* LÁ *1 ma-na* [30] URUDU *ta-dí-in* ŠÁ.BA [31] *lu da-tum*(!) *ša ḫa-ra-nim* [32] *lu ú-ku-ul-tí* ANŠE [33] *lú ú-ku-ul-tí* [34] *A ù ša bi*$_4$*-il-tí-kà* [35] *a-lá-qé*, "the donkey has been sold for 29 minas of copper; therefrom I will take (the expenses made or to be made for) the *d.* (nom!) of the journey (on the road), food for the donkey, food for A and your carrier". The use of copper need not surprise us as we meet copper as a means of payment on inner-Analotian trips on various occasions. Another text mentioning a payment of *d.* in copper, BIN 4, 172, belongs to a different category, and will be discussed below p. 271 as no. 43. The combination *dātum ša ḫarrānim*, also attested in KTS 29b, 18-19 and KTK 9, 4-5 (cf. below note 534), stresses the relation between *dātum* and travel.

5. *dātum* AND *gamrum*, "TRAVELLING-EXPENDITURES"

a) *gamrum*

TC 1, 106, quoted above as no. 13 (p. 236) lists the cost of *dātum*, "transport" (*taššīātum*), "food" (*ukultum*) and "head-tax" (*qaqqadātum*), and concludes by stating: [7] *gám-ru-um ša lu-qú-tim* [8] *ša šé-ép A-šur*--DÙG, "expenses for the merchandise transported by Aššur-ṭāb". It acquaints us with the word *gamrum*, "expenditures", which plays a prominent role in the caravan texts. An analysis of this word is necessary because BALKAN and LARSEN (cf. p. 190) want to give *dātum* also a meaning "travel expenses"—LARSEN in the text just quoted, cf. 169/170—in which case there would be an overlap with the meaning of *gamrum*.

gamrum according to *CAD* G 38a-39a can have two meanings: "totality" and "expenditures". The OA texts only use it in the second meaning (equivalent to OB *gimrum*). The latter meaning is not derived from the former as denoting "the totality (of the money spent)", as AL-ZEEBARI, *Altbabylonische Briefe...*, 105 s.v. *gimrum* believes. Rather this meaning is derived from the use of the verb in the meaning "to use up", "to finish", which is well attested in OA (*CAD* G 26b).

"Expenditures" occur in all kinds of situations, but in the OA texts *gamrum* denotes especially expenditures in the course of a (caravan) journey, because of transport etc. [378]), a meaning which OB *gimrum* also has in commercial contexts (JEAN, *Tell Sifr* 70, 8f.; UET 5, 227, 3f.; TIM 1, 28, 29.41). This meaning is clear when *gamrum* is qualified by *ša ḫarrānim*, as in TC 1, 24, 25 and CCT 2, 24, 7. The latter text mentions 1 mina of silver as *gamram ša ḫarrān ālim*^{ki}, "expenditures for a journey to the City (of Aššur)" starting in Anatolia, an amount also mentioned in TC 1, 1, 14 as the cost of sending a messenger from Aššur to Kaniš. Other examples of *gamrum* are quoted in *CAD* G 38b, 2. [379]).

Besides "expenditures" the word also means "amount of money to meet expenditures", a not uncommon development. Cf. TC 1, 24, 21ff.: *2 ma-na* AN.NA [22] *[ù x m]a-na ni-gá-li ga-mar-šu-nu* [23] *[ša] iš-tù a-lim*^{ki} *a-dí Kà-ni-iš*^{ki} [24] *kà-ša-dí-šu-nu a-na qá-tí-šu-nu* [25] *a-dí-in-šu-nu-*

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[378]) Only in the first two texts quoted in *CAD* 38b, 2 the meaning is different; cf. also TC 3/2, 155, 1f.

[379]) Clear examples are BIN 4, 40, 12, where a transporter asks for some additional money for expenses *en route*: *1 mana* URUDU *ana gamrim*, "one mina of copper for expenses", because he has to pay *ša* ANŠE.ḪI.A, denoting either the fodder or the donkey drivers. Furthermore CCT 1, 33a, 11f., where it is said that a transporter, who had already received "loose tin" and some additional silver took more silver *ana gamrišu*, "to cover his expenses" (*en route*). TC 3/3, 211, 37 mentions *gamrum ša bilātim*, "expenses of paying the porters".

tí gám-mar-šu-nu ša ḫa-ra-nim [26] *ša-bu-ú mì-ma gám-ra-am ša ḫa-ra-nim* [27] *lá e-ri-šu-kà*, "2 minas of tin and x minas of sickles, the amount they need for their expenditures to reach Kaniš from the City, I handed over to them. Consequently they are satisfied with the payment of their travelling-expenditures, they are not entitled to ask you for any (payment of) travel expenses". Cf. also ICK 2, 295, 15, which mentions an amount of tin which reached a transporter *en route* (*ina ḫarrānim*), commenting: *a-ṣé-er* [15] *gá-am-ri-im ša a-na-ku* [16] *a-dí-nu-šu-ni*, "in addition to the (amount for) travelling-expenditures, which I already gave him". In connection with this development of meaning, I note here that the possibility exists that *dātum* in the same way not only denotes the amount paid *en route* as *d.*, but also perhaps occasionally the money given to a transporter to enable him to pay the *d.*

b) *A survey of the travelling-expenditures*

gamrum comprises a variety of items. The following survey, using the data collected by GARELLI *AC* 299ff., will enable us to assess the place and relative importance of *dātum* among them. We may distinguish:

1. Food and fodder: *ukultum*.

When used without further specification *ukultum* probably means food, both for the personnel and the donkeys. Specifications are given by means of a noun in the genitive, like *ukulti emārim/sāridim*, "fodder for a donkey/food for a donkey-driver". A few times we meet the *status constructus ukul* (*sāridim* in BIN 4, 29, 10 and 6, 185, 16; cf. also 6, 73 r. 5′), probably to be derived from *uklum*, "food" (or perhaps *ukullum*, cf. the *status constructus ḫubul* from *ḫubullum*, e.g. CCT 2, 22, 24; see HECKER *GKT*, § 63b).

This entry "food/fodder" is to be distinguished from the one normally recorded in 'caravan-accounts' and expressed in silver; the latter refers to the amounts of silver spent in Aššur for buying food, which the caravan departing for Anatolia took along (cf. GARELLI *AC* 300[3]). Of course they did not take along food for the whole journey of ca. 2 months, but also bought it *en route*. Such expenses are normally in tin—being paid from the "loose tin"—but they could secondarily be converted into silver for purposes of accounting. Normally we meet one amount of tin making up the expenses for food during the whole journey; but occasionally they are specified as they were incurred during some stage of the trip ("up to GN", "from GN"). Once, in TC 1, 106, 4f. (above text no. 3), these expenses are specified by means of a distributive TA; this could mean the share to be paid by each partner in the enterprise. At times expenses for food are added to others; we meet "costs of transport and food" (TC 3/1, 18, 20off.) and "food and head-tax" (CCT 5, 40b, 20f.).

Payments in tin: BIN 4, 29, 9f.: ½ mina for a donkey-driver; 6, 185, 16: the same, amount broken away; CCT 5, 35a, 3f.: 7⅔ minas 4 shekels; ibid. 9f.: 18 shekels from Ḫaḫḫum (to Kaniš?); TC 1, 106, 4f.: $^5/_6$ mina each (partner?); TC 2, 57, 15f.: 3 minas; TC 3/1, 18, 20f.: 6 minas food and costs of transport up to Zalpa; TC 3/1, 24, 23f.: 3¼ minas.

Payments in silver: TC 3/2, 162, 25f.: "I bought for 2 shekels of silver barley as fodder for the donkeys"; ATHE 37, 46f.: 8 shekels; BIN 6, 26, 40f.: part of 20 shekels for "food for the servants"; CCT 1, 30a, 5: 3 shekels; 5, 40b, 20f.: 5 shekels for "food (*ú-⟨ku⟩-ul-tí*) for the servants and "head-tax" ". Expenses for food during journeys in Anatolia are attested in BIN 4, 13, 11; 144, 20 ("there they consumed food for 1½ shekels"); TC 1, 16, 21; 3/2, 165, 2.10.20.27.32 (in all 2 minas of silver for food for the servants and the donkeys).

Apart from "food/fodder" without further specification, we read about the purchase of "grain" (*še'um*) in TC 3/2, 163, 23f. (cf. the purchase of *uṭṭutum*, "barley", in TC 3/2, 162, 25f., quoted above), of "wine" (*kirānum*) in CCT 1, 29, 11, and of "salt" (*ṭābtum*) in 5, 32b, 4f.

nabrītum

In connection with donkeys we also meet, apart from occasional references to the purchase and use of straw (*tibnum*; cf. GARELLI *AC* 300[4] and the texts EL 178, 2f.; ICK 1, 168, 2f.; TC 2, 47, 17f.; 3/2, 162, 27f.; 164, 14f.; 176, 13f.), the entry *nabrītum*. CCT 3, 44b, 17ff. contains a request: *e-ma-ri ra-qú-tim* [18] *a-na na-áb-ri-tim* [19] *i-dí-i*, "put the thin (weak) donkeys to *n.*", while the strong ones should be sent on, apparently to be used as pack-animals. The expression *ana nabrītim nadā'um* is also used in BIN 4, 31, 44f.: ANŠE-*ru-kà* [45] *a-na-áb-ri-tim na-du*, and TC 3/1, 61, 14ff.: ANŠE [15] *a-na na-áb-ri-tim* [16] *i-dí*. BIN 4, 144, 14ff. records the death of a donkey *i-na na-áb-ri-tim*, and states in lines 18ff.: *3* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR [19] *na-áb-ri⟨-tí⟩ 3* ANŠE.ḪI!.A! [20] *1½* GÍN *a-na-kam!* [21] *e-ku-lu*, "3 shekels of silver, (the costs of) *nabrītum* of 3 donkeys; (for) 1½ shekels they have eaten here". One may compare TC 3/2, 162, 18ff.: 22 shekels of silver [19] *na-áb-ri-tí* ANŠE.ḪI.A. In other cases the entry is simply listed as "x shekels (of silver) *ana nabrītim ša emārī*", so in CCT 4, 17a, 26f. (12 shekels...*a-na-áb-/ri-*[*tim*]), TC 1, 83, 15ff. (2 minas 3 shekels (of tin)), and OIP 27 no. 55, 62f. (4 shekels of silver).

GARELLI *AC* 300f. translates *ana nabrītim nadā'um* with "to turn to pasture", and the item *nabrītum* would mean "la location des herbages", a meaning which would make good sense e.g. in CCT 3, 44b and BIN 4, 144, and is also found in the translation of the first text in *CAD* I/J 113b, f, 1. The derivation of *nabrītum*, however, remains problematic, and a

translation "pasturing, grazing" is rather an inference from the situation than a translation based on a clear etymology [380]).

2. Lodging: *bīt wabrim/ūbrim*.

See for this item GARELLI *AC* 303f., "prix des hotelleries". It is possible that a *bīt wabrim/ūbrim* was a kind of caravanserai, though the function of this institution and its possible relation to the commercial settlement or post called *wabartum* is not clear. Apart from the texts mentioned by GARELLI I note CCT 5, 44c, 3f.; GARELLI 1965, 41 no. 17, 8f.; and TC 3/2, 156, 12f., which record payments in tin for lodging. In Anatolia one also payed in silver: CCT 1, 29, 25; CCT 5, 30a, 9 (⅔ shekel, and not 40 as GARELLI *AC* 304 reads); or in copper: TC 3/2, 165, 9f. [381]).

3. Transport costs: *taššiātum*.

Most probably special, additional costs in connection with transport, cf. the analysis below *sub* d.

4. Costs of (additional) personnel.

This entry does not refer to the payments to the regular caravan personnel, engaged in Aššur, and mostly under contract against receipt of an interest-free loan (*be'ulātum*), but to the amounts paid *en route* to engage additional personnel for certain stages of the journey, perhaps in conse-

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[380]) *CAD* does not mention *nabrītum* as a derivative of *barû* B, "to be hungry", and the word can hardly be identical with *nabrītum* mentioned *sub barû* A, "to look upon". *AHw* equates our word with Bab. *nebrītum*, a derivative of *berû* II, "to be hungry", and translates "Hunger(ration)" (774a), cf. VON SODEN's remarks in *BiOr* 23, 1966, 52b *ad AbB* 1, no. 17. KRAUS, *AbB* 4, 56 *ad* no 83, a, while admitting that a derivation from *epērum* is excluded (cf. the OB plural of *nēpertum* recorded in *AHw* 778a), writes "'Hunger' sachlich ausgeschlossen. Von welcher Wurzel?" Indeed the context of his letters asks for a meaning "sustenance, food-supply", the notion of 'minimal provision' ("Hungerration") being completely absent. This is also the case in the OA texts, where *nabrītum* means that the donkeys in some way receive their food, apparently in normal quantities. One does not give thin, frail donkeys the absolute minimum of fodder (CCT 3, 44b) and one cannot translate *emārum ina nabrītim mēt* with "one donkey has died from hunger". The interpretation "has died during grazing" makes good sense, but I cannot suggest a convincing derivation of the word. I do not know on which etymology GELB (OIP 27 no. 55, 62: "for pasturing"), *CAD* I/J and GARELLI *AC* 300 (both quoted above); and HECKER (*GKT* § 63f.: "Weide"; he does not mention *nabrītum* in § 54b as *maprist*) base their translations. The possibility of a derivation from *berû* (*barā'um*), "to be hungry", in a rather derived meaning, cannot be completely ruled out. An example of a secondary, derived meaning of this verb is provided by TC 1, 29, 29 and 32, where it is used with the meaning "to remain unused, unsold" (cf. LANDSBERGER 1965, 293[36]); the same meaning holds good for BIN 4, 34, 11. [J. BOTTÉRO, *ARM* 7, p. 327, 103, convincingly argues for *ne-ep-re-tum*, "collation d' *epru*", "entretien alimentaire", to be distinguished from *nebrītum*, "hunger"; Mr. M. STOL also refers me to *CT* 8, 27b, 18, where he reads: *i-na* ŠE.BA *ù ne-e[p-r]e!-tim*].

[381]) A *bīt ūbrim* is also attested in CCT 5, 1b, 30f.; KTH 3, 13; and TC 2, 74, 2. Cf. for the notion connected with the root *wbr* and the word *ūbārum* recently J. J. FINKELSTEIN, *JAOS* 90, 1970, p. 252ff.

quence of problems of transport, or the breaking up of combined loads or caravans. Costs of this nature are normally called *igrī sāridim* or *ša sāridim*, "hire, wages of a donkey-driver". This expense has been discussed by GARELLI *AC* 301f. and LARSEN *OACP* 79f. and 94. The former mentions a number of texts recording payments of this kind, and the amounts paid for the various stages of the journey, which show some relation with the distance covered.

BIN 4, 13, 11f. lists as expenses *dātum*, food and *ša sāridim*, and CCT 2, 26b, 12f. *taššiātum* and *sāridum* (*sic* for *ša sāridim*?) as the normal costs of a caravan, put at the disposal of a transporter. To the texts mentioned by GARELLI and LARSEN I add: TC 3/3, 265, 16ff.: 5 minas of tin *ana igrī sāridim* up to Kaniš; TC 3/2, 139, 9′: 8 shekels of silver; 157, 17f.: 5 shekels of silver. CCT 2, 2, 42f. states that *ša sāridim* has not yet been paid; CCT 2, 4b, 10 and BIN 4, 53, 7 that the *sāridum* has been paid off (*igrī sāridim šabbū*); KTS 26a, 17ff. tells us that the *sāridum* is fully satisfied with all "hand-money" he is entitled to (*mimma* [18] *ša qātim sāridum* [19] *šabbūma*).

To this same category of expenses belongs the entry "costs of porters", denoting a payment to people, probably of a lower status than the *sāridū*, engaged to carry merchandise. This entry, *ša biltim/bilātim* is treated in *CAD* B 236b, a; add KUG 26, x + 9 and KTK 64, 5 (*ša* bi_4*-lá-tim li-*gu_5*-ur-ma*). We again note that such people could be engaged for some lap of a journey. TC 1, 24, 50 mentions *ša bilātišu* alongside *gamrī*, and TC 3/3, 211, 37 uses the expression *gamram ša bilātim*, "expenses for porters" (with haplography of the expected double *ša*; cf. *šīmum ša akkidīē*, "the price of the Akkadian textiles").

5. Costs of (additional) donkeys.

Costs incurred by hiring an extra donkey for part of the journey are exceptional; I can only mention (with GARELLI *AC* 300 and *CAD* I/J 44a, a, 2′) TC 3/2, 164, 14f.: 4 shekels of silver *igrī emārim* from Zalpa to Wašḫania [382]). The reasons for hiring a donkey are not mentioned. A reason could have been the death of donkeys *en route* or in Anatolia, frequently recorded in the texts: CCT 5, 35a, 12; KTS 55a, 24; TC 3/1, 24, 25; according to BIN 4, 144, 14 one donkey had died *ina nabrītim*. BIN 6, 79, r. 20′ reports the loss of 3, BIN 4, 61, 7of. of even 5 donkeys. From the fact that TC 3/1, 24, 25f. reads: "one donkey died and it cost me 17 shekels of silver" we may infer that the loss was put on the account in

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[382]) *CAD* I/J loc. cit. is wrong in mentioning also CCT 4, 31a, 28; we have to read: *ik-ri-ba-am*, meaning "curse" (euphemism; cf. KTS 15, 25, quoted *CAD* I/J 63b, a).

silver valuta, according to the purchase price of the dead animal or its substitute. TC 2, 57, 17ff. records the theft of a donkey in Abrum, which caused expenses of 26½ shekels of tin (to get it back?).

6. Payments to messengers, guides and for military protection.

Under this heading several entries are collected, the exact nature of which is not always clear; there may even be some overlap with the expenses recorded under 7. In the first place there are payments to a *šiprum* (OA for *mār šiprim*), "messenger"; the references have been collected and discussed by GARELLI, *AC* 303. We may add CCT 1, 29, 1ff.: a payment of 15 shekels of tin to a messenger sent to Kaniš (from where is not mentioned); lines 8 and 33 record payments of 7 and 40 shekels of tin to various messengers. These messengers probably carried messages and tablets, or small amounts of silver, e.g. if a transporter was short of "loose tin" and had to be supplied *en route*.

The *rādiū*, repeatedly mentioned, may have been a kind of soldiers, offering armed protection, but at times may have served also as guides. The payment of 3 shekels of silver to *rādiū*, who have to provide armed protection (*naṣārum*; TTC 8, 1-3), discussed by GARELLI *AC* 302 with note 1, proves their military task. GARELLI points out that *rādiū* are also involved in the transport of and even trade in merchandise; in this case *rādium* may be an abbreviation for *rādi luqūtim*, attested in BIN 4, 1, 19. Without further information we are unable to distinguish clearly between both functions; in the former case *rādiū* may have been in the service of the local Anatolian administration (cf. the "*rādium* of the female ruler", TC 3/3, 211, 45; and the "*rādium* of Kaniš", TC 3/2, 166, 19f.); in the latter they may have belonged to the Assyrian society (cf. a payment *ana rādiūm u* DUB.SAR, recorded in BIN 6, 122, 7). Apart from the texts quoted by GARELLI loc. cit. *rādiū* are attested in BIN 4, 203, 14; CCT 1, 29, 29; 31a, 9; and TC 1, 102, 9.

The military task of the *rādiū*, expressed by the use of the verb *naṣārum*, connects them with the entry called *maṣṣarātum* or *ša maṣṣarātim*, "costs of (armed) protection", attested in BIN 6, 267, 6'; CCT 5, 32b, 8; ICK 2, 293, 17; KTB 12, 1; TC 3/2, 162, 30f.; 165, 1; 169, 3f. In all cases payments are in silver [383]).

The *muqarribum* probably is a guide or escort. TC 3/2, 165, 46 records a payment of 17⅓ shekels of silver to porters and "my *muqarribū*" for a journey from Wašḫania to Ullama. In BIN 6, 120, a circular letter from *kārum* Kaniš to "every single *kārum*", the latter are requested to provide the official messengers of *kārum Kaniš* in each *kārum* with 2 *muqarribū*

[383]) Cf. for other meanings of *maṣṣartum*, note 435.

(11f.: *2 mu-qá-ri-bi*$_4$ ^{11} *dí-na-[šu-nu]-tí*), who have to guide and escort them safely from *kārum* to *kārum* [384]).

7. Gifts to local dignitaries.

Gifts are amply attested both for journeys from Aššur to Anatolia, and for those in Anatolia.

Gifts to the *kaššum*, presumably a local burgomaster (BALKAN *AS* 16, 172f.) are attested in TC 3/2, 163, 19ff.: 1 shekel of tin (to the servant of the *k.*; cf. BIN 4, 124, 5ff.); 166, 14f.: 1½ mina of *nigallū*, "sickles" (of copper); CCT 1, 26b, 13: 7½ shekels of tin to the *kaššum* as his *kurummatum*; GARELLI 1965, 42 no. 17, 16f.: 20 shekels to the *kaššum* of Neḫria (cf. below note 422). Gifts to the local rulers, their family and court officials are attested in: TC 3/2, 166, 12: 1½ shekel of *pašallum*-gold to the *rubā'um*; GARELLI 1965, 41 no. 17, 14f.: 8 shekels of tin to the brother of the *rubā'um*; CCT 1, 26b, 6: 17½ shekels of tin to the son of the *rubā'um*. TC 3/3, 211, 46f. mentions a gift of 35 shekels of tin and a *saḫertum* to the counsellor (*mālikum*) of a *rubā'um*. We read also about gifts to a smith (CCT 1, 26b, 8), to an authority called *b/parullum* (CCT 1, 29, 5f.: 20 shekels of tin, a garment and a *saḫertum*). GARELLI 1965, 41 no. 17, 1ff. records payments in the local palace (at Abrum) and in a *kārum* of respectively 3 and 12 shekels of tin (line 21). All these references concern gifts made *en route* from Aššur to Anatolia; the many and manifold gifts made in Anatolia are not recorded here, as we are primarily concerned here with expenses to be parallelled with *dātum* [385]).

8. Taxes and tolls: *dātum, qaqqadātum.*

These items are the subject of this chapter. Cf. for occasional references to payments of *nisḫatum*-tax *en route* between Aššur and Anatolia below p. 294f. *ad* BIN 6, 265.

Only occasionally does *gamrum* include other entries, such as taxes paid in Anatolia, when the merchandise was cleared (*nisḫatum*) at its place of destination, "deficiencies", i.e. the underweight of the packets of tin, established by check on arrival, and "losses" (*ḫuluqqā'ū*), due to accidents. This seems to be the case only in BIN 4, 29, 4ff. (above text no. 2; LARSEN *OACP* 136ff., "type 3: 15"). But as a rule there is a clear distinction between expenses incurred *en route* to Anatolia, and other negative entries, which are either not real expenses, or are incurred only upon arrival.

[384]) Cf. *ṣābum taqribtum* in OB Mari, who perform similar functions (see J. M. SASSON, *Studia Pohl* 3, Roma 1969, 21 with note 89), and for *muqarribum* also note 439.

[385]) Cf. GARELLI *AC* 308ff. for an analysis of TC 3/2, 165, mentioning gifts to local dignitaries (*kaššum, rābiṣum, bēl ālim, bēl ḫat(t)i tim*) during a journey from Kaniš to Burušḫanda.

c) *Some similarities between gamrum and dātum*

Dātum, as one of the main travelling-expenditures, is part of the *gamrum*; there exists even a measure of similarity between them, in that both are mentioned alongside or are contrasted with items not being typical travelling-expenditures:

1. Beside *ḫuluqqā'ū*, "(non-commercial) losses":

BIN 6, 212, 18'f. mentions as the costs of an enterprise: *lu ḫu-lu-qá-e lu gám-ra-am* [19'] *ša ḫa-ra-nim*, "both losses and travelling-expenditures"; BIN 6, 185 (cf. p. 239 no. 18) after stating the value of the load mentions the various expenses, most probably beginning with *dātum*, and finally records the "losses" (*ḫu-lu-qá-e*, line 23; cf. above note 371).

2. Beside *muṭā'ū*, "shortage, deficiency", "underweight":

TC 1, 23, 30ff. mentions a settlement concerning costs of transport, comprising both *gamrum* and *muṭā'ū*. *muṭā'ū* occurs alongside *dātum* in BIN 4, 29 (text no. 2 above) and in no. 3, listing: *dātum*, food and *muṭā annak qātim*. Cf. also text:

27. EL 204 (= TC 2, 69; cf. corrigenda in EL II, 182f.), 7ff.: *da-tám* [8] *ni-is-ḫa-tim ú mu-ṭá-e* [9] *iṣ-ḫi-ru-ma*, "*dātum*, import-tax and underweight were deducted". One may also compare the mention of *bitqat* AN.NA in BIN 6, 185, 18, which has the same meaning as *muṭā'ū*.

3. Beside *nisḫatum*, "import-tax":

TC 3/3, 247, describing a commercial partnership between two merchants, mentions as expenses to be expected in their undertaking, and to be shared proportionally, in line 20: "their *gamrum* and their *nisḫatum*". Alongside *dātum* we have *nisḫatum* not only in EL 204, quoted *sub* 2, but also in two new texts:

28. BIN 4, 85, 8ff.: *da-tám* [9] *ù ni-is-ḫa-tim* [10] *ú-lá i-lá-mu-*[*du*], "they are not liable to payment of *d.* and import-tax";

29. GARELLI 1965, 45 no. 20, 10ff.: *ni-is-*[*ḫ*]*a-at* [11] AN.NA *ù da-tám* [12] *a-na-ku áš-qúl*, "I myself paid the import-tax on tin and the *d.*". In BIN 4, 29, as stated above, both *dātum* and *nisḫatum* were, exceptionally, included in *gamrum*.

A final point of comparison between *dātum* and *gamrum* is that just as BIN 4, 29, 17f. may state: *51 ma-na 15* GÍN [18] *gám-ra-am ú-ṣa-ḫe-er-ma*, "I deducted 51 minas 15 shekels the (sum of the) expenses" (in order to arrive at the amount of tin available for sale), text:

30. KTH 18, 22f. has: ŠU.NIGIN$_2$ [23] *13½* GÚ *a-wi-tí da-tum' lu-ṣa-ḫe-ru-ma*, "in all the value of my merchandise: 13½ talents; let them deduct the *dātum*" (to arrive at the net proceeds).

This partly similar use of *dātum* and *gamrum* made both BALKAN and

LARSEN adopt a meaning "travelling-expenses" for *dātum* too. The latter bases this interpretation mainly on TC 1, 106 (above no. 13), where he explains the rate of the *dātum*, "$3^5/_6$ minas each (talent)", as the sum of the expenses listed after the *dātum*: transport-costs, *taššiātum* at 3 minas, and food at $^5/_6$ mina each(!). This interpretation seems wrong. Firstly, the text ends with the statement that the items mentioned constitute "the *gamrum* of the merchandise transported by A", and LARSEN's interpretation would mean that in these few lines we would have two words denoting the expenses in general. Moreover the text also lists a *qaqqadātum*, "head-tax", of "10 shekels each (person)", which in LARSEN's interpretation he should have included in the sum of the *dātum*; but he does not do it, probably because the figures would not match in that case. Finally he has to add a distributive TA after the amount mentioned as *taššiātum*, but nowhere else are these "transport-costs" specified by means of TA. Note, on the other hand, that in this text the expenses for food are recorded with a distributive TA, which is equally exceptional. Anyhow this unique text cannot prove a meaning "travelling-expenses" for *dātum*.

dātum is a kind of tax or toll, paid *en route*, and is one of the components of the travelling-expenses; as such it is to be distinguished from other negative entries like "import-tax", "underweight", and "losses", not directly linked with or caused by transport.

d) dātum and taššiātum

Only the relation between *dātum* and *taššiātum* is more complex. The latter word, normally translated with "transport(-costs)", is a derivative of the verb *našā'um*, "to carry". *GAG* § 56m makes it a *taprust*-form, apparently because VON SODEN reserves the *taprist*-formation exclusively for *nomina actionis* of the D-stem; with *GAG Ergänzungsheft*, 1969, p. 10** *ad* § 56 1 and HECKER *GKT* § 55e (who still mentions *taššiātum* under *taprust*, though adding "nicht gesichert"), we should recognise the existence of *taprist*-forms belonging to G-stems (in OA probably *tamgirtum*, "agreement", *taništum*, "humanity"; cf. also the remarks on *tardīum*, above p. 197, d), and consider *taššiātum* (*plurale tantum*, cf. HECKER *GKT* § 59e) as one of them.

The word is used in various contexts. KTH 18, 18 mentions bags (*naruqqātim*) *ana taššiātim*, "for (as means of) transport", and lines 19f. state: "I paid the *t.* up to Qaṭara". In both cases we have to do with regular transport under normal circumstances. BIN 4, 29, 8f. mentions expenses of half a mina called *ta-ši-a-tum* ^{9} *ša* SA.TU, "(costs of) transport in the mountains", probably denoting extra costs due to difficult geo-

graphical circumstances. BIN 6, 185 having first mentioned the payment of a share of the purchase price of a donkey (for the transport of a small lot of merchandise), records in line 17 an expenditure (figure broken away) called *ta-ši-at* ANŠE, "costs of transport of/by means of (?) a/the donkey". In this case I would rather think of special, additional costs connected with the transport by means of the donkey purchased, than of expenses for the purchase or hire of an additional animal; unfortunately the figure, which could be informative, is broken away.

BIN 4, 51, 13 mentions *gamrum* and *taššiātum* simply as the two main and most typical expenditures connected with caravan transport. TC 3/3, 211, 38ff. show the same combination; an anonymous merchant states in this memorandum that he paid amounts of 8 and 4 shekels of silver as *gamrum* and *taššiātum* on behalf of two of his colleagues (note that these entries are preceded by a booking of a payment of 4 shekels of silver called *gamram ša bilātim*, "expenses (in the form of) payments to porters").

For the relation between *dātum* and *taššiātum* two texts are important:

31. EL 233 (CCT 1, 41a), 10ff.: *da-a-sú-nu* [11] *ù ta-ší-a-tí-šu-nu* [12] *ša 8* TÚG.ḪI⟨.A⟩ *U.* [13] *ša-bu*, "U. is satisfied with (the payment of) *dātum* and *taššiātum* for the 8 textiles"; U. is a transporter who, probably in addition to his main transport, takes along a small lot of 8 textiles, and is paid back the expenses made *en route* for this lot.

32. EL 94, 17ff.: a debtor has to pay back a loan of 40 minas of copper in Kaniš, [17] *ba-lum da-tim* [18] *ša ta-ší-a-tim* [19] *šál-ma-am ù ke-na-am*, "without (deducting from the amount to be paid back the amounts paid as) the *dātum* of the transport, whole and sound". The fact that the text stipulates that the refund has to take place in Kaniš suggests that the loan was contracted somewhere else, and had to be paid back in Kaniš in the interest of the creditor; the text states the debtor is not allowed to charge the creditor the costs of transport made in his interest.

Text no. 13 (TC 1, 106) mentions *taššiātum* alongside *dātum*, costs of food, and the "head-tax", which together make up the *gamrum*.

While *gamrum* is a general term for (travelling-)expenses, and *dātum* refers to a tax or toll, *taššiātum* means "(costs) of transport", lit. "the carrying", in a narrower sense. Normally when a caravan left Aššur, or travelled in Anatolia, it was fully equipped with harnessed donkeys, personnel, food, etc. Hence "costs of transport" could only arise under special circumstances, like bad weather, difficult territory (mountains and rivers to be crossed), political commotion, etc. BIN 4, 29, 8f. speaking of "*taššiātum* in the mountains" suggests such an explanation. The costs then could be caused by engaging porters, hiring additional donkeys or

even carts, using ferries etc.; several texts indeed mention expenses of this kind, called *igri sāridim*, *igri emārim*, *ša biltim*, "hire of a donkey driver, hire of a donkey, costs of a porter", for certain stages of the journey. These expenses could be called *gamrum* (*ša ḫarrānim*), but perhaps also *taššiātum* [386]).

We can also envisage the situation in which a merchant does not equip his own caravan, but either uses the services of a regular transporter to ship for him a small lot of merchandise, or co-operates with another merchant in adding his merchandise to that of his colleague. In both cases a proportional share of the costs of transport has to be paid by the merchant in question, in which connection the words *gamrum*, *dātum* and *taššiātum* occur. Text no. 31 probably refers to a payment or refund of transport costs to a transporter who took along a small lot of 8 textiles. BIN 4, 51, 13f.: *gamram u taššiātim āḫam ana āḫim la takabbas*, "do not violate your mutual interests in matters of travelling-expenses and transport costs" (i.e. apportion the mutual shares in a fair way, cf. *Balkan* 1967, 400 *sub* d) deals with the apportioning of travelling-expenses between two co-operating merchants. Note that also in BIN 6, 185 and text no. 32 the merchandise to be shipped is less than one donkey load.

While text no. 31 still distinguishes *dātum* and *taššiātum*, no. 32 deals with *dātum ša taššiātum* (cf. the combination *dātum ša ḫarrānim* mentioned above, p. 246). This obviously does not mean a kind of surtax to be paid on the amount paid as transport costs. We may explain the words in two ways: a) "the *dātum*-tax incurred during transport"; b) "the fee (costs) of transport". While a) uses the meaning of *dātum* set forth above (a tax or toll), b) assumes the word has a less specific, more general meaning, "fee, costs incurred". I think meaning b) is more probable; there are more examples of *dātum* used with a more general meaning (cf. below p. 286f.).

6. *dātum* AND *annak qātim*, "LOOSE TIN"

a) *The amount of "loose tin" required for dātum*

As stated before the "tin of the hand" or "loose tin", i.e. tin not shipped in sealed packets, was entrusted to the leader of a caravan to meet expenses *en route*. *dātum* was an important item among these expenses, as the figures e.g. in texts nos. 1, 2 and 3 show. How much of this "loose tin" was in fact needed in these and similar texts to pay the *dātum*?

386) Other occurrences of *taššiātum* are TC 3/1, 18, 20off.: 6 minas of tin for *t.* and donkey-fodder; 3/2, 157, 11ff.: 3½ minas of *ḫušā'ū* as *t.*; CCT 2 26b, 12f.: *t.* and (wages of) a *sāridum*. Cf. also GARELLI *AC* 301-2.

In text no. 1 the amount of "loose tin" given to the transporter was 40 minas (line 9); about 35 minas was spent on *dātum*, or ca. 85%. In no. 2 the amount of "loose tin" included in the 4 talents 40 minas was almost certainly 20 minas, as 4 talents 20 minas was a typical load of "sealed tin" (cf. loads of 130 minas of sealed tin with ca. 10 minas of "loose tin" in texts nos. 15, 33, 54, 56, 67, 104, 106, 131, 148, 149, 153 of the table constituting the *Appendix*, p. 69ff.). In this text accordingly the *dātum* would even have required 50% more "loose tin" than was available. In no. 3 the 12 minas of "loose tin" (minus 12 shekels, the "underweight") were also not sufficient to pay the *dātum*, which required $13^5/_6$ minas, or ca. 115% of the amount available. In TC 1, 83 the *dātum* amounted to $52\frac{1}{2}$ minas, the "loose tin" to $62\frac{3}{4}$ minas; ca. 83% of the "loose tin" was needed for the *dātum*.

This shows the *dātum* was by far the most important item to be payed from the "loose tin". In fact the transporter several times was unable to pay the *dātum* from his "loose tin" alone, e.g. in texts nos. 2 and 3. We already pointed out on p. 31f., quoting CCT 4, 20b, how a transporter could proceed in case of emergency: either break open one of the packets with "sealed tin", and use it for his expenses, or advance money from his own funds, which of course would be paid back to him upon arrival. The second possibility is frequently attested and seems to suggest that the people called "transporter", or "freighter" (*kaṣṣārum*) were not simply hired servants, but at times men of means, who could advance substantial sums of money, probably from the funds they used for their private trading activities (*inter alia* from the *be'ūlātum*-loans).

b) *napālum, nipiltum, "balance payments"*

The verb typically used for paying back to these men what they had advanced is *napālum*; the sum paid is called *nipiltum* (cf. already EL p. 219ff., note a) [387]). A clear example is text no. 3, TC 3/1, 24, treated by LARSEN *OACP* 127ff. as "type 3 : 12", where the transporter eventually gets back more than 1 mina of silver, *inter alia* because he had advanced $5\frac{1}{4}$ minas of "loose tin" (lines 31-41). In VAT 9225, 18ff. we read: *šu-ma mì-ma ni-pì-il$_5$-tim* [19] *i-ta-áb-ší* [20] *i-na* KÙ.BABBAR *ša li-bi$_4$-šu* [21] *lu-ṣa-ḫe-er-ma* [22] *ší-tám a-tù-nu* [23] *ù A.* [24] *ku-un-kà-nim-ma* [25] *še-bi$_4$-lá-nim*, "if there has resulted any amount to be balanced, let him deduct it from the silver he owes me (e.g. the *be'ūlātum*-loan) and you and A. should send

[387]) *Nipiltum* is also the name of the balance payments made in connection with the taxes on textiles (*nisḫatum*, 5%; *išrātum*, 10%); instead of cutting up a textile into worthless, very small pieces (e.g. if the tax amounted to $4^1/_6$ textiles), they resorted to balance payments in silver, cf. p. 81, 93.

me the rest under seal". The preceding lines state that the import-tax should be paid from his "loose tin". Other examples of this *nipiltum*, "balance payment", are: ATHE 10, 7ff.: "A. took 11 minas 10 shekels of tin as balance payment (AN.NA *ni-ip-lá-tim*, line 8); TC 2, 52, 22ff. "We paid back to A son of B 15⅓ minas of tin as balance payment (AN.NA-*ak ni-ip-lá-tim*); TC 3/2, 167, 8ff.: "He still owes me $3^5/_6$ minas 3¼ shekels of tin from a balance payment" (AN.NA *ša ni-ip-lá-tim*); VAT 9266, 9ff.: "⅓ mina $6^6/_5$ shekels of silver, the amount you had to balance (KÙ *ni-pí-il-tí-kà*) we paid to A". TC 1, 25, 3ff. mentions such a payment in connection with the settling of accounts. The fact that the amounts to be balanced are normally small amounts of tin suggests that they originated in transactions with the "loose tin"; but occasionally we also meet silver, because when the accounts where settled silver was used as valuta for accounting (cf. TC 3/1, 24 where the tin is converted into silver) [388]).

Similar "balance payments" are to be assumed when men, known as transporters, upon arrival of a caravan simply "take" (*laqā'um*) small amounts of tin, without further specification of how and why. In BIN 4, 27, 16ff. two transporters are paid (*napālum*) amounts of ca. 9 and $1^5/_6$ minas of tin, presumably for the same reason. We are not always informed about these settlements which were self-explanatory. In BIN 4, 29 the total of the "expenditures" (*gamrum*), 51 minas 15 shekels of tin, surpasses the available amount of "loose tin" (40 minas, cf. lines 3 and 15), but is simply deducted from the whole lot of tin; in this case the packets of sealed tin, already broken open for clearance in the local palace, provide the amount missing.

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[388]) Similar conversions of amounts in tin into amounts of silver in the context of *nipiltum*-payments are attested in a number of texts. Some even specify the rate of this conversion, like EL 225 (CCT 1, 4), 15f.: $3^2/_3$ *ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR *ṣa-ru-pá-am* [16] *ni-pí-il$_5$-tám ša 12 ma-na*.TA, "$3^2/_3$ minas of refined silver, a balance payment at a rate of exchange of 12 minas (of tin for) each (mina of silver)". Also TC 1, 15, 20ff.: *3½ ma-na 4* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR [21] *ṣa-ru-pá-am a-na* [22] *ni-ip-lá-tí-a* [23] *ša 16 ma-na*.TA [24] *lu áš-qú-ul*, "3½ minas 4 shekels of refined silver I paid as my balance payment at a rate of exchange of 16 minas (of tin for) each (mina of silver)". As the amounts are rather big, it is possible that this settlement of accounts is not one between merchant and transporter, but e.g. between two co-operating merchants one of which advanced the whole of the expenses to be made. In TC 3/1, 24, 32 the rate of conversion is 8 to 1; in TC 2, 54 (text no. 21) it is 10 : 1. KUG 27, 16ff, mentions small payments of silver to two employees, who declare to have a claim (possibly because they had advanced money). But they are formally contracted (*rakkusū*, line 15; cf. 20) to pay back at a rate of 16 : 1 (silver : tin) if they should be proved to have no claim at all. TC 3/1, 18, 20f. mentions expenses of 6 minas of tin for transport and food (until Zalpa), which should be paid back by giving [24] KÙ.BABBAR [25] *ší-im-šu*, "its value (purchase price) in silver", to a woman.

c) *Shortage of "loose tin"*

When a transporter *en route* was short of "loose tin", one could also send him an additional amount. We read in BIN 4, 61 (LARSEN *OACP* 122f., "type 3: 11"), 19ff.: "since the 50 minas 5 shekels of loose tin, the 4 litres of fine oil and the ⅓ mina of tin plus 5 shekels of silver, which you had brought to him in Abitiban, have been used up (and he had to advance money from his own funds) we made a balance payment of 9 minas of tin to Ilī-ašranni" (transcription in LARSEN loc. cit.). Cf. also ICK 2, 295, 11ff. "all this I gave to A *en route*, in addition to the amount to cover the expenses (*gamrum*), which I already had given him" (transcription above p. 248).

CCT 1, 38a as a whole deals with similar problems and reads:

a-ṣé-er AN.NA		"To add to (on top of) his
qá-tí-šu 1 TÚG *bu-ra-am*		"loose tin" he sold one *burā'um*-
a-ší-mì-im i-ḫa-ra-nim		textile *en route*;
i-dí-in 6 ma-na AN.NA		six minas of tin
ší-im-šu 1 ma-na KÙ.BABBAR	5	was its price. 1 mina of silver
a-pá-ni-šu ú-šé-bi$_4$*-il*$_5$		I sent to meet him;
6 ma-na AN.NA		six minas of tin
i-Za-al-pá		in Zalpa I gave
a-dí-šum 20 ma-na		to him. 20 minas of
ni-gá-li	10	(copper) sickles
a-na Za-al-pá$^{!}$		to Zalpa
ú-šé-bi$_4$*-il*$_5$*-šum*		I sent to him.
mì-ma a-nim a-ṣé-er		All this, on top of
AN.NA *qá-tí-šu a-na*		his "loose tin" I gave
A-šùr--ba-áš-tí ÌR	15	extra to Aššur-bāšti, slave
ša Ku-lu-ma-a		of Kulumā".
ú-ra-dí-šum		

The text shows that a merchant was at great pains to provide his freighter with all he needed *en route*. The sale of a textile to get additional pocket money is not so surprising, as the *burā'um* was a product which probably belonged more to the equipment of the caravan (cf. p. 173, above), than to the sealed textiles making up the merchandise proper. In KTB 7, 11f. a transporter gets *inter alia* 2 *nibrārū*-textiles *ana qātisu*.

Occasionally some of the "loose tin" was not spent; we read in TC 1, 83, 1-5: *6½ ma-na i-na* [2] AN.NA-*ak qá-tim* [3] *ša A* [4] *i-ri-ḫa-am*, "6½ minas was left over from the loose tin of A". Cf. also text

33. BIN 4, 23, 10ff.: *10* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *a-na qá-tí-šu* [11] *a-dí-in da-tum*

ma-lá i-kà-šu-du-šu-ni-ni [12] *lu-ṣa-ḫe-er-ma ší-tám li-dí-na-kum*, "I gave him 10 shekels of silver as "pocket-money"; let him deduct (from it) all the *dātum* which he incurs, and give you the rest".

In most cases however the transporters received hardly enough "loose tin", as the merchants wanted to invest as much silver as possible in the merchandise proper. While the merchant in case of emergency would try his best to help his transporter, as in CCT 1, 38a, treated above, the transporter himself could get into a very annoying situation, as we learn in **CCT 2, 21b** (= CCT 4, 46b), some lines of which already have been quoted above as text no. 9 on p. 235:

a-na En-num--be-lúm qí-bi-ma		"Unto Ennum-Bēlum speak:
um-ma U-ṣú-ur--ša--A-šur-ma		"Thus Uṣur-ša-Aššur:
24 TÚG *šu-ru-tim 2* TÚG		"24 *šurum*-textiles, 2 *kutānum*-
ku-ta-nu 1 ANŠE *ṣá-la-mu-um*		textiles, one black donkey,
4 ma-na AN.NA *qá-tim*	5	4 minas of "loose tin"
i-na a-lim[ki] *a-ḫu-kà*		your brother entrusted to me
ip-qí-dam iš-tù		in the City. From
a-lim[ki] *a-dí Pu-ḫi-tár*		the City until Puḫitar
3 ma-na.TA *da-tum*		the *dātum* amounted to 3 minas
ik'-šu'-dam 10 GÍN.TA	10	each (talent *awītum*); 10 shekels
qá-qá-da-tim		each (person) the "head-tax".
15 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *a-na*		Send 15 shekels of silver
pá-ni-a šé-bi-lam		to meet me.
a-na lá a-wi-lim		You have made me lose
ta-áš-ku-ni-ma	15	my prestige, by
AN.NA *e-ru-am*		leaving behind for me
tù-ša-ak-ni-ik-ma		tin and copper
té-zi-ba-am		in sealed condition" [389]).

Uṣur-ša-Aššur's caravan must have represented a value in tin (*awītum*) of ca. 1 talent of tin; he had accordingly paid a *dātum* of ca. 3 minas of tin. Together with the "head-tax" and expenses for food, lodging etc., this

[389]) Some comments on the interpretation of the text: *line 10*: the emendation to *ik-šu-dam* (typical with *dātum*) is unavoidable, cf. already LEWY KTH 32 *ad* line 23. *Lines 14ff.*: *CAD* A, 2, 57b: "you have made me into one who acts as no gentleman should"; but the words do not describe the reactions of the transporter, and his behaviour, but state that his superior, who showed that he did not trust him by (*-ma* in line 15) leaving behind tin and copper under seal, made him lose his prestige in Puḫitar. The expression should have the same meaning in TC 3/1, 1, 25, though OPPENHEIM, *Letters from Mesopotamia*, 1967, no. 6 and *CAD* A, 2 loc.cit translate it differently. *Line 16*: *CAD* A, 2, 128a, 2', b' translates "naked(?) tin",

will have exhausted his 4 minas of loose tin already in Puḫitar, somewhere halfway to Kaniš. He asks for a supplementary consignment of 15 shekels, the equivalent of ca. 3½ minas of tin, to be able to continue his journey. He is unable to supplement his loose tin from a stock apparently available in Puḫitar, because the tin (and copper) have been left behind under seals, which he is not allowed to open.

In this text the *dātum* together with the "head-tax" consumes some 80% of the available "loose tin", which shows again that the former was by far the most important of the expenses to be paid *en route*.

In view of this fact one can imagine that for the sake of brevity one could occasionally use *dātum pars pro toto* for the total of the expenses incurred *en route*. So perhaps in KTH 18, quoted above as no. 32, where only the *dātum* is subtracted from the *awītum* to arrive at the proceeds of the enterprise, just as in BIN 4, 29 (cf. above 254f.) the *gamrum* is subtracted (in both cases *ṣaḫḫurum*) to arrive at what is available for sale (*izku'am*). Such use of *dātum*, however, is exceptional; in reality it was one of the expenses made *en route*, as is clear e.g. from

34. BIN 4, 13, 11ff.: *i-na a-wi-ti-ni* [12] *mì-ma da-tám ú-ku-ul-tám* [13] *ù ša sà-ri-dim* [14] *ú-la ú-la-ma*[!]*-da-ni*. "he should not charge any costs of *dātum*, food and hire of a donkey driver to me on (deducting it from) the value of our merchandise".

d) *The amounts of "loose tin" per caravan*

After having established that the *dātum* was paid in tin, probably *en route*, on the value of the merchandise, that "loose tin" was given to the leader of a caravan to meet expenses *en route*, and that the *dātum* constitutes some 75% or more of these expenses, the logical conclusion is that the amount of "loose tin" put at the disposal of the caravan leader was determined by the composition of the load. LARSEN *OACP* 145f. observed the remarkable differences in expenses (he lists as such: "loose tin", harness, export-tax, food, clothing) between caravans shipping tin and those carrying textiles: in the latter case the amount of "loose tin" was about half the size. To explain this he points to the fact that a load of tin had about the same value as four loads of textiles (as we noted above). He notes that a donkey load of tin normally required some 10-12 minas of

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perhaps meaning unpacked, the tin later on being packed and sealed and thus made inaccessable to Uṣur-ša-Aššur. As however according to KTS 17, 21: *e-ri-um atta la tallakma*, "you shall not depart empty-handed", *erūm* has *-i-* as final vowel, and not *-u-*, *e-ru-am* probably should be taken to mean "copper" (where the *u*-vowel is otherwise attested) with *CAD* E 321b (even though "naked" = "not sealed" would make very good sense).

loose tin (149; 171[85]), but gives no clear figures for a donkey load of textiles, mainly because he misunderstands (following Mrs. LEWY) the meaning of *biltum*, "talent", when used in connection with *awītum* and *dātum*. He quotes LEWY 1956, 32[112]: the hand-tin "as a rule (was) fixed at 10 minas per donkey or 5 minas per load"; but I do not understand the meaning of the last words.

We have observed that in fixing the amount of *dātum* to be paid one equated one textile with ca. 2 minas of tin. This means that one donkey load of tin had a value of 130 minas, and one of textiles a value of 50 minas. As the *dātum* consumed more than three-quarters of the "loose-tin", we may expect that the amounts of "loose tin" added to donkey loads of tin and textiles would reflect the same relation. This is true, as can be seen from the figures of the texts, as summarised in the table, constituting the *Appendix*, p. 69ff. There we find (m = minas; figures of caravans comprising more than one donkey are reduced to the average for one donkey):

a) caravans shipping only textiles:

no. 36: 3 m	no. 112: 3 m	no. 151: 5 m
no. 42: 5 m	no. 118: 4½ m	no. 158: 5 m
no. 57: 5 m	no. 122: 5 m	no. 164: 6 m
no. 59: 4 m	no. 125: 4½ m	no. 176: 2½ m
no. 65: 5 m	no. 133: 5 m	no. 181: 4 m
no. 68: 4,8 m	no. 141: 5 m	no. 184: 5 m
no. 85: 4 m	no. 146: 2 m	

b) caravans shipping (almost) only tin:

no. 15: 10 m	no. 55: 9 m	no. 106: 10 m
no. 22: 15 m	no. 67: 12 m	no. 131: 12 m
no. 33: 12 m	no. 104: 10 m	no. 153: 9 m
no. 54: 10 m	no. 105: 10 m	no. 183: 13 m

The average for a donkey-load of textiles is about 4-5 minas, for a donkey-load of tin 10-12 minas, or the same relation as the values of the loads expressed in tin. These figures can be confirmed by analysing the amount of "loose tin" added to caravans with a mixed load; when one breaks up the figures one arrives at the same results [390]). Also in cases

[390]) Cf. *e.g.* text no. 31: the 2 donkeys with tin would require ca. 20 minas of loose tin, the 4 donkeys with textiles each ca. 5 minas, in all 40 minas; no. 154: 3 donkey-loads of tin, requiring ca. 30 minas of loose tin, 6 donkey-loads of textiles with ca. 30 minas of loose tin, in all 60 minas; no. 171: 5 donkey-loads of tin, with ca. 50 minas of loose tin, 3 loads of textiles, requiring in all ca. 15 minas, while the caravan receives 69 minas of loose tin.

where instead of, or besides tin, small amounts of silver, copper etc. were given for covering the expenses *en route*, the relations, after conversion into tin, turn out to be more or less the same [391]).

This close relation between *dātum* and the amount of loose tin confirms our provisional conclusion that *dātum* was a tax or toll paid *en route* by the leader of the caravan. The next questions for which we must try to find an answer are: where, to whom and why had the *dātum* to be paid? But before going into these problems we turn to the *qaqqadātum*, the "head-tax", frequently mentioned alongside *dātum*, and needing a systematic analysis.

7. *qaqqadātum*, "HEAD-TAX"

a) *Textual sources*

The texts in which this word occurs are (most of them have already been quoted in the preceding pages; the numbers here refer to their quotation as *dātum*-texts):

1. 11: [*x ma*]-*na 5* GÍN *qá-qá-*[*da-tum*]; a caravan of 6 donkeys;

2. 7-8: *15* GÍN *qá-qá-ad sà-ri-dim*; a caravan of 2 donkeys;

7. 8-10: $^{2}/_{3}$? *ma-na qa-qú-du-tum ik-šu-dam*; number $^{2}/_{3}$ not certain, it might be $^{1}/_{3}$; size of caravan unknown; line 11 mentions the death of one donkey;

8. 3-6: *1* GÚ-*tám 2 ma-na* «*15* GÍN.TA» [4] *15* GÍN.TA [5] *qá-qá-da-tum* [6] *a-dí A-bi*$_4$*-im*; a caravan of 2 donkeys. The first *15* GÍN.TA is written at the very end of the line in small signs; I believe it was deemed not to be clear enough, and repeated at the beginning of the next line, without being thoroughly erased. Another possibility is to consider the amount of "2 minas 15 shekels each" as the rate of the *dātum*, though not mentioned as such (but cf. above p. 238f. *ad* text no. 17, to be quoted again below). But the figures given in line 7f. do not favour this solution, cf. below p. 298f.

9. 10-11: "(From the City until Puḫitar.....) *10* GÍN.TA *qá-qá-da-tim*; a caravan of one donkey;

13. 6: *10* GÍN.TA *qá-qá-da-tum*; size of the caravan unknown;

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[391]) In text no. 66 e.g. we have one load of tin (131 minas) and one of textiles (35 pieces); the caravan gets 6 minas of loose tin, plus $^{5}/_{6}$ mina of silver, which is the equivalent of ca. 12 minas of tin. A similar case is no. 73, where with an almost identical load the 6 minas of loose tin are supplemented by $^{2}/_{3}$ mina of silver, worth about 10 minas of tin. In no. 117 the 40 minas of loose tin, needed for 2 donkey loads of tin and 5 loads of textiles, are supplemented by 42 ½ shekels of silver, or about 10 minas of tin. In no. 150 a caravan of three donkeys loaded with textiles receives 55 shekels of silver, or ca. 14 minas of tin.

16. 11 : 9 *qá-qá-da-tim* 10 GÍN.TA; a fairly big caravan, as the amount of loose tin was more than one talent: probably between 6 and 10 donkeys;

17. 3: "On 8 talents 45 minas of tin, 36 minas 14 shekels (*dātum*?) ½ *ma-na qá-qá-da-tum*.

We add the following new texts:

35. TC 2, 14, 18ff.: 4 LÁ⟨¼ *or* ⅙⟩ GÍN *qá-qá-da-at* [19] *2 ṣú-ḫa-ri-kà e-mu-du* [20] 6 GÍN *wa-ṣí-tum*..., "they imposed 4 minus ¼ (or ⅙) shekels (of silver) as "head-tax" on your two servants; 6 shekels was the export-tax".

36. KTP 3, 4f.: 4 *me-at 20 ma-na* [5] URUDU *qá-qá-da-tim em-da-ma*, "420 minas of copper, impose as/the "head-tax" and...

37. CCT 5, 40b, 20off.: 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR [21] *ú⟨-ku⟩-ul-tí ṣú-ḫa-ri* [22] *ú qá-qá-da-tim* [23] *ša-bu*, "5 shekels for food for the servants and "head-tax" have been paid off".

b) *Word*

qaqqudum (with vowel harmony) has various meanings in OA. The literal meaning, "head, skull", is attested in the expression *qaqqadam maḫāṣum* (cf. above p. 160f. with note 274). The use of the word *qaqqudum* to denote "person", already attested in OAkk, where *qaqqadum* functions as a reflexive pronoun (cf. GELB, *MAD* 3, p. 226, QQD, Yondorf a, U), is attested in OA in the expression *ša kī(ma) qaqqidika*, "a person who is like (as trustworthy and safe as) yourself" (ATHE 62, 42; CCT 2, 4a, 16; 4b, 2 etc.[392]). One may also compare the expression "to fear for one's head", where *qaqqudum* will have retained part of its original meaning, attested in KTH 13, 34'; ICK 1, 1, 57 [393]).

The meaning "person" is clear in two texts from Kaniš I B, published by BILGIÇ in *Anatolia* 8, 1965, 149ff.: g/t 42 and g/t 36. They list persons in various categories; the first text in line 25'f. summarises: *15 qá-qá-da-tum ūrki A rabī ḫuršātim*, "15 persons under the authority of A the *rabī ḫuršātim*".

To determine the meaning of *qaqqadātum* in our texts, we have to start

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[392]) Not: "your representative", as MATOUŠ *BiOr* 16, 1959, 178a *ad* no. 5 proposed; to express this idea OA texts use *ša ki(ma) kuati*.

[393]) *qaqqudum* = "person" is also attested in the expression *kaspum ina qaqqad šalmišunu u kēnišunu rakis*, "the silver is bound on "the head" of the one of them who is safe and sound", cf. e.g. ICK 1, 172, 17ff., a clause stating the joint liability of two co-operating debtors. *qaqqudum* moreover has a transferred meaning in the expression *qaqqad kaspim*, "the (original) capital", not increased by interest (ICK 1, 172, 9), which is an equivalent of *šīmtum*, denoting the original amount agreed upon, cf. note 92. *qaqqadāt dudinātim* in BIN 6, 179, 23 may denote parts of the pectorals, perhaps the pendants.

from the meaning "person"; cf. text no. 16: "9 persons at 10 shekels each". Such a translation, however, is not possible in other texts, especially when *qaqqudum* in the *status constructus* is joined with *sāridum* (text no. 2) and when *qaqqadātum* is the object of a verb denoting a payment (text no. 37). We have to assume a development "person" > "amount of tax/toll to be paid per person" > "tax levied on persons", for which I have adopted the tentative translation "head-tax". This does not mean the word lost its concrete meaning; it is used in the singular in text no. 2, where only one person is concerned. Note however the plural in text no. 9, where also only one person is involved; here the word is used not in a *status constructus*, but as an independent noun. The form *qaqqudutum* in text no. 7 is remarkable. Rather than seeing in it an abstract formation, which would prove that the more abstract meaning, "tax", evolved from the concrete "person",—but note that the abstract in OA may denote a plurality of persons (HECKER *GKT* § 57d; MATOUŠ *BiOr* 24, 1967, 341b *ad* p. 241[1])—I would assume a case of erroneous or exceptional vowel harmony (cf. MATOUŠ *OLZ* 63, 1968, col. 250/1; HECKER *GKT* § 10c).

c) *Interpretation*

If we compare the size of the caravans and reconstruct the number of servants (1 person for 2 to 3 donkeys), we observe that an interpretation of *qaqqadātum* as the tax or toll levied on the persons accompanying the caravan—TA in this case therefore does not have the meaning "per talent *awītum*" as with *dātum*, but "each (person)"—makes good sense. The tariff fluctuated for unknown reasons between 10 and 15 shekels (of tin) per person. In text no. 1 we will have to supply the missing figure [⅔], which would fill the lacuna very well, and assume three persons at 15 shekels each. In no. 7 both ⅓ and ⅔ suggest a tariff of 10 shekels per person. Texts nos. 8, 9 and 13 offer no special problems. In no. 16 the number of persons seems much too big in view of the possible size of the caravan; one would like to read the number as 3!, but there may have been other unknown factors at work. In no. 17, 2 or 3 servants should be assumed, accompanying a caravan with a shipment worth 8¾ talents, i.e. something between 4 donkey-loads of tin and ca. 10 donkey-loads of textiles (probably a mixed load).

All texts mentioning *qaqqadātum* deal with shipments of merchandise from Aššur to Anatolia, except nos. 35, 36 and 37. No. 36 is without analogy and much damaged; it has been included because the terminology is akin to that of no. 35, where the verb *emādum*, "to impose", suggests some kind of tax or levy. Nos. 35 and 37 moreover both attest the payment of a "head-tax" in silver. No. 35 mentioning the "export-tax",

typical for Aššur, records not the payment—as does no. 37—but rather the levy of a "head-tax" in Aššur. Whether this was done on the arrival of the shipment of silver from Anatolia, or at the departure of the merchandise from Aššur (note the "export-tax") is not certain, but the former alternative is suggested by text no. 37. This is a transport contract dealing with a shipment of silver to Aššur, drawn up in Anatolia (line 13: *apqid*, "I entrusted" for transport to Aššur). The text states that at that moment the costs of food for the donkey driver and the "head-tax" had already been paid (to the authorities, or to the donkey driver in question, who had to pay personally *en route*?). This suggests the "head-tax" in no. 35 had not yet been paid on departure from Anatolia, and consequently was imposed in Aššur. The "head-tax" here cannot be another name for the tax to be paid on shipments of silver sent to Aššur, the *šaddū'utum*, because text no. 37 states in line 3 that this tax also had been paid on departure.

Text no. 35 records an amount of nearly 4 shekels for 2 servants, no. 37 5 shekels, food and "head-tax", for *ṣú-ḫa-ri*. The latter word can normally mean only "servants", but the shipment itself is not very big, and only one transporter is mentioned in line 2. The amount of 4 shekels in Aššur is equivalent to 60 shekels of tin, which means 30 shekels per person. Starting from the rate of exchange in Anatolia (ca. 6-8 : 1)—the payment was normally due in Anatolia as text no. 37 shows—the amount of tin is half as big, and the tariff, ca. 15 shekels of tin per person, is equal to that attested for the caravan trip from Aššur to Anatolia. This may suggest that the same system obtained for both journeys.

In this connection I cannot abstain from raising the question whether the single cases which attest a payment of *dātum* for *ṣuḫārū*, "servants", noted above p. 244f., text no. 22 (*dāt/da'at A*, amounting to 25 shekels) and no. 23 (*dāt/da'at ṣuḫārī*, amounting to 15 shekels) are related to the *qaqqadātum*-payments in Anatolia and Aššur, mentioned in texts nos. 35 and 37. No. 22 records the fact that the *dātum* had been paid in Anatolia, perhaps in connection with the departure of the shipment of silver to Aššur (the text also mentions that the transporter for whom the *dātum* had been paid, received 15 shekels silver as pocket money (l. 32)), as a comparison with text no. 37 suggests. No. 23 tells how the transporter "took" in Aššur the 15 shekels of silver, being the *dātum* of (paid for?) the servants and could be related to no. 35. Has *dātum* in these texts a more general meaning, being used with the meaning of *qaqqadātum* (cf. above p. 246)?

As the texts provide no further information about the nature of the *dātum* mentioned in texts nos. 22 and 23, or the *qaqqadātum* in nos. 35 and 37, we cannot reach a solution. We do not know e.g. who were the persons

who "imposed" the *dātum* in Aššur in no. 14, and who "imposed" the *qaqqadātum* in no. 35. They may have been Assyrian authorities, or people who derived profits from hiring out servants for transport duties. We are confronted with the problem, mentioned above p. 228 in the introduction to chapter ten, of the terminology: does *dātum*/*qaqqadātum* always have the same technical meaning? We can isolate a well-defined meaning in a stereotyped context: as a tax or toll levied on merchandise and persons en route to Anatolia (*dātum ša ḫarrānim*). But when used in other contexts, which we tend to call "atypical" because of the limited number of occurrences and after having declared the most frequently attested meaning "typical", we are often at a loss to understand its exact meaning. Another example of this terminological uncertainty is *waṣītum*, "export-tax". The word is used dozens of times in one typical context: it denotes the "export-tax" imposed on caravans leaving Aššur for Anatolia, and its rate is $^1/_{120}$. But there are also (very few) examples of a *waṣītum* being paid on departure from Kaniš (BIN 4, 127, 1ff.; CCT 4, 10a, 7; cf. LARSEN *OACP* 43 with note 68). Of course an export-tax to be paid on departure e.g. from Kaniš to Aššur would not be surprising. But this seems to have been the *šaddū'utum* always mentioned in transport contracts about shipments of silver and gold to Aššur, as being paid before departure; it most probably accrued to the Assyrian authorities, the *kārum*. So what is this second *waṣītum*, so meagrely attested? One might also mention the *šaddū'utum*, just referred to, being attested dozens of times in transport contracts, and amounting to $^1/_{60}$ of the shipment of silver. But there are a number of texts which acquaint us with a *šaddū'utum*-tax levied on caravans with tin and textiles arriving in, or travelling in, Anatolia (cf. LARSEN *OACP* 159 and below p. 280 ff.). We might also mention that besides the dozens of texts dealing with the *dātum* as a tax or toll imposed *en route* from Aššur to Anatolia, few texts (nos. 15 and 25) attest a *dātum* levied in Anatolia. Was its rate the same and was it also collected by and did it accrue to the same authorities? We cannot answer these questions. We can only classify the occurrences according to their context and wording, discover typical features and patterns, and classify some as "a typical". But the increase of textual sources may prove these "a typical" occurrences to be exponents of a system, different from or similar to the one we know now. How complex a reality the *dātum* was, will be clear from the next chapter.

Returning to *qaqqadātum* we can state that it was imposed and paid in tin valuta, like the *dātum*. Our proposal to regard *qaqqadātum* in text no. 8 as denoting both *dātum* and *qaqqadātum* and the remarks made above on texts nos. 35 and 37 make it clear that the two taxes or tolls were

related. Nevertheless there were important differences, not only in rate and in the fact that *dātum* was levied on the merchandise and *qaqqadātum* on the persons.

In texts like no. 1 and no. 7, specifying the *dātum* and its rate according to the successive stages of the journey, *qaqqadātum* is mentioned only once and not for every stage. Even the distributive TA is missing here. In other texts, however, it is used, but as stated it refers to the persons and not to the stages of the journey. The question can be posed, but hardly answered, of whether this means the *qaqqadātum* was paid only once, or that the figures mentioned (10 and 15 shekels each person) in fact are an addition of smaller amounts paid on various occasions during the trip. The use of round figures suggests the first alternative. But in that case it is not easy to see why text no. 8 mentions *qaqqadātum* only for the first stage, instead of listing this expense at the end, in absolute figures, as texts nos. 1 and 7 do. It is also curious that the transporter in text no. 9 can state that the *qaqqadātum* amounted to "10 shekels each", because when writing his letter he is only halfway between Aššur and Kaniš. Texts nos. 8 and 9 could suggest that the *q.* was paid during the first stage only, because the tariff of no. 9 (half a journey) is equal to that of no. 13 (the whole way to Kaniš). But this is far from sure. I cannot solve this problem, nor account for the differences in tariff, fluctuating between 10 and 15 shekels. Starting from BIN 4, 5, 5ff. (cf. below p. 325 no. 35), which tells us that the use of the "smuggling road" saved the money paid as *qaqqadātum*, we would suggest that *q.* was paid at tolls or in towns along the main roads, which one could by-pass by taking the "smuggling road".

CHAPTER TWELVE

DĀTUM AND THE *KĀRUM*-ORGANIZATION

1. TEXTUAL SOURCES

A number of texts bear witness to a relation between the *dātum* and the *kārum* as organization or the *bīt kārim*, its administrative centre. They are:

38. BIN 4, 33, 15ff.: ŠU.NIGIN$_2$ *28⅔ ma-na 8* GÍN [16] KÙ.BABBAR *na-ad-a-tù-nu 15 ma-na*.TA [17] *da-tum ik-šu-ud-ma 1 ma-na 12* GÍN [18] KÙ.BABBAR *ta-na-pá-lá* [19] *mì-iš-lá i-na* KÙ.BABBAR-*pí-ku-nu a-lá-qí*, "in all you have "deposited" 28⅔ minas 8 shekels of silver; the *dātum* incurred amounted to 15 minas each, so that you will have to make a balance payment of 1 mina 12 shekels of silver. I will take half of it from the silver of both of you". Note that the "deposit" was made in the *bīt kārim*, cf. lines 3-4: *28⅔ ma-na 8* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR É *kà-ri-im al-pu-ut*, "I booked (subscribed for?) 28⅔ minas 8 shekels in the *bīt kārim*".

39. BIN 6, 63, r. 10'ff.: ŠU.NIGIN$_2$ *18½ ma-na* [11'] É *kà-ri-im al-pu-ut-kà* [12'] *20 ma-na*.TA *da-tum ik-šu-ud-ma* [13'] [*1*]½ *ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR *ta-na-pá-al*, "I booked you in the *bīt kārum* for 18½ minas (of silver) in all. The *dātum* incurred amounted to 20 minas each, so that you will have to make a balance payment of 1½ minas of silver".

40. CCT 1, 19a, 1ff.: *12 ma-na*.TA *da-tum* [2] *ik-šu-ud iš-tù* [3] *12 ma-na da-at-kà* [4] *áp-lu-ni ⅔ ma-na 6⅔* GÍN [5] KÙ.BABBAR *ša* [6] *šál-ša-tim ta-lá-qé*, "the *dātum* amounted to 12 minas each. After 12 minas (of silver), your *dātum*, have been paid, you can take ⅔ mina 6⅔ shekels of silver, the share in the profit". *áp-lu-ni* in line no. 4 is taken as permansive sing. subj. with "12 minas" as subject, *dātka* being in apposition. One may also take it as a plur., but the translation "they have been paid 12 minas" given in *CAD* A, 2, 156b, 1' seems less likely. In texts nos. 38 and 39, as in no. 40, the attention is focussed on the person(s) paying, not the recipients of the payments.

41. CCT 1, 21c, 1ff. (BM 113601): *i-na 27 ma-na* [2] *da-tum ša* [3] *ik-šu-du-ni-a-tí-ni* [4] *4⅔ ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR [5] *A qá-sú* [6] *na-dí 22 ma-na* [7] *a-na-ku da-a-sú* [8] *áš-qúl*, "of the 27 minas, the *dātum* which we incurred, A has "deposited" 4⅔ minas of silver as his "share". I myself paid his *dātum* amounting to 22 minas".

42. ICK 2, 129, r. 12'f.: *4 ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR *A* DUMU *B* [13'] *i-na da-tim*

ša É *kà-ri-i*[*m ḫa-bu-lam*], "4 minas of silver, part of the *dātum* of ((to be) paid in?) the *bīt kārim*, A son of B [owes me]".

43. BIN 4, 172, 6ff.: *2* GÚ *40 ma-na* URUDU [7] *da-at-kà a-na* É *kà-ri-im* [8] *áš-qúl*, "2 talents 40 minas of copper, your *dātum*, I paid to the *bīt kārim*" [394]).

These texts show some resemblance to the *dātum*-texts discussed above. We note the use of the distributive TA, and the verbal form *ikšud*. As we have observed that the amounts of tin paid as *dātum* could be converted into silver, and that secondary settlements about *dātum* among partners in a firm or between merchant and transporter could be described by means of the verb *napālum*, there seems at first to be no reason to treat the texts quoted in this paragraph as a separate group. The texts could perhaps be taken to describe final settlements between the members of firms or merchant's houses—in view of the big amounts of silver involved —which required the apportioning among the members or shareholders of the expenditures made, among which, as stated above, the *dātum* figured predominantly (up to 10% of the value of the merchandise). The use of the word *šalšātum*, "third parts", a technical term denoting the eventual profit of an enterprise, used in no. 40 may support this interpretation [395]). This text would show that the distribution of profits had to be preceded by a general settlement: only after the merchant in question has paid his share (TA) of the *dātum* is he entitled to receive his share of the profit. One should consider text no. 42 as dealing with a merchant's share in the *dātum* still to be paid, while nos. 41 and 43 could deal with such final payments made by one merchant on behalf of his colleague; from such a payment could stem a debt like that recorded in no. 42.

Such an interpretation however meets serious difficulties. Why do texts nos. 38 and 39, describing in detail commercial transactions via the *bīt kārim*, mention only the *dātum* and not other expenses and the import-tax? In the interpretation mentioned above the *bīt kārim* would only be the place of action, where the accounts were settled and amounts of silver were, temporarily, deposited. The *bīt kārim* as such would have nothing to do with the *dātum*, paid *en route*. But how do we explain the

[394]) Also in BIN 6, 156, 10ff., in broken context, the *dātum* is mentioned in connection with the depositing of textiles in the *bīt kārim*.

[395]) Cf. for *šalšātim* EL II p. 103-108 note a (*ad* EL no. 328, 19); LANDSBERGER 1940, commentary *ad* no. 3 line 20ff.; GARELLI *AC* 252. The word, which deserves a special investigation, frequently occurs with *i/ellutum*, 'commercial enterprise'. Some other references are: ATHE 48, 24; BIN 6, 157, r. 10'; 158, 2; ICK 1, 171, 9; 124, 23; TC 3/1, 72, 44; 3/2, 195, 4. The first text mentions the collecting of the *šalšātim ina bīt kārim*.

words "the *dātum* of the *bīt kārim*" in no. 42 and even more no. 43 mentioning a payment of *dātum* "to the *bīt kārim*". The *kārum* apparently was not simply a place where merchants met and accounts were kept. The *bīt kārim* itself was involved in these *dātum*-payments.

What distinguishes texts nos. 38ff. from those quoted previously are the enormous amounts of silver to be paid or deposited as *dātum*: in nos. 40-42 respectively 12, 27 and 4 minas of silver. Moreover the distributive TA has a completely different meaning in these texts. In no. 40 the *dātum* amounts to "12 minas each", and the person adressed is also asked to pay that amount. Accordingly TA here is "each person": various people had been charged each for 12 minas of silver, and after payment of this amount one is entitled to take one's share of the profit. The same holds good for the rather complicated text no. 38, a letter addressed by Pūšu-kēn to Aššur-imittī and Šū-Ḫubur. It tells us that 28 minas 48 shekels have been deposited, but as the *dātum* amounts to 15 minas each person—the text apparently deals with the depositing of the "shares" of the *two* addressees —a supplementary payment of 1 mina 12 shekels has to be made [396]). Pūšu-kēn will take care of this payment for his addressees, who seem to live in Aššur, by charging their respective accounts with half of that amount. Further details about the method of and reasons for the first big deposit and the small supplementary payment are missing. Text no. 39—like no. 38 line 4—uses in this connection the verb *lapātum*, "to book, to note down". Šū-Ḫubur, again receiving a letter from Pūšu-kēn, is informed that the latter has "booked" him for in all 18½ minas (of silver) in the *bīt kārim*; as however the individual shares or contributions amounted to 20 minas, a supplementary payment has again to be made. The verb *lapātum* suggests a book transfer of the basic amount of silver.

2. THE NATURE OF THE TRANSACTIONS

Many OA texts deal with "depositing" (*nadā'um*), "pouring" (*šapākum*), "booking" (*lapātum*), describing rather complicated transactions and calculations. Though I do not pretend to understand all of what really happens, I think there is reason to assume that individual merchants or firms from time to time could "deposit" large amounts of silver in the *bīt kārim*—either by really paying in the sums in question or by book transfer— and in this way took part in or subscribed to collective undertakings of the *kārum*, in the way that was suggested above p. 134ff. when dealing with the wool-trade and the function of the *kārum* in it.

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[396]) Perhaps EL 225 and TC 1, 15, quoted above, note 388, refer to a similar case.

In this way they became a kind of "shareholders" in the commercial activities of the *kārum*, perhaps like the individual shareholders taking part in a *naruqqum*-enterprise by contributing amounts expressed in gold valuta to a communal fund, entrusted to a merchant (cf. the text edited in LANDSBERGER 1940, as no. 3, p. 20f.). Such a participation, in which the merchants according to the texts were at times much interested, will have been advantageous in various respects; it meant large scale, probably officially protected, undertakings, with less risks and more chance of profit, and perhaps not too many administrative problems for the individual merchant. This investment or participation in activities of the *kārum* seems to be designated by the word *dātum*; we meet it both in connection with trade in textiles (nos. 38, 39) and copper (no. 43).

This meaning of *dātum* is not a new discovery, as LANDSBERGER *AHK* 23 already sensed this meaning with his fine intuition. Since then it has hardly received attention [397]). LANDSBERGER quotes our text no. 40, which reads in lines 7ff. as follows: *e-zi-ib ša iš-tù* [8] ILLAT-*at Kur-ub--Ištar* [9] *mu-uš-ta*-KI-*tim* [10] *i-na da-tim* [11] *a-ni-tim 4* TÚG *a-na* [12] *qá-tí-kà iš-tù da-/at-kà* [13] *ša-bu-a-tí-ni* [14] *15* TÚG (erasure) *a-ša-/ni-tù* [15] *a-na qá-tí* [16] *A-mur--A-šùr* DUMU *Sú-kà-li-a* [17] *e-zi-ib* [18] *a-na qá-tí a-wi-lim* [19] *a-na* É *kà-ri-im* [20] *i-ta-na-dí*, "abstraction made from what is to be derived from (?) the enterprise of Kurub-Ištar, the....., from this *dātum* 4 textiles go to your account (share). After you have (been?) paid your *dātum*, I left 15 textiles.....for ready use (lit.: for the hand of) to Amur-Aššur, son of Sukkalia. He will "deposit" them from time to time on the account (share) of the boss, in the *bīt kārim*" [398]).

As stated before I am unable to understand the text adequately and to reconstruct what actually happened. The text seems to suggest that merchants could deposit from time to time (Gtn, line 20) textiles in the *bīt kārim*, where their value in silver (cf. above p. 83 for the price of *kutānū* in such transactions) was booked as their credit on their accounts, and probably functioned as (part of) the *dātum* they were obliged or

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[397]) I quote LANDSBERGER's own words: "Den Schlüssel fur diese Funktion des *bīt kārim* (he states that the individual merchants had to deliver crude, native copper to the *bīt kārim*, and in return received an amount of refined copper—K.R.V.) bildet der noch unklare terminus *dātum*, den ich mit "Handelsanteil" übersetze, anscheinend periodisch fällig und stets eine runde Summe betragend; er bildete den Grundstock der Konten, die die einzelnen Händler bei dem *bīt kārim* unterhielten. In Verbindung mit dem Kupferhandel wurden nämlich bei den *kārum* Konten (*qātum*) geführt, ausser Kupfer konnten noch Silber und auch Stoffe den Gegenstand der Guthaben beim *bīt kārim* bilden".

[398]) *ištu* is difficult, but may be used as a synonym of *išti*, cf. HECKER *GKT* § 103e. Does A-ŠA-NI-DU in line 14 contain the element "two", yielding (a guess) "for the second time, as second installment"?

allowed to contribute to the collective funds. This suggests that the *bīt kārim* collected these textiles as a *dātum*-payment *in natura*, and carried on a large-scale trade in textiles, the profits of which the depositors/investors later shared.

3. *šāqil dātim*; BIN 6, 101

These words, meaning "he/those who weigh out (pay) *dātum*", seem to have a special meaning in various contexts. Uninformative is:

44. ICK 2, 153, l.e.1.: [ ] *a-wi-li ša-qí-il*$_5$ *da-tim*, "gentlemen paying *dātum*" [399]). Also difficult is:

45. TC 1, 4, 4ff., a letter from Edin-Aššur to Alāḫum and Aššur-nādā: *i-na Wa-áš-ḫa-ni-a* [5] *2 me-at 60 maš-ku* [6] *lu-qú-ut-ku-nu i-ba-ší-ú* [7]*ša ki-ma i-a-tí áš-pu-ur-ma* [8] *a-na Wa-áš-ḫa-ni-a* [9] *um-ma a-na-ku-ma a-dí-i* [10] *ša-qí-il*$_5^!$ *da-tí-im* [11] *Ku-ra-ra ú-ša-zu-zu* [12] *a-na qá-tí-šu* [13] *mì-iš-li-šu mì-šu* [14] *lá tù-wa-ša-ra-šu-um*, "in Wašḫania there are 260 fleeces, your merchandise, available. I sent my representative(s) to Wašḫania with the message: "Why are you not willing, as long as a/the "*dātum*-payer" makes Kurara act as his representative, to yield to him, as his share, his half-share (of the proceeds)" [400]). The text goes on to warn the people involved, that "he" (presumably Kurara) might ask his representatives to apply to the *kārum*, with the result that "they" (presumably the authorities of the *kārum*, supervising the transaction) will give him the fleeces. The addressees are requested to destrain the fleeces using the authority of their *tamkārum* (presumably Edin-Aššur). I must confess not to understand what lines 9ff. actually mean, because I do not know what exactly the relations were between the people mentioned (especially between Edin-Aššur and Kurara). There is even the possibility that Kurara in line 11 is himself a/the *šāqil dātim*, though I think the translation given above is more probable. Anyhow the text suggests (as noted before, cf. p. 134f. with note 126) that the trade in wool and woollen fleeces was organised

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[399]) In OA too the participle used in a *status constructus* always has the sing. form, but may denote a plur., cf. *GAG* § 64 m, and HECKER *GKT* § 80b.

[400]) The Š of the verb *izizum* (HECKER *GKT* § 100c) denotes the appointment of somebody as one's official representative; he becomes a *šazzuztum*. No systematic study has yet been made of these frequently attested words and the system of mutual representation (also indicated by the words *ša kima* + pers. pron.); but cf. the remarks of H. HIRSCH *WZKM* 62, 1969, 56[24]. Mutual representation was inevitable in view of the measure of co-operation between partners or members of the same firms and the fact that many merchants were absent due to caravan journeys or a prolongued stay in Anatolia or Aššur.

(partly?) according to the system of investments and subscriptions via the *bīt kārim*. When a merchant wanted to collect his share of the proceeds of such a collective enterprise, he had to have the status of a "*dātum*-payer", a share-holder. In our text there is a problem about the identity or rights of a "*dātum*-payer" or his representative, with the effect that the authorities supervising the wool-trading enterprise (there was a *wabartum* at Wašḫania, cf. KTK 5, 3; GARELLI-KENNEDY 1960 no. 5, 30; VAT 6209) are unwilling to yield a half-share of the proceeds. This is a tentative interpretation, and it may overlook important facts, such as the personal relation between the people involved (the rest of the letter shows us Kurara not exactly in his role of representative, but acting on his own authority).

The use of a participle in the expression *šāqil dātim* shows we are dealing with a kind of institution; merchants involved are not paying a *dātum* incidentally, but are (officially?) known and perhaps registered as "*dātum*-payers", on account of their regular investments in the funds of the *kārum*. This emerges also from our most important but rather difficult source:

46. BIN 6, 101 (cf. LEWY 1956, 69[294])

um-ma kà-[ru-um]		"Thus (speaks) *kārum*
Kà-ni-iš-[ma a-na]		Kaniš: "unto *kārum*
kà-ri-im [x x x]		[. . . . .]
qí-bi-ma mì-[šu/núm]		say thus: "What is this (why)
ša i-nu-mì ša-[du-a-tám]	5	that when you impose the
ša kà-ri-im Kà-[ni-iš]		levy of the *kārum*
tù-ša-da-a-ni		Kaniš and
ma a-wi-lum i-qá-[bi-ú]		the man in question protests
um-ma šu-ut-ma lu-qú-tum		saying: "the merchandise
ša DAM.GÀR DAM.GÀR	10	belongs to a 'merchant'; this
i-na Kà-ni-iš		'merchant' pays the
da-tám i-ša-[qal]		*dātum* in Kaniš",
um-ma a-t[ù-n]u-m[a]		you declare:
šu-mì DAM.GÀR *zu-[k]u-[u]r*		"mention the name of the 'merchant'!"
mì-ma šu-mì DAM.[GÀ]R	15	A person with merchandise is not
be-el lu-qú-tim		at all obliged to mention the
lá i-za-kàr šuʾ-ma		name of the 'merchant'. If
a-wí-lúm (erasure)		that man
i-na li₄-bi-ku-[nu]		(from) among you

[*w*]*a-ṣí-i* GÍR[!]		20	....., to the dagger
ša A-šur li-[*it-ma*(*-ma*)]			of Aššur let him swear, (that)
lu-qú-tum lu [	]		the merchandise is truly.....
KI-il_5-[	]		.....
a-na x [	]		unto .....
x DU [	]	25	.....
nu-ša-[	]		we will.....
DAM.GÀR [*š*]*a-qí-*il_5 *da-tim*			the 'merchant', paying *dātum*,
nu-sá-[*a*]*z-kà-ar*			we will make swear".

Commentary:

4-14 I take as one long sentence, hence the subjunctive in l.8. *awīlum* in 8 and 18 means "a man", a free Assyrian, without further specification, cf. *CAD* A, 2, 51a, 2′; not a "head of a firm" as the employees sometimes call their superiors. LEWY's reading *i-Kà-*[*ni-iš*] in line 8 cannot be right; we have to distinguish between the *awīlum*, who is the *bēl luqūtim*, "the one (travelling) with the merchandise", and the *tamkārum*, the 'merchant' proper, who resides in Kaniš. Cf. for *qabā'um*, in the meaning "to protest, to raise objections", e.g. EL 207, 7.

19-20. The last preserved sign of line 19 is rather KU (cf. this sign in line 22) than MA, hence my reading, though *i-na li-*bi_4 *ma-*[*tim*] cannot be ruled out completely, as it could make sense. I take [*w*]*a-ṣí-i* in line 20 as a permansive (cf. the form *ma-ṭí-i* in HECKER *GKT* § 95e), describing the effect of prior action, a use mainly attested in omen protases (cf. M. B. ROWTON, *JNES* 21, 1962, 269b, nos. 258ff.). In our text it could denote "persistency and sustained effort" (ROWTON, op cit. 254, 3): the man "is persistently trying to get away", hence is suspect and made to swear. Perhaps we could also take the permansive as describing his status as an effect of a movement: "he is one who originates among you". In case one favours *ina libbi mātim*, the meaning could be that the man has the habit of turning up in/from the hinterland, which could also make him suspect. We know too little of the background of this incident to understand the meaning of the words fully.

22-26. Line 22 may have contained the wording of the oath introduced by *-ma* after the verb *tamā'um*, as is not uncommon. Perhaps line 22 can be read: *luqūtum lu* [*ša* DAM.GÀR], "the merchandise is really the property of a 'merchant'"; but to supply *ša* at the end of this line and connect it with the first two signs of line 23, yielding *šāqil* (*dātim*) again, is, however attractive it may be, contrary to OA writing habits. Lines 24-26 remain obscure (though a restoration like [25] *ša'-du-*[*a-tám*....] [26] *nu-ša-*[*da*....]

seems possible); anyhow line 26 shows that the *kārum* ("we") is the body in action.

28. The verbal form is a Š of *zakārum*, in which the *š* of the verbal stem, probably because of the neighbouring *z* has been partly assimilated to *s* (cf. HECKER *GKT* § 40g, where similar examples of the verb *saḫārum* are recorded) [401]. A similar form is now attested at Mari, perhaps as an Assyrianism, ARM 13, 143, 15′: LÚ *mu-sa-áz-ki-ri*, "those who administer the oath" [402].

Interpretation

An Assyrian transporter, *en route* with merchandise, called *awīlum* and "the man with the merchandise" (16), on arrival at an Assyrian *kārum* had been asked to pay the "*šaddū'utum*-tax of (required by) the *kārum Kaniš*". He protests, stating he is only a transporter, and that the real owner, called the 'merchant', pays *dātum* in Kaniš, implying he need not pay anything *en route* at the *kārum* in question. The local authorities thereupon ask him to give the name of this 'merchant'-owner. This incident has been reported to the *kārum* Kaniš which rebukes the *kārum* in question for its behaviour and gives instructions about the way they have to proceed in such cases: the present letter. We note that the letter, though doubtless prompted by a real incident, is worded in general terms, mentioning no names of people involved. Accordingly it has the intention of giving instructions of a more general validity because conflicts of this kind might occur repeatedly, having their roots in the system of *dātum*-payments in which many 'merchants' were involved. The instructions state that the local *kārum* is not allowed to ask for the name of the 'merchant'-owner, but, perhaps if the person or the circumstances were somehow suspected (lines 19-20), is permitted to make the transporter take the oath that the merchandise is really the property of a '*dātum*-paying merchant'. If this proves necessary the *kārum* Kaniš itself can administer the oath to this 'merchant', most probably to verify the statements of the transporter about the ownership of the merchandise [403].

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[401]) Cf. also A. FINET, *L'Akkadien....de Mari*, § 11b, where however this phenomenon has been confused—as GELB, *Language* 35, 1957, 197 ad loc. pointed out—with the equation Amorite *s* = Akkadian *š*.

[402]) The Š-stem of *zakārum* can denote a) to make somebody mention a name; b) to make somebody take an oath. Cf. *CAD* Z 21b, 6, for the latter possibility, which I have adopted for BIN 6, 101.

[403]) KTS 2b, 13ff. also deals with the disclosure of the name of the owner of a shipment, in connection with the paying of taxes: *šu-ma kà-ru-um i-sà-ni-*GA [14] *um-ma a-ta-ma* KÙ.BABBAR [15] *a-šu-mì a-bi$_4$-a-ma* [16] *ú-ša-áb-ša-al ma-ma-an* [17] *lá ta-za-kà-ar* [18] *ú ša-du-a-tám* [19] *lá ta-na-dí šu-ma* [20] *ú-ša-az-ku-ru-kà* [21] *zu-ku-ur ú i-na* [22] *né-mì-lim* [23] *ú-lá ta-kal*, "if the *kārum* presses you (*isanniq* + *ka*), you should say:

We note that Assyrians paying *dātum* enjoy a priviliged position, being free from paying duties *en route* in Anatolia to local Assyrian authorities [404]), and were called 'merchants', *tamkārū*. These 'merchants', for which the title "licensed merchant" proposed by LEWY 1956 loc. cit. is indeed fitting, as they seem to have had a special position as '*dātum-payers*', no doubt will have been the more important members of the *kārum*, the heads of the firms, perhaps to be equated with the "great ones" mentioned in the regulations for the meeting of a plenary session of the *kārum* (EL no. 290, x + 7). They alone would have been able to invest amounts ranging from 5 to 30 minas of silver in the funds of the *kārum*.

4. *šaddū'utum*

a) *Noun and verb*

šaddū'utum, with vowel harmony, normally in the sing., but occasionally also plur. (CCT 5, 7b, 5; Neşr. Boğ. 2, 28, below note 413; cf. HECKER *GKT* § 10a) is a *šaprus(a)t* of *nadā'um* (*GAG* § 55d), denoting what one has been made (forced) to deposit, a kind of a tax; it is a substantivated verbal adjective.

When *š.* is the object of *nadā'um* G the tax-payer is the subject, as in CCT, 5, 7b, 18 ([*na*]-*ad-ú*; an active permansive), 21ff.; GARELLI 1966 no. 43, 16f.; KTP 12, 6ff.; OIP 62, 46ff. (here with a double acc.: *kaspam musukkā'e šaddū'atam iddī*, "he deposited silver of inferior quality as *š.*"); TC 2, 26, 6ff. The person receiving the tax may be represented by a dative suffix: TC 1, 32, 8ff. (*ša-du-*[*a-sú*/*tám*] *ša . . . i-dí-a-ku-nu-tí-*[*ni*]; cf. below note 411). Instead of *nadā'um* G one also occasionally uses *tadānum*, cf. TC 2, 26, 4ff. (*ša-du-i-tí . . .* [5] *a-dí-šu-nu-tí-ma*); cf. a similar alternation in the expression *luqūtam ina ṣēr tamkārim nadā'um*/*tadānum*.

"I am melting down the silver on behalf of my "father". Don't mention anybody, lest you will have to pay *šaddū'utum*. If they force you to mention a name (make you take an oath?), mention it; but in that case you will not share the profit." The text reminds one in several respects of BIN 6, 101: the name of the principal (*ābum* here the equivalent of *tamkārum* in BIN 6, 101) is essential in connection with the payment of the *šaddū'utum*. The administration of an oath is the last resort of the *kārum* to discover it.

[404]) In this connection I draw attention to ICK 2, 292, 5'ff.: (first four lines broken away): *be-lu-šu-nu da-tám* [6'] *ú-la i-la-mu-du* [7'] ŠU.NIGIN$_2$ *4* GÚ *20 ma-na* [8'] *a-wi-it* DAM.GÀR, "they who dispose of them (textiles, donkeys, merchandise?) are not liable (cf. for *lamādum*, below ch. XX, 4) to payment of *dātum*. In all 4 talents 20 minas the value of the merchandise of the 'merchant'". One may detect here the same feature: a *bēl luqūtim*, who does not have to pay a *dātum*, because the owner is a 'merchant". Note that the presence of *awītum* points to the *dātum* being a toll, paid *en route*, as discussed in chapter XI.

The subject of *nadā'um* Š with *š.* as an object is the persons or authorities imposing or collecting the tax; cf. CCT 5, 7b, 5f. (subject the official "scribe"), cf. 8 and 27; OIP 27, 62, 42 (cf. *AHw* 708b, Š, 6); BIN 4, 33, 37; 6, 101, 5ff. (?); TuM I, 1a, 15 (below note 410); Neşr. Boğ. 2, 28; kt a/k 405, 27ff. (below p. 325 no. 36). There are examples where *š.* is the only object, as in Neşr. Boğ. 2, 28 and BIN 6, 101, 5ff.(?), but we also have a double acc.: "to make somebody deposit *š.*-tax", in which case the amount paid as tax, to which *š.* is in apposition, figures as a third acc. object. Cf. BIN 4, 33, 36f.: *10* GÍN [37] *ša-du-a-tám ú-ša-da-ú-kà*, "they will make you deposit 10 shekels as *š.*-tax".

Occasionally *š.* as an object is omitted, and we could translate the resulting *A šaddū'um* with "to tax A". This is the case in TuM I, 1a, 13ff.: "if he has shipped additional merchandise *ša-dí-a-šu-ma*", "make him pay *š.*-tax"; here the conditional phrase indicates which items are taxed (and note that line 12 has also simple *nadā'um* without *š.*). A comparable case is CCT 5, 7b, 7f.: *iš-tù ša a-na-kam* [8] *uš-té-bi$_4$-lu ú-ša-dí-ú-ni-ni*, "after they had forced me to pay tax (on) what I had shipped here"; here *šaddū'um* clearly means "to impose *š.*-tax", but in this case the non-personal object is not the amount to be paid as tax—as in TuM 1, 1a, 7ff.: "x copper of/on (*ša*) his copper"—but the merchandise taxed. The same text writes in l.27 simply: ("did you not witness") *ki-ma ú-ša-dú-ú-ni*, "the fact that they imposed the *š.*-tax?", where the absence of a second *-ni* in the verbal form (compared with earlier *ú-ša-dí-ú-ni-ni*) shows the personal object is not expressed.

Finally the use of the infinitive *šaddū'um* requires some comments. When CCT 5, 7b, 5f. states that the official scribe arrived *a-na ša-du-a-tim ša-du-im*, "to impose/levy the various (plur!) *š.*-taxes" (on the various items or from various persons), the scribe himself apparently is the subject of the inf. OIP 27, 62, 42, in a list of expenses, mentions the item: *3 ma-na ša ša-du-i-šu*, where, unless one emends to *ša-du-i-⟨tí⟩šu*, the person paying the tax should be the subject: "the three minas he has to pay as *š.*-tax"; here *šaddū'um* is virtually synonymous with *šaddū'utum*, though of course the latter is more concrete, and the former almost a *nomen actionis*. Clearly the attention is not focussed any longer on the authorities imposing the tax, but on the tax-payer's obligation. A similar shift of interest may account for the wording of the difficulty text kt a/k 405, 27ff., where it is said of a merchant arriving by way of a smuggler's track: *ša-du-a-tám* [28] *ša kà-ri-im Kà-ni-iš* [29] *lá ú-ša-da*; this obviously means: "he (or perhaps "I", the agent of the travelling merchant?) is not obliged to pay the *š.*-tax of the *kārum* Kaniš"; a translation "the *kārum* Kaniš cannot make (him) pay its *š.*-tax" looks far-fetched, and

translating *ušaddā* with "one makes (him) pay" ("one" meaning the authorities) is hardly possible in view of the fact that the verb is in the sing. Unfortunately Mrs. H. LEWY 1963, 104b only quoted a few lines of this text, which leaves the context rather unclear; she also translates "the impost of the *kârum* Kaniš he will not pay".

b) *The textual evidence*

The text BIN 6, 101 shows that merchants paying *dātum* were exempted from paying the "*šaddū'utum* of the *kārum* Kaniš" *en route* and this statement makes an investigation of the nature of the *šaddū'utum* and its relation to *dātum* necessary.

This tax has been studied several times. The last and best analysis is given by LARSEN *OACP* 36 and 143-4 (with previous literature). He first discusses this tax as regularly paid in connection with the shipment of silver and gold to Aššur, and evidenced by the stereotyped phrase in the transport contracts: *šaddū'assu šabbū*, "the *šaddū'utum* for it (the shipment sent to Aššur) has been fully paid". LARSEN concludes: "We are never told that the *šaddu'utum* has been paid or levied in Aššur, and in fact we are never told who received these amounts when the journey was one from Anatolia to Assyria. But the fact that they constituted amounts reckoned according to a fixed rate ($^1/_{60}$ as he showed before—K. R. V.) indicates we have to do with a tax or toll. If that is correct it can only have been paid once, not in several portions to different authorities, and it remains a possibility that it was in fact paid on departure from Anatolia—and then probably to the *kārum*." (144) I think the word "possibility" suggests more doubt than is warranted. That the *kārum* in fact profited from this tax is shown by the letter TC 3/2, 94, 29ff. where we read: KÙ.BABBAR *i-na sà-al-e* [30] *la tù-uš-té-né-ba-al-ma* [31] *ù kà-ru-um ša-du-a-tám* [32] *lá* il_5*-ta-na-qí*, "because of/in.....[405]) you fail to send silver (to Aššur) on any occasion, and consequently the *kārum* at no time is able to collect *šaddū'utum*" [406]).

Besides this type of *šaddū'utum*, which we might call "typical", there are isolated examples of other *šaddū'utum*-payments in different situations. LARSEN *OACP* 144 writes: "it was a toll or tax levied by the Assy-

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[405]) The words *i-na* ZA-*al-e*, which recur in CCT 3, 43, 20, denote an unfavourable situation; *sal'ū* will be related to the verb *salā'um*, discussed by KIENAST in his commentary on text no. 39, 17; cf. his *addendum* on p. 125.

[406]) BIN 4, 29, 24-29 (LARSEN *OACP* 136f.) mentions that a *šaddū'utum*-tax of $^1/_{60}$ of a shipment of nearly 7 minas of silver, amounting to $6^2/_3$ shekels of silver, is given to Kurub-Ištar, who transports the shipment to Aššur. Did he pay the *š.* afterwards or *en route*?

rian authorities in Anatolia, when we have to do with shipments *from Aššur to Anatolia and inside Anatolia* (italics mine—K. R. V.), but that does not mean that the word had the same meaning in the cases where the transportation was one from Anatolia to Aššur "(the latter being the "typical" *šaddū'utum*). It is clear that the *šaddū'utum* mentioned in BIN 6, 101, belonged to the second category. A shipment with silver *en route* to Aššur could hardly have been called *luqūtum*. Moreover as nearly all the transport contracts for shipments of silver and gold from Anatolia to Aššur contain the phrase *šaddū'assu šabbū*, it seems unlikely that the privileged 'merchants' received exemption from this tax.

The textual sources bearing on this second type of *šaddū'utum* are less numerous, and not very uniform. They are discussed by LARSEN *OACP* 159ff.; cf. also GARELLI *AC* 189.

Some texts mention the payment of a *šaddū'utum* on a load of tin and/or textiles, shipped in Anatolia. CCT 4, 13a (LARSEN *OACP* "type 3 : 13", p. 130f.): 7½ textiles on a load of 52 pieces, or a rate of 15% (18f.: *ana šaddū'itim laqīū*); TC 3/2, 186, 1ff. one of 1½ mina of silver on 4 talents of tin, or ca. 4% (the amount is paid to the *kārum* by Pūšu-kēn on behalf of another merchant); CCT 2, 24, 7 one of 52 shekels of tin on 1 talent 12 minas, or ca. 1,2%. GARELLI 1966, 112, no. 43, 14ff. reads: *ša-du-ú-ti a-na kà-ri-im* [15] *qá-at-kà iš-qú-ul* [16] *mì-ma ša-du-a-tám* [17] *lá ta-na-dí-a*, "you personally ("your own hand") paid my š. to the *kārum*; don't pay any (other) š.". The rest of the letter and the mention of 10 minas of loose tin suggest that the caravan in question, for which the š. has already been paid, was *en route* from Aššur to Anatolia (line 35: *na-áš-a-ku-nu-tí*). Was the š. paid in advance? The rate of the tax is not mentioned this time. Finally I mention ICK 1, 147, 1ff.: on a load of textiles worth 4 minas 10½ shekels of silver a š. of 15 shekels, or 6%, has been imposed.

Some interesting texts dealing with š. deserve a closer look. In many cases, unfortunately, it is not clear whether they deal with a shipment arriving in Anatolia from Aššur, being transported from town to town within Anatolia, or with a shipment of silver and gold—the proceeds from a sale—on the way back to Aššur, but still travelling in Anatolia territory.

TC 2, 26 tells us that Puzur-Aššur, on his way to Kaniš, had to pay a *š. ša kārim Kaniš* in an unknown *kārum*—as in BIN 6, 101—against his will. While the authorities claimed 3 shekels per mina, eventually, when they did not comply with his wish to pay the š. in Kaniš itself, he paid 1 shekel per mina. The rest of the text mentions a *š. ša kārum Kaniš* formerly (not?) paid in Durḫumid. Finally the writer asks his superior (his *tamkārum* as in BIN 6, 101) for a "letter of the *kārum*" to safeguard

him against forced payments of *š. en route*, and to bring about the release of his caravan *en route* to Šalatuwar [407]).

CCT 5, 7b is a letter of Kunilum in which he asks his superiors for assistance, to prevent the merchandise of one of them (Pilaḫ-Ištar), which had already been taxed with *š.*, from being taxed again elsewhere by the administrator (scribe) of the local Assyrian authorities. He calls Aššur-nādā to witness that the *š.* indeed had been paid: "did you not see yourself here that they made us pay (deposit) the *š.*?" As line 9 mentions the *luqūtum* the text probably deals with a shipment of tin or/and textiles [408]).

kt a/k 405, to be discussed in more detail in chapter XV (p. 287, no. 36), dealing with smuggling, adds a bit of new information. We hear that a merchant, having arrived by way of the "smuggling road" (*ḫarrān sūqinnim*) escapes paying "the *š.* of the *kārum* Kaniš". **KTS 27b**, 11ff. informs us that on the part of a load (of silver?) which is temple property (*ikribū*) no *š.* has to be paid *en route* [409]).

Finally I submit the information contained in four letters—TuM I, 1a; TC 1, 32; KTP 12; and Neşr. Boğ. 2—exchanged between Assyrian authorities and dealing with the *šaddū'utum*. They have been discussed by Lewy 1956, 68-9 with note 285ff., and Lewy 1962, 49f. The first three are addressed to the *šāqil dātim u bēruttim ša Šalatuwar*; the last one, according to the reconstruction by Lewy 1962 to the [*šāqil dātim u bērut*]-*tim ša* [*K*]*u-ša-ra*, according to Landsberger 1950, 330 to the [*wabar*]*tim ša* [*K*]*u-ša-ra*. In view of the content matter and the space available the first reconstruction is more probable. The sender of the first three texts is the *kārum Waḫšušana* (in TC 1, 32 together with the "messengers of the *kārum* Kaniš"), of the last one the *wabartum* of Mamma.

TuM I, 1a records that a merchant paid as tax on a load of copper and *pirikannū*-textiles respectively 15 minas of copper and 1 shekel of silver to the *kārum* Waḫšušana. If on arrival in Šalatuwar he proved to carry more merchandise, he should make an additional tax payment. The verb used, *šaddiāšuma*, imp. Š of *nadā'um*, suggests that the tax in question

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[407]) Cf. for this text also Lewy 1956, 69[293] and Larsen *OACP* 160. Line 3ff.: *i-na* É *kà-ri-im a-na ku*$^{!}$(cf. *OrNS* 15, 401)*-nu-tim* [4] *ša-du-i-tí 1 ma-na-um 1* GÍN [5] *a-dí-šu-nu-tí-ma az-ku-ú um-ma šu-nu-ma* [6] *1 ma-na-um 3* GÍN.TA *ša-du-a-tám* [7] *ša kà-ri-im Kà-ni-iš i-dí um-ma* [8] *a-na-ku-ma a-na Kà-ni-iš ḫa-ra-*[*ni*(*-ma*)] [9] *áš-ra-kam-ma la-az-ku um-ma š*[*u-nu-ma*] [10] *a-na-kam-ma ta-za-ku.*

[408]) Cf. Larsen *OACP* 160, with note 78, where lines 4-8 have been transliterated. Lines 15ff.: *ša* [16] *lu-qú-tim ša* [KASKAL].KUR-*at* [17] *Ištar--pì-lá-aḫ* [*k*]*i-ma* [18] *ša-du-a-sú* [*na*]*-ad-ú* [19] *a-ba-ú-a be-lu-a a-tù-nu* [20] *a-ma-kam kà-ra-am* [21] *mu-úḫ-ra-ma ša-du-a-tám* [22] *lá uš-ta-ša-na-ma* [23] *lá a-na-dí-i.*

[409]) Lines 11ff.: *i-na a-wi-tim* [12] *ša* ILLAT-*tim*$^{!}$ *ki ma-l*[*a* KÙ].BABBAR (so probably on the basis of a collation by Prof. Gelb) [13] *ik-ri-bu-ni* [14] *wa-dí-ma ša-du-a-tám* [15] *i-na ḫa-ra-nim* [16] *lá i-lá-ma-ad.*

was the *šaddū'utum* (derived from the same root), though this word is not used [410]).

TC 1, 32: the *kārum* Waḫšušana and the messengers of *kārum* Kaniš order the refund of 2 shekels of silver and 2 minas of refined copper, taken from a merchant as *š.*-tax [411]).

KTP 12: very much damaged; the *kārum* Waḫšušana states that a merchant has paid his *š.* "here", and continues: "Your end [you may not impose a *š.* again" (??)]". The restoration uses the known fact that the *š.* had to be paid only once (CCT 5, 7b; GARELLI 1966, no. 43). Of course a restoration in line with TuM I, 1a is equally possible, but that seems rather an exceptional case [412]).

Neṣr. Boğ. 2: the *wabartum* of Mamma asks the Assyrian authorities of Kuššara, referring to a written instruction of the City of Aššur and the *kārum* Kaniš, not to levy any *š.* from caravans passing through or leaving Kuššara on the way to Mamma, because the Assyrian authorities in Mamma are in urgent need of money, as they have to redeem a number of Assyrians put in jail (for unknown reasons) by the local Anatolian authorities. The request suggests that the Assyrian government of Aššur and *kārum* Kaniš had permitted the Assyrians at Mamma to collect taxes, normally partly due to the authorities of other towns [413]).

c) *The interpretation of the texts*

It is not easy to draw conclusions from these data. The facts that Assyrian merchants themselves were surprised by the rate of the *š.*, and do not understand why it could not be paid in Kaniš (TC 2, 26), that one had to take good care the *š.* was not imposed twice (CCT 5, 7b; also TC 1, 32), that in some cases it had to be refunded but also could be dodged by using a smuggling-road (kt a/k 405) show that the Assyrians and even their authorities had some difficulty in applying the system of this tax

410) Lines 6ff.: *...a-na-kam* [7] *15 ma-na* URUDU [8] *ma-sí-am* [9] *ša* URUDU-*i-šu* [10] *ù 1* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ša* [11] *pì-ri-kà-ni-šu A-š[ur-...]* [12] *i-dí-ni-a-tí a-ma-kam* [13] *šu-ma* DIRIG *mì-ma* [14] *uš-té-ba-al* [15] *ša-dí-a-šu-ma* [16] *ku-un-kà-ma* [17] *še-bi*$_4$*-lá-nim.*

411) Lines 6ff.*...2* GÍN [7] KÙ.BABBAR *ù 2 ma-na* [8] URUDU SIG$_5$ *ša-du-[a-sú/tám]* [9] *ša A-lá-bu-u[m]* [10] DUMU LUGAL-^{d}IŠKUR [11] *i-dí-a-ku-nu-tí-[ni]* [12] *a-ma-kam* KÙ.BABBAR [13] *[ù]* URUDU *a-na* [14] *[ša] ki-ma A-lá-bi-im* [15] *[t]a-e-ra.* Note that in TuM I, 1a and TC 1, 32 the *š.* was levied on goods not imported from Aššur, but current in Anatolia itself: copper, *pirikannū*-textiles.

412) Cf. LEWY 1956, 68[287]; line 6-7: *ša-du-a-sú a-na-kam* [7] *i-dí [a-m]a-kam* [8] [ ]; remainder broken away.

413) Lines 25ff. read: *a-ba-ú-⟨ni⟩ be-lu-ni* [26] *a-tù-nu* DUB-*pu-um iš-tù* [27] *a-lim*^{ki} *i-li-kam* [28] *ša ša-du-a-tim lá tù-ša-da-a* [29] *ú* DUB-*pì-e ša kà-ri-im* [30] *[Kà-ni-iš?] ša ša-du-a-tim* [..]. Note the plural *šaddu'ātim* (acc.), meaning perhaps the *š.*'s on successive caravans. Lines 7ff. of this text also mention the "scribe", present at the seizure of textiles.

correctly. On the other hand the fact, recorded in Neşr. Boğ. 2, that the *kārum* Kaniš and even the City had a say in the collection of the *š.*, shows that this tax was an officially approved and probably well-organised institution. Lower Assyrian authorities could not act at their own discretion, and the merchants, knowing their rights, could appeal to the *kārum* Kaniš (TC 2, 26; CCT 5, 7b). This *kārum* in fact did intervene, by either writing a letter to the local authorities involved (*kārum* or *wabartam*: BIN 6, 101; TC 1, 32; Neşr. Boğ. 2) or by providing the wronged merchants or transporters with a document protecting their rights or stating that the *š.* had already been paid to the central authorities (TC 2, 26). The fact that the three letters written by the *kārum Waḫšušana* and addressed to less important local Assyrian authorities were most probably discovered at Kültepe, proves that the central *kārum* was kept abreast of the dealings of local *kārū* in matters of taxes like the *š.* (cf. already LEWY 1956, 68[292]). The full name of this tax seems to have been "*š.* of the *kārum* Kaniš" as a number of texts (BIN 6, 101; TC 2, 26) attests.

The first conclusion we can draw is that this *š.* according to most of the texts is a tax or toll to be paid *en route* in Anatolia: it was levied at an unknown *kārum* (not Kaniš) in BIN 6, 101 and TC 2, 26 (the latter text also mentions Durḫumid); in Šalatuwar according to the three letters of the *kārum* Waḫšušana, and in Kuššara and Mamma according to Neşr. Boğ. 2. The connection with travel in Anatolia is especially clear in kt a/k 405: by using the smuggling-road one escapes paying the *š.*; KTS 27b even mentions the payment of *š. ina ḫarrānim*. Also the letter CCT 5, 7 attests the fact that the *š.* is levied somewhere else than in Kaniš (line 20: "approach over there the *kārum*").

On the other hand the texts quoted before, CCT 4, 13a etc. (p. 281), give no information as to the place where the *š.* was paid, though twice mentioning that it was paid "to the *kārum*". This may have been some *kārum* in Anatolia, but also the *kārum* Kaniš. From BIN 6, 101, TC 2, 26, and probably CCT 5, 7b, we know that certain (privileged) merchants did pay (or at least wanted to do so) at Kaniš, instead of paying the *š.* somewhere *en route*. The conclusion seems to be that the *š.* was a tax imposed on caravans travelling in Anatolia, shipping merchandise but also (at least once in KTS 27b) silver, and paid to and at the various Assyrian settlements they passed *en route*. By taking the "smuggling-road" and so bypassing the inhabited and protected stages, one could save the amount of this *š.* On the other hand some merchants, probably mainly those paying *dātum* (BIN 6, 101), could pay a *š.* once and for all in Kaniš and hence be exempted from further payments *en route*.

The rate of this tax is not uniform. We meet high percentages like 15%

in CCT 4, 13a; 6% in TC 3/2, 186; 6% in ICK 1, 147, while the authorities in TC 2, 26 ask for ca. 5%, but get only 1,7% (1 shekel per mina). Unfortunately we cannot establish the rate in TuM I, 1a and TC 1, 32; the amounts paid are fairly small, which may have to do with the fact that the merchandise seems to be copper and *pirikannū*-textiles. The rate paid in TC 2, 26 is the same as that of the *š.* normally levied from caravans with silver leaving for Aššur: 1 shekel per mina. But this does not prove both *š.*'s were in fact the same, as the situation is rather different. We note that the writer of this letter states: "I gave here in the *bīt kārim* to your people my *š.* of 1 shekel per mina", while "they" asked for a *š. ša kārim Kaniš* of 3 shekels per mina (cf. the transliteration in note 407). Puzur-Aššur does not object to this higher rate as such, he only wants to pay in Kaniš itself. Does he deny them the right to collect this high rate because he is a merchant only liable to taxes in Kaniš, or because he thinks the local authorities are charging him too much? And who were the "people of yours" who collected the *š.* in the *bīt kārim*? We will return to this last question in the next section.

An indication of the nature of the *š.* is contained in TC 3/2, 165, a text already adduced in this connection by GARELLI *AC* 308ff. and LARSEN *OACP* 161 [414]). It lists the expenses of a caravan travelling from Kaniš to Burušḫanda. Upon arrival in the latter town a *š.* has to be paid of $^1/_{60}$ of both silver and copper to the local *bīt kārim* (lines 34-36), a tariff which resembles that actually paid in TC 2, 26 and the payment of silver and copper in TuM I, 1a and TC 1, 32. Here the *š.* was levied at the place of destination; but some of the other texts clearly deal with a transit-tax, e.g. the *š.* collected by the authorities of Šalatuar, of Kuššara and Mamma, and perhaps also in BIN 6, 101.

Besides this *š.* the *bīt kārim* at Burušḫanda takes a "5%-tax" (*mētum ḫamšat*), consisting of *8 kutānū*-textiles (line 36f.). This tax is also attested in CCT 5, 42b, dealing with the depositing and accounting of textiles in the *bīt kārim*. Lines 22ff. run: *3* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *i-na me-tum* [23] *5* TÚG *ša Bu-ru-uš-ḫa-tim* [24] *4* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ša 10-tum* [25] *iš-tí-in i-na Kà-ni-iš* [26] *iš-tí A* [27] *i-Kà-ni-iš lá-áp-tù*, "3 shekels of silver, the 5%-tax on textiles of (in) Burušḫanda; 4 shekels of silver, being the tithe in Kaniš have been booked with A in Kaniš". I do not understand the meaning of these words however. TuM I, 2b, a letter dealing with the sale of a shipment of tin and

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414) A transliteration of this text is contained in GARELLI *AC* 309[1]. In line 10 I would read: *i-*[*na*] É *wa-bi-ri ù* [*ú*]*-ku-ul-tí*; The local authority receiving a gift in line 17 (beginning) may have been called: *nam!-ru-um*, "the illustrious one". In line 46 I would read *mu-qá-ri-bi*$_4$*-a*, "the people escorting me" (lit.: "bringing me near to my destination"), cf. above p. 252f.

textiles and the donkeys and containing a request to send the proceeds in silver, ends with the words: [30] *i-na me-tum 5 lu a-ta* [31] *ta-dí lu* ÌR *i-dí-i* É *kà-ri-im* [32] *šu-ma² lu-up-ta*, "If either you or Wardum have deposited the 5%, book (it on) the (my?) name in the *bīt kārim*" [415]).

I only mention these last texts to show how complex the problems of interpretation are. One may ask what in fact was the difference between the *š.* and the "5%-tax" in TC 3/2, 165. Did the former apply only to metals (tin is not mentioned however), the latter to textiles? There are indications that the 5%-tax was not so much a real tax as again some kind of investment (free or obligatory) in the funds of the *kārum*. We hear several times of this tax in connection with copper trade (CCT 1, 43, 3'ff.; BIN 4, 72, 4ff.), as the share in a collective enterprise which the merchants can "take", and the "depositing of 5% as a share" (TuM I, 2b) may indicate the way the merchants took part in or subscribed to these collective enterprises. The "5%-tax" in that case would be somehow comparable to the *dātum* as paid to the *kārum* [416]).

5. THE MULTIVALENCE OF THE WORDS

One of the intriguing questions is whether all the words denoting some kind of tax, met thus far, *šaddū'utum*, *mētum ḫamšat*, *išrātum* [417]), also *dātum* in some cases, *nisḫatum* (to be discussed in the next chapter), and once *eribtum* [418]), are in fact different things. Is it possible that some of these words were used in a less strict sense, sometimes replacing each

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[415]) Cf. LEWY 1956, 38[133] for this text and other references for *mētum ḫamšat*; cf. also above note 368.

[416]) Note that LANDSBERGER, *AHK* 23 connected *dātum* meaning "Handelsanteil" in the first place with the copper trade. In this connection I refer also to the text CCT 1, 22a (though I do not understand it all), dealing with copper trade: merchants have been "booked" (*laptū*, 5) in the *bīt kārim* for amounts of copper (143 minas), of which 62 minas are called their *šaddū'utum* ([*ša-d*]*u-a-sú-nu*, 7). The text next mentions the depositing of a *kutānum*-textile, and states that of the total amount of copper, 3 talents 10 minas, *ša da-tí-a* (18), will be "taken" (*i¹-lá-qí-šu²*) by *Aššur-ṭāb*.

[417]) Normally, as known, this word denotes the "tithe" of the textiles, a right of pre-emption of 10% to which the local palace is entitled. In CCT 5, 42b, 24ff. the meaning seems different. In VAT 9292 (LEWY 1956, 38[137]) the *bīt kārim* gets a tithe at the sale of an amount of *ḫusārum* ("haematite"?): "as for the tithe of the *bīt kārim*, you should say: as soon as it (the haematite) has been sold, give them (the representatives of the *kārum*) the tithe. If they don't agree with you...." (l. 7-12). BIN 6, 15, 4ff. also mentions the "tithe" in connection with the *bīt kārim*: "I am booked in the *bīt kārim* for the tithe of the enterprise (one-tenth share of the proceeds?) of Amur-Aššur son of Sukkalia".

[418]) CCT 4, 23a, 7ff. records the payment to the *bīt kārim*, of 52 shekels of tin on an amount of ca. 4 talents of tin, called *eribti* AN.NA-*kà*, "entrance-tax for your tin"

other, without any real difference of meaning? This could be the case with names like "5%-tax", "tithe", which seem to be purely formal designations starting from the rate of the tax. But we have to be careful and should keep the different names separate, until we have proof to the contrary. Note e.g. that while the 10%-tax on textiles, paid to the local palaces, is called *išrātum* (the name indicating the rate; another name is *ša šīmim*, denoting that it was probably a right of pre-emption)—the 5%-tax on textiles is always called *nisḫatum*, and never *mētum ḫamšat*. Before we can fully understand the meaning of the terminology, we have to analyse the operational systems maintained by the (*bīt*) *kārim* and its relations on the one hand with the private merchants or firms and on the other hand with the Anatolian palaces, as evidenced e.g. by the so-called "banking system" and the organization of the copper trade. But such an investigation, introducing a new, vast, and complicated topic, cannot be undertaken here.

As for the terminology I only point here to some "atypical" uses of the words *dātum* and *šaddu'utum*. In no. **47**, CCT 3, 8b, treated by LARSEN *OACP* 163/4, the writer complains that he is short of money, and is forced to send repeated messages to the "outside" [32] *ù da-tám ki-a-ma ú-ša-qal*, "and in this way I have to pay (much) *dātum*"; here *dātum* seems to denote the costs of sending letters or messengers. In no. **48**, BIN, 6, 91, 11ff. we meet another use of the word. Šūkubum states that he has taken over the financial responsibilities of his dead "father", and has paid his debts at a settlement of accounts. But they have cheated him, by cashing the amounts to be paid or the costs of the clearance of accounts, several times: *a-ša-me-ma ší-ḫi-ṭí a-bi*$_4$*-ni* [11] *il*$_5$*-ta-qí-ú ù da-tám* [12] [*m*]*a-ri-iš-tám a-dí* [13] [*a*]*r-be-e-šu áš-ta-qal*, "as I hear they have collected the "settlement" of our father several times, so that I have paid a heavy fee up to four times". Here *dātum* seems to denote the costs arising from the clearing of the accounts. In both cases the word seems to have a more general meaning "fees, costs", than in the caravan texts or in those describing the transactions with the *kārum*.

As for *šaddū'utum* I quote BIN 4, 33, 35ff.: *šu-ma ma-áš-kà-tám ta-ša-kà-nam* [36] *1 ma-na-um 10* GÍN [37] *ša-du-a-tám ú-ša-da-ú-kà*, "If you want to make a deposit (of merchandise, instead of paying cash?) they will charge you with a *š.* of 10 shekels per mina" (16⅔%). If my interpretation is correct *š.* denotes in this case a surcharge perhaps for reasons of securi-

(rate 0,2%). One could also call attention to BIN 4, 29, 38ff. where mention is made of the payment of 46 shekels of silver to the *kārum* called: [39] *ar-nu-um lu ša* [40] AN.NA-*ki-kà lu* TÚG-*ba-tí-kà* É *kà-ri-im áš-qúl*. Though *arnum* normally means "guilt, fine" this meaning looks improbable here. Was it a kind of surtax or interest?

ty [419]). TC 1, 18, 24ff. reads: *ša-du-a-tám* [25] *a-na ša a-wa-sú e-wu-ú* [26] *li-dí-in*, "let him give a š. to the man who argued his case", and in this case š., again if my interpretation of this difficult text is correct, seems a kind of remuneration for help in the form of a payment of money.

These few examples may suffice to show in how many different situations a rather technical term could be used, in what seem to be different meanings. But our understanding of these atypical situations is imperfect, and we may overlook factors which do account for the choice of these very words in situations akin to those where the use of *dātum* and *šaddū'utum* can be understood.

[419]) The interpretation depends on the meaning of *maškattum*, which occurs some 20 times in OA texts, cf. *AHw* 627a s.v., who translates "Depot; Konto"; in many cases "deposit" clearly has to notion of 'security'. In the text under discussion *maškattam šakānum*, "to make a deposit (as security/pledge)", is the alternative of *šazzuzum*, "to appoint an official representative" (l. 38), who guarantees payment.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

WHO COLLECTED AND RECEIVED THE *DĀTUM*?

1. LEWY'S INTERPRETATION

In the preceding pages we suggested that the word *dātum* was used in two rather different situations and with two different meanings: a) a tax or toll, met by caravans travelling from Aššur to Anatolia, and paid *en route* by the leader of the caravan from his loose tin; its rate fluctuated around roughly 10% of the value of the load for the whole trip; and b) a deposit or investment in the *bīt kārim* securing those who made it a share in the collective commercial undertakings of the *kārum*; the amount was expressed in silver, but not necessarily paid in that valuta, and fluctuated without observable pattern. While LARSEN (*OACP* 171) recognises various meanings for the word, the distinction drawn above is not normally accepted. In fact it is contradicted by LEWY's interpretation of the evidence. He holds that the first kind of *dātum* was also collected in all cases by Assyrian authorities and eventually accrued to the *kārum Kaniš*, wherever it may have been paid (LEWY 1956, 67-69) He mentions the *dātum* in close connection with the *šaddū'utum*. His main evidence is the letters TuM I, 1a; TC 1, 32; KTP 12 and BIN 6, 101, to which he adds Neşr. Boğ. 2 in LEWY 1962, 50.

The texts just mentioned and quoted p. 282f., in fact deal almost exclusively with the *šaddū'utum*; only BIN 6, 101, 12 and 27 mention the *dātum*, stating that because the merchant-owner pays *dātum* in Kaniš his transporter need not pay *šaddū'utum en route*. But this does not amount to an identification of both. Another link with *dātum* is that TuM I, 1a; TC 1, 32 and KTP 12 are addressed by the *kārum Waḫšušana* to the *šāqil dātim u bēruttim ša Šalatuwar*. LEWY takes *šāqilum* to mean the man who weighs out once more, who verifies by weighing again, and describes the *šāqil dātim* as "the revenue-officer who examined the weight of the cash payments received from persons liable to pay taxes" (1956, 67[283]). In 1962, 50 he calls them revenue officers to whom the *šaddū'utum* was paid. This interpretation, however, creates a number of problems [420]).

[420]) Cf. on *šāqil dātim* also BILGIÇ, *App.* 76[188], who describes him as "ein mit den Wege-Gebühren der von Stadt zu Stadt transportierten Waren beschäftigter besonderer Angestellter", and "derjenige...der die Wege-Gebühr darwägt (und einkassiert)". He supposes that *pirutum* (*bēruttum*) is a native Anatolian appellative,

Firstly the verb *šaqālum* used passim in our texts normally means simply "to pay", though of course by measuring out valuta by means of a pair of scales. Only exceptionally, e.g. in texts dealing with weighing stones (cf. the texts quoted as nos. 1, 3 and 7 in *Excursus* II, above p. 57ff. *sub* 2.) a meaning "to weigh" is attested. LEWY's interpretation is therefore not probable; one should expect these "revenue-officers" to be named after their task of *collecting* tolls and taxes. One may assume that the persons to be taxed weighed out the tax themselves, probably using the recognised scales and weighing stones of the "revenue-officers"; LEWY apparently shares this opinion, hence his translation "to weigh (again), "to verify". In the second place we have met the expression *šāqil dātim* in a text like BIN 6, 101 as denoting not the "revenue-officer" but the merchant, who is to be exempted from the payment of *šaddū'utum* because in Kaniš he is a "*dātum*-payer", so to speak a shareholder in the *kārum*. It would be very curious if in the same financial context this expression could have two so different meanings. Finally, accepting LEWY's view, we should be surprised to observe that these "revenue-officers" in fact do not collect a *dātum* but in all cases a *šaddū'utum*. One could assume *dātum* in *šāqil dātim* to be used with a more general meaning, denoting all kinds of taxes and fees, and that when an actual payment is recorded one would take care to use its technical name: *šaddū'utum*. But this seems too far-fetched.

Consequently the conclusion is imposed that the very people licensed to collect the *šaddū'utum* in such subordinate, smaller settlements like Šalatuwar, were the privileged 'merchants', who were the 'share-holders', *dātum*-payers of the *kārum*-organisation. This does not mean that they could keep the taxes they collected for themselves. TuM I, 1a states that if a transporter has to pay them an additional amount of tax, because his merchandise has increased in the meantime, the *šāqil dātim u bēruttum* of Šalatuwar have to sent the tax collected under seal to the *kārum* Waḫšušana, on whose authority and for whose benefit they did their job of "revenue-officers".

The second part of their title, *bēruttum*, is not very clear. It is commonly derived from the verb *biārum*, "to select" (LEWY 1956, 67[284]; *CAD* B 213b s.v. *bērūtu*—cf. 211b *bēru B*, "elite troops"; *AHw* 122b sub *bē/īru(m)* II, 1, b) and could imply that the men in question were selected, because of their commercial relations with the *kārum*(?), to represent the Assyrian authority in this minor settlement, being not a *kārum* but a *wabartum* (KTH 16, 22; KTP 10, 4: *wabartum ša Ša-lá-⟨tù-⟩ar*).

In the texts from Kültepe level II *šāqil dātim* in this function are only

and does not decide the question of whether the *šāqil dātim* and *bēruttum* belong to the *kārum*-organization or to the native local government.

attested for Šalatuwar (and perhaps for Kuššara if LEWY's restoration of Neşr. Noğ. 2 is correct). In the texts from Kültepe I B this institution seems much more widespread; in the scarcely one hundred texts from that level they are, according to BALKAN 1965 col. 155, also attested for Wašḫania, Mamma and Timilkia. Unfortunately the context of these references (and practically the whole of the I B texts) is still unpublished, so we cannot derive additional information from them. It does not seem permitted to infer without further evidence that the *šāqil dātim* were equally widespread during Kültepe level II, and are also to be assumed for the three places mentioned. The lapse of time and the material differences between Kültepe I B and Kültepe II preclude a simple retroprojection of data and results.

Anyhow Šalatuwar is not, as LARSEN *OACP* 171 noted, a station on the road Aššur — Anatolia (nor is Kuššara one). The town has to be located somewhere west or southwest of Kaniš (cf. GARELLI *AC* 124f.) and was dependent on the *kārum* Waḫšušana, generally located around Niğde (GARELLI *AC* 123f.; ORLIN *ACC* 36[36]). Consequently there seems to be no connection between the *šāqil dātim* attested for that town and the payments of *dātum* by caravans *en route* from Aššur. Indications that "revenue officers" of this type were on duty in the places which the Assyrians passed *en route* in Northern Mesopotamia and Northern Syria are completely absent. But these *šāqil dātim* were exponents of the Assyrian authority, perhaps even local representatives of the *kārū*. Could we in any case expect such people in the regions just mentioned? What do we know about Northern Mesopotamia and Northern Syria from OA sources?

2. NORTHERN MESOPOTAMIA AND NORTHERN SYRIA IN OA SOURCES

Our sources are not very informative. We know hardly anything of most of the places mentioned in connection with the *dātum*: Razamā, Burālum, Abum, Puḫitar, Abrum. From the payments and gifts to some local dignitaries, on the assumption that *massū'um* denotes a (small) local ruler (cf. above p. 243f.), we could infer that some of the towns had their own (independent?) rulers, but it seems unwarranted to base this conclusion solely on the word *massū'um* [421]). We could suppose the most

[421]) While CCT 1, 27a, 6 records a payment of 1 shekel of silver *ana ma-sú-e-im* (= CCT 5, 48d, 6) *ša Abrim* (cf. CCT 1, 26b, 1: *ana ma-/sú-im* [2] *ša U-zu-ḫi-ni-im*), GARELLI 1965, p. 41 no. 17, 11-12 records the gift of a *kirrum* in Ḫurupša *a-na ma-sú* NI-NI and lines 19-20 a payment in Neḫria of 12 shekels of tin to *ma-sú* NI-NI. GARELLI reads in both cases *Ma-sú--ì-lí*, takes it as a personal name and compares the PN *Ma-sí--ì-lí*. This seems unlikely: how could one explain a gift to the same person twice in different places? I believe the word in the last text cannot be sepa-

easterly ones like Razamā and perhaps Burālum to have been under Assyrian political influence, but nothing is known of it. For Abum I can only point to the expenditure booked in BIN 4, 124, 12ff. (// TC 3/2, 163, 26ff.): "½ mina of copper in Abum for a libation (?; *kirrum*) for the dagger of Aššur (GÍR ^{d}*A-šùr*)". The presence of this cultic symbol suggests the presence of an Assyrian settlement in town, but not necessarily Assyrian domination. Abrum according to the text GARELLI 1965, 41 no. 17, 3 had a local palace. In the other towns Assyrians may have lived or stayed temporarily; cf. the fact that in CCT 2, 21b (above p. 261f.) mention is made of leaving behind tin and copper in Puḫitar. But we have no indications that the Assyrian presence in such places was of a more permanent, well organized nature, either a *wabartum* or a *kārum* [422]).

This was, however, the case in Zalpa, also mentioned as a road station in connection with the *dātum*. The OA references for this town have to be divided among two places: Zalp(uw)a in northern Anatolia, probably within the Halys bend, and Zalpa in northern Syria or northern Mesopotamia, probably within the great Euphrates bend (cf. simply GARELLI *AC* 94f. for the latter, and 122[1] for the former Zalpa). One of them was a *kārum*, the other a *wabartum*, and I consider the southern Zalpa, with which we are concerned here, as the most probable candidate for the *kārum* [423]). This Zalpa was an important station in the caravan system

rated from *ma-sú-(e-)im* in the other two. The writing *ma-sú* NI-NI, excludes a reading *ma-sú-ì-ni*, "our *m.*", so that GARELLI's reading is probably correct: *ma-sú-ì-lí*. Does the word denote some local deity, to which the passing Assyrian caravans made offerings or gifts; or should one read *ma-sú ì-lí*, "the *m.* of the gods", making the *m.* a kind of priest (but a writing *ì-lí* is not attested outside PN's, the scribes using *i-li* or DINGIR)? Note that BIN 4, 124, 12ff. records the gift of copper for a *kirrum* (some kind of jar or libation) to the dagger of Aššur in Abum. Perhaps *massū'um* is a figure in the Assyrian cult (cf. perhaps *massatum ša Aššur* in TC 1, 15, 32, quoted HIRSCH *UAR* 16b), which had somehow spread over Northern Mesopotamia in the wake of the Assyrian caravans; besides the "dagger of Aššur" in Abum I point to the fact that even in Uršu, across the Euphrates, a temple of Aššur existed (the letter published in *Babyloniaca* VI, 186 no. 7; cf. LANDSBERGER *AHK* 11; H. LEWY *OrNS* 18, 160[5]), with a cult statue holding(?) a dagger: *patrum*. Anyhow this shows that *massū'um* cannot prove the presence of local, independent rulers.

[422]) There is no unanimity about the figure called *kaššum* (some read *qaššum*) last discussed by BALKAN *AS* 16, 1965, 172ff.; cf. above p. 254. He is attested as anonymous *ḫamuštum*-eponym, and as living in or leading local Anatolian villages (BALKAN op. cit. 173[34]); in the latter case he bears a native, Anatolian name. He therefore may be an exponent both of the Assyrian (BALKAN 173b: "an official or a committee in the *kārum*") and the local authority. For Nothern Mesopotamia we know of a *kaššum* in Neḫria (GARELLI 1965, 42 no. 17, 17-18), in Zalpa (TC 3/2, 166, 16; but the town also had a *rubā'um*), in Qaṭara (CCT 5, 44c, "rev.", 2), in Tar(a)kum (TC 3/2, 163, 21-22), in Širun (VAT 9260, 19).

[423]) ORLIN *ACC* 88 believes the northern Zalpa, located somewhere around Çorum, to have been the *kārum*, but he gives no arguments. My arguments are:

with a considerable turnover of merchandise (cf. texts like ATHE 48, 27; 63, 16; BIN 6, 167, 8; EL 296, 6; TC 3/2, 118, 9; 166, 5ff.). The town had its own ruler, *rubā'um*, cf. TC 3/2, 166, 13, and probably palace (ibid. 22). The *dātum* paid up to or in Zalpa accordingly may have been collected either by the local administration or by the Assyrian local representatives.

There are some other texts which shed light upon the situation in Northern Mesopotamia into which the *dātum*-payment has to be fitted. As mentioned by GARELLI *AC* 95, the Assyrian traders visited or passed a great number of places, which are only occasionally mentioned in the texts, all situated in the area we are interested in. But in only a few cases do we get some idea of the political and economic organization of a town.

Neḫria, somewhere in the vicinity of Urfa (GARELLI *AC* 94) [424]), attested a dozen times, had a palace (KUG 36, x + 4f.; an Assyrian had to make a payment to it), and probably a local ruler, simply mentioned as "the man of Neḫria" in VAT 9287, 3 (EL II, 179). The Assyrians were organised there as a *kārum*, EL 210, but once also a "*collegium* of ten" (*ēšartum*) is attested, AnOr VI no. 15, 1-2; the *kārum* there had a debt claim on some Assyrians. It is attested as a road station in KTS 12, 33; CCT 2, 22, 7; GARELLI 1965, 42, no. 17, 18 and perhaps in CCT 4, 36b, 3 (cf. LEWY 1961, 66[201]).

Assyrians are also attested as visiting and even living in the towns of Talḫad and Eluḫut (cf. for the former above p. 191; for the latter above n. 375 and CCT 5, 4b, 19; ATHE 60, 18; TC 1, 81, 28 and 3/2, 164, 6), but nothing is known of either the native political situation or of the measure of organization of the Assyrian merchants.

More information is available for Badna, sometimes mentioned alongside Dadania, both situated somewhere near modern Sürüç, classical Batnae (GARELLI *AC* 94; HALLO *JCS* 18, 1964, 78f. no. 53). Badna had or was a *wabartum* according to KTH 3, 23f. and the same text attests the presence of *b/parullum*-officials, perhaps a kind of policeman (the text deals with a case of burglary committed in the *bīt wabrim*, cf. LEWY 1956, 61 [257]). According to TC 3/3, 211, 49ff., the "house" or "firm" of the

a) the letter CHANTRE no. 11, in which the *kārum* Zalpa informs the *kārum* Kaniš and the messengers of the City of Aššur that a letter from Aššur has arrived. If Zalpa were the town far in the north the messengers carrying the letter would most probably have passed Kaniš *en route*, and the letter to inform Kaniš would have been superfluous; b) BIN 6, 167, mentioning the *bīt kārim* at Zalpa, deals with a great quantity of textiles, the greater part of which, after they have been cleared, are to be transported to Burušḫanda. A shipment first from Aššur or Kaniš to Zalpa far in the north and then back to Burušḫanda, southeast of Kaniš, seems improbable.

[424]) Cf. LEWY 1962, 53[45] for the various writings of this place-name.

Assyrian Šū-Labān was situated in that town. It is attested as a road-station, where expenses were incurred, in TC 1, 83, 20 (*Ba-ad'-na*) and in **BIN 6, 265** r. 2'-4'. The latter text is important as a source for our knowledge of the situation in Northern Mesopotamia, and reads:

21 GÚ *49 ma-na*		"21 talents 49 minas the value
[a-w]i-it Kur-ub--Ištar ša iš-tù		of the merchandise of Kurub-
[x x] + *1½* GÚ *7½ ma-na*		Ištar which from [ ] 1½
[x x x]x x šu-du li-/		talent 7½ minas [ ].....
[x x x x x x x] x	5	.....

(rest of obv. and beginning of rev. destroyed)

[x] x AN.NA *x [x x x x (x)]*		[.....] tin [.....x shekels]
[AN].NA *ni-is-ḫa-tum ša Ba-ad-na*		of tin *nisḫatum*-tax in Badna;
2 GÍN AN.NA *ig-ri ra-bi$_4$-ṣí*		2 shekels of tin hire of a
ša Ba-ad-na ⅔ ma-na 5 GÍN		solicitor in Badna; 45 shekels
AN.NA *ni-is-ḫa-tum ša Za-al-pá*	5'	of tin *nisḫatum*-tax in Zalpa;
i-nu-mì 2 GÚ *10 ma-na* AN.NA *ú li-wí-sú*		when 2 talents 10 minas of tin with its wrappings (and)
20 TÚG *ku-ta-nu* SIG$_5$ *7* TÚG *a-ba-ar-ni[-ú?]*		20 *kutānū* of good quality and 7 Abarnian textiles.....".

(left edge destroyed)

The text, owing to its fragmentary condition, is not very clear. It states the (enormous) value of a shipment of merchandise, and perhaps some expenses (both *awītum* and *ikšudū* remind us of the *dātum*-clauses, but a distributive TA at the end of line 3 is excluded). The rev. lists rather small payments of tin, called *nisḫatum* in Badna (amount not preserved) and Zalpa (45 shekels). It is not certain whether the sentence starting with this information continues with lines 6'ff.: these payments were made at the time when the amounts of tin and textiles (one donkey load of each).....; or whether in r. 6' a new sentence starts, which makes it possible to connect the *nisḫatum*-payments with the *awītum* mentioned first. The first alternative seems more probable.

The merchant Kurub-Ištar recurs in BIN 6, 180; CCT 1, 24b and TC 3/2, 166, travelling in the same general region. These texts mention small expenses and losses *en route*, in Dadania and Zalpa: loss of a donkey in Zalpa (TC 3/2, 166, 5f.), loss or deposit of 10 textiles in Dadania (TC 3/2, 166, 7f.; BIN 6, 180, r. 6'f.; CCT 1, 24b, 15f.). TC 3/2, 166, 9ff. states that the 'man' (ruler) of Dadania took or received one *kutānum*-textile, and mentions also the following expenses: 1 textile for the escort (guides?);

1½ shekel of gold for the ruler (of Dadania?); 1½ mina sickles (of copper) for the *kaššum* in Zalpa; 2½ shekels for depositing textiles; 4 shekels for the escort (guide) from Kaniš; 4 shekels *nisḫatum*-tax on them (the textiles) paid to the palace (in Zalpa).

This pattern of expenditures shows that the local authorities of towns like Badna, Dadania and Zalpa received gifts and taxes from Assyrian caravans passing—apparently none of these towns was a terminal for the caravans. The amounts of *nisḫatum*-tax paid in Zalpa (45 shekels of tin; 4 shekels of silver) are rather small, and in no way comparable to the *nisḫatum*-tax to be paid on arrival at the local palace of one of the Anatolian towns, where the merchandise was cleared; the latter amounted to $^{2}/_{65}$ or ca. 3% on tin, and 5% on textiles. The amounts can be compared with those paid in Anatolia by caravans merely visiting or passing some town which is not their final destination. In TC 3/2, 165 e.g. a caravan leaving Kaniš for Burušḫanda passes Wašḫania and Ninašša and has to pay there amounts of 21 and 24 shekels of tin as *nisḫatum* (5f., 13ff.).

Summing up we conclude that there is some measure of economic penetration by the Assyrians in Northern Mesopotamia, but no proof of any political domination. There is no proof of an extensive network of Assyrian *kārū* or *wabarātum* or even posts manned by *šāqil dātim* which could have collected the *dātum* from caravans *en route*. Only in the region between Baliḫ and Euphrates and beyond, does the network of Assyrian commercial posts and settlements start. They could have collected the *dātum*, of course, but there is nothing to prove it. On the other hand we have to assume that Northern Mesopotamia was in some measure divided up into small political units, each headed by a local ruler, which the Assyrians had to pass. The texts bear ample testimony to their gifts to these local authorities, and, again for the more western part of the journey, to taxes paid by them in the palaces of these rulers. Could the amounts of *nisḫatum*, paid *en route*, have made up the *dātum*? This is not certain; not only are such *nisḫatum*-payments, made in Northern Mesopotamia, very poorly attested, but also the rate of the *dātum* (some 10% over the whole trip) is very high compared to these small *nisḫatum*-payments. This interpretation remains a possibility if one accepts that many (unrecorded) *nisḫatum*-payments had to be made *en route*, not only at Badna, Dadania, Zalpa, etc., but also in more easterly towns, like Razamā, Abum, Abrum etc. The caravan-load of BIN 6, 265 r. 6'ff. represents an *awītum* of some 3⅓ talents of tin. The ¾ mina paid as *nisḫatum* in Zalpa represents a tax of ca. 0,3%. To reach a total of 10% we would need ca. 30 such payments, which seems rather too much. But perhaps one did include other forced payments in the *dātum*, like gifts to local rulers etc.

3. THE ANATOLIAN SCENE

The situation concerning the *dātum* paid by caravans in Anatolia proper is different. Six towns are mentioned in connection with the *dātum*: Ḫaḫḫum, Timilkia, Kaniš, Wašḫania, Durḫumid and Ullama. The last three are mentioned in connection with inner Anatolian transports (above nos. 15 and 25) and are for the time being to be considered as "atypical" (payments in silver and tin, very low tariff, no connection with *awītum*). The first three occur as the last stations *en route* from Aššur to the destination in Anatolia.

Kaniš and Ḫaḫḫum both are attested as *kārum* (cf. for the latter EL 243; 275; 314/5; CCT 2, 49a), both have their own local rulers and palaces. Timilkia is well known from OA sources, has a ruler and a "queen" (TC 3/2, 162, 9; 3/3, 211, 45ff.; TuM I, 24e, 3), and a palace (TC 3/3, 211, 44), but, though many trading operations are attested for this town, no *kārum* or *wabartum* is ever mentioned. That the town had a *kārum* and a *šāqil dātim* according to a text from Kültepe level I B (BALKAN 1965, col. 155) does not allow us not to posit a *kārum* for Kültepe level II too [425]).

According to LEWY all the *dātum*-payments made *en route* accrued to the *kārum* Kaniš, and one would expect evidence for this statement in texts dealing with the final stage of the journey ending in Kaniš. Unfortunately, once we have separated these payments *en route* from the *dātum*-payments made directly to the *bīt kārim* (the investments by the "shareholders"), no clear evidence remains of who in fact levied the *dātum*. Most important in this connection is text no. 14 (above p. 236): the *awītum* here is 8 talents 10 minas, the tariff 1 mina 4⅔ shekels per talent; the text states that "they imposed the *dātum* in Kaniš" (*emādum*), and that the addressee consequently has to make a balance payment of 8 minas 48 shekels of tin. Who are the "they" imposing the *d.*, and what is this *d.*?

The use of the verb *napālum* in line 30 could suggest that this text belongs to those recording *dātum*-payments as investments in the *bīt kārim* (treated in chapter XII, where this same verb recurs in texts nos. 38 and 39). In that case this text would be the link connecting both types of *dātum*, and suggest both were in some way part of the same system, and LEWY's thesis that the *kārum* received the *dātum ša ḫarrānim* would prove correct. This interpretation however seems unlikely to me. True, the verb *napālum* is an argument for this case, but on the other hand there are several points which speak against this identification. The second category of *dātum*-texts always deals with amounts of silver; but here

[425]) Cf. for the function of Timilkia texts like EL 204; CCT 5, 28c; 31a; TC 1, 81, 44; 3/2, 167, 24; 3/3, 247, 16; and ATHE 62, 38ff.

tin occurs, connected with *awītum*, which is not attested in connection with the second type of *dātum*. In the *kārum*-transactions the distributive TA means per person; here it means, as in the other category of *dātum*-texts, per talent (the figures match on that assumption, and the restoration of the damaged first number in line 28 as 8 is entirely possible). The tariff in connection with *dātum*-payments to the *bīt kārim* always shows round figures (12, 15, 20 minas), here the rate is 1 mina 4⅔ shekels per talent. The verb *napālum* probably means here that the writer, Imdīlim, had advanced "loose tin" for the caravan, and that the addressee now has to pay back a proportional share for "your *awītum*" (of his and his colleagues). This may suffice to range text no. 14 under the category *dātum ša ḫarrānim*.

The use of the verb *emādum* could suggest the action of some official body but its subject is not further specified. The verb is also used in other texts, some of which are recorded in *CAD* E 140b, b, 1′. While in TC 1, 1, 6 the subject is clearly the government of the City of Aššur (*CAD* loc. cit.), in other texts it is simply a person, charging someone with the payment of an amount due; cf. besides the two texts mentioned in *CAD* E loc. cit., also:

49. TC 3/1, 12, 6ff.: ("after the packets had been sealed") 7 *ma-na* URUDU [7] *da-tám* [d]IŠKUR-SIG$_5$ [8] *e-mu-ud-kà-ma* [9] *Lá-qí-ip* [10] *i-na ra-mì-ni-šu* [11] *iš-qúl*, "Adad-damiq charged you with a *d.* of 7 minas of copper, but Laqīp paid it out of his own means". This laconic, short text, in which *dātum* may perhaps be some fee, shows clearly that *emādum* does not automatically suggest some official body, imposing a tax, as its use with *qaqqadātum* (above p. 265 texts nos. 35 and 36) might suggest.

We have to conclude that we do not know who imposed and collected the *dātum* (*ša ḫarrānim*) in Kaniš and in the towns passed *en route* from Aššur to Anatolia. LEWY's hypothesis that all *dātum*-payments accrued to the *kārum* Kaniš is not substantiated by the texts which mention *dātum*. His arguments have no force because a) he draws conclusions from the data about the *šaddū'tum*-tax, which, however, should be distinguished from *dātum*; b) he mixes up *dātum*-payments, made as investments in the funds of the *kārum* by "share-holders", with the *dātum ša ḫarrānim*; and c) he partly bases his theory on his belief in the existence of an empire he calls "Halys-Assyria", dominated by the Assyrians, where all taxes and duties imposed upon caravans automatically should accrue to the body representing the Assyrian government there: *kārum* Kaniš—a theory which is untenable as both older and more recent investigations (GARELLI *AC*; ORLIN *ACC*) have demonstrated.

For the time being the most probable solution according to me is that

the *dātum ša ḫarrānim* was imposed on caravans by the local, non-Assyrian, authorities in Northern Mesopotamia and Northern Syria, and perhaps also on a limited scale in Anatolia, in the towns or at their tolls, which the Assyrians passed on the way to their ultimate destination. Such a solution is supported by a comparison with the data known about *qaqqadātum*, "head-tax", contained in BIN 4, 5ff. (above p. 325). Note that a *dātum* for the final stage was imposed in Kaniš according to text no. 14.

4. THE CALCULATION OF THE *dātum*

That the *dātum* was not simply a free gift or bakhshish is shown by the complicated way in which the *d.* incurred was recorded. The use of the verb 'incurred' (Akk. *ikšud*) means that the tariff of the *dātum*, which shows curiously detailed figures (cf. the table on p. 238), was not the product of calculations afterwards, but a reflection of real payments. That the *dātum* was really paid *en route* is not only suggested by the use of the "loose tin" for meeting this expenditure, but also by text no. 8. While practically all other texts simply state that the *d.* 'amounted to' so much or that the transporter 'incurred' a *d.* of so much, this text first states the tariff for a certain stage, and then mentions the amount of tin actually paid: three times *ašqul* (line 8, 11 and 13; above p. 234). The careful and systematic way in which the value of the merchandise was converted into tin (one textile probably being equated with 2 minas of tin, cf. above p. 233 and n. 364) also speaks for a well-considered system, relying on mutual agreements, perhaps even recorded in writing and sworn to by oaths, like the treaties concluded between the Assyrians and the local Anatolian rulers.

In this final section I undertake an analysis of the figures of text no. 8 to see whether we can discover reguliarities, apart from the *awītum*-calculations discussed above (ch. XI, 1). One could ask questions like: did the value of the merchandise or the relation between the values of tin and textiles change the more one approached Anatolia, the rate of exchange current in Aššur gradually passing into that obtaining for Anatolia? Or: did one deduct the amount of tin paid as *dātum* on the first stage from the *awītum*, when the *dātum* to be paid for the next stage had to be calculated (cf. the system followed in Anatolia where if textiles were taxed, the 'tithe' was levied from the number of textiles imported minus those already paid as *nišḫatum*-tax (5%))?

The text, which does not contain the word *dātum*, but certainly deals with this tax, cf. above p. 234, mentions the following figures:

awītum		2 talents 13 (copy 16) minas
dātum until Abum		
2¼ minas per talent	→	4 minas 58½ shekels
dātum until Abrum		
1⅔ mina per talent	→	3 minas 41⅔[1] shekels
dātum until Kaniš		
2 minas 21⅓ shekels per talent	→	4 minas 44⅔ shekels
food for personnel and donkey		3 minas
theft of a donkey		26½ shekels
deficiency on the loose tin		10 shekels
total of expenses *en route*		17 minas 1⅓ shekels
amount of loose tin advanced by the transporter and paid back to him		5 minas 41 shekels
amount of loose tin given		11 minas 20⅓ shekels

Commentary:

The tariff for the first stage with an *awītum* of 2 talents 16 minas yields a *dātum* of 5 minas 6 shekels. An emendation to 2 talents 13[!] minas yields a *dātum* of 4 minas 59½ shekels, which is so close to the figure recorded that I have accepted that emendation. As stated above p. 264 *sub* 8 the double writing of *15* GÍN.TA is to be understood as an intentional repetition of this figure in line 4; the small signs at the end of line 3 were considered not clear enough, but not (sufficiently) erased. Maintaining a double "15 shekels each" creates insurmountable arithmethical problems in every way. In line 10 the figure ⅓ mina has been emended to ⅔ mina, as the tariff mentioned with an *awītum* of 2 talents 13 minas (the emendation of 16 to 13 in line 1 receives here indirect confirmation) yields exactly 3 minas 41⅔ shekels. The figure in the copy does not fit in any way (neither starting from an *awītum* of 2 talents 16 minas, nor from an *awītum* from which the first *dātum*-payment has been subtracted). At the end of line 11 a distributive TA should be added as in the preceding lines to account for the figure in line 13 [426]).

[426]) The number of emendations necessary to give some meaning to the figures of the text is rather large. Did the scribe really make that many mistakes, or does the modern copyist (here the experienced eye of THUREAU DANGIN) share some of the blame? Note that the corrections proposed are minimal in material respect: 2 > 4; 6 > 3; ⅓ > ⅔; all require only very slight corrections of the cuneiform signs. Elsewhere corrections also seem necessary: in TC 2, 14, 13 the number of donkeys should be 4 and not 2. In text no. 2 the *awītum* of 5 talents 20 minas cannot account for the figures, and one would expect 5 talents 11[!] minas.

Thanks to the emendations proposed the figures for the first two stages tally more or less, and allow the conclusion that the *awītum* for the first two laps remained the same. The *dātum* was paid from the 'loose tin', and this apparently was not included in the *awītum*. The figures for the last stage, Abrum-Kaniš, create problems. The *awītum* and tariff mentioned require a figure of 5 minas 12⅔ shekels; the 4 minas 44⅔ shekels actually given can only be accounted for by starting from an *awītum* of ca. 2 talents 24 shekels. Did the *awītum* really become less for this stage e.g. by the sale of merchandise *en route*, or did one make different calculations of the value of the load? In other texts where we can check the figures against each other (nos. 1, 2, 3, 14) the calculations were correct, though occasionally odd figures were rounded off: in no. 1 18 shekels become ⅓ mina; in nos. 2 and 3 respectively $^{5}/_{6}$ and $^{4}/_{5}$ shekel disappear. But in our text no such rounding off is observable (cf. the figure for the first lap), and there is no reason to assume a big mistake.

The tariff for the final stretch moreover is extremely detailed, even in fractions of shekels. This is not exceptional, cf. the table on p. 238, where round and odd figures occur side by side, and fractions of shekels are repeatedly attested. One may ask the question: if the *dātum* was a tax or toll imposed by some official body, how did one arrive at such curious figures? Even if one assumes that the *dātum* represents in fact an addition of a number of taxes or tolls subsequently imposed *en route*, the figures are unexpected.

I can think of only one possible explanation for this phenomenon. The *dātum* was imposed (subsequently at various places) over the total value of the load: donkeys, tin, textiles. As several texts show, there was a tendency to use round figures, both in the tariff and in the amounts resulting from the calculations. The load itself however could be made up of merchandise from various merchants or firms. To allow an exact apportioning of this expense between the various owners of the merchandise one broke up the figures for the whole of the load, to calculate how much had been paid per talent of tin. In this way one could charge the various owners with the amount they had to pay for the shipment of their part of the load [427]). Moreover one need not assume that all the merchandise

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[427]) CCT 1, 34b, already quoted above as text no. 9, shows that the tariff of the *dātum* was mentioned in connection with a load consisting of lots of merchandise, expressed in *awītum*, belonging to various persons. The text reads: [1] *1* GÚ-*tám* (erasure) [2] $4^{2}/_{3}$ *ma-na* $3\frac{1}{2}$ GÍN.TA [3] *4* GÚ *23* ⟨*ma-na*⟩ *a-wi-it* [4] *a-bi*$_{4}$*-ni 1* GÚ *18 ma-/na* [5] DAM.GÀR *2* GÚ *6 ma-*⟨*na*⟩ [6] DAM.GÀR-*ma* [7] *30 ma-na ša A-šur*--DÙG [8] *23 ma-na ša Puzur--* ⟨*x*⟩ [9] *2* GÚ *43 ma-na* [10] *A-šùr--na-da* [11] *13 ma-na* $16\frac{1}{2}$? GÍN? [12] *a-na-pá-al* [13] $54^{1}/_{3}$ *ma-na x* GÍN (or: erasure?) [14] *iš-ku-nam* $3^{2}/_{3}$ *ma-na* $6^{1}/_{3}$ GÍN [15] *ša um-me/mì-ni* [16] *19*? GÍN DAM.GÀR [17] $4^{1}/_{3}$ *ma-na* $3\frac{1}{2}$ GÌN [18] *a-na ša A-šùr* [19] *4 ma-na* LÁ $3\frac{1}{2}$ GÍN

remained together for the whole trip. Especially during the last stage, e.g. from Zalpa and onwards, the load may have been split up according to the final destination of the goods: in the great bend of the Euphrates the roads leading to the various destinations seem to have parted. Cf. the famous text TC 1, 18—cf. GARELLI *AC* 105f.—where two ways of reaching Kaniš are mentioned: one via Uršu, and another via Mamma. At such points the loads of the various caravans may have been rearranged and lots of goods have been transferred from one donkey to another. This tentative explanation could perhaps account for the deviating figures in text no. 8 for the final lap. But also in earlier stages of a trip parts of a load may have been left behind somewhere or have been separated from the main load to reach a secondary destination. The Assyrian merchants visited many towns in Northern Mesopotamia and Syria, not all of which were situated along the main caravan road(s).

5. CONCLUSIONS

The main conclusion we have reached is that until clear evidence to the contrary emerges should keep separated the two types of *dātum*, which we might label *dātum ša ḫarrānim* and *dātum ša bīt kārim*. Their different characteristics and functions in the system of trade have been made sufficiently clear in the preceding pages and need not be repeated here. The use of one and the same word to denote two such different concepts should not startle us too much, as we have noted several cases of rather technical terms, like *waṣītum*, *šaddū'utum*, *niṣḫatum*, *išrātum*, being used in different situations to denote different kinds of taxes or duties. The OA terminology often proves to be versatile and difficult to grasp: there is a marked tendency to develop a kind of professional, concise idiom, but on the other hand the use of words and expressions is not yet restricted to a few well-defined situations and contexts. The final chapters on some of the financial terminology will confirm this conclusion. This state of affairs makes the reading of the texts both fascinating and difficult. Only a careful

[20] *ša* ^{d}*Ištar*. The text has been written rather carelessly. The meaning of the lines 14b ff. is not very clear and I leave them out of the discussion here, as they are probably not important in this connection. The text first states the tariff of the *dātum* (though the word is not mentioned we may supply it on analogy), and next describes the composition of the *awītum*, made up of a number of smaller lots of merchandise, all expressed in tin valuta. The total of the *awītum* amounts to ca. 11 talents 40 minas, and the *dātum* according to the tariff of line 2 to ca. 55 minas, which is almost the amount mentioned in line 13 as expenses ("it cost", *iškunam*). A text like this one could have served as a means to charge the various owners of merchandise shipped with one caravan with a proportional share of the *dātum* paid *en route*.

analysis of the context and the recognition of a number of typical situations and transactions can show which meaning a word like *dātum* has in a random text. One must admit that this word with its rather vague basic notion and its use in widely different situations and in various meanings (favourable and unfavourable), also outside OA texts, seems predestined to create confusion. It is perhaps no mere coincidence that it is used to denote two kinds of payments which can be defined neither purely as a tax nor as a gift. In both meanings the word denotes what may have started as a gift to which the leader of a caravan (felt he) was obliged, being dependent on the co-operation and help of an official commercial or political body, but which ended up by becoming a regular payment, a compulsory contribution or gift, in exchange for services and advantages.

The *dātum ša ḫarranim* will have granted the merchants an unhindered and even protected passage through a region apparently not dominated by Assyria, offering them food, lodging and safety. The *dātum ša bīt kārim* offered them the possibility of taking part in the apparently advantageous collective undertakings of the *kārum*: trade in textiles, copper and wool. The details of this type of trade still have to be reconstructed from the sources. Information about the situation in Northern Mesopotamia during the period of the Old Assyrian trade is still almost absent, but may result from excavations in this region.

The high percentage of the *dātum ša ḫarrānim*—up to 10% of the value of the load—lends reality to the seemingly exaggerated gross profit the Assyrians made on the sale of tin and textiles. These profits, to be compared with the interest given on commercial loans, were only achieved thanks to much labour and great expenses, among which the *dātum* of 10% was one of the most important. An estimated net profit of some 50-75% on the investments seems a reasonable remuneration for the energy and skill of these enterprising traders.

PART FOUR

SMUGGLING

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

PAZZUR(T)UM, "SMUGGLING"

1. INTRODUCTION

The many and sometimes rather high taxes, tolls and duties were no doubt a heavy burden for the Assyrian merchants, considerably reducing the profits of their trade. On the whole the Assyrians seem to have accepted this burden as inevitable, as the many texts recording payments of taxes show. Occasionally however they tried to dodge them, even though the right to levy them was most probably stipulated in the treaties or "sworn oaths" concluded between the Assyrian authorities and the local rulers [428]).

The taxes were essentially of two kinds. In the first place there were taxes imposed on caravans arriving at their destination in Anatolia, consisting mainly of the *nisḫatum*-tax and the "tithe" to be paid on tin and textiles at the local Anatolian palaces, when the merchandise was cleared before it could be sold on the market. Assyrians did try to avoid these tax-payments by smuggling the merchandise into a town or *kārum* without passing the customs or presenting it for clearance at the local palace. This kind of smuggling was in most cases called *pazzurum* or *pazzurtum* [429]). The second kind of taxes were tolls, duties and transit-fees apparently imposed *en route*, at toll-stations or in the towns which the caravans had to pass on the way to their eventual destination. These taxes could be

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[428]) No literal text of a "treaty" ("sworn oath", *mamītum*) has been preserved, but we can to some extent reconstruct the contents of such treaties from an observation of the recurring features in the relations between Assyrians and Anatolian rulers. To these features belongs the taxation of Assyrian imports in the palace of the local rulers (an import-tax, called *nisḫatum*, on tin and textiles, and a "tithe", *išrātum*, or right of pre-emption, *ša šīmim*, on textiles alone), which hence is likely to have been stipulated in a treaty. Cf. recently ORLIN *ACC* 179ff. for the possible contents of a treaty. In this connection it is important to note that an unpublished text from Kültepe, level I B, kt n/k 32, communicated by B. LANDSBERGER at the Rencontre Assyriologique 1967 held at Chicago, states that Assyrians have to take an oath in the *ḫamrum* to the effect, that they will not smuggle (*pazzurum*) anything within the territory of Kaniš and Mamma. This official document is sealed by 4 Assyrians and 8 Anatolians, among which figures the ruler Ḫurmeli with his *rabī simmiltim* Ḫarpatiwa. This text shows that *pazzurum* was not simply "to shelter", but an illegal action.

[429]) Lit.: "to hide", "hidden merchandise"; we also meet a *mupazzirum*, cf. below *sub* 10.

avoided by following secondary, unusual and probably difficult tracks, which by passed toll-stations and towns, and were called *ḫarrān sūqinnim*.

Another kind of smuggling was trade in goods which were in some way forbidden or at least severely restricted in circulation by order of the authorities. I recall the letter, quoted above p. 126f., mentioning an official prohibition on trade in two types of local Anatolian textile-products, issued by the authorities at Aššur. Another example is the trade in a kind of iron, probably natural, (*ašium/amūtum*), which was also prohibited or at least in some way monopolised by the official authorities, as is clear from a group of texts dealing with an attempt to obtain *ašium* undertaken by a group of Assyrian merchants [430]).

Though of course *pazzurum* and the use of a *ḫarrān suqinnim* could be complementary devices, and *pazzurum*, "to hide", is a fairly general word, which could denote various kinds of secret trade, I keep them at first apart, when analysing the textual sources. I begin with an discussion of *pazzurum/pazzurtum*.

2. PREVIOUS INTERPRETATIONS

LANDSBERGER, *AHK* 24 took *pazzurtum* as "magazine, stock", describing it as a "Zentralstelle für die Kleiderhandel" (alongside the local palace). In the text TTC 17, 13ff., to be quoted below as no. 29, he translates: "im Magazin erzeuget gute Stoffe zugleich mit Euern Stoffen!" J. LEWY, first adopting a different point of view (*OLZ* 1926, col. 752f.), accepted this interpretation according to EL p. 159[b], and translates in EL no. 166, 11f. (below no. 5) *ana pazzurim alākum* with "zum Lagern gehen", and *pazzurum* in EL II index p. 202 with "lagern, magazinieren." In LEWY 1956, 24[103] he translates the verb with "to shelter" and argues: "referring not so much to the storing of incoming merchandise as to its protection against robbery and similar dangers". He refers to CCT 4, 18a, 14ff (cf. below no. 2) where we read a request "not to shelter anything", argued by the words *maṣṣarātum dannā*, which he interpretes as "(The highway is safe because) the guards are strong". He also writes: "The aversion to any unnecessary "sheltering" of merchandise...finds its explanation in the fact that the organization which afforded shelter (i.e. in the instance here under examination, the "palace" of Kaniš) insisted upon payment of *nisḫatum* as well as upon a right of pre-emption". Accordingly *pazzurum* for him is a kind of a synonym to *ana ēkallim erābum*,

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[430]) Cf. the treatments by LANDSBERGER 1950, 329ff.; LEWY, 1950, 424ff.; GARELLI *AC* 114; ORLIN *ACC* 142.

"to enter the palace", normally used in connection with the payment of the *nisḫatum* [431]).

A new interpretation was proposed by KIENAST in ATHE p. 88 *ad* 28 (commentary *ad* text no. 62), following a suggestion of FALKENSTEIN: that *pazzurum* means "to smuggle". He was criticised by HIRSCH, 1961, 56 *ad loc.*, who deems the translation "to smuggle" rather forced, stating "für die Mehrzahl der Stellen ist eine Übersetzung "schmuggeln" ganz ausgeschlossen".

He maintains that the occurrence of a *mupazzirum* and payments of silver *ana pazzur(t)im* rather suggest a meaning "lagern" or "Lagergebühr". GARELLI *AC* 187[1] accepts "to smuggle", mainly on the basis of ATHE 62, and translates *pazzurtum* as "marchandise de contrabande"; he thinks *mupazzirum* can be a smuggler, as he occurs in a purely private memorandum, and the payments of silver mentioned by HIRSCH are to be understood as "des pots-de-vin exigés pour les risques de contrabande".

VON SODEN *AHw* 852a records for *pazārum* D a general meaning "to hide" (OA: EL 8, 8, construed with *ištu* PN) and *sub* 2 for OA texts: "Waren vor dem Zoll verbergen, schmuggeln"; *pazzurtum* (852b) he renders "Geheimdepot meist für Schmuggelware" [432]).

I follow the interpretations of KIENAST, GARELLI and VON SODEN, though I do not quite agree with the latter's translation of *pazzurtum* with "Geheimdepot". The discussion of the texts below will provide arguments for my choice. This discussion is not superfluous, in spite of the fact that the correct meaning of the words already has been established, because a systematic analysis of what smuggling *de facto* meant, and of the many questions related to it has not yet been undertaken.

3. ATHE 62 AND CCT 4, 18A

I begin the discussion with the *locus classicus*, text no.

1. ATHE 62, 28ff.: *pá-zu-ur-tù-šu* DUMU *Ìr-ra-a a-ṣé-er* [29] *Pu-šu--ke-en*$_6$ *ú-šé-ri-a-ma* [30] *pá-zu-ur-tù-šu i-ṣí-bi-it-ma* [31] *Pu-šu--ke-en*$_6$ É.GAL-*lúm iṣ-ba-at-ma* [32] *a-na ki-šé-er-ší-im i-dì ma-ṣa-ra-tum!* [33] *da-na a-na Lu-ḫu-sà-dí-a Ḫu-ra-ma* [34] *Ša-lá-aḫ-šu-a ù a-na ma-ti-ša a-dì ša* [35] *pá-zu-ur-tim*

[431]) But note that in LEWY 1950, 435 he quotes CCT 4, 18a, 16-17 (below text no. 2) as a proof that the "non-Assyrian authorities did not tolerate secret transports of metals". *maṣṣarātum dannā*, "the guards are strong", is followed by the comment: "Since... dues were to be paid for imported goods, it may be surmised that the highways were always more or less closely watched".

[432]) OA also knows the expressions *puzram ṣabātum* (EL 97, 16; CCT 5, 1a, 14; TC 3/2, 129, 4.21) and *puzram aḫāzum* (ICK 1, 83, 13), both meaning "to go into hiding", "to disappear".

ru-ba-tum ta-áš-pur-ma [36] *e-na-tum na-ad-a a-pu-tum mì-ma* [37] *lá tù-pá-za-ar*, "the son of Irrā sent his smuggled goods to Pūšu-kēn, but his smuggled goods were caught whereupon the palace seized Pūšu-kēn and put him in jail. The guards are strong. The queen has sent messages to Luḫusaddia, Ḫurrama, Šalaḫšuwa and to her (own) country concerning the smuggling, and look-outs ("eyes") have been posted. Please do not smuggle anything."

This letter makes it clear that *pazzurum* means "to smuggle" and *pazzurtum* "smuggled goods" (not: "Geheimdepot für Schmuggelware"). The question arises what kind of smuggling is meant. We do not know what the *pazzurtum* which Pūšu-kēn received was. The reaction of Imdīlim, who wrote ATHE 62 to Puzur-Aššur, is, as lines 38ff. show, an order to the latter to leave his *ašium* behind in Timilkia under safe custody and to come over to discuss the situation. This could suggest that *pazzurum* here means trade in forbidden merchandise. But it is also possible that the *pazzurtum* sent to Pūšu-kēn were tin and textiles not cleared and that the intensified control resulting from the seizure of this shipment also made trade in the forbidden *ašium* too risky. This seems confirmed by the concluding lines of the letter, which read in translation (44-47a): "If somebody, to earn only 1 shekel of silver (44b: *ba-la$_5$-ṭí-šu*), tries to persuade you, saying: "entrust me tin or textiles, then I will smuggle them; I can manage it", don't entrust (them; 47a: *lá ta-da'-a*[*n*])".

Imdīlim writes to Puzzur-Aššur about smuggling also in the letter **2.** CCT 4, 18a. After warning Puzur-Aššur to entrust (*qiāpum*) no merchandise to anybody, Imdīlim writes: [14] *a-pu-tum a-ma-lá* [*a-w*]*a-a*[*ṭ*] [15] [DUB]*-pí-a i-ḫi-id-ma* [16] *mì-ma lá tù-pá-za-ar ma-ṣa-ra-*/*tum* [17] [*d*]*a-na ù šu-ma! iš-tí* [18] [ILLAT-*t*]*im ta-pá-ra-as-ma* [19] [*a-m*]*a-kam i-na Ti-mì-il$_5$-ki-a* [20] *ki-lá-*[*š*]*u*, "please follow the orders of my letter strictly and do not smuggle anything. The guards are strong. If you want to separate (your part) from the caravan, keep it back over there in Timilkia".

This text does not mention *ašium* at all; the merchandise in question seems to be tin and carnelian (lines 3-4). The letter may but need not refer to the same incident as reported in text no. 1.

The context makes it clear that the interpretation given by LEWY 1956 loc. cit. of the words *maṣṣarātum dannā* in text no. 2 is wrong. The writer does not mean that caravan journeys are safe, but on the contrary that shipment of smuggled goods is highly dangerous, because the control has been intensified, as the words *enātum nad'ā* in text no. 1 confirm [433]).

[433]) *maṣṣarātum* "guarding services" probably denotes armed guards. We frequently meet them in the combination x silver *ša maṣṣarātim*, booked as an expense in the accounts of a caravan (cf. above p. 252 *sub* 6). Besides escorting car-

4. *pazzurum* VERSUS "TO ENTER THE PALACE"

The notion of "smuggling" is confirmed by the opposition between *pazzurum* and "to enter/to bring into the palace", *ana ekallim erābum* (G and Š); the latter means, in fact, being cleared in the palace by payment of the *nisḫatum* and the tithe. See e.g.

3. KTH 13, 6ff. (cf. LEWY 1956 loc. cit. and GARELLI *AC* 186): *šu-ma pá-zu-ur-šu-nu ta-le-a* [7] *pá-zi-ra-šu-nu šu-ma pá-zu-ur-šu-nu* [8] *lá ta-le-a a-na* É.GAL-*lim* [9] *šé-li-a-šu-nu-ma* É.[GAL-*lúm*] [10] *ni-is-ḫa-tí-šu-nu li-i*[l_5-*qí*]-*ma*, "if you can smuggle them (212 textiles of good quality), smuggle them; but if you cannot smuggle them bring them up to the palace, and let the palace collect the *nisḫatum*-taxes on them".

4. CCT 4, 29a, 3ff., where Kunīlim writes to Pūšu-kēn and Rabī-Aššur (the latter was Kunīlim's transporter cf. TC 2, 16, 14): . . . *ki-ma* [4] *ù-nu-tum úṣ-a-ni* [5] TÚG.ḪI.A-*tí ša i-na pá-zu-ur-/tim* [6] *e-ru-bu-ni-ni* [7] *ú ma-l*[*a*] *i-na* É.GAL-*lim* [8] *úṣ-ú*[!]*-ni ṣú-ḫa-ru ù Ku-n*[*i*]*-lim* [9] *ša Áb-ri-im li-it-bu-/lu-nim*, "as soon as the goods come forth (from the palace after clearance), both the textiles which entered as smuggled goods and all those which came out of the palace, the servants and Kunīlim(?) from Abrum should take them along." Textiles imported as smuggled goods are apparently kept back until those cleared come back from the palace, to be shipped on together, of course to arouse less suspicion.

5. CCT 1, 25 (EL no. 166), 8ff.: . . . . *1 me-at 33* TÚG [9] *a-na* É.GAL-*lim* [10] *e-ru-bu* ŠÀ.BA *64* TÚG.ḪI.A [11] *ša ba-ri-šu-nu a-na* [12] *pá-zu-ri-im i-li-ku* [13] *66 a-na* É.GAL-*lim* [14] *e-ru-bu 84* TÚG.ḪI.A [15] *ša Im-dí-lim a-pá-zu-ri-im* [16] *i-li-ku 57* TÚG.ḪI.A [17] *a-na* É.GAL-*lim e-ru-bu*, "(of the 304 textiles) 133 textiles did enter the palace; thereof 64 textiles, their common property, went away for smuggling, 66 entered the palace; 84 textiles of Imdīlim went away for smuggling, 57 textiles entered the palace". The next lines mention in all 15 textiles of various owners which *a-pá-zu-ur-tim e-ru-bu* (22). The relation between the figures in this text is not completely clear. Of the 304 textiles mentioned in line 1 various people took away/along (*itbal*) in all 170 textiles, and 133, probably the rest, entered the palace. It is clear that lines 10ff. give further information about the whereabouts of the whole lot: the figures in lines 13 and 16 together make

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avans they apparently also functioned as a kind of customs or police. Among the personnel of the Anatolian rulers we meet the *rabī maṣṣartim* (EL 223, y + 6; BIN 6, 235, 3; BILGIÇ *DTCFD* 6, 1948, 507[86]: Neṣr. C 5, 10). Totally different is *maṣṣartum* as a name for the safe where Assyrians kept their precious goods and documents: *AHw* 621a, 7, a; CCT 3, 30, 38; KTS 32a, 14; TC 3/1, 49, 42). The verb *naṣārum*, with the local palace as subject, is used in KTS 37a, 17 (LEWY 1950, 433[384]), to denote an Assyrian's house is checked for illegal transactions.

up for the 133 textiles, which entered the palace; the in all 163 pieces which went away as smuggled goods accordingly should be the same as those taken away/along (*itbal*) by various people according to the beginning of the text. The use of this verb suggests a movement, a transport. Finally I quote

6. CCT 5, 39b: "of the 53 *kutānū*-textiles which came down from the palace (after clearance) A son of B took 10 *kutānū*-textiles; I myself took 43 *kutānū*-textiles. [8] *i-na qé-er-bi*$_4$*-im* [9] *a-na nu-wa-im* [10] *ša* AN.NA *ú-pá-zi-ra-ni* [11] *a-dí-in i-na* [12] *ša pá-zu-ur-tim* [13] [*x ku-ta*]*-ni ma-ṭí-ú-tim* [14] [*x ku-ta-n*]*i ša li-wi-tim* [15] [*ù x* +] *2 ku-ta-ni* [16] SIG$_5$ *a-na C* [17] *e-zi-ib*, "(Some?) thereof I gave to the native who had smuggled tin for me. From those being smuggled goods I left x *kutānū* of less good quality, y *kutānū* for wrapping and z *kutānū* of good quality behind for C". Unfortunately the text is far from clear. Did the writer give one/some textiles to the native as payment for his services? The textiles called *ša pazzurtim* are probably a separate lot alongside those which went up to the palace, as in text no. 5.

5. VARIOUS CONSTRUCTIONS OF *pazzur(t)um*

Besides *pazzurum* with a personal subject, which speaks for itself, we have the following constructions:

a) *ana pazzurim alākum* (without ventive), texts nos. 5, 12.15; 20, 30f.

b) *ana pazzurim tadānum*, below text no. 24, 26f.

c) *ana pazzurim paqādum*, below text no. 12, 8f.

d) *ana pazzurtim erābum*, text no. 5, 22;

e) *ina pazzur(t)im erābum* (G and Š), text no. 4, 5f. and below text no. 33, 37f.; cf. moreover: **7.** TC 1, 51, 25ff.: TÚG-*tí* ŠÀ *2* TÚG [26] *dam-qú-tim i-na pá-zu-ur-tim* [27] *li-ru-bu-ni-ma šé-bi*$_4$*-lá-ni-šu-nu-ma*, "my textiles, thereof(?) two of good quality should enter *ina p.* and then you should send them".

f) *ina pazzurtim ezābum*, in: **8.**: CCT 3, 40a, 10off.: TÚG.ḪI.A *ša* [11] *A* [12] *šu-ma mì-ma* TÚG.ḪI.A [13] *i-na pá-zu-ur-tim* [14] *e-zi-ib*, "as for the textiles of A, if he has left any textiles *ina p.* (send me a message)".

g) *pazzurtam šērū'um*, text no. 1, 28f. [434]).

We note an alternation between constructions with *ana* and *ina* and between the use of the inf. D and *pazzurtum*. The latter not only has the

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[434]) In KTK 64, 4 we read: *pá-zi-ir-tum lá i-lá-ak*, "(if) the secret (caravan; sc. *ellutum*?) does not depart", which is unique. In BIN 6, 14, 26 we will have to read: (coffers with tablets) *ša i-na* [26] *ma!-aṣ-ar-tim* [27] *i-ba-ší-ú-ni*, "which are in the safe"; cf. for *maṣṣartum* the previous note.

meaning of a verbal adj. of the D-stem, "smuggled goods", but in some texts also a verbal notion, "smuggling". In the latter sense we may take it as the fem. counterpart of the inf. D, as a *nomen actionis*, which also acquires a more concrete meaning, "smuggled goods". Cf. for the verbal notion text no. 34, 26 (below) where *ḫarrān sūqinnim* ("a narrow track") and *pazzurtum*, "smuggling", are mentioned as two alternatives; in text no. 29, 13 (below) *pazzurtum* even takes the place of a regular inf.: *ašar pazzurtim epšā*, "try your best to smuggle", and in no. 5 there is an alternation between *pazzurum* and *pazzurtum*. In texts recording payments for smuggling (cf. below 8) *pazzurtum* acquires the meaning "payment for smuggling".

The preposition *ana* in construction a) - c) denotes the goal or the destination of the action: "to go away", "to give", "to entrust" for smuggling. The use of the verb *paqādum* in c), occurring in a text patterned after the normal transport-contract, suggests that *pazzurum* is not simply "to hide", "to conceal", but rather denotes illegal transport. In d) one might hesitate between a translation "to enter into (= to become part of) smuggled ware" and "to enter (a place) for purposes of smuggling". In text no. 5 this expression occurs alongside *ana pazzurim alākum*, and the contrast seems to be between *alākum*, "to depart" and *erābum*, "to enter, to come home". Construction d) apparently led *AHw* 852b to posit a *pazzurtum*, "Geheimdepot", into which textiles could enter (*erābum ana*). But I doubt the correctness of this interpretation. This construction is so far unique, and the other texts quoted by *AHw* in this connection do not have the preposition *ana* but *ina*, cf. above *sub* e). The occurrences recorded under e) contradict a meaning "enter into *p.*", because *erābum* always has the preposition *ana* (cf. the expression *ana ēkallim erābum*, etc.). *ina pazzurtim erābum* accordingly cannot have the meaning proproposed by *AHw.*; rather *ina pazzurtim* should be taken as a adverbial expression describing the circumstances of the entrance of the merchandise: "in a smuggler's way", "as contraband". The meaning of f) is not easy to establish as the context is not informative; it may be that A has left behind textiles, to become part of a shipment to be smuggled; in that case *pazzurtum* would have a meaning approaching the one proposed by *AHw* loc. cit. But *ina* may also have a partitive meaning here.

6. *pazzurum* AS A WAY OF TRANSPORT

That *pazzur(t)um* in many cases suggests not a depot but a kind of transport is clear from various texts, and this confirms the interpretation of *ina pazzurtim erābum* proposed *sub* 5. One of the nicest texts, showing actual smuggling in process, is

9. BIN 4, 48, a letter written by Buzāzu, who according to BIN 4, 2 and TC 3/1, 13, is staying in or around Šalatuwar. He asks for a shipment of tin which has arrived in Timilkia, to be sent to his address, as there are good chances of selling it. In order to increase the profit he asks his correspondents to send the tin via the *ḫarrān sūqinnim* (cf. below p. 324 no. 33), or to "make the tin enter *ina pazzurtim*" (lines 36-37). If the former of these two alternatives is impossible, they should act as follows (17ff.): .....AN.NA *a-na Ḫu-ra-ma* [18] *lu-ub-lu-ni-šu-ma lu nu-a-ú* [19] *ḫu-ra-ma-i-ú kúl*[1] AN.NA [20] *1* GÚ.TA *lu-šé-ri-bu-nim* [21] *ú-lá ri-ik-sí 10 ma-na*.TA [22] *ù 15 ma-na*.TA *li-pu-šu-ma* [23] *ṣú-ḫa-ru i-sú-na-tim* [24] *lu-šé-ri-bu-nim 1* GÚ-*tám* [25] *lu-ša-li-mu-nim-ma ù li-tù-ru-ma* [26] *1* GÚ-*ma lu-šé-ri-bu-nim* AN.NA [27] *pá-ni-um-ma ša i-ša-li-ma-ni* [28] *iš-tí a-li-ki pá-nim-ma* [29] *šu-té-bi*$_4$*-lá-nim*, "...let them bring the tin to Ḫurrama and let then either the native inhabitants of Ḫurrama bring all the tin in quantities of 1 talent each into the town, or let one make packets of 10 or 15 minas each, and let the personnel (of the caravan) bring them into the town under their *loincloths*. Only after they have safely delivered 1 talent are they allowed to bring another 1 talent into the town. As soon as some of the tin has safely arrived in town you should send it on to me each time with the first caravan leaving".

Commentary:

A caravan travelling from Timilkia to Šalatuwar (southwest of Kaniš, around Niğde? cf. p. 291) has to pass the town of Ḫurrama if it cannot follow the *ḫarrān sūqinnim*. To dodge the taxes to be paid there the author proposes two ways to get the tin into the town (called *pazzurtum* in line 37): either native people should be contracted (and paid, cf. above text 6, and below *sub* 8), to carry each time 1 talent of tin; native people would of course raise less suspicion than Assyrians. If this is impossible the personnel of the caravan themselves should smuggle the tin into the town, but this time in much smaller quantities, which should be hidden *ina sunātim*, probably in their loincloths [435]). To prevent confiscation of the whole lot in the case of detection one should always await the safe arrival of one consignment, before sending off the next; the double precative of

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[435]) (*ina*) *sunātim* perhaps may be derived from *sunum*, "lap", which is attested in OA, not only in the combination: *ana sun* ^{d}*Aššur šakānum*, "to place (a girl) on Aššur's lap" (BIN 4, 9, 22f. with parallels), but also in TC 3/2, 117, 13, as the place where a slave-girl concealed stolen property, cf. KUG p. 54 *ad* 3. But I do not know whether a plural of *sunum* is attested. A better solution, in view of the plural is to connect the word with *sunātum* meaning a strip of cloth or rag, cf. B. LANDSBERGER, *JCS* 21, 1967, 160b *sub* 2, with note 105; *MSL* 10, 140, 12 and 141, 435: *sunu qatnu*; ARO 1970, 31, s.v. túg.ÚR.

25-26 makes a conditional sentence, while *tu'ārum*+*ma* is used in hendiadys with *šēbulum*, and *-ma* behind *1* GÚ denotes "again, the same quantity of 1 talent". The last lines describe this smuggling as a process in a number of stages: one does not have to wait till all the tin has been smuggled into the town, but has to send off (imp. Štn) each time the amounts already brought safely into town [436]). It is clear that in this case *pazzurum* means "to bring secretly into a town". We note that Ḫurrama seems to have been the only town between Timilkia and Šalatuwar, where taxes had to be dodged.

The notion of transport in *pazzurum* is confirmed by a number of references, where we find *pazzurtum ša šēp A*, "smuggled goods transported under the responsibility of A". The persons mentioned are in most cases persons known as transporters from other sources:

10. CCT 4, 33a, 5: *16* TÚG.ḪI.A *ša pá-zu-ur-tim* [6] *ša šé-ep A-šur--ba-áš-tí*; cf. for Aššur-bāšti as a transporter GARELLI-KENNEDY 1960, no. 4, 5; CCT 1, 38a, 15. Moreover CCT 5, 38a, 12-14 (below text no. 16): ⅔ mina of silver *pá-zu-ur-tí* [13] TÚG-*ba-tí-šu ša šé-ep* [14] *Bur-Sú-in-ma áš-qúl*; Būr-Suen according to EL 128, 17 is the transporter of Ištar-pilaḫ. Finally BIN 6, 140, 17-20 (below no. 22): tin and textiles belonging to two owners [20] *i-šé-pì-šu ú-pá-zi-ir*, "he smuggled with his caravan".

Transport is also implied in text

11. KTS 59d, 3'ff.: *1* GÍN [4'] *a-na-ru-qí-im pá-zu-ri-im* [5'] *iš-tù ša qá-tí-šu* [6'] *gám-ru*, "one shekel (of silver) for smuggling a bag, after his pocket money had been used up".

7. A *pazzurum*-CONTRACT

Shipments of merchandise were normally recorded in transport contracts. Shipments of smuggled goods will also have required certain arrangements, e.g. when lots of merchandise were sent along as such with a transporter, as in the cases mentioning *šēp* PN, discussed *sub* 6. We are fortunate to possess one "smuggling contract":

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[436]) *CAD* B 230b, 2' wrongly translates *1 biltam lušallimūnim* in 24-25 as "they should make up one full pack". But *šalāmum* G, used in line 27, means "to arrive safely", and the D "to deliver/bring safely to/in" (so already A. L. OPPENHEIM, *JNES* 11, 1952, 133 *ad* ARM 1, 46; reference Prof. FRANKENA); cf. TC 1, 1, 18: *ak-kārim* [d]*Aššur ušallimka*, "Aššur guided you safely to the *kārum*", and with impersonal object in BIN 4, 231, 16: TÚG. ḪI-*tí-šu ú-ša-li-mu*, "that I shipped his textiles safely". Cf. OB: ROWTON, *Iraq* 31, 1969, 72 A 7536, 22ff.: "four or five merchant caravans have left, and they have got through safely" (*ú-ṣi-a-ma iš-ta-al-ma*), and ibid, 29f.: "let us...get you through safely (*i nušallimkunuti*) to GN in our own ships". Note also that GARELLI 1964, 113 Sch. 15 (text no. 31 below), 3 uses *šalmum*, "safe", to denote the success of a smuggling undertaking.

12. CCT 5, 26d: 9 *ku-ta-ni* 2 TÚG [2] *ša a-ki-dí-e* [3] 54 *ma-na* AN.NA [4] *ku-nu-ki-a* 1 ANŠE [5] *ṣa-lá-ma-am ú ú-nu-sú* [6] *mì-ma a-nim a-na* [7] *Puzur-Ištar* [8] *a-na pá-zu-ri-im* [9] *áp-qí-id* [10] 1 *ma-na* AN.NA [11] *a-na qá-tí-šu* [12] *a-dí-in* IGI [13] *Ì-lí--áš-ra-ni* [14] IGI *Ir-ma-A-šur* [15] IGI *I-lu-a* IGI *I-dí-a-dí* [16] 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ur-ka-num* [17] *a-na-num ú-šé-bi*$_4$*-il*$_5$*-/šu-um* [18] IGI *Ú-zu-a* [19] IGI *I-dí-*^{d}IŠKUR, "9 *kutānū*-textiles, 2 Akkadian textiles, 54 minas of tin with my seals, one black donkey with its harness, all this I entrusted to Puzur-Ištar for smuggling. I gave him 1 mina of tin as pocket-money. In the presence of :Īlī-ašranni, Ir(i)m-Aššur, Ilū'a, Idiadi. Afterwards I sent him 10 shekels of silver from here; in the presence of Uzu'a and Idī-Adad".

The text agrees closely with the wording of a normal transport-contract, as published in EL under "C III. Verwahrung". LEWY's distinction between this category and "IV. Transportverträge" should not lead us astray: texts classified as "Verwahrung" also in most cases record entrustment of merchandise for transport, though this is only rarely explicitly stated [437]).

Of the texts edited by LEWY those classified as type 2, b (a variety of objects; with summarising conclusion "all this"; wording subjective) are the best parallels to the *pazzurum*-contract. One may add texts like: ATHE 17; BIN 6, 154; 165; 249; CCT 5, 28c; 29a; b; c; ICK 1, 53; 2, 92(?); 96; 321; TC 3/3, 208. Together with the fact that an amount of "loose tin" is mentioned, this proves that *ana pazzurim* here means "for transport as smuggled goods".

The merchandise mentioned is a little less than one donkey-load. The amount of "loose tin", 1 mina, is very small—the *awītum* of this load is ca. 1 talent 20 minas—so that we have to assume a transport within Anatolia—where in fact smuggling normally took place—is meant. The amount of 10 shekels of silver, sent subsequently to the transporter, may be a supplement to the "loose tin" (it is equivalent to more than 2 minas of tin), but one may also think of a remuneration for the smuggling.

8. PAYMENTS FOR SMUGGLING

The possibility, suggested above in connection with text no. 12, of a payment to the smuggler can be substantiated by references to texts, recording payments in connection with *pazzur(t)um* (cf. also the final lines of text no. 1, quoted above, where somebody wants to earn something by smuggling):

[437]) But cf. TC 3/2, 178, 13ff., where we read in line 15 [*apqid*]*ma iraddī*, "I entrusted and he leads away"; also GARELLI 1965, 31, no. 10, 11: *ip-qí-du-ma i-ra-dí-ú*, "they entrust for shipping".

13. KTS 59d, 3'ff.: *1* GÍN [4'] *a-na-ru-qí-im pá-zu-ri-im* [5'] *iš-tù ša qá-tí-šu* [6'] *gám-ru*, "one shekel (of silver) to smuggle a bag, after his pocket-money had been used up";

14. TC 3/2, 165, 28: *30 ma-na* URUDU *a-na pá-zu-ur-tim* [29] *iš-tù Ú-la-ma a-dí* [30] *Bu-ru-uš-ḫa-tim ag-mu-ur*, "I spent 30 minas of copper for smuggling, from Ullama until Burušḫanda";

15. BIN 6, 186, r. 11': [ ] *4⅔* GÍN *pá-zu-ur-t[i]-šu-nu*, "4⅔ shekels their (cost of) smuggling" (sc. of an unknown number of textiles);

16. CCT 5, 38a, 12ff.: *⅔ ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR *pá-zu-ur-tí* [13] TÚG-*ba-tí-šu ša šé-ep* [14] *Bur--Sú-in-ma áš-qúl*, "⅔ minas of silver, (costs of) smuggling his textiles, transported by Būr-Suen, I paid";

17. ICK 2, 290, r. 3'ff.: (textiles are mentioned in broken context): *a-ṣé-er pá-zu-ur-ti'* [*x*] [4'] *⅙* GÍN.TA *a-na-kam a-na* [*x x*] [5'] *ni-iš-qú-ul ⅙* GÍN *ù 10* ŠE [?] [6'] *i-na ša Ḫu-ra-ma a-na x* [?] [7'] *a-pu-ul*, "in addition to the (costs) of smuggling we paid here ⅙ shekel apiece to.....; ⅙ shekel and 10 grains I paid in/from that (the region?) of Ḫurrama to.....";

18. ICK 2, 318, 8ff.: *1⅓* GÍN *a-na* [*x x*] [9] *ḫa-bu-x* (*x*) *ša* [*x x*] [10] *ú-pá-zi-ru / ku-x* [*x x*], "1⅓ shekel for ..... who smuggled .....";

19. ICK 2, 337, 27f. (l.e.) *pá-zu-ur-t[i] x x* [*x x*] [28] *áš-qúl*, "I paid the (costs of) smuggling .....";

20. CCT 1, 35, 27ff.: *2 ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR *ù ṣí-/ba-tù-šu* [28] *ù 5* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR [29] *ša i-nu-mì* [30] *a-na pá-zu-ur-tim* [31] *i-li-ku iš-tí* [32] *A* DUMU *B*, "2 minas of silver plus its (compound) interest, and 5 shekels of silver from the time when they departed for smuggling, A son of B owes me".

These data seem to point to the fact that one did pay to have merchandise smuggled. This may have been either on the basis of a formal contract, like text no. 12, or in the form of isolated payments of wages or gifts to smugglers. One might assume that the inhabitants of Ḫurrama who smuggled for the Assyrians in text no. 9 got some remuneration in exchange. The figures in these texts however preclude any definitive conclusion on the amounts paid as "danger-money" to regular transporters, or the wages paid to specially-contracted smugglers. We are not informed about the loads and the distances covered and the amounts mentioned vary considerably. Supposing the 10 shekels of silver in text no. 12 are "danger-money", we can fix it at about 1,5% of the normal value of the load. If by paying such a sum one could avoid e.g. the *nisḫatum* on tin and textiles, then such a payment was certainly worthwhile.

Payments for smuggling, especially frequent in connection with textiles, were simply called *pazzurti ṣubātī*, cf. texts nos. 15, 16, 17 (?); cf. moreover

21. BIN 4, 189, 16f. *pá-zu-ur-tí* [17] [*x* TÚ]G *ku-ta-ni A* [18] [*w*]*a-šu-ra-am*

pá-šu [19] *i-dí-nam*, "A promised me that he would release(?) the costs of smuggling *kutānū*-textiles", in a memorandum concerning credits.

9. SMUGGLING BY TRANSPORTERS

A few texts show us how regular transporters, known from other sources, accept merchandise for smuggling. E.g.

22. BIN 6, 140, 9ff.: *20 ku-ta-nu* [10] *4* TÚG *ša a-ki-dí-e'* [11] *i-a-ú-tum* [12] *5 ku-ta-nu* [13] *ša I-ší-im--Sú-in* [14] *mì-ma a-nim i-nu-mì* [15] *I-lí--a-lim i-li-ku* [16] *ú-pá-zi-ru* [17] *1* GÚ *10 ma-na* AN.NA *5 ku-ta-nu* [18] *i-a-ú-tum 20 ma-na* AN.NA [19] *6* T[ÚG *š*]*a I-ší--Sú-in* [20] *i-šé-pì-šu ú-pá-zi-ir*, "20 *kutānū*-textiles, 4 Akkadian textiles—my property—, 5 *kutānū*-textiles of Išīm-Suen—all this they smuggled when Īlī-ālum departed. One talent 10 minas of tin, 5 *kutānū*-textiles—my property— 20 minas of tin and 6 textiles, property of Išissuen, he (the latter) smuggled in his own caravan".

Two transporters, Īlī-ālum (well known as one from BIN 6, 186, 11; CCT 5, 29b, 6; TC 2, 4, 21) and Išīm-Suen (known from CCT 5, 40a, 26 and EL 134, 14) accept, when leaving with their caravans, merchandise for smuggling. We may suppose that they actually smuggled themselves, or later on contracted the services of a "smuggler" (cf. *sub* 10). One may assume that on occasions such as those described in this text a *pazzurum*-contract was drawn up.

We meet Išīm-Suen also in another text dealing with smuggling:

23. GARELLI 1966, 109 no. 42, 17ff.: TÚG.ḪI.A SIG_5*-tim* [18] [*m*]*a-la I-ší-im--Sú-in* [19] *e-ri-šu-kà a-*SIG_5*-tim* [20] *dì-šu-um-ma lu-pá-zi-*⌜*ra-am*, "all the textiles of good quality which Išīm-Suen will ask you, give (them) him *ana tadmiqtim*, so that he may smuggle them for me". The words *ana tadmiqtim* are translated by GARELLI *ad loc.*, referring to *AC* 250f., as "as interest free loan". This would promote Išīm-Suen from a transporter to a kind of trusted commissioner. This may be true—it would account for his apparent freedom of initiative—but a meaning "for free disposition", to transport them in the best way he can, does not seem excluded. The text is closely related to TC 3/2, 118, where line 22 in broken context also deals with smuggling: *pá-zu-*[ ].

10. *mupazzirum*, "SMUGGLER"

A person called *mupazzirum* is four times attested:

24. KTS 16, 18ff.: *a-na Pì-lá-aḫ--A-šur* [19] *ù i-a-tí* te_9*-er-ta-kà* [20] *iš-tí*

wa-bi$_4$-il$_5$ DUB-*pì-im* [21] *li-li-kam-ma* [22] TÚG.ḪI-*tí-kà a-na mu-pá-zi-/ri-im* [23] *lu ni-dí-in-ma lu-ub-lu-ni-kum* [24] *Pì-lá--aḫ--A-šur a-dí* [25] *x iš?-ḫu-ut-ma* [26] TÚG.ḪI-*kà a-na pá-zu-ri-im* [27] *ú-lá i-da-an* [28] *um-ma šu-ut-ma na-áš-pá-ar-tù-šu* [29] *la-aṣ-ba-at*, "let your instruction come by messenger to Pilaḫ-Aššur and me, then we will give your textiles to a smuggler, in order that they(!) may bring them to you. Pilaḫ-Aššur became afraid because of..... [438]) and is not willing to give your textiles for smuggling. He says: "I want to get a letter of his into my hands (first) "(letter from Imdīlim to Šū-Ištar).

25. TC 1, 81, 15ff.: DUB-*pá-am ša 8½* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR [16] *ša ḫu-bu-ul Du-du* DUMU ^{d}IŠKUR-*ba-ni* [17] *mu-pá-zi-ri-im a-na Ḫa-nu* [18] *kà-ṣa-ar Ši-me--be-li* [19] *i-na Ša-lá-aḫ-šu-wa áp-qí-id* [20] *a'-ṣé-er Ku-lu-ma-a* [21] *a-na Kà-ni-iš^{ki}* [*ú*]-*šé-bi$_4$-lá-šu*, "A deed concerning 8½ shekels of silver, a debt of Dudu, son of Adad-bānī, the smuggler, to Ḫanu, the transporter of Šimē-bēlī, I entrusted (it) in Šalaḫšuwa, and had him bring it to Kulumā in Kaniš". In this text we meet Dudu, the smuggler—*mupazzirum* qualifies him rather than his father—son of Adad-bānī, who according to KTH 36, 30ff. is receiving a *be'ulātum* and hence was a regular transporter.

26. An unpublished text in Istanbul, dealing with textiles which are in Zalpa and Ḫurrama, contains in lines 8b-12, according to a transliteration kindly provided by Prof. GELB, the following request: .....*iš-tí* [9] *mu-pá-zi-ri-im* [10] *šu-up-ra-ma* [11] *ṣú-ba-tí-e-a* [12] *lu-šé-ri-bu-nim-ma*, "send them the order that they should have my textiles brought in(to the town) with a smuggler....". The text is a letter of Puzur-Aššur to Imdīlim, Šū-Bēlīm and Aššur-ṣulūli.

27. OIP 27, no. 10, 7ff. (from Alishar): *x* + *1* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ší-im* [8] *mu-pá-zi-ri-im*, "x + 1 shekels of silver payment to a smuggler" (anonymous memorandum).

While in nos. 24, 26 and 27 a *mupazzirum* is an unnamed individual who happens to perform certain services in connection with transport (for which he is paid in no. 27), and nothing is known about the man's job, no. 25 calls a transporter, mentioned by name, a *mupazzirum*, in a context which seems not to be directly related to smuggling (the smuggler or his son figures as a debtor). The use of the participle D may indicate that he

[438]) The reading of line 25 is not certain; the first sign is damaged but could be an É or rather GÁN. The second sign looks like ŠU, but the upper horizontal is too big. The reading proposed has to emend the second sign and cannot explain the first; consequently it is only an attempt. *AHw* 852b s.v. *pazārum*, 2 reads or explains in our text: "(aus Furcht)", following a similar interpretation. Fear of course is a good motive for a refusal to smuggle, cf. below no. 38, 18 where the same verb is used.

was a "professional" smuggler, who made smuggling his regular job, after which he was called. But this is not the only possibility; I would not exclude the interpretation that a "smuggler" is in fact a transporter, who occasionally does some smuggling and for that reason acquired the nickname "the smuggler". Other OA participles, both D and Š, describe people as performing some task, but should not necessarily refer to their professions [439]).

II. FREQUENCY OF SMUGGLING

The sources at our disposal do not allow general conclusions about the frequency of and inclination to smuggling. We have only scattered information on some people and firms. We are somewhat better informed only about the members, merchants and transporters, of the firms of Pūšu-kēn and Imdīlim. This information suggests that smuggling was not at all rare.

In the anonymous memorandum CCT 5, 38a (text no. 16), the writer of which may well be Pūšu-kēn—a business associate of Ištar-pilaḫ—we read that Būr-Suen, *kaṣṣārum* of Ištar-pilaḫ (EL 128, 17), smuggled textiles for his superior. Their doings are also described in a letter from Ištar-pilaḫ to Pūšu-kēn, text

28. CCT 4, 11a, 16ff.: after mentioning an important shipment of merchandise, transported by Būr-Suen, Ištar-pilaḫ asks: *a-ḫi a-ta ki-ma* [17] *ša a-na ra-mì-ni-kà*[?!] [18] *ta-ša-pu-ru* [19] *ú-pá-zu-ru-ni ù a-na* [20] *i-a-im*

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[439]) One may compare *muqarribum*, "someone who brings near", probably an escort for protection and guarding: BIN 6, 120, 11 (not with *AHw* 674b s.v. "Transporteur", but rather, cf. LEWY 1956, 69[295], an escort which would accompany the official messenger of the *kārum*) and TC 3/2, 165, 46. Then there is the *mu-ša-ri-*DÍ*-im* (DIM) (always gen.), according to *AHw* 681b to be read *mušarriṭ/tum*, and explained as part. D of *šarāṭu* = Hebr. *šērēṭ*, denoting some kind of servant; unpublished occurrences with BALKAN 1965, col. 158 *ad* 304; perhaps also *mu-ša!-ri-dum* in ATHE 14, 14 (HECKER *GKT* § 55b and *AHw* 691b read *muṭṭarridum*, part Dtn. of *ṭarādum*, "ein Transporteur"; but *ṭarādum* D does not occur in OA). The interpretation of *AHw* seems far fetched, but I cannot suggest another one. Taking *mušāridum* as a part. Š of *warādum* seems impossible as this form should be *mušēridum* in OA; on the other hand, however, the use of this verb is well attested for the transport of merchandise from the palace to the *kārum* and from Anatolia to Aššur. *CAD* A, 2, 212b does know a derivative *mušāridum*, which may be a Babylonian form adopted in OA. Note that no part. I-*w* Š is attested; we have only the I-*j* form *mušēniqtum* (to be added to HECKER *GKT* § 93g, from TC 3/3, 207, 24). The interpretation of *mu-uš-ta-*KI*-tim* in CCT 1, 19a, 9 is uncertain, though I prefer *AHw* 686a, *muštaqqitum*, part. Dtn ("ein Händler"??), who takes it as a designation of a person, to HECKER's (*GKT* § 55b) *muštakkittum* (part. Dt *šakānum*), "deponierter Betrag". For *mupazzirum*, *muqarribum* and *mušāridum*(?) the corresponding verbs of the same stem are all well attested.

šu-pu-ur-ma [21] TÚG.ḪI.A SIG$_5$-*tim* 50 TÚG [22] *lu-pá-zi-ru-nim*, "you are my colleague! Just as you send an order concerning your own goods to the effect that one smuggles (for you), send also an order concerning my goods, to the effect that one smuggles textiles of good quality, some 50 pieces, for me". Ištar-pilaḫ asks Pūšu-kēn to use his good relations and influence for his benefit. The wording of the request suggests that smuggling was a not uncommon activity on the part of Pūšu-kēn (cf. the duratives in 18-19). And indeed several texts deal with smuggling on the part of Pūšu-kēn and his associates; e.g. ATHE 62 (text no. 1) and CCT 4, 29a (text no. 4). Informative is also TTC 17, a letter written by Ḫinnā to Aššur-nādā and Dan-Aššur, two people closely associated with Pūšu-kēn, the latter being his regular transporter. Hinnā wrote a dozen letters to Pūšu-kēn and lives in Aššur, where he co-operates with Pūšu-kēn's representatives (cf. BIN 4, 21; GARELLI 1965, 167 no. 29; TC 3/1, 26 etc.). In TTC 17 Hinnā appeals to the two addressees with a request similar to that made by Ištar-pilaḫ in text no. 28 (note that Ḫinnā also has contacts with Ištar-Pilaḫ, cf. KTH 18, 35ff., a text which also mentions smuggling: line 29: [*pá*]-*zu-ur-tim*):

29. TTC 17, 13ff.: *a-šar pá-zu-ur-tim* [14] *ṣú-ba-tí* SIG$_5$-*tim* [15] *qá-dí-ma ṣú-ba-tí-ku-nu* [16] *ep-ša a-ḫu-ú-a a-tù-nu* [17] *gi$_5$-im-lá-ni*, "try your best to smuggle, if possible, textiles of good quality (of mine) together with your textiles. Please, my colleagues, do me this favour". The text has been misunderstood in two respects. *AHw* 852b reads *kattimā*, "hide, cover up" in line 15; but with LANDSBERGER *AHK* 24 (quoted above p. 306) we have to read *qadī* + *ma*, "together with". The verb *epšā* does not mean "make, produce", as LANDSBERGER, loc. cit. translates, but is part of the construction: *ašar pazzurtim ṣubātī . . . epšā*, which should be the equivalent of *ašar pazzurim . . . . epšā*, or *ašar pazzurim . . ṣubātī pazzirā*, hence my translation. The use of *pazzurtum* instead of an inf. is remarkable, underlining the verbal aspect of the word, though this use seems unique [440]).

There is also some evidence for smuggling on the part of the firm of

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[440]) OA knows the following constructions with *epāšum*: a) *ašar* + verbal form in the subj. + *epāšum*: *ašar šālium . . lā išallū ēpuš*, ATHE 37, 6-8; b) *ašar* + inf. gen. + *epāšum*: *ašar epāšim epšāšunu*, TC 3/2, 137, 4'; also with inf. gen. + pron. suff.: *ašar balāṭia epšā*, TC 3/1, 21, 34f.; c) *ša* + inf. gen. + *epāšum*: *ša epāšim līpuš*, CCT 3, 41b, 32; also with inf. gen. + pron. suff.: *ša duākika tēpuš*, CCT 4, 9b, 27; and with inf. in st. cstr.: *ša laqā kaspia epšā*, TC 3/1, 62, 44; d) *kima* + inf. gen. + *epāšum*: only examples with infinitive in the st. cstr.: *kima šalām kaspia epšā*, BIN 4, 5, 5-8. In all these cases the forms of *epāšum* are to be translated with "try your best to. . . ., take care that you . . ." etc. The intention of the writer of the text under discussion could also have been expressed by *ašar pazzurim ṣubātī pazzirā*, cf. CCT 3, 36b, 15, or by *šumma pazzuršunu tale'ā . . pazzirāšunu*, used in KTH 13, 6ff.

Imdīlim. We have already quoted KTS 16, 18ff. (text no. 24), a letter from Šū-Ištar to I., asking for a permit or instruction to smuggle, because Pilaḫ-Aššur is afraid to do so; ATHE 62 (text no. 1) is a letter from Imdīlim to his agent Puzur–Aššur, in which he warns him not to smuggle, as is the case in CCT 4, 18a (text no. 2). CCT 4, 33a (text no. 10), a letter from Kulumā (who also acted as a transporter for Pūšu-kēn, cf. GARELLI-KENNEDY 1960 no. 4, 1ff.) to this same Puzur-Aššur, mentions textiles smuggled by Aššur-bāšti. CCT 3, 40a (text no. 8), a letter from Kurarā to Imdīlim, mentions textiles of the latter ("your *kutānū*-textiles", line 3) which may have been left behind *ina pazzurtim* by Uṣur-ša-Ištar. TC 1, 51 is a letter from Sabasia, perhaps addressed to the same Puzur-Aššur (text no. 7), asking him to smuggle textiles.

Besides Išīm-Suen, whose activities we mentioned above *sub* 9, I also point to Mannu(m)-kī-Aššur, the writer of text no.

30. CCT 3, 36b/37b, a letter addressed to Šū-Ānim, requesting that a certain Šumi-ābia together with a servant should smuggle as many textiles as possible: [14] ...TÚG.ḪI-*tí*[!] [15] *a-šar pá-zu-ri-im* [16] *lu-pá-zi-ru*. In

31. GARELLI 1964, 113, Sch. 15 the same Šumi-ābia writes to Mannu(m)-kī-Aššur: [3] TÚG.ḪI-*tù* [š]*a-al-mu* [4] *ú-pá-zi-ir-ma* [5] *i-ṣa-áb-tù-šu-nu* [6] *a-na* É.GAL-*lim* [7] *ki-ma i-du-nu-ni* [8] *im-ta-nu-*[*šu-nu*] [9] *iš-tí ša e-li-tí-ma* [10] *2* TÚG *ra-qí-tí-in* [11] *ú ta-ku-uš-ta-a*[*m*][!] [12] *ú 1*[!] TÚG *na-ma-šu-ḫa-*/*am* [13] *ú-pá-zi-ir*. A translation is not easy because the situation and the *consecutio temporum* is not clear to me. Assuming that in line 8 *im-ta-nu* stands for the t-punctual *im-tu-nu* (a scribal mistake, or should we read DU for TA in the copy?) and that in line 9 *e-li-tí-ma* is to be derived from *e/illutum*, "enterprise, caravan" (with vowel harmony) and not from *elītum*, "top-pack", one could translate: "The textiles are safe! When I (had) smuggled (hidden) them, they seized them. When they were delivering (them) to the palace and had just counted [them], I managed to smuggle (hide), together with those of the caravan, 2 fine textiles, 1 *takuštā'um*-textile, and 1 *namaššūḫum*-textile". Upon being brought to the palace the textiles (of the caravan) were counted; was this done to fix their number in order to levy the (normal) taxes, or in order to discover whether the caravan shipped more textiles than those for which tax had been paid, which already had been cleared? The latter possibility seems more likely. Anyhow the transporter succeeded in hiding and smuggling four expensive pieces, perhaps by adding them to a lot already cleared.

12. THE MERCHANDISE SMUGGLED

Some texts show that tin was smuggled: nos. 6, 9, 12, 22. Also

32. KTS 28, 37: AN.NA *pá-zi-ir*, "smuggle the (10 minas of) tin", and sell it to get back what I owe you.

In most cases, however, textiles are smuggled (a dozen texts); nos. 12 and 22 deal with a mixed load. A reason for this preference for smuggling textiles is not mentioned, but we can think of several motives. Taxes and duties on textiles where higher than those on tin, as pointed out in ch. IV, 3 and a few textiles probably could be hidden more easily than heavy lumps or packets of tin. Textiles presumably could be sold on several markets to various people, while the tin most probably had to be delivered for sale at the centres of metallurgy, where control was easier. We note that in a number of cases "textiles of good quality" are smuggled (nos. 3, 7, 23, 28, 29, 31, 33, 38, 29, and 40): while the risks were essentially the same the profit was bigger if the operation was successful.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

ḪARRĀN SŪQINNIM, A SMUGGLER'S TRACK

1. THE MEANING OF *sūqinnum*

BILGIÇ, *App.* 43, reading *sukinnum*, proposes a meaning "Landweg, Bergweg", and treats it among words ending in *-innum*, *-ānum* or *-annum*, being of Anatolian origin; an Anatolian appellative ending in *-a* or *-i* would have been provided with an Akkadian case ending, with *-n(n)-* as connecting element. He refers to the fact that in BIN 4, 48 writing with *-i-* (*sú*-KI-*nim* in line 12 and 36) alternates with forms with *-a-* (*sú*-KÀ-*nim*, line 13 and 16; he could have added CHANTRE 11, 6).

CAD Ḫ (1956) 108a, c reads *ḫarrān zukinim*, translates "'by-road" (lit.: smuggler's road)", but of course does not give an etymological interpretation under *ḫarrānum*. As *CAD* Z contains no reference to a word *zuka/in(n)um* this interpretation apparently has been given up since the publication of *CAD* Ḫ.

J. LEWY, *WdO* II, 1954-59, 435[2] reads *ḫarrān sukīnim*, translates "danger road", and takes *sukīnim* as a gen. of an Assyrian word *sukānum*, "danger". H. LEWY JCS 17, 1963, 103-4 maintains this translation and interpretation, and concentrates more on the geographical implications of this road or track, to which we will have to come back later.

The most recent interpretation is that of E. WEIDNER, *AfO* 20, 1967, 123 *ad* line 4, where he identifies our word with a *sūqinum*, meaning "alley, narrow street", occurrring in a MA text; the word is a derivative of *sūqum*. The word allows various interpretations: either *sūq* with an ending *-innum* which does occur with Akkadian words, cf. BILGIÇ, *App.* 30, 2 (he assumes that the ending may denote occasionally "eine Verringerung, ein Mangel"). This ending, which cannot always be easily distinguished from the Anatolian ending *-i/annum* (HECKER *GKT* § 57c), seems to be a (dialectic-phonetic?) variant of *-ānum*, cf. *GAG* § 56r (mentions *-ann* and *-enn* in NA and N/LB), where it is said that this ending at times has acquired a hypocoristic-diminutive meaning.

This last interpretation seems the most probable to me—even though according to the texts *ḫarrān sūqinnim* describes a track in Anatolia. Additional proof for the derivation and the meaning of the word may be derived from the rather fragmentary text BIN 4, 221, 19, where *sūqinnum* occurs alone in what is most probably a description of the boundary of a

house to be purchased. It reads: [17] *ší-ta* [*x*] *x* AD [18] É *A-ḫu-qar ša Ḫa-ḫi-*[*im*] [19] *ša a*-BA-AD *sú-qí-nim* [20] *ša* É *Zi-zi-*[*a*ʾ...] [21] *a-na* 6⅓ *ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR [22] *ni*ʾ*-iš-a-ma-ku-ma*..., "two...of the house of Aḫūqar in Ḫaḫḫum, which adjoins(?) the alley of the house of Zizi(a)...., we bought for you for 6⅓ minas of silver".

The text presents various difficulties. If my interpretation is correct we would expect in line 17 after the numeral "two" a unit of surface-area; one might think of a stat. abs. plur. of *šubtum*, [*šu-b*]*a-at*, used twice in OA texts to describe the surface of a house, and discussed by LEWY 1959, 216ff. The cluster *a*-BA-AT in line 19 allows for various interpretations. It might, theoretically, be a *status constructus* of *appatum* (either from *CAD* A, 2, 183: *appatu* B; or a *status constructus*. plur. of *appu*, *CAD* A, 2, 187f. 2, meaning also "tip, crown, end, rim edge"). But I prefer an interpretation with takes the first *a*- as the assimilated preposition *ana*: *ana b*/*pāt*/*ṭ*. The latter form may be derived from words like *pāṭum*, "boundary, borderland" (*AHw* 851b; *status constructus* in OB *pāṭ*) or its female counterpart *pattum* (*AHw* 849a) in which case however a *status constructus patti* is more probable; or from *pātum*, "rim, edge" (*AHw* 849a; fem. to *pū*; the OA reference quoted in *AHw* is doubtful; I would prefer an emendation to *ba-a-*⟨*ab-*⟩*tám*), or even a plural of *pūtum*. The first derivation is the most attractive in view of the form of the *status constructus*, at least if one ascribes the construct BA-DÍ in expressions like *ina* BA-DÍ *ša Razamā* (BIN 4, 124, 4; TC 3, 163, 18) not to *pāṭum*, "borderland", but to *battum*, "side", with *AHw* 115b (but note the remark "(od zu *pāṭu*?)") and *CAD* B 168b, a, 1′ (cf. ibid. *sub* b the quotation from the difficult text EL no. 8, 17, containing *a-na ba-tim* in connection with a house). Due to the OA syllabary and the similarity in form and, to some measure, in meaning of these words, it is impossible to reach a final conclusion. But I think the translation proposed is not far from the truth. In that case the use of *sūqinnum* in BIN 4, 221 is comparable to its use in the MA text edited by WEIDNER, and its meaning "alley", "narrow road" fairly certain.

A *ḫarrān sūqinnim* (*sūqānim*/*sūqannim*) consequently is an Assyrian designation for a (journey along a) narrow and therefore difficult and rather dangerous track. It would not apply to one special lap of the journey, but may qualify various roads.

2. TEXTS MENTIONING *ḫarrān sūqinnim*

In treating the texts I continue the numbering employed in the previous chapter dealing with *pazzur(t)um*, in order not to complicate references in the final discussion.

33. BIN 4, 48, 10ff.: (part of the text already quoted above as no. 9): *a-ṣé-er lu-qú-tí-a a-na Tí-mì-il$_5$-ki-a* [11] *li-tí-qú-ma šu-ma ḫa-ra-an* [12] *sú-qí-nim šál-ma-at ḫa-ra-an* [13] *sú-qá-nim-ma* AN.NA-*ki ú* TÚG.ḪI.A [14] SIG$_5$ *ma-lá ú-šé-tí-qá-ni* [15] *iš-tí a-li-ki li-li-ku-nim* [16] *šu-ma ḫa-ra-an sú-qá-nim* [17] *lá na-ṭù* AN.NA *a-na Ḫu-ra-ma* [18] *lu-ub-lu-ni-šu-ma*, "let them travel on to Timilkia to reach my merchandise and, if the "narrow track" is safe, my tin and textiles of good quality, as much as he had brought across the country, should indeed come to me with a caravan by way of the "narrow track". If however the "narrow track" is not appropriate, they should ship the tin to Ḫurrama" (the letter continues with the lines 18-29, quoted above p. 312 as text no. 9) The writer summarizes his requests in line 34ff. in this way: *lu-qú-tí ša Tí-mì-il$_5$-ki-a a-ba-ú-/a* (from line 33) [35] *be-lu-a-tù* ⟨*-nu*⟩ *a-na té-er-tí-a iḫ-da-ma* [36] AN.NA *lu ḫa-ra-an sú-qí-nim* [37] *lu i-pá-zu-ur-tim lu-šé-ri-bu-nim-ma* [38] *gí-im-lá-ni ù a-na-ku am-ma-ku-nu* [39] *a-le-e a-dí* AN.NA [40] *ú-bu-lu-ni-ni sà-aḫ-ra-ku* [41] *a-ma-kam ší-im* AN.NA *i-ba-ší*, "As for my merchandise which is in Timilkia—I beg you to do so my lords, respond to my appeal—let them bring in the tin to me here either by way of the "narrow track" or by smuggling and so do me a favour; I for my part can do *the same in return* [441]). I am staying (here) until they deliver me the tin. There is a (good) market for tin here". Note that in this text only tin is mentioned, besides an occasional reference to textiles in line 13 (the 1st pers. sing. suffix is not even repeated after TÚG.ḪI.A). This does not mean that only the tin was smuggled, and that the textiles went by another route. Rather the textiles, mentioned in one breath with the tin, are those for wrapping, not again mentioned especially in the rest of the letter.

34. TC 3/1, 13, 25ff.: addressed, like the previous letter, by Buzāzu to Puzur-Aššur. The writer has departed for Šalatuwar (to be located west of Kaniš) to sell copper (cf. lines 5-10 and BIN 4, 2). Then follows: . . . . *šu-ma* [26] *ḫa-ra-an sú-qí-nim lu pá-zu-ur-tum* [27] *na-ṭù a-li* AN.NA-*ki* [28] *ta-ša-lá-ḫa-ni a-na* [29] *pá-ni A-šur--ba-ni šu-pur-ma* AN.NA-*ki* [30] *lu-šé-ri-bu-nim*, "If either the "narrow track" or smuggling is appropriate, then send a message towards Aššur-bānī where you want to send my tin, in order that they may bring my tin in".

From texts nos. 33 and 34 it is clear that Buzāzu in Šalatuwar is in need of silver. He therefore requests his tin, which is stored in Timilkia, to be sent as soon as possible in the most profitable way: either via the *ḫarrān sūqinnim* or as smuggled goods, *pazzurtum*. The two alternatives correspond to two different roads, as only in the latter case does the town of

[441]) Mr. LARSEN suggests the reading *ga!-ma⟨-al⟩-ku-nu* for line 38 (cf. CCT 4, 33a, 19; 42b, 16) yielding: "I can (also) do you a favour".

Ḫurrama have to be passed (cf. above text no. 9). The *ālī*, "where" in line 27 refers to this alternative; *ālī* does not only refer to a position of rest ("where"), but may also be used in connection with a movement. Its use in our text may be compared with CCT 4, 12b, 20 and TC 3/2, 102, 25, quoted in HECKER *GKT* § 146a, b, who translates "wohin".

35. BIN 4, 5, 4ff., a letter from Īdī-Adad, Analī and Puzur-Ištar to Imdīlim: *a-dí ḫa-ra-an sú-qí-nim ša taš-/pu-ra-ni-ma* [5] *um-ma a-ta-ma* [6] *ki-ma ša-lá-am* KÙ.BABBAR-*pì-a* [7] *1* GÍN *ù qá-qá-da-tí-ma* [8] *ša-lá-mì-im ep-ša* [9] *ḫa-ra-an sú-qí-nim* [10] *i-pá-té-ma a-ma-lá* [11] *té-er-tí-kà né-pá-áš*, "as for the "narrow track" about which you wrote as follows: "Try your best to save every possible shekel of my silver and to save the "head-tax", when the "narrow track" opens, we will act according to your instruction". The use of the "narrow track" did save money, *inter alia* the "head-tax", which apparently was avoided, but this track was not always passable. A connection with taxation also in

36. kt a/k 405 (H. LEWY 1963, 104b; cf. also above p. 279): *šu-ma a-bi*$_4$ *En-na-num* [25] *ḫa-ra-an sú-qí-nim* [26] *e-ta-ar-ba-am* [27] *ša-du-a-tám* [28] *ša kà-ri-im Kà-ni-iš* [29] *la ú-ša-da ú i-Kà-ni-iš/ uš-ta-zi-zu-ni*, "should my boss Ennānum arrive here by way of the "narrow track", then I cannot make (him) deposit the tax of the *kārum* Kaniš, but they have made me responsible in Kaniš". The use of the "narrow track" saves the payment of *šaddū'utum* to the *kārum* Kaniš. The last line is difficult, because *nadā'um* Š normally has the authority imposing the tax as subject (cf. *AHw* 708b, Š, 6), hence my translation instead of H. LEWY's "he will not pay"; perhaps the Š was used here and in OIP 27, 62, 42 with a meaning "to be forced to pay". For lack of context the last words remain unclear; H. LEWY's translation, "they will hold me responsible" seems impossible,

37. CCT 4, 38a, 16ff., a letter from Il-wēdāku to Puzur-Aššur: *a-na lu-qú-tim ša ḫa-*[*ra-an*] [17] *sú-qí-nim li-bi*$_4$ [18] *pá-ri-id a-ma-kam* [19] *lu ma-ma-an a-ḫi-um* [20] *iš-tí-šu-nu i-li-ik* [21] *ša-il*$_5$*-ma iš-tí* [22] *pá-ni-im-ma a-li-ki-im* [23] *té-er-ta-kà li-l*[*i-kam*] [24] *ú a-na-ku a-na* [25] *Dur*$_4$*-ḫu-mì-id* [26] *áš-ta-pá-ar*, "I am worried about the merchandise shipped along the "narrow track". Make inquiries over there whether [442]) somebody else has departed together with them, and let your report reach me with the first messenger leaving. Moreover I myself have just written to Durḫumid".

38. AnOr VI no. 18, again a letter from Il-wēdāku to Puzur-Aššur, dealing in its totality with the use of the "narrow track": [3] *ta-áš-pu-ra-am* [4] *um-ma a-ta-ma* DUB-*pì* [5] *ša a-ḫi-kà ší-ta-me-ma* [6] *mì-li-ik lu-qú-tí-kà*

[442]) I follow a suggestion of Prof. FRANKENA in regarding *lu* in line 19 as introducing an indirect question; as such it is the equivalent of *šumma*, normally used in this function, cf. HECKER *GKT* § 135 i, p. 229 last example.

[7] *mì-li-ik a-ta-a* [8] *a-ma-kam wa-áš-ba-tí-ma* [9] *a-na-ku mì-li-ik* [10] *lu-qú-tim a-ma-li-ik* [11] *i-na* DUB-*pí-im ša a-ḫi-a* [12] *2* GÚ *16½ ma-na* [13] AN.NA *ku-nu-ku* [14] *60* TÚG.ḪI SIG$_5$ *35* TÚG.ḪI [15] *ša qá-tim 6* ANŠE [16] *ṣa-lá-mu šu-ma a-ma-kam* [17] *ta-da-gal-ma ḫa-ra-an* [18] *sú-qí-nim la ni-ša-ḫu-ut* [19] *ma té-er-tí ma-ma-an* [20] *i-la-ak ù a-ta* [21] *té-er-ta-kà a-ṣé-er* [22] *Ma-sí-im ù A-bu--ša-lim* [23] *li-li-ik-ma* [24] *A-bu-a-a iš-té-en*$_6$ [25] AN.NA *ù* TÚG.ḪI-*kà* [26] *i-pá-ni-tim*! *lu-šé-tí-iq* [27] *a-na-ma a-li-bi*$_4$ [28] *ma-tim i-ma-qú-tù ù ša-ni-um* [29] TÚG.ḪI SIG$_5$ *lu-šé-ri-ib* [30] *i-nu-mì té-er-ta-kà i-lu-ku* [31] *na-áš-pé-er-tí a-ni-tám* [32] *šé-bi*$_4$*-il*$_5$*-ší*, "You wrote to me as follows: "Read the letter of your colleague carefully and then take a decision about your merchandise". Should I, while you yourself are living over there, take a decision about the merchandise? In the letter of my colleague are mentioned: 2 talents 16½ minas of sealed tin, 60 textiles of good quality, 35 textiles of normal quality, and 6 donkeys. If you over there observe that the "narrow track" is not dangerous (lit.: "we should not be afraid"), and indeed somebody's goods do travel (along that road), then your goods too should leave for Masum and Ābu-šālim, in such a way (*-ma*) that Abu'ā should first bring across your tin and textiles, with the first caravan; and as soon as they arrive safely in the hinterland, he should in the second place bring in the textiles of good quality. When your goods leave you should send this letter (of mine) along" [443]).

Texts nos. 37 and 38 show (cf. no. 24 above) how important and difficult it was to take a good decision about the use of the "narrow track" and how people try to shift the decision on to their colleagues or superiors. A right decision requires a first-hand knowledge of the local situation (7ff.); the observation that other merchants use this track strengthens trust in a favourable issue (16ff.). To reduce the risks the merchandise is to be sent in two consecutive shipments: only after the former has safely arrived, should the latter—more valuable—depart, a procedure already known from text no. 9 quoted above.

39. TC 3/1, 70, 3ff., a letter from Enlil-[bānī] to Inā: [3] *mì-šu ša ta-áš-p*[*u-ra-ni*] [4] *um-ma a-ta-ma ḫa-*[*ra-an sú-qí-*]*nim* [5] *ta-lá-ak a-na-ku ku-a-tí*

[443]) Some comments on the translation. I asume *attā*, with lengthening of the final vowel, and contrasted with *anāku*, shows that lines 7-10 are a question, cf. HECKER *GKT* § 128c; lines 19ff: *tērtum* in lines 19, 21, and 30 most probably denotes the merchandise; line 24ff.: the contrast *ištēn*. . . .*šanīum* has been translated as an adverbial expression, though the adjectives refer to the subject of the sentence, the transporter; line 26: the emendation to *pá-ni-tim*! (copy: IN) is supported by numerous occurrences of this expression; line 27: *a-na-ma* (*an*(*n*)*āma*) is a conjunction, discussed by LEWY 1952, 289 and 1960, 42[5]; cf. *CAD* A, 2, 111a and for our text BALKAN, *Letter* 12 and HECKER *GKT* p. 251[2]; line 29: perhaps the alternation between *lušētiq* (26) and *lušērib* (29) suggests that Abu'ā entrusted the first caravan for transport to someone else, but led the second himself.

[6] *a-da-ga-al ù áš-pu-ra-kum* [7] *um-ma a-na-ku-ma* [8] *mì-il$_5$-kà-ni a-bi a-ta* [9] *bé-li a-ta mì-šu-um* [10] *ta-ki-li ša ma-ma-an* [11] *ta-ša-me ke-e-nu-um* [12] *a-na-ku ba-lúm té-er-tí-kà* [13] *e-ta-lu-tám e-pá-áš-ma* [14] *ḫa-ra-an sú-qí-nim* [15] *e-ra-ab wa-de$_8$ a-wa-tí-kà* [16] *ša ta-ta-wu-ni* [17] *am-tí-ší ù ta-áš-pu-ra-am* [18] *um-ma a-ta-ma* [19] *i-na a-lim*^{ki} [20] *i-na lu-qú-tim* (remainder of obverse and the greater part of reverse broken away), "Why did you write to me as follows: "you do [444]) travel by way of the "narrow track"!" I am your obedient servant! Moreover I wrote to you as follows: "take the decision for me"! My father, my lord you are, why do you listen to someone's slander? I am trustworthy. Would I act on my own authority without your instruction and enter by way of the "narrow track"? Would I indeed have forgotten your words which you have spoken, and sent saying: "In the City from the merchandise.....". We again sense the tension of taking the decision to choose the "narrow track".

A number of other texts are less informative, but do add occasional details to the picture.

40. TC 2, 52 and its somewhat more detailed duplicate WINKENBACH no. 7, communicated by H. LEWY 1963, 103. I quote the latter text: [1] *i-na 2 me-at 3[8* TÚG.ḪI.A] [2] *ša šé-ep I-dí-*^{d}IŠKUR [3] *a-na* NI-ŠA *a-na* É.GAL-*lim* [4] *e-ru-bu-ni* ŠÀ.BA *21* TÚG SIG$_5$ [5] *ḫa-ra-an sú-qí-nim a-na* [6] *Du-ur-ḫu-mì-id i-tal-ku*, "of the 238 textiles, transported by Idī-Adad, which entered for.....the palace, thereof: 21 textiles of good quality left via the "narrow track" for Durḫumid".

I do not comment on NI-ŠA, interpreted by H. LEWY as the town Neša, which seems uncertain, cf. the remarks of H. HIRSCH *OrNS* 37, 1968, 87ff. The text seems to imply that textiles which entered the palace for clearance were nevertheless shipped on by way of the "narrow track", and this could raise the question of whether the use of this secondary road implied smuggling. This impression however is wrong. The rest of the text, a transliteration of which I owe to Mr. LARSEN, yields the following picture: there were 238 textiles, 16 of which were for wrapping and therefore not liable to taxation (cf. above p. 30). The 5%-tax, *nisḫatum*, amounted to 10 pieces, the "tithe" to 19 pieces (cf. 7-9). These numbers apparently start from a figure of ca. 200, or 238 minus 16 (for wrapping) and minus the 21 pieces of "good quality", smuggled in and thus apparently not presented at the palace for clearance. The situation is comparable to text no. 5, quoted above p. 309, where also only part of a load was presented at the palace.

41. TuM I, 27a (no. 436), 1ff.: [1] *1 ma-na* AN.NA [2] *iš-tù Ḫa-ḫi-im* [3] *ú-šé-*

[444]) *tallak* must be either an incrimination or a suspicious question of Inā as Enlil-bānī raises serious objections to this statement, and denies such a charge.

bi-lam-ma [4] *ší-im-šu* 7½ GÍN [5] KÙ.BABBAR *tí-ib-nam iš-ú-mu-nim-ma* [7] *ḫa-ra-an sú-qí-nim* [8] *a-ta-lá-ak-ma*, "One mina of tin he sent to me from Ḫaḫḫum and it yielded 7½ shekels of silver. (Therewith) they bought straw and I departed by way of the "narrow track". This little text, a "second page" to a letter (?), hardly allows of any conclusion; one cannot prove that the straw was needed for the trip. Later on it is stated that somebody took the straw without paying.

42. CCT 3, 39a, 3ff., a letter from Asānum to Buzāzu: *2* GÚ *30 ma-na* [4] AN.NA *ša Lá-ma-ša* [5] *ḫa-ra-an sú-qí-nim* [6] *ú-šé-ra-áb*, "two talents 30 minas of tin of Lamaša, I will bring in by way of the "narrow track". The writer also asks for tin to be sent to him in Waḫšušana.

43. CHANTRE II, reconstructed by LEWY 1956, 20[85] and H. LEWY OrNS 33, 1964, 197, reads from line 4 onwards:.....DUB-[*pu-um*] [5] [*iš*]-*tù a-lim*[ki] *i-l*[*i-kam*] [6] [*ḫa-ra*]-*an sú-qá-nim* [7] [*x x x x*] *x ma-na*...., "...a letter came from the City, the "narrow track".....minas.....". The text, if correctly reconstructed, allows of no conclusions. It is possible, as Mrs. LEWY suggests, that the letter arrived by way of the "narrow track", via a shortcut, but the fragmentary state of the text makes this uncertain. One cannot rule out the possibility that the letter from the City dealt with the use of this road. The reverse tells that "our messengers" (those of the writers, being the *kārum* Zalpa) took something along. The letter is addressed to the messengers of the City and the *kārum* Kaniš.

44. GARELLI-KENNEDY 1960 no. 2, 18ff. (perhaps again a second page of a letter): *ší-tí* [19] TÚG-*ba-tí-a 7 ku-ta-nu* [20] *ša-pí-ú-tim* [21] *ú e-ṭí-ú-tim* [22] *pu-ùḫ-ra-ma i-ṣé-er* [23] ANŠE-*ri-a id-a-nim-ma* [24] *tí-ib-a-nim-ma a-tal-kà-nim* [25] *šu-ma* SÍG! *wa-ší-a-at* ([wa]DIRIG-*at*?) [26] *ma-lá na-ar-ba-at* [27] *a-na Kà-ni-iš lá ta-tù-ra-nim* [28] *ḫa-ra-an sú-qí-ni-ma*? [29] *a-ṣé-ri-*⟨*a*⟩ *tab-lá-ni-ší*, "load the rest of my textiles, 7 thick and dark coloured *kutānū*, all together on my donkeys, and get started and depart hither. If the wool(?) (available) is as.....as soft, you should not go back to Kaniš, but bring it away to me/us (?) by way of the "narrow track"."

The interpretation of the lines 25ff. causes problems. I cannot follow the interpretation of GARELLI who proposes reading the third sign in line 25 as SUG, "marsh". Both the use of *narbum* (cf. above p. 184) and the accusative 3rd pers. sing. fem. suffix in line 29 suggest a reading SÍG!, "wool" (SÍG/*šaptum* in OA is normally construed as fem. sing., cf. above p. 130f.), also proposed by *AHw* 745a s.v. *narābum*. I have no idea what *wa-ší-a-at* could mean, unless it were a curious writing [wa]DIRIG-*at* = *watrat*, "extremely fine", also used alongside *narbum* of wool in TC 3/1, 65, 18ff., cf. above p. 131. *tablāniššu* is an imp. plur. of *tabālum*, "to take along, carry away", cf. *tablam* in CCT 2, 17b, 12 (to be added to HECKER

GKT § 93c, who records only imp. from *wabālum*). If all this were correct, the text would seem to mention a transport of extra fine wool via the "narrow track", deliberately avoiding Kaniš.

45. VAT 13484, a letter from Aššur-rēṣī and Aššur-taklāku to Šū-Suen, quoted in LEWY 1950, 426[333]: [4] *[šu]-ma Puzur²--A-šùr* [5] *ḫa-ra-an* [5] *[sú]-qí-nim iš-tí* [6] *[ṣ]ú-ḫa-ri-šu i-ṭá-ra-ad-kà* [7] *[um]-ma a-ta-ma i-pá-ni-šu* [8] *[le]-tí-iq-ma* [9] *[i-na] Ḫu-ra-ma ù-lá* [10] *[i-na Ku-ša]-ra* KÙ.BABBAR [11] *[a-ṣí-ib-tim iš]-tí* DAM.GÀR [12] *[lá]-al-qí*, "if Puzur-Aššur wants to send you along the "narrow track" together with his servant(s), you should say: "I will travel on ahead of him to take up in Ḫurrama or in Kuššara silver against interest with a money-lender".

The situation is again not very clear. We note however that the persons mentioned—Aššur-rēṣī and Šū-Suen are sons of Inā—and the geographical setting of the text are the same as in those dealing with clandestine trade in iron, mentioned above in n. 430. It is of course possible that during this trading operation they used a *ḫarrān sūqinnim* for illegal transport.

3. INTERPRETATION OF THE DATA

We need an answer to the following questions concerning the *ḫarrān sūqinnim*: 1) what were the characteristics of this track? 2) was it a difficult, unusual but yet permissible road, or rather an illegal, forbidden one, which would make its use a kind of smuggling? 3) was it a special lap of the journey, a track which could be marked on a map as H. LEWY 1963 proposed?

a) *Characteristics of a ḫarrān sūqinnim*

Text no. 35 shows that one has to wait until the "narrow track" opens (*ippattē*) before it can be used. The verb *patā'um* N is used several times in connection with roads in OA, *inter alia* in the expression *ina naptū ḫarrānim* (cf. texts quoted in *CAD* Ḫ 107b and TC 3/1, 78, 29), "when the road opens"; also *ḫarrānum annišam ittaptē*, "the road hither has opened" (*CAD* Ḫ loc. cit.), while KTS 32a, 5 describes this opening of the roads as a predictable feature: *ḫarrānum naptūm qurub*, "the road will be open shortly". With *CAD* Ḫ loc. cit., and in view of the last text, we assume this expression has to do with the end of the winter, when the road can be used again. Note that BIN 6, 115, 19, after having mentioned the (re)opening of the roads in line 16, states that the roads/journeys are difficult: *ḫarranātum dannā*. Numerous OA texts show that the severe Anatolian winter made caravan journeys impossible, and that operations have to be completed "before the winter (overtakes somebody)". That roads become

impassable during the winter, however, holds good for most of the Anatolian roads, not only for the *ḫarrān sūqinnim*; in case of emergency one could make a journey in the winter (*ḫarrān kūṣim*, BIN 4, 97, 19), though at the cost of additional travel expenses. Other indications about the conditions of this track are lacking.

Texts nos. 33 and 34 use *naṭū*, "appropriate, suitable, proper" in connection with the "narrow track", but this word has too general a meaning to allow of conclusions. It normally denotes—especially in the form *lā naṭūma* + a finite verbal form; cf. BIN 6, 23, 8ff.; 73, r. 8'ff.; TC 3/1, 10, 8ff.—that it is (im)possible or (un)suitable to do something. In TC 1, 10, 5.12 the word is used in connection with a journey and the choice of the road: *šumma naṭū ana* GN_1 *u* GN_2*. . . .tallak* (5f.), *šumma lā naṭūma ana* GN_1 *u* GN_2 *lā tallak* (12f.), "if it looks auspicious you should travel to GN_1 and GN_2. . .if not, you should not travel to GN_1 and GN_2".

In text no. 33 *šalmum*, "safe" is used of the *ḫarrān sūqinnim*, but what does it actually mean? It is most probably used metaphorically, denoting that the people and merchandise travelling along that road will arrive safely, cf. the use of *šalmum* with *unūtum*, "goods" (TC 2, 3, 30) and with tin (BIN 6, 239, 4), and the remarks made above in n. 436 *ad* text no. 9 about *šalāmum* "to arrive safely" and *šallumum* "to deliver/bring safely to", and the predicate *šalmū*, "they are safe", used of textiles smuggled in text no. 31, above p. 320.

In concreto "safe", when used in connection with the *ḫarrān sūqinnim*, could in the first place mean that the situation of the weather and the physical condition of the road guarantee a journey without problems. In BIN 6, 114, 18 it is said that the merchandise and the donkeys are "safe" (*šalmū*), though the caravan was surprised by the winter and suffered hunger; as Prof. KRAUS suggests me, this may also mean the caravan escaped or survived attacks by wolves, a very real danger during the Anatolian winter (cf. the incantation against the "black dog", menacing the "isolated caravan", quoted in HIRSCH *UAR* 82 *ad* p. 71). The letter L 29-587—H. LEWY 1970, 56f.—4ff. mentions that the road/journey is difficult (*ḫarrānum dannat*). It continues in line 6ff. *ki-ma ḫa-ra-nu-um i-ši-ru-ma* [7] *a-li-ku pá-ni-ú-tum iš-li-mu-ni-ni* [8] KÙ.BABBAR. . . . . *uš-ta-ṣa-b[a-a]t-ma*, "soon as as the roads have again become normal and the first caravans have arrived safely, I will make ready and dispatch the silver". As lines 16-17 state that it is still winter in Durḫumid, the passage quoted most probably refers to conditions of weather and roads [445]).

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[445]) The text in line 4 mentions as an additional reason for not sending the caravan: *ki-ma* ZI-GA-*tù-ni-ma*, "as there is. . ."; the meaning of these words is obscure.

That the condition of weather and road could determine the choice of a route is also clear from ARM 2, 78, 31ff., where we read: *ūmū dannū ḫarrān kāṣim napzaram aššum biltim lā nillak ḫarrān libbi mātim ana GN nillak*, "the weather is bad; we cannot travel along the secret road in the steppe because of the load; we will travel to GN by way of the road through the heart-land".

But "safe" may also refer to the military and political situation, viz. protection against surprise attacks by brigands. Peaceful conditions favoured of course the caravan trade. The "Akkadians" could not come to Aššur because there was an upheaval in their country (cf. above p. 98). Frequently OA texts mention the political situation, and use the expression *mātum išallim* (BIN 6, 23, 15; TC 3/2, 122, 30). One may adduce a parallel from Mari: ARM 1, 112, 7f.: *salīmum ittaškan u ḫarrānum itēšir*, "peace has been established and the road (the traffic) has (again) become normal" [446]). If the *ḫarrān sūqinnim* was a difficult, unusual by-road, caravans travelling along it could not expect the normal protection and facilities (food, lodging), and hence the "safety" would gain an added importance.

Finally one may assume that "safe" in fact means the chances of a safe arrival without detection of contraband or the seizure of the merchandise along this forbidden track. We may refer to the use of *šalāmum* (G and D) and *šalmum* in texts 9 and 31 in clear association with smuggling. The fact that this same text no. 9 uses *šalmum* in connection with the *ḫarrān sūqinnim* makes this last interpretation the most probable one.

b) *Smuggling and ḫarrān sūqinnim*

Are there other indications that the use of the *ḫarrān sūqinnim* had to do with or in fact meant smuggling? Text no. 9 = 33 clearly mentions *pazzurtum* and *ḫarrān sūqinnim* as two alternatives, as does text no. 34. Text no. 9 prescribes that in case of smuggling (*pazzurtum*) the merchan-

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CCT 4, 10a, 17ff. states: ZI-GA-*tum* [*ú*]-*ṣí-i*, "the ... went out", which caused the commerce to be in disorder (cf. below p. 391, 5); TC 2, 37, 3ff. tells us that, "because there is ....." (*ki-ma* ZI-GA-*tù-ni*), nobody is in town(?), and no commercial transactions take place, but adds that the return of ZI-GA-*tim* is near, and that "they will return within 10 days" (l. 14-16: *tù-wa-ar* [15] ZI-GA-*tim qú-ru-ub* [16] *a-dí 10 u*$_4$-*me-e i-tù-ra-nim*), which suggests that the word is a fem. plur. and denotes somehow a group of persons. The translation "army", given in *CAD* A, 2, 358b (cf. A, 1, 382a translating *āl sikkatim* with "border town") hardly makes sense, and is probably inspired by the title *rabi sikka/itim*, denoting a native official, who may have to do with military matters. Cf. also BALKAN 1967, 408[e]: kt d/k 5, 15; KTS 57a, 7; *AAA* I no. 10, 8; CCT 2, 16b, 18.

[446]) Cf. the use of *ešārum* in connection with a road in OA L 29-587, 6, quoted above.

dise has to be split up into various smaller portions, which have to be shipped one after the other; the same procedure is prescribed in text no. 38 if one uses the *ḫarrān sūqinnim*. Note that TC 1, 18 (GARELLI *AC* 106 with note 1) prescribes a similar method if the (normal) road is not safe [447]).

The use of the *ḫarrān sūqinnim* makes it possible to save money on travel expenses: no. 35 mentions savings in silver in general and the "head-tax", no. 36 the *šaddū'utum* of the *kārum* Kaniš. Text no. 9 = 33 shows that the use of the *ḫarrān sūqinnim* means that the caravan avoids the town of Ḫurrama, where tax had to be paid. In text no. 40 only the textiles of "good quality" (there was a marked preference for smuggling these pieces, cf. above p. 321, 12) did not enter the palace for clearance, but were transported via the "narrow track". Texts nos. 37-39 show the importance of the decision to take the *ḫarrān sūqinnim* and the attempt to avoid any responsibility, coupled with anxiety over the whereabouts of the merchandise shipped along this road. One may compare similar feelings concerning *pazzurum* in text no. 24, and the relief when the operation had success, expressed in no. 31.

All this makes me conclude that the use of the *ḫarrān sūqinnim* was a way of smuggling to avoid the tolls to be paid on the normal roads and the transit-fees levied in the towns passed *en route*. The "head-tax" mentioned in text no. 35 is representative of the tolls *en route*, as this tax (cf. above p. 264ff. *sub* 7), closely connected with *dātum*, was paid *en route* from the loose tin. The transit-fee paid when passing or visiting a town with a caravan would be the *nisḫatum*, which we met above p. 295 (to be distinguished from the *nisḫatum*, 5% on textiles, $^{2}/_{65}$ of the tin, paid on arrival at the final destination).

That the Assyrians disliked the payment of this transit-fee is also clear from KTK 64 (n. 434). The text first deals with the equipment of a caravan (line 2: *li-[is]-ri-dam*), perhaps mentions a smuggling-caravan (line 4: *pá-zi-ir-tum lá i-lá-ak*, "the hidden (caravan) cannot depart"(?)), and the hire of carriers (line 5: *ša* bi_4*-lá-tim li-*gu_5*-ur-ma*). All the merchandise has to be shipped to Luḫusaddia (*šētuqum*, line 7), and then the text continues: "as soon as he arrives in Timilkia a message of his should come to you and you should ask a guide (escort, *rādīum*) from Azu, and send him to *Alābum*, in order that (*-ma*) the rulers of Ḫurrama and Šalaḫšuwa shall

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[447]) Cf. similar measures of security taken according to TC 1, 10, 8ff. with the dispatch of tablets: DUB-*pí-kà a-na 3-ší-šu ma-ḫa-aṣ-ma* [9] *a-na pá-ni-kà* [10] *lu-šé-tí-qú-ma ù a-ta* [11] *ur!-kà-tám a-lik*, "divide your tablets into three groups, and let them ship them on ahead of you, and come yourself afterwards" (cf. J. LEWY *RHA* V, 118[6] and EL II 167b).

not collect *nisḫatum*". The latter two towns are to be placed in the same general area of the plain of Elbistan, and most probably had to be passed when the normal road from Timilkia to Luḫusaddia was followed (an unpublished 'itinerary' in the BÖHL collection at Leiden lists consecutively Ḫaḫḫum, Timilkia, Šalaḫšuwa and Ḫurrama). Each of them probably tried to levy a *nisḫatum* [448]). We may connect this information with the letter ATHE 62 (text no. 1 in ch. XIV, 3), which informs us that when smuggled goods *en route* to Pūšu-kēn had been seized the female ruler of the town where the smuggling had been detected (Kaniš?), informed the authorities of Luḫusaddia, Ḫurrama and Šalaḫšuwa of this fact (lines 33-36). This may have been done to obtain their co-operation to prevent smuggling, but probably also because the local governments of these towns were also duped by the smuggling, which robbed them of taxes they were entitled to, when caravans starting in Timilkia (mentioned as the starting point of the journey in ATHE 62, 37) had to pass their territory. Unfortunately we do not know for certain where the female ruler mentioned in ATHE 62 resided, but there is a fair chance that she resided in Kaniš, as assumed by GARELLI *AC*: Pūšu-kēn normally lived there and the town did have a female ruler according to ICK 1, 13, 6-11 [449]). If that is true we can observe that a caravan, coming from Ḫaḫḫum and/or Timilkia, most probably had to cross the region where Šalaḫšuwa, Ḫurrama and Luḫusaddia (in that order) where situated, "la zône de contrôle" which may have dominated the main road from the plain of Elbistan to Kaniš (GARELLI *AC* 114). The action of the ruler of Kaniš(?)

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[448]) A proof that *pazzurtum* was an alternative to paying a *nisḫatum* as transit-fee has been discovered in TC 3/2, 165, 28ff. The text describes the expenses of a caravan *en route* from Kaniš to Burušḫanda. While it lists the payment of *nisḫatum* in the towns Wašḫania (line 5: 21 shekels of tin) and Ninašša (line 13f.: 24 shekels of tin), in both cases to the palace, for the town Ullama no such expense is recorded, but instead, "30 minas of copper *ana pazzurtim* from Ullama to Burušhanda" (28-30; cf. the transcription of the text in GARELLI *AC* 309[1]). GARELLI *AC* 308 translates "frais de contrabande"; cf. LARSEN *OACP* 161. We note that the payment is in copper, which could indicate that it was a payment to non-Assyrians. The amount paid is fairly large, that is, starting from the normal value of copper, the equivalent of ca. 15 shekels of silver, which is much more than the amounts paid as *nisḫatum*. This could be connected with the fact that only for the first two stages, Kaniš-Wašḫania-Ullama were amounts of silver, 20 shekels and $17^1/_3$ shekels, paid to the porters (*ša bilātim*) and the escort (*muqarribum*) (as lines 43ff. state).

[449]) Female rulers are attested for Amkuwa: OIP 27, 5, 12 (later than the main body of texts); for Luḫusaddia: CCT 4, 19c, 20; for Waḫšušana: KTS 50c (EL 150), 1-2 (*ru*!*-ba-tum*); perhaps for Timilkia: TC 3/3, 211, 45 (but the same text mentions a *rubā'um*, line 47). All these ladies would not have been actual rulers, but, as in the last case, perhaps the wives of the rulers. The *rubātum* in ATHE 62 however seems to have been the head of the administration. GARELLI also takes her to be the ruler of Kaniš.

suggests some political links between the various rulers, which *inter alia* may have resulted in a common commercial policy in dealing with the Assyrian traders [450]).

c) *The geographical aspect*

H. LEWY 1963 identifies the *ḫarrān sūqinnim* with one special road, connecting Timilkia in the south with the region of Durḫumid in the north (within the Halys bend), passing east of the plain of Elbistan (and the cities situated there) "from Akçadağ via Darende and Gürün straight toward the river Halys and on to the region of Alişar and Boğazköy". It would have been a difficult, dangerous track through mountainous, rocky, inhospitable regions, as described by GARELLI *AC* 98f. For her reconstruction she uses texts nos. 33, 34, 36, 37, 40 and 43.

The combination *ḫarrān sūqinnim* as such is not the name of one special road, but rather a general qualification applicable to any track which is narrow, difficult and out of the way, in contrast to the normal inter-city roads used by the caravans. We have to concede that most of the references deal with the use of such a track in the region roughly between Timilkia and Kaniš or the Halys. But one cannot deduce from texts nos. 37 and 40 that the supposed *ḫarrān sūqinnim* went all the way to Durḫumid; the texts only say that merchandise departed via a *ḫarrān sūqinnim* and that its final destination was Durḫumid, the main commercial centre in the north (GARELLI *AC* 125). Moreover texts nos. 33 and 34 deal with shipments to be sent to Šalatuwar, which is somewhere west of Kaniš, and a caravan on its way to this town would have branched off from Mrs. LEWY's *ḫarrān sūqinnim* quite early, and may have followed the road via Göksün and Saimbeyli (GARELLI *AC* 101f.), unless it had to pass Kaniš, in which case also only part of the road postulated by her can have been followed. In no. 42 the writer says that he will "bring in" tin via a "narrow track", while later on he states that he is in or will arrive at

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[450]) Cf. GARELLI *AC* 114. We need not adopt LEWY's theory of a pre-Assyrian empire Kaniš, dominating the whole of central Anatolia, to account for a measure of common policy on the part of the Anatolian rulers toward the Assyrian merchants. Not only links of vassalage (documented by the letter of Anumḫirbi; latest treatment ORLIN *ACC* 97ff.), but also agreements or alliances between equal partners may have existed. But as far as I know there is no clear reference to such inter-city cooperation besides ATHE 62. ATHE 66, 9ff. which according to ORLIN *ACC* 106, A, 2 mentions a treaty between Kaniš and Waḫšušana "guaranteeing the safety of commerce between their realms", is very difficult, cf. GARELLI *AfO* 20, 1963, 169b.; it seems more likely that the text makes reference to a treaty ("oath") between these rulers and the Assyrian authorities. Some measure of common activity on the part of several Anatolian rulers is also mentioned in KTK 10 (cf. my remarks in *BiOr* 27, 1970, 367f. *ad* no. 10), but this may concern non-commercial matters.

Waḫšušana, to the south-west of Kaniš. The evidence from no. 43 is ambiguous, as pointed out above; as stated in note 423, I believe the Zalpa mentioned in this text is rather the southern city of that name. No. 44 gives no clue, but shows that by taking a "narrow track" one did avoid the city of Kaniš. No. 45 suggests one could reach Ḫurrama and Kuššara from an unknown town, by way of a "narrow track", but the latter town is to be situated rather to the (south-)east of the plain of Elbistan (GARELLI *AC* 120), than west of it (LEWY 1962), though the evidence is not wholly clear [451]).

We have to conclude that *ḫarrān sūqinnim* is not a name for a specific smuggler's road from Timilkia to the Halys and beyond. It is a name for a type of less easily passable, fairly uncommon by-road, a smuggler's track, which could be found and used in many regions; its main purpose was to avoid the towns with their tolls and taxes. That many references point to the region roughly between Timilkia and Kaniš need not surprise us; this is the region which most caravans arriving from Aššur had to pass *en route* to Kaniš and beyond, a region where moreover a number of important towns were situated, where the Assyrians had to pay tax. The use of smuggling roads in this very area may have been more frequent than elsewhere, and this is reflected in our sources.

The use of a smuggler's road is of course a well-known phenomenon, also in antiquity. I recall the text ARM 2, 78, quoted above on p. 331, where the use of a *ḫarrān kāṣim napzaram*, "a secret road through the steppe" is contrasted with a *ḫarrān libbi mātim*, "a road through the settled country", the latter of course passing through the towns. In this connection I quote the remarks of D. OATES, *Studies in the Ancient History of Northern Iraq*, 1968, 5f., which well illustrate the situation in ARM 2, 78. "The Beduin have long constituted the most obvious threat to desert trade. It might be assumed that any route which kept within the boundaries of settled land was *ipso facto* more secure and more likely to be frequented. But if we study the recent history of the Euphrates valley, the natural link between the Mediterranean coast and southern Mesopotamia, we find that the Great Desert Route of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries consistently kept a day's or even two day's march west of the river, since the regular toll exacted by Beduin was a lesser burden than wanton plundering by the villages of the riverain land, who enjoyed a particularly evil reputation" (cf. also p. 37). Though the situation in

[451]) Mrs. LEWY does not discuss this text; she is inclined to locate Timilkia east or north-east of the plain of Elbistan. Cf. for a general geographical orientation the maps in GARELLI *AC* following p. 420.

Anatolia is different in geographical respects, we may observe the same tendency with the Assyrian caravans: not to visit the towns and the settled country out of fear of the repeated taxes and tolls levied on the highways and in the towns, and preference for the less hospitable, more difficult, and perhaps more dangerous tracks, in an attempt to save money.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

CONCLUSIONS AND GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

We have to distinguish between two kinds of smuggling. The first, often called *pazzur(t)um*, was essentially the smuggling of merchandise through customs, tolls etc.; the second tried to avoid towns, roads and posts where tax and toll had to be paid, by following uncommon and difficult smuggling-roads.

The first type, as text no. 9 (= 33) clearly shows, had to be practised if it was impossible to avoid a town. The fact that in this text as well as in no. 34 the use of a *ḫarrān sūqinnim* is the first alternative may suggest that the use of a smuggling road was less risky than smuggling the merchandise into a town. If the latter was the only possibility one had to see that the merchandise did not "enter the palace" (cf. ch. XIV, 4 and text no. 40). What in fact the procedure was when a caravan arrived in a town is not known exactly. It is most probable that the caravan was awaited at the gate of the town or the *kārum* (the *kārum* Kaniš was also walled according to the findings of the excavators) [452]) by the officials of the local government, and guided to the palace for clearance. In this connection I point to the choice of the verbs in the texts nos. 9 and 33: if it is impossible to use a smuggler's road one has to "bring the merchandise *up to* Ḫurrama" (*ana Ḫurrama lūblūniššuma*), and then it should be "brought *into*" the town (*erābum*, Š). The latter verb is used frequently in texts dealing with smuggling, cf. especially nos. 34, 30; 38, 29; 42, 6; we also meet it in texts dealing with the illegal trade in iron: CCT 2, 48, 5f. and BIN 6, 214, r. 3. But we cannot derive any conclusions from its use concerning intentions and methods of the smugglers, as it is used also of shipments arriving in a normal way, cf. e.g. CCT 4, 22b, 28-30 (*ana Burušḫattim šērubum*). It is understandable that in the case of smuggling the safe arrival in a town was the main point of interest, and this may account for its frequency in our texts [453]).

Another verb we rather frequently meet in our texts is the Š of *etāqum*, "to make cross (the country)", "to forward to", cf. ATHE 62, 39; 33, 14; 38, 26. The verb seems well suited to denote the smuggling of merchandise,

[452]) Cf. T. Özgüç, *Anatolian Studies* 14, 1964, 21 and M. Mellink *AJA* 68, 1964, 151f.

[453]) Cf. also the occasional occurrence of *ēribtum*, "entrance-tax" (*CAD* E 292b-293a), once paid to *ša maṣṣarātim*, a military escort.

this time not into a town but across a territory where it could be detected or taxes could be imposed. But we should again note that the verb is not uncommon for normal transports, as is clear from the expression *eqlam etāqum*, frequently used to denote that money or goods "cross the country" from Aššur to Anatolia and *vice versa*; cf. moreover *CAD* E 390b, 4; CCT 2, 15, 32; 4, 7b, 17; ICK 1, 33B, 25 [454]).

While in some cases (texts nos. 9, 33, 34) *pazzurtum* and *ḫarrān sūqinnim* are clearly alternatives, this does not mean *pazzur(t)um* was restricted to "smuggling into a town". As the use of a *ḫarrān sūqinnim* also meant smuggling, a transport along such a track may well have been called *pazzurum*, e.g. in the expression *ana pazzurim alākum* (nos. 5, 12.15; 20, 30f.). A *mupazzirum* could probably also denote a transporter shipping goods via a *ḫarrān sūqinnum*. Taking this by-road was also a way of "hiding" merchandise.

How could the local Anatolian authorities (and in one case, text no. 36, the *kārum*-officials) make out whether a lot of merchandise was smuggled goods or had been cleared? From the text *AbB* 2, 84 we know that in one case in Babylonia (period after Ḫammurapi) in the town Bāṣu, situated north of Babylon on the Euphrates, merchants travelling by boat were allowed free passage, when they could show a *ṭuppi šarrim*, "a document issued by the king". This document, which functioned as an export permit, may have stated that its owner was a licensed merchant, was exempted from taxes, or had already paid taxes in Babylon (in which case the document was a quittance) [455]). According to the letters ARM 13, 58-96, studied by Miss M. L. Burton in *Syria* 41, 1964, 67ff., merchants' ships arriving from the north at Tuttul had to pay tax (*miksum*), and in return received a "laissez-passer" (*waššer*), stating that the tax had been paid. These "laissez-passer", in the form of letters addressed to the official Idiniatum, residing at Mari, were discovered in Mari. They may have been duplicates of the documents given to the merchants who had paid taxes, or the latter may have had to hand them in on arrival at Mari [456]).

[454]) The verb may be used in the Š-stem in connection with the passing of tolls or customs, cf. *CAD* E 393b, c, 2′. But note that in many NB texts and in *AbB* 2, 84, 9 the officials collecting the tax are the subject.

[455]) Date and purpose of the "laissez-passer" from Larsa(?), published by Jean, *Sumer et Akkad* 1923, no. CXCV = p. 132 nr. 169 (cf. Leemans, *Foreign Trade* p. 108 with note 5) are not clear (reference Prof. Kraus).

[456]) Note that the verb *waššurum/wuššurum* used in the texts from Mari for "laisser passer", is also attested in OA; cf. *ḫarrānam waššurum* in TC 2, 8, 21f. (*iwwaššur ḫarrānim*); CCT 2, 20, 23f. (*ḫarrānam ušširū* (= OA for *uwašširū*, cf. Hecker *GKT* § 93f.); CCT 5, 15b, 9f. (*šumma* [9] *ḫarrānam ana* [10] [. . . .]*tim lá*[!] *ú-ta*[!]-*ší-ir*; subject the ruler of Wašḫania(!)). The context of these texts is not always the same, but the meaning seems to be "to let depart freely", "to grant a free journey".

However, nothing similar is known from OA texts. We find a number of times the word *iṣurtum*, probably a document issued by the native Anatolian administration (cf. LEWY, *HUCA* 25, 1954, 196[168]; *AHw* 391b). But nowhere can it have a meaning which even approaches that of a "laissez-passer" [457]). One may argue that in Anatolia, where the caravans had to pass various independent small kingdoms, the use of such a document would have been very restricted: it could function only within one and the same administrative area. But nevertheless one may imagine that some receipt, showing that the Assyrian merchant had paid his *nisḫatum* and "tithe" could have been useful in many cases. But such documents seem to be absent. Information about the payment of these taxes is found either in the correspondence of the Assyrians or in normally anonymous memoranda, in which the Assyrians noted their assets, debts and expenses. Was the administrative experience of the local rulers too poor for such a device? And did the Assyrians do nothing to change this situation, because it made dodging of taxes more easy? We can only guess.

It is remarkable that even the administration of the Assyrians at this point seems to have been not wholly efficient. I may refer to the fact, mentioned above p. 281f., that Assyrian authorities and merchants disagreed about the tariff of the *šaddū'utum*, could not prevent a double payment, and squabbled about the question whether in some cases any *šaddū'utum* had to be paid at all. In CCT 5, 7b the transporter cannot produce any document to substantiate his explanation, and has to ask his colleagues in Kaniš for help. In Neşr. Boğ. 2 a special letter from the *kārum* Kaniš is needed to prevent taxation (the transporter could not prove anything). Information about payment of taxes to the *kārum* is again almost exclusively derived from private documents [458]).

Another method of showing that merchandise has been taxed and cleared is to attach to it some mark. In the OA context this could have been done by attaching a clay bulla, with a seal-impression and a short inscription, to the packets of tin and textiles to be shipped on. Though OA

The persons or caravans are, as is especially clear in the last text, held back—simply for paying taxes or for other reasons—by the Anatolian authorities. Cf. also the expression *ḫarrānam tadānum*, "to grant a journey/departure", e.g. in TC 3/1, 75, 9-10.

[457]) For *iṣurtum* also BALKAN 1965, col. 157 *ad* no. 296. In VAT 9222, 20f. *i.* is a document which the local palace has to give to Assyrian merchants concerning merchandise taken but not yet paid (a kind of bond); in VAT 13514, 12ff. the palace has bought tin and textiles, which should be paid in silver; "I have in my possession an *i.* concerning the textiles, but not yet one concerning the tin".

[458]) EL no. 210, stating that four Assyrians had paid a debt to the *kārum* of Neḫria, owes its existence to the fact that the original deed of loan was not available when the debt was paid, and could not be destroyed or given to the debtors.

texts show that this system of marking merchandise—mainly textiles—was used (for references see above p. 30f. and 41f.) we never meet these sealings in connection with the payment of taxes. On that occasion the sealed packets were only broken open, in order to determine their contents and tax them.

In the absence of any device to distinguish smuggled-ware from merchandise taxed and cleared, the only means of discovering smuggling should have been catching transporters in the very act of smuggling. In the case of *pazzurum* this was to detect the tin or textiles being smuggled into the town or *kārum* by the personnel; in the case of the use of a smuggling road—granted it was absolutely forbidden to avoid the highways—to catch the caravan *en route*. This also means that once a smuggling caravan has arrived safely at its destination, or once the merchandise had been smuggled into the town, it was *de facto* cleared, and could be sold in a normal way. From text no. 38, 27f. we may conclude that once the load had arrived *allibbi mātim* it was safe, and probably no further secrecy was necessary. It is not clear whether the "boundaries" between the various local Anatolian kingdoms—granted that these were well fixed—had much importance in this respect. The main points of interest were the town-gates and perhaps tolls at important road-stations, passes etc.

The Anatolian authorities of course tried to prevent smuggling, and even warned each other (ATHE 62) in the case of detection. Pūšu-kēn, the owner of the smuggled goods and, as we may surmise from the texts, ultimately responsible for this breach of law, was put in jail, and no doubt had to pay a ransom to free himself, and to get back his merchandise, if it had not been confiscated. The same text states that the control was intensified (*maṣṣarātum dannā*). This may mean that the roads were carefully checked (so LEWY 1950, 435[388]), but one should realise that this may also apply to a better control of the *kārum* and the town gates. A control of the roads may have affected the use of a *ḫarrān sūqinnim*, which consequently became "inappropriate, unsafe" for the Assyrians. Such a control was also effective to prevent illegal trade in iron; when spotted it could probably be seized and confiscated right away. Hence the warning in KTS 37a, 18: "let no packet be spotted on the road", which is preceded by the information that the house of the person in question "is guarded by the palace" [459]). He might even be arrested, and his possessions of gold and silver seized [460]). (See note page 341).

[459]) KTS 37a, 14ff.: *um-ma a-[n]a-ku-ma a-bi-i* [15] *i-na qá-qí-ri-im da-nim* [16] *wa-ša-áb ú* É *a-bi-a* [17] É.GAL-*lúm i-na-ṣa-ar* [18] *a-sú-ri i-na ḫa-ra-nim* [19] *ri-ik-sú-um e i-na-mì-ir-ma* [20] *a-bi-i a-na ší-li-tim* [21] *ra-bi-tim e a-dí-i* [22] *ù* É *a-bi-a e iḫ-li-iq*, "thus

How effective this control and the counter-measures of the local rulers were is hard to say. It is surprising to read in text no. 9 that the Assyrians used native people from Ḫurrama to smuggle their tin into the town; their eagerness to earn some money apparently prevailed over their loyalty to their authorities. Also in text no. 6 a native (*nuwā'um*) smuggles tin for an Assyrian, and one can imagine that native Anatolians served as guides for caravans following smuggling roads.

The seizure of the smuggled merchandise is called *ṣabātum* in text no. 1 line 28. It is not stated where this happened. The same verb is used in text no. 31, 5, where the textiles seized are consequently "given" to the palace and counted; nevertheless the Assyrian in question managed to smuggle four expensive textiles. GARELLI in his commentary to the latter text suggests the verb *ṣabātum* here could be "une simple allusion au droit de préemption" (*RA* 58, 1964, 115 *ad* line 5), or could indicate that a whole caravan was arrested "pour effectuer une vérification". For the latter interpretation he refers to CCT 4, 19c, 18, discussed in GARELLI *AC* 206 and ORLIN *ACC* 145f., where we read that Assyrians went to the palace of Luḫusaddia, because a load of 25 *kutānū* had been "seized"; the female ruler of the town promises them that they will get them back or, if they are no longer available, will receive silver [461]). Though *ṣabātum* may once (BIN 4, 144, 6) have the meaning "to take for sale", this meaning is very exceptional; the texts always use the verb *laqā'um* in that connection, also with the local palace as the subject. The text therefore refers rather to a seizure of the textiles on suspicion of smuggling. This happened outside the palace, where they are subsequently delivered for inspection. They were counted and probably cleared. I am not sure whether the

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I said (thought): "my father lives in a difficult region, and the palace guards the house of my father. Let by no means a packet be spotted on the road, lest I draw my father in a serious offence, and my father's house perishes."

[460]) BIN 6, 214, 6-9, as reconstructed by LEWY 1950, 433[282, 383].

[461]) CCT 4, 19c, 15ff.: *a-šu-mì 25* TÚG *ku-ta-ni* [16] *ša ⟨tù-⟩šé-bi$_4$-lá-ni-ni* [17] *i-na Lu-ḫu-sà-dí-a* [18] *ṣa-ab-tù a-na* É.GAL-*lim* [19] *ni-li-ma um-ma* [20] *ru-ba-tum ṣa-bi$_4$-it* [21] TÚG.ḪI.A *⟨a-⟩na* AN.NA [22] *i-la-kam šu-ma* TÚG *ku-ta-nu* [23] *i-ba-ší-ú li-qí* LÁ [24] *šu-ma lá-ap-tù* KÙ.BABBAR *li-/qí*, "as for the 25 *kutānū*-textiles which you sent me, they have been seized in Luḫusaddia; we went up to the palace and the female ruler told us: "the man who seized the textiles will come here for tin (?); in case the *kutānū*-textiles are (still) present, take (them)..., in case they are damaged(?) take silver". The interpretation of the last lines is not certain. The note to S.SMITH's copy of the end of line 24 says: *li-ki*; I am not sure whether this means that traces at the end on line 23 are to be read KI and to be combined with LI in line 24, or that by mistake he forgot a KI (cf. his note to line 21: "*a* omitted by error"). If we have to supply a KI, the last two signs of line 23 might be read *lá-[š]u*, perhaps meaning "(if) they are not available". The reaction of the ruler is curious and may indicate the "seizure" was not an act of the official authorities, but of a private native individual.

"counting" means a checking, as GARELLI puts it, because that would mean the palace somehow knew and had registered how many textiles of a given caravan had been cleared and could be sold freely. There are no indications for such a system of control, and the complicated movements of merchandise after it had become available for sale (split up, regrouped, entrusted to commissioners, deposited in the *kārum*, shipped on to other places) made such checks afterwards nearly impossible. I rather believe the caravan, suspected in some way, was forced to enter the palace, where the normal taxes were imposed, for which purpose the textiles had to be counted. The letter tells that before or during this procedure the writer nevertheless managed to hide some expensive garments from the customs.

The letter gives us some insight into the risks and chances of smuggling. The Assyrians, as the rather numerous references to smuggling show, often tried to dodge taxes and increase their profits. The geographical situation and the administration of the Anatolian principalities offered apparently good chances, though occasionally their attempts failed. This tendency to smuggle whenever possible failed, however, to create serious disturbances in the relations between Assyrians and Anatolians; it apparently happened on a purely private level, and the official Assyrian authorities of the *kārum* were not involved. Once even they seem to have been duped themselves by the resourcefulness of one of their compatriots (text no. 36). We do not know whether any agreements were concluded between the native rulers and the Assyrians, as recorded for the later period Kültepe I B (cf. the text mentioned in note 428 on p. 305). It seems quite possible.

PART FIVE

FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL TERMINOLOGY

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

SOME GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE TERMINOLOGY

Old Assyrian texts abound with financial terminology, words and phrases denoting costs, prices and expenses, describing sales and purchases, recording book-keeping and accounting, investments, dividends, profits and losses, and commenting on the market situation. A full scale analysis of this terminology is much needed, as it will no doubt reveal much about the patterns of the trade and the commercial procedures. This part of my study does not aim at giving such a comprehensive analysis. Too many unsolved problems (especially concerning the implications of the terminology used in connection with "banking and accounting": *nikkassū, qātam nadā'um, šapākum, lapātum, ṭaḫḫū'um, šaḫāṭum*, etc.) still remain in this realm, and a thorough treatment of them, moreover, would require too much space to be fitted into the framework of this study. Instead I am concentrating on the terminology more directly connected with the trade itself, with costs, expenses, sales, purchases, prices, rates of exchange, markets, commission-business, etc. In this way I hope to shed some light on a number of aspects of the trade, and at the same time to provide arguments for my translations and interpretations of the technical terminology presented without commentary in the foregoing parts of this study.

1. THE ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF THE TERMINOLOGY

Before discussing the terminology itself some more general questions deserve our attention. The first is that of the origin and evolution of the terminology.

The techniques and terminology of book-keeping and accounting were developed by the Sumerians during the 3rd mill. B.C., and are well documented in the Ur-III texts. Before the 2nd mill. B.C. a separate Akkadian terminology is scarcely documented and even seems to have been largely non-existent, as Akkadian-speaking people did use the Sumerian book-keeping system and its terminology, and even continued to do so for several centuries after Ur-III. The Sumerian system had two main characteristics:

a) It used a set of stereotyped words and formulae, which have been called "ledger headings"; they identified the amounts booked. In the

big account tablets and the "balanced accounts" the vertical columns or paragraphs are headed or introduced by words like: sag.níg.ga.ra, "assets, balance on hand"; mu.DU, "incoming goods"; zi.ga, "outgoing goods"; šà.bi.ta, "(withdrawal) from it"; kù.bi, "its silver (value)"; šu.nigin$_2$, "total"; lá.ni, "deficit"; dirig, "surplus" etc. [462]).

b) Verbs are rarely used, as these accounts do not describe what actually happened, but merely list amounts under headings. The position of the amounts e.g. in the vertical column and their relation to a person, mentioned on the same horizontal line (mostly in the last column), together with a summarising introduction or subscript, provide sufficient information for understanding the nature of the transaction.

The Assyrian scribes made a limited use of this Sumerian terminology; one finds e.g. in their texts šu.nigin$_2$, "total"; kù.bi, "its (value in) silver"; zi.ga-*tum*, "expenditure"; šà.ba, "(withdrawal) from it", etc. But they also use the Assyrian translations of these words like *ištēniš*, *kasapšu*, *ṣītum*, and *ina qerbum*; one might add the use of *šēpum*, a literal translation of gìr, denoting who is responsible for a transport (gìr itself does not occur) [463]). But the number of such Sumerian loan-words or literal translations is rather small. There was a marked tendency to use Assyrian terms and we find words like *muṭā'ū*, *butuqqā'ū*, *bitiqtum*, *ḫuluqqā'ū*, denoting various kinds of deficiencies and losses, *itertum* and *uturrā'ū*, indicating surpluses, *nēmalum*, *šalšātum*, *šipkātum* and *kišdātum*, words for profits, investments and shares in assets and expenses, *bābtum*, denoting outstanding claims, etc.

These words were not all original Assyrian creations. Some of them were coined from Sumerian equivalents, others may have been taken over from Old-Akkadian (the comparative material however is rather scanty), or even from early Old-Babylonian. Contemporary Old Babylonian indeed contains partly identical terms, like *muṭā'ū*, *ḫuluqqā'ū*, *bitiqtum*, *nēmelum*, *bābtum* etc., but there were also marked differences, even in the translation of the Sumerian 'ledger headings'; Babylonian words like *šūrubtum*, *ribbatum*, *nēpeštum*, *napḫarum*, *rēš namkuri* [464]), seem to be unknown in OA.

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[462]) Cf. CURTIS-HALLO, 'Money and Merchants in Ur III', *HUCA* 30, 1959, 103ff., esp. 108ff.

[463]) Cf. LARSEN *OACP* 14 and CURTIS-HALLO op. cit. 105[6] for KÙ.BI, equivalent to *kasapšu*. Other examples are the use of DIRIG and its translation *watrum*, "(added) extra"; LÁ, "minus" (in numbers like *40* LÁ *1*, comparable to the Roman writing XXXIX), for which a reading *maṭī* has been conjectured (*AHw* 630a, 5, b).

[464]) Cf. for the Old Babylonian terms F. R. KRAUS *SD* 5, 88ff. and idem, *Staatliche Viehhaltung*..., 1966, 123ff.

The Assyrians not only booked the results of their transactions in figures, but also described them. Agents reported to their principals about the progress of transactions, the conditions of sale or loans negotiated, the situation of the market; superiors gave their subordinates instructions or advice about how to trade, about prices and conditions beyond which they were not allowed to go; clerks reported about their book-keeping activities and the calculations carried out; witnesses reported on commercial transactions leading up to a case of law. To describe all this the scribes needed a set of verbs, and here they could draw far less on Sumerian examples. They introduced verbs, partly well known in common language, in new, rather technical meanings, like *batāqum*, *be'ālum*, *kašādum*, *lamādum* (G and D), *ma'ādum*, *maṭā'um*, *ṣaḫārum* (G and D), *šakānum*, *šapālum* (G and D), *tabālum/wabālum* etc. *kašādum*, "to reach, to arrive at", came to mean "to incur", used of costs and expenses, with a pron. acc. suff. denoting the person affected; *lamādum*, "to learn", acquired the meaning "to recognize" expenses, to agree to pay them, probably on account of some contract; *ṣaḫārum*, "to become small", was used with the meaning "to be deducted from", while the D could mean "to reduce an amount", but also "to deduct from". As will be shown below this process not only meant the introduction of new, specialised meanings, but also affected the syntactical constructions of these verbs, which had to be related both to persons and objects.

Again we should note that Old Babylonian also knows such verbs, like *maṭūm*, *lamādum*, *ṣaḫārum* etc., and realise that letters of a purely commercial nature are relatively scarce among the OB material [465]). But I believe the impression is not misleading that the Assyrians show a fair amount of creativity in this semantic field.

Finally the Assyrian scribes used a number of (verbal) adjectives, like *batqum*, *dannum*, *mādum*, *waqrum*, *watrum*, which again acquired rather technical meanings, when describing the market situation: supply and demand, prices and profit. These were supplemented by the use of the verbs *bašū* and *laššū*, also describing supply and demand.

The analysis presented below will show that the Assyrians succeeded in creating a highly-specialised and flexible financial and commercial terminology, not yet frozen or standardised as in later OB times, but with noteworthy scribal variants, the use of synonyms, and a variety of constructions. By this means they could describe very well their equally complex and flexible commercial dealings, at the same time, however, throw-

[465]) Publication of new texts, like TIM 1, 20, 26 and 28, has increased our knowledge of the terminology, and has confirmed the links between the terminology of Assyria and Babylonia.

ing considerable obstacles in the way of a complete outsider, who tries to understand their letters and analyse their jargon several millennia later.

2. THE ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF THE TRANSACTIONS

In order to be able to understand the translations and letters of the Assyrian merchants we should form a clear idea of the economic and commercial realities which conditioned their activities. Many problems arise here, but in these chapters we focus attention on two basic questions:

1. Was there a system of free market trade, or rather a situation which has been called "treaty-trade", functioning by means of mutually recognized "ports of trade"?
2. Did silver, which plays so important a role in the transactions, function as money, or was it basically merchandise exchanged for other goods?

These questions have been put and answered with great emphasis by the economic historian K. POLANYI and his school in a number of publications, of which the most important are: POLANYI 1957, and G. DALTON (ed.), *Primitive, Archaic and Modern Economies, Essays of Karl Polanyi*, New York 1968 (especially ch. 8 and 10; henceforth POLANYI 1968).

POLANYI's answer to the first question is: there was no institution to be called "market", where supply and demand in free competition stimulated trade, formed prices and brought about losses and profits of the independent merchants or firms. Instead we have to assume the system of "ports of trade", where under effective governmental control, special licensed functionaries, which we call "merchants", but who are basically employees of the state, practise an exchange trade, in which prices and perhaps quantities are stipulated in advance, profits and losses are not in question, and the "merchants" are rewarded with fixed commissions.

As to the second question, POLANYI admits that silver functioned as standard of value and as means of payment, but not, and this is most important, as "indirect means of exchange". The latter he defines as "acquiring units of quantifiable objects for indirect exchange through direct exchange, in order to acquire the desired objects through a further act of exchange" (POLANYI 1968, 167-8 and 192). To give an example of "indirect exchange": one exchanges barley for silver, to exchange this silver later on (not necessarily elsewhere) for wood (which one in fact needed), because a direct exchange of barley for wood is impossible or inconvenient.

Money-use of silver in the latter sense was unknown according to him and moreover not needed. The economic system of Mesopotamia was one of "staple-economy" in which payments consisted of the redistribution of accumulated goods; barter went on in kind and overland trade was a

governmental business. In this system book-keeping and accounting (the value of goods being expressed in silver) were important and gave rise to some kind of "banking enterprise", where one "practised the clearing of accounts without the intervention of money objects"; "clearing, book-transfer and non-transferable checks were first developed, not as expedients in a money economy, but on the contrary, as administrative devices to make barter more effective and therefore the developing of market method unnecessary" (op. cit., 168; 188). The last quotation shows how in his reconstruction the two questions put above are closely interrelated.

It is clear that if this conception is right the traditional concept of Old Assyrian trade and the understanding of words like *šīmum*, "price", *ana kaspim tadānum*, "to sell", *maḫīrum*, "market" etc., have to be submitted to a radical revision; the role of people like *tamkārum*, "merchant" and *ummeānum*, "principal", has to be reassessed, as has been done provisionally by POLANYI 1957. Translations like "to sell", "price", "cheap", "expensive" etc. would be wrong (though perhaps difficult to replace by other words), as they evoke associations with modern money use, and suggest a clear distinction between "money" and "goods". Assyrian statements on prices which have gone up or fallen, on tin not being in demand, on textiles being in short supply, or on copper to be sold for silver, should be explained in some other way than has been done up till now.

It is not accidental that POLANYI 1957 chose Old-Assyrian trade as the best example of "marketless trade", and offered a tentative reconstruction of the trading process and its background. This article makes it clear that his conception affects nearly all aspects of the trade; not just the question of a "market", but also the "banking system", the organization of the trade in Aššur, the functions and mutual relations between "merchants" and "principals" and the political status of the Assyrian colonies living in Anatolia. It will be clear that a full-scale confrontation with and testing of POLANYI's theories cannot be undertaken within the framework of this chapter and this study. Moreover many of the points mentioned still await a systematic analysis on the part of the Assyriologist. I have to limit myself here to some critical remarks on POLANYI's views on the two questions formulated above, being well aware that a terminological analysis, as undertaken in ch. XVIII-XXI, cannot alone solve the problems.

3. THE FUNCTION OF SILVER IN OLD ASSYRIAN TRADE

POLANYI's reconstruction of Old Assyrian trade was written before the recent studies of LEWY, GARELLI, LARSEN and ORLIN, and, not surprising-

ly, contains a number of factual errors and misstatements. Unfortunately he made little or no use of LANDSBERGER's *AHK*, which could have corrected some of his opinions. POLANYI 1957, 18 writes that "the *rationale* of the trading post (he means Kaniš—K.R.V.) as actually organized is the procurement of copper for the City" (of Aššur). This is wrong, as he could have learned from *AHK*; apart from some very small quantities of refined copper, copper was almost never exported to Aššur; the *rationale* of the trade was the procurement of silver and gold, not for the City (or "state") but for the merchants and firms, which, though perhaps checked and certainly taxed by the "state", were rather exponents of private, "capitalistic" enterprise. Silver and gold were not primarily indispensable to the economy, e.g. as materials used in the industry or as stock in the treasury, but served purely commercial purposes. After arrival in Aššur from Anatolia they were exchanged anew for tin and textiles, to be exported again to Anatolia [466]). This demand for silver and gold was stimulated by two factors: both were relatively cheap in Anatolia compared with the rates of exchange in Aššur (in Aššur one could acquire ca. 15 shekels of tin for 1 shekel of silver; in Anatolia one could obtain 1 shekel of silver for ca. 7 shekels of tin); and silver and gold were generally accepted in exchange as "quantifiable objects of value", and could be easily shipped, as the relation between volume and exchange value was extremely favourable for overland trade.

This shows that silver did function as "money", not only as a standard of value and means of payment, but also as an "indirect means of exchange". Though the exchange between e.g. tin and silver was in one respect "direct" (silver in Aššur was exchanged for tin; tin in Anatolia was exchanged again for silver; a third product did not necessarily intervene), it was at the same time "indirect", because there was no direct exchange between those who sold the tin in the first place (most probably the Iranians, even though Assyrians may have imported it from Iran into Aššur), and those who ultimately bought it: the Anatolians with their bronze industry. The Assyrians functioned as middlemen, connecting the

[466]) The normal procedure is that almost all the silver and gold arriving in Aššur was used for making purchases, as the analysis of the "caravan accounts" in LARSEN *OACP* 97ff. shows. We do not know exactly what money-lenders, investors and shareholders in enterprises did with the interest, dividends or profits they received. There are indications that they frequently invested them anew, thus expanding the capital (*naruqqum*) of the undertaking. The temples took part in the trade by entrusting to merchants goods produced by the temple or bought with temple money (*ikribū*); they may have wanted in return silver and gold for their treasuries and for display purposes. What the "state" did with its income in silver—its main sources were the taxes, but the Assyrian kings did also partake to some extent in the trade—is unknown.

two complementary markets of Iran and Anatolia, and were not themselves interested either in silver or gold for subsistence reasons. The enormous quantities of silver and gold shipped between Anatolia and Aššur, never matched in OB times, underline this money-function of silver in OA times.

Moreover there was also a considerable measure of 'indirect exchange', as POLANYI defined it. The Assyrians in Anatolia were also actively engaged in copper and wool trade, again not because Aššur needed copper or wool (though very small quantities of both were occasionally exported to Aššur; cf. for wool above p. 130), but because trade in these products was just another means of obtaining silver and gold. We observe that tin or textiles imported into Anatolia were sometimes exchanged first for copper and wool, then ultimately—probably with additional profit—converted elsewhere into silver and gold (cf. above p. 137f.).

The analysis of the use of *šīmum* below will show that silver, as "money", was distinguished from "merchandise" (*luqūtum*, that which is "taken", "purchased" in return for a payment in silver). The expression *luqūtam ana kaspim ta'urum*, "to turn merchandise again (back) into silver", shows that *kaspum*, silver, was for the Assyrians the starting point and the ultimate goal of the trade. It was differentiated from *luqūtum*, "merchandise", which served the purpose of procuring silver; but the latter was not an end in itself, as it was not stored away as stock, but exchanged again for "merchandise".

4. THE PROBLEM OF THE MARKETS

Before we analyse the OA use of the word *maḫīrum*, "market", some more general observations in connection with POLANYI's views are in order. Two problems arise, which, though interrelated, may be distinguished to make the issues clearer. The first is whether there indeed existed a "market place"—not necessarily a real square, but perhaps an open space near the town gate or even a group of interconnected alleys lined with shops—where exchange trade, e.g. in local foods and consumer goods, was carried on. The second, more important question is whether indeed a free "market" existed, which functioned in inter-city and overland trade, where prices were formed by supply and demand and merchants traded for profit. The existence of a market place does not automatically mean that such a free "market" trade was practised, though POLANYI (1968, 255f.) stresses that they are essentially interrelated. If instead of a free "market" the "treaty-trade" system prevailed, some local market business of the first type may nevertheless have existed.

POLANYI buttressed his conviction of the non-existence of markets by pointing out the absence of market-places in Mesopotamian cities excavated thus far (1957, 16: "neither market place nor a functioning market system"), also noted by OPPENHEIM in his article 'A Bird's-Eye View of Mesopotamian Economy', published in the same volume, p. 30f. W. F. LEEMANS, *Foreign Trade*, 1[1], rallied to this opinion, writing that there was no word for "market-square" even in Babylonian. At the same time however LEEMANS (op. cit. 1f.) opts for the possibility that *kārum*, "quay", in Southern Mesopotamia functioned as a market, where trade went on and prices were fixed. POLANYI (1968, 255f.) has a number of grave objections to this view, mainly stressing that all kinds of customs and habits typical for ancient markets are not attested for the *kārum*. The *kārum* according to him only functioned in the "intercity transportation of staples in bulk under supervision of governmental officers responsible for finance" [467]). Apart from his remarks on p. 258[70] he does not go into the problems of the expression *kima kārum ib(b)aššū* "according to what happens to be (come) the (rate of exchange of) the *kārum*" and similar ones, which suggest that the trade in the *kārum* did condition the rate of exchange. He concludes that the matter merits further study (cf. below p. 389f. and note 515 for *kārum*).

OPPENHEIM, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 1964, 128ff. is very careful in discussing the market problem. He concedes the existence of places (*rebītu*) near the town gates, where trade and barter were practised [468]), but has to conclude that references to markets where the inhabitants of a town were supplied with food and consumer goods are "rare and show a definite distribution in time and region". Moreover these references tell us little about the function of the markets. His conclusion is that "the institution of markets, meant to link those who live outside the city and the city-dwellers for exchange of their products, be these food or goods, was in

[467]) By the latter he understands the *tamkārū*, who, he claims are not private businessmen, but officials with an essentially administrative function, cf. ibid. p. 253f., where he mentions the opinions of LANDSBERGER, KOSCHAKER, LEEMANS and GARELLI, using words like "public trustee", "trade officer", and "state-bankers". I doubt whether *tamkārum* in OA has primarily this meaning; the interpretation of the contexts in which this word occurs has not yet led to generally accepted results, while also the relation between *tamkārum* and *ummeānum* and the distribution of the two words remain somewhat problematic. Cf. GARELLI *AC* 233-248 and LARSEN *OACP* 33-35 and 49-51. Anyhow the *tamkārum* hardly seems to have been a government official. The traders and merchants one meets in OA texts rather act like private businessmen—at times working with capital invested by others, at times more independently—whose activities may have been regulated by public law and controlled by official bodies like the *kārum*, but not as public trustees or state officials.

[468]) He also refers to Neh. 13, 16; one might add 2 Kings 7, 1.

Mesopotamia clearly of limited and marginal importance" [469]). This leaves the question open whether e.g. in inter-city trade the "free" market system, or rather a government-controlled exchange of goods at a fixed price by licensed merchants acting as state officials prevailed.

OPPENHEIM is ready to accept the existence of markets outside Mesopotamia, and mentions Elam and Anatolia as examples. For Elam he mentions the brick inscription of Addaḫuššu, published in *MDP* 28 p. 5 no. 3 [470]), stating that he had "a statue of justice" fashioned, which he "erected in the market", in order that the sungod, Naḫḫunte, should instruct people not familiar with the "just price". The text, dating from the early Old Babylonian period (about the time of Apil-Sîn of Babylon), proves the existence of a "market place" (*maḫīrum*) in Susa.

For Anatolia OPPENHEIM points to the Hittite evidence [471]). OA texts moreover make it clear that in pre-Hittite Anatolia markets were in existence; the evidence will be discussed in ch. XIX.

I also mention the Nuzi text *HSS* 5, 17, 30, which states that a document was written "on the market in Nuzi" (*ašar maḫīri ina Nuzi šaṭir*). This variant of the frequently-attested formula, stating that a document had been drawn up *ina bāb abullim*, "at/in the entrance of the city-gate", points out the relation between city-gate and market-gate, mentioned by OPPENHEIM, who refers to the existence of a "market-gate" in Kaniš according to OA texts. This underlines the role played by the city-gate not only in juridical, but also in economic matters, as evidenced for Nuzi by the fact that the official "copper cubit" serving as a standard of measure, was kept there [472]).

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[469]) He also writes: "In Mesopotamia it seems to represent a late development, stimulated by the extraordinary size of the cities, which led to the creation of supply markets". In a letter, dated 30-4-1970, Prof. OPPENHEIM writes to me that he is inclined to replace Mesopotamia by Babylonia in this and the former quotation from his book, thus excluding Assyria proper.

[470]) Cf. OPPENHEIM op. cit. 360[56]; cf. for Addaḫuššu also W. HINZ, *Das Reich Elam*, 1964, 78 and E. SOLLBERGER, *JCS* 22, 1968, 30f. The words used in the inscription (which remind one of the terminology in the prologue of the Codex Ḫammurapi) are: (l.4ff.) ALAM *ki-i-tim*..... [6] *i-na ma-ḫi-ri-im* [7] *uš-zi-iz* [8] *šá* NÍG.ŠÁM *ki-i-tum* [9] *la i-iḫ-zu-ú* [10] dUTU *li-ša-ḫi-iz-zu*; this suggests that Addaḫuššu erected a statue inscribed with a tariff mentioning the prices of consumer goods in the very market where they were sold.

[471]) The Hittite word for city, *ḫappira*, is etymologically related to that for market. Note also that Hittite é *ḫilammar*, meaning "Torbau" according to FRIEDRICH, can be written with the logogram GANBA (KI.LAM) used for *maḫīrum*, "market" in Akkadian, while Hittite GANBA-*tar* means "purchase price", cf. LANDSBERGER 1967, 184[2]. *KUB* 29, 39 contains an instruction to a Hittite market overseer, cf. OPPENHEIM, *Ancient Mesopotamia* 358[31].

[472]) Cf. *CAD* A, 2, 74b, 4′ *sub ammatum*. Could one compare giš*kappum maḫīrim*, 'the *kappum*-measure of the market", attested in ARM 13, 100, 7?

For Babylonia proper the evidence for *maḫīrum* as a special locale is indeed very scanty. Besides the *bīt maḫīrim*, perhaps a small shop or stand at the market-place [473]), and the isolated ká KI.LAM/*bāb maḫīrim* attested in *AbB* 1, 60, 15 as the place where sacks could be bought [474]), I mention the omen apodosis contained in *YOS* 10, 25, 64. It reads: *ni-šu bi-ša-ši-na a-na ma-ḫi-ri-im ú-še-ṣi-a*, "the people will bring out their possessions to the market". This may have the meaning "the people will have to sell their possessions at any price", as *CAD* B 272a, b translates, describing a situation of economic emergency. But this translation hides the fact that *ana maḫīrim šūṣūm* has primarily a spatial meaning (cf. *AHw* s.v. *maḫīrum*) and presupposes the existence of a locale or institution called "market".

LANDSBERGER 1967, 180 adduced new evidence for the existence of some kind of market trade in Babylonia, by his interpretation of YBC 11056 (published by GOETZE in *JCS* 11, 1957, 91). He showed that the text records an act of extispicy performed in order to know what chances there were of selling merchandise, bought elsewhere, at a profit in the *sūqi šīmāti*, lit. "the alley with purchase goods", the market-alley (*ana saḫerti ša išāmū ina sūqi šīmāti ana nēmeli innaddin*). It acquaints us with a retail merchant, *sāḫirum*, selling retail goods in the *sūq*, whom LANDSBERGER contrasts with the wholesale trader, *tamkārum*—either working in the service of the government or for his own account—, who does business on the *maḫīrum*, "the market". I am not sure whether the latter distinction is necessary, as *sūq šīmātim* and *maḫīrum* could be synonymous, the former being more specific about the lay-out of the market, along special alleys, the latter being a more functional designation (derived from the (rate of) exchange of goods which took place on the market), having acquired a concrete, local meaning in the course of time.

As for Assyria, finally, mention should be made of a passage in a building inscription of Šamši-Adad I, *AOB* I, 24, col. III, 13—IV, 3, mentioning the "market of Aššur". It describes the economic prosperity of the city in a rather idealistic way [475]), by mentioning the rates of exchange obtaining when the temple of Enlil at Aššur was built. It reads: "When I built the temple of Enlil [16] GANBA (KI.LAM = *maḫīr*) *a-li-ia* [17] *aš-šur*^{ki} [18] *a-na* 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR [19] 2 kor of barley, [20] for 1 shekel of silver [21] *15*

[473]) Cf. OPPENHEIM, op. cit. 360[58]; LANDSBERGER 1967, loc. cit.

[474]) Cf. LANDSBERGER 1967, 184[1]. W. F. LEEMANS' criticism of KRAUS' translation "market gate", in *JESHO* 11, 1968, 190 ad. loc., is unjustified, as he confuses *maḫīrum*, "rate of exchange", with *bāb maḫīrim*, denoting a locale; cf. for *bāb maḫīrim* in OA and NB *CAD* B 22a, c′ and below p. 393, type c.

[475]) Cf. for this text R. BORGER, *HdO* I. Abt., Ergänzungsband 5, 1, 1961, 15 and P. GARELLI, *Le Proche Orient Asiatique*, Paris 1969, 275f.

minas of wool, [22] for 1 shekel of silver [23] *20 qa* of oil, IV, [1] *i-na* GANBA (KI.LAM = *maḫīr*) *a-li-ia* [2] *aš-šur*^{ki} [3] *lu-ú iš-ša-am*. The translation is made difficult by the repeated (*ina*) *maḫīr ālija Aššur*^{ki}. The most probable interpretation, according to me, is the one which takes the first occurrence of this sentence as a nominal phrase: "When....., (then) the rate of exchange of (prevailing in) my City Aššur was:...". After stating the rate of exchange, and probably prompted by the use of the preposition *ana* which normally requires a verbal complement (but cf. the tariff in the first paragraph of the 'Codex Ešnunna') the writer repeated the sentence adding *ina* and *lū iššām* (punctual N of *šāmum*, "to buy") [476]). The end of the inscription then can only be translated as "was indeed bought on the market of my City Aššur". If we were to take *ina maḫīr* etc. as a resumption of the beginning of the phrase, with the same meaning, we are faced with difficulties; a translation "according to the rate of exchange .....was bought" would require not the preposition *ina*, but rather *kīma* or no preposition at all [477]). When *ina maḫīr* is used a numerical specification is normally added, stating the exact rate of exchange, starting from 1 shekel of silver as the unit of account [478]). The inscription, thus interpreted, suggests the presence of a "market-place" in Aššur, where consumer goods were bought and sold.

For Aššur I also point to the still unpublished inscription Ass. 4062, mentioning the erection of a double *qū*-vessel, perhaps to be used for ceremonial purposes and as a standard measure of capacity "on the market of Uramē" ([*i*]-*ma-ḫi-*[*r*]*i-im* [3] *ša Ú-ra-me-e*) [479]). This text originating from Aššur proves the existence of a market-place either in a town in the neighbourhood of Aššur, or in Aššur itself, in which case the market would even have had a special name.

These data show that the conception of POLANYI based on the non-existence or markets and market-places requires modification. Of course

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[476]) The translation in *AOB* loc. cit. "wurde festgesetzt" (N of *ši'āmum*) is wrong. In OB, the language of Šamši-Adad's inscriptions (GELB, *OIP* 27, 42[1]), the punctual N of *ši'āmum* would have been *iššīm*; the form has to be derived, with *GAG* § 98t and Paradigm 19, from *ša'āmum*, "to buy", N.

[477]) Cf. expressions like *kima maḫīr illakū/ibbaššū* and *maḫīrat/maḫīr illakū/ibbaššū*; cf. *AHw* 583b, 2, d and 452a, 5 for *kima kār ibbaššū*.

[478]) Cf. e.g. ARM 1, 38, 12ff.: *8* GÚ *20 ma-na* ZABAR [13] *i-na* GANBA *2 ma-na*.ÀM ZA-[BAR] [*a-na 1* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR] (the restoration seems fairly certain; the text consequently belongs not under *AHw*, *maḫīrum*, 583f., 4) "Markt", but under 1) "Gegenwert, Kurs"); ARM 7, 233, 18′: *ina maḫīrat 14* GÍN.ÀM; ARM 13, 35, 22ff.: *1 šuššī* ŠE UGÀR *ša 5 mana* KÙ.BABBAR [23] *i-na ma-ḫi-ir 2½* GUR ŠE, "60 *ugar* of barley, worth 5 minas of silver, according to a rate of exchange of 2½ kors of barley (against 1 shekel of silver)". Cf. also *UET* 5, 88, 4, quoted *AHw* 583a, 1.

[479]) Cf. for this text *RlA* 1, 235b; *HUCA* 17, 53[231, 232]; *OIP* 27, 61 with note 8.

the existence of market-places or alleys does not prove automatically the existence of a system of free market trade, as contrasted with a system of governmental trade or "treaty-trade". The fact however that markets existed where goods could be sold with profit (*nēmelum*) does not fit well into POLANYI's system. Together with the uncertainty about the market-like function of the *kārum*, it makes one sceptical of his reconstruction. We cannot deny *a priori* the possibility that inter-city or overland trade did use the market system on a larger scale, no doubt with restrictions, measures of control, and stipulations agreed to by both partners (the governments and/or merchants on both sides). We have to realise that merchants in various cities or countries may have had a different status and relation to their government. As for Assyria, we cannot start from the assumption that a *tamkārum* there would have had the same status as his colleague in Babylonia under Ḫammurapi and his successors, where he was in several respects a government employee, a "licensed merchant" organized in a public body under a *wākil tamkarē*, enjoying certain privileges in exchange for limitations of freedom (but cf. also LEEMANS' remarks on the *tamkārum* as figuring in the Code of Ḫammurapi, where he seems to act more as a private entrepreneur and money-lender; see *Merchant*, part I and p. 123). Though the position and dealings of the OA *tamkārū* (and the use of the word in various contexts) are by no means clear in every respect [480]), my impression is that they were basically private entrepreneurs, at times serving a principal or money-lender (shareholder), but not government employees. This is also the conviction of D. O. EDZARD, who writes in the *Fischer Weltgeschichte*, vol. 2 (Die Altorientalischen Reiche, I; Frankfurt 1965), p. 181, after having sketched Old Assyrian trade: "Mit am wichtigsten ist die Erkenntnis, dass es sich bei den assyrischen Kaufleuten um private Unternehmer handelt, die auf eigene Rechnung und Gefahr arbeiteten, und nicht, wie oft der babylonische Kaufmann, in staatlichem Auftrag". In a recent article in *The Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University*, vol. III/2, 1971, ICHIRO NAKATA, writing about 'Mesopotamian Merchants and their Ethos', also stresses the fact that they were private entrepreneurs (rejecting POLANYI's ideas) and even tries to explain their ethical concepts or social code (exemplified by their use of the words *awīlum/awīlūtum*, "gentleman(ship)") from their status of free, private, overland traders (p. 97ff.).

These observations may suffice to show that we cannot approach the texts and their terminology with a preconceived idea about the commer-

480) Cf. above note 467.

cial system and the economic situation as proposed by POLANYI. In the next pages we will try to understand the semantics of words and phrases, looking for clues—e.g. a distribution pattern of the terminology; the lack or even avoidance of words and phrases in special situations—which may suggest conclusions about the questions in debate. But we have to realise that a terminological analysis alone cannot provide the key to an understanding of what was really going on in OA trade.

In the following pages we will first analyse the use and meanings of *šīmum* and *ša'āmum*; next we will concentrate on *maḫīrum*. In the 20th chapter we will discuss the meanings and constructions of a number of verbs used in connection with costs, expenses, conditions of sale and purchase, prices and accounting. Finally some pages will be devoted to the ways in which prices and their fluctuations are expressed.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

ŠĪMAM ŠA'ĀMUM AND *ŠĪMUM*

1. SOME GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

OA texts acquaint us with the following combinations and constructions:

a) *šīmam ša'āmum*, "to purchase";
b) *ana šīmim tadānum*, "to sell";
c) *ana šīmim laqā'um*, "to take for sale", "to buy";
d) item a (mainly silver) *šīm* item b (a variety of goods), "a paid for b";
e) *šīmum* or *šīmū* as subject of a sentence, and expressions like *ana ana šīmim ibaššī*, "it is for sale (to be purchased)" as the predicate of a sentence;
f) *šiamātum* in expressions like *ana šiamātim paqādum*, "to entrust for (making) purchases", as subject of a sentence, or with pronominal suffixes in various constructions.

The translation of these expressions poses a number of problems. First there is the question of what *šīmum* actually means. Is it primarily a verbal noun, "purchase, payment for purchase", which subsequently acquired a more concrete meaning like "purchase price" or even "purchase goods"; or was the development the other way around? Next we will have to discover in what situations or stages of the trade the various expressions are used. Who is normally the subject, an Assyrian merchant or his Anatolian client? Is an expression used on purchase of goods in Aššur, or when they are sold in Anatolia? What is the difference, if any, between *šīmum* (sing.), *šīmū* (plur.) and *šiamātum* (fem. plur.)?

When discussing the terminology of purchase and sale we of course meet the problem, mentioned in the foregoing chapter, *sub* 3, of the distinction between 'money' and 'goods'. If silver really did function as money, we may use the words "to buy" and "to sell" without prejudice. If on the other hand the trade was basically an exchange of "goods" between two parties, we have to be cautious in choosing our terminology.

As for *šīmum* I think the verbal notion is dominant, as can be seen from the constructions of *šīmam ša'āmum*, to be discussed below; *šīmum* here is not the object, the thing to be bought, but an internal accusative object

so that we have to translate "to make a purchase", not "to buy purchase goods". But the word has obtained a more concrete meaning in various situations. It is important to note that *šīmum* and *ša'āmum* are normally only used when the attention is focused on the purchase/sale situation and has not shifted to a later stage in the trade. One does not use *šīmum* in transport contracts or inventories. F. R. KRAUS (*SD* 5, 75) has listed the various meanings which *šīmum* may have in OB: "Kaufpreis" and "Kaufgegenstand"; the latter comprises the notions of "das verkaufte bzw. durch Kauf erworbene" and "das (ver)käufliche Objekt, das "Kaufgut" ". These shades of meaning in the main hold good for OA too, but I have to make two restrictions. The concrete meaning "Kaufpreis", "Kaufgut", though of course attested in OA ("Kaufgut" being only rarely applied to the merchandise the Assyrians import into Anatolia, but regularly to the "proceeds" of their enterprises), is not the only one; the verbal, abstract notion "purchase" is equally important. In fact in many texts we could very well translate the words "x silver *šīm* y" with "x silver paid on purchase for y", avoiding the word "price", and stressing that the amount of silver was actually paid on purchase. I would also avoid the use of "verkaufen", "to sell", because the concepts of "to buy" and "to sell" are kept well apart, *šīmum* being only used in a situation conceived *ex latere emptoris*. An expression like *ana šīmim ibaššī* may in a special context be rendered by "it is for sale", but primarily denotes that it is possible to buy certain goods. In OB an expression like É *A šīmāt B* (KRAUS, loc. cit.) can only mean "house of A, bought by B", as is shown by the fact that such a phrase may be supplemented by words like "which B had bought (from A)" [481]).

The problem purchase/sale (with a payment of money) or exchange of goods is more complicated. If the latter were true (*šīmam*) *ša'āmum* could be used to describe the actions of both partners in complete reciprocity. But this is not true; in the case for example, of a slave sale only the

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[481]) Cf. e.g. *BE* 6/1, 50 (*VAB* 5, 189), 7ff.: a field, *šīmāt Ruttum ummišu* [8] *ša* KI *A mūti*[*ša*] [9] *išāmū*, which may be translated as: "field, property acquired through purchase by Ruttum, his mother, which she had bought from A, her husband". We meet *šīmātum* also in *JCS* 14, 25 no. 51, 8, where its meaning should be according to SIMMONS ad. loc. "saleable piece of property"; but the phrase *šīmātim ša* [9] KI *A* [10] *B* [11] *išāmū* is an abbreviation for *šīmāt B ša* KI *A B išāmū*. The translation would be similar to that of BE 6/1, 50, 7ff. This meaning of *šīmātum*, denoting a property acquired by purchase, is comparable to that of the unique permansive in CT 6, 6, 5: field *ša* ᶠ*A ša-ma-at*, "field which lady A owns through purchase". The translation of *ṭuppī šīmātim* should be in line with these observations: "deed of (ownership through) purchase"; cf. the use of the suffix *-ša* in CT 47, 24, 22, referring to the buyer; it was a title-deed, proving ownership, to be transferred upon sale, not a "deed of sale" (cf. also M. SAN NICOLO, *Schlussklauseln*, 126f.).

"buyer" of the slave can be the subject of *ša'āmum*, not the "seller". One does not describe the transaction by stating that the "seller" "buys" silver, and "pays" by giving a slave. If, as happens occasionally, the deed of sale is drawn up *ex latere venditoris* one does not use *ša'āmum* but *ana šīmim nadānum*. This example also shows that the choice of the terminology is not determined by the question of who takes the initiative in a transaction, so that *ša'āmum* would be used of him who comes forward stating that he wants to obtain something belonging to somebody else.

One can only be said to "buy" something, if one hands over, in exchange for the goods to be acquired, other goods which are conceived as a recognised, quantifiable means of payment. As such we meet in Mesopotamia primarily barley, and, later on, also silver. The logogram used for "to buy", ŠÁM, also read sa_{10}, is written, apparently already in the Jemdet Nasr Period [482]), by means of $NINDA_2 \times ŠE$, the original meaning of which would have been "to measure out quantities of barley". The fact that in old Sumerian texts the "seller" was placed in the terminative (by means of the affix -šè), may indicate that the "purchase price" was not only measured out but also handed over to the "seller", as suggested by KOSCHAKER [483]). Sumerian texts from the Fara-period [484]) already distinguish between the $lú . sa_{10} . kú$, "he who consumes the purchase price", the "seller", and $lú . X . sa_{10}$, "he who measures out the purchase price for item X", or $lú . sa_{10} . ak$, "he who 'makes' (provides) the purchase price", "the buyer". In OAkk texts the "seller" is he who KÙ/ŠE *ana* ŠÁM *X imḫur*, "received silver/barley as purchase price for item X"; the "buyer" he who KÙ/ŠE *ana* ŠÁM *X iddin*, "handed over silver/barley as purchase price for item X" [485]).

The handing over of items which are an accepted means of payment in a given society, in exchange for goods, is "to buy". The goods received in exchange are to be distinguished from "money" as not being easily quantifiable or being real estate, or not serving as a standard of value or means of payment. One may note that in the earliest Sumerian deeds items sold were land, houses and slaves, which were paid for with barley and silver.

There is no reason to assume that this distinction, observable in normal sale transactions, does not hold good in a purely commercial context, as in the OA texts. OA texts not only use the same terminology, but also distinguish between "money" (primarily silver) and "goods" or "mer-

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[482]) Cf. EDZARD 1968, p. 19 *ad* I, 2 and p. 169 *ad* III, 3.
[483]) *Jahrbuch d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1941, Berlin 1942, 118-9.
[484]) EDZARD 1968 19 *ad* III, 4; 41 *ad* IV, 5 and 178 *ad* IX, 3.
[485]) Cf. GELB, *MAD* 3, s.v. *Š'M*, *NDN* and *MḪR*, and below note 496.

chandise". It is true that the picture is rather one-sided, as all transactions are described from the Assyrian point of view, but this does not affect the basic distinctions. It only accounts for certain characteristics in the (distribution of the) terminology, e.g. when the Anatolian partner is hardly ever said to buy (*ša'āmum*) something, even though we know he measured out silver in return for tin and textiles. Instead what he does is called e.g. *ana šīmim laqā'um*. This distinction points to the fact that the Assyrians considered themselves as supplying what the Anatolians demanded, and may have been prompted by the fact that *šīmam ša'āmum* was somehow reserved to describe what the Assyrians did on the market in Aššur: purchase merchandise, to be exported to Anatolia, where it had to be turned back into silver and gold. An analysis of the use of the terminology, which follows now, will make this clear.

2. *šīmam ša'āmum*

These words describe what had to be done in Aššur after the arrival of a shipment of silver or gold from Anatolia: "to make purchases". Some texts are quoted to illustrate of their use: TC 3/1, 69, 18ff.: *ší-ma-am wa-as-ma-am* [19] *ša ba-lá-ṭí-šu ša-ma-^{mi}nim* [20] *i-na ší-mì-im ša-a-mì-ku-nu* [21] TÚG *ba-ru-ma-am ù* [22] *ší-ni-tám lá ta-ša-a-ma-nim*, "carry out a proper purchase which allows him a profit; when carrying out the purchase you should buy neither multicoloured nor dyed textiles".

TC 1, 26, 24ff.: *ší-ma-am ša ta-ša-pá-ra-ni* [25] *i-ra-mì-ni-a lá-áš-a-ma* [26] *lu-šé-bi-la-kum*, "I will carry out the purchase which you will write me with my own money and send (it) to you".

TC 1, 28, 7ff.: "We borrowed silver from a money-lender and *ší-ma-am* [8] *ni-iš-a-ma-kum*, "we made a purchase for you". After having specified which goods have been bought, the writer concludes in this way: [12] *mì-ma a-nim ší-mu-um* [13] *ša-im*, "all this has been purchased". A permansive is also found in

CCT 3, 13, 2ff.: KÙ.BABBAR [3] *ša šé-ep A i-li-kà-ni* [4] *ší-mu-um ša-im*, "(for) the silver, transported hither by A, purchases have been made"; cf. also 21ff.: *4 ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR. . . . *ší-mu-um* [24] *ša-im*, "for a value of 4 minas of silver. . . purchases have been made".

The construction in TC 1, 28, 12-13 is remarkable; he does not write *mimma šīmim annim ša'im* but *mimma annim šīmum ša'im*, because the close relation between *šīmum* and the verb has to be maintained. This shows that *šīmum* is not an independent object, "purchase goods", but a necessary complement to the verb [486]).

[486]) The unpublished text LB 1220, 7ff. reads: *šīmum iššaʾāmim mimma lā*

Some difficulty arises when one wants to express simultaneously not only what is bought, but also what payment is made for it; *šīmam ša-'āmum* as such does not require any prepositional adjuncts. We note several constructions.

The silver used for the purchase is in the nom., as a *casus pendens*, cf. CCT 3, 13, 2ff., quoted above, where one could also translate "the silver ....is used for purchases". Cf. also GARELLI 1965, 168, no. 29, 15ff.: *ší-tí* KÙ.BABBAR-*kà*..... [16] *mì-iš-lam* [17] AN.NA *mì-iš-lam* TÚG.ḪI.A [18] *ni-iš-a-ma*, "(for) the rest of your silver we bought half tin, half textiles" (cf. above p. 81). The use of the acc. *mišlam* can be explained as a substitute for the expected *šīmam*; one could not write *mišil šīmim... ša'āmum*, because the verbal notion of *šīmum* does not allow of such a construction [487]).

One may also use *ša* + noun in the gen., cf. TC 3/1, 69, 14ff. (quoted above p. 74, 4): *ší-ma-am ša a-lim*[ki] [15] *ša mì-šál* KÙ.BABBAR-*pì-ni* [16] TÙG *ku-ta-ni*.... [19] *ša-ma-*[ni]*nim*, "buy in the City for a value of half of our silver *kutānū*-textiles". Similar constructions in TC 3/1, 67, 17 (quoted p. 81, 3) and CCT 2, 36a, 31f.: *ša 1 ma-*[*na* KÙ.BABBAR] [32] *ší-ma-am li-iš-am*, "let him make a purchase for a value of 1 mina of silver". I use the translation "for a value of.." to express the difference between the construction with *ša* and that with *ana*, "for", to be mentioned below. *ša* primarily denotes that the amount of silver mentioned is the monetary equivalent of the goods, not necessarily that it has been paid for them. For example in the last text quoted he did not pay 1 mina of silver, but a piece of haematite and some rings, with a total value of 1 mina. Of course the distinction between *ša* and *ana* is very small, and in some way we may consider them as equal.

An alternation between *ša* and *ana* is found in CCT 2, 32a, 13ff. (LARSEN *OACP*, "type 2 : 14", p. 77): *a-na 1½ ma-na 5* GÍN [14] GUŠKIN *50* TÚG *ša* [15] *qá-tim ša 1 ma-na* [16] KÙ.BABBAR TÚG *lu-bu-ší*..... [18] ..*ša-ma-nim* [19] *a-na ší-ti* GUŠKIN TÚG *ku-ta-ni* [20] ...*ša-ma-nim*, "buy for the 1½ mina

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gamer, "the purchase is by no means yet finished", and continues *adī 5 ūmē iššaʾ-āmim igammurū*, "within five days they will finish the making of purchases". This construction with *gamārum* is well known, cf. e.g. *eqlum ina erēšim gamer* in TCL 17, 5, 8-10 (and *CAD* G 28a, f for other examples). Here it seems to separate *šīmum* and *ša'āmum*, but in this case there is no alternative, two other possible constructions, a) *ina šīmim ša'āmim...gamer*, and b) *šīmum ša'āmum...gamer*, being avoided. The second (cf. FRANKENA, *BiOr* 22, 1965, 174a *ad* no. 3) seems to be unknown in OA; the first would deprive *gamer*, permansive with a passive meaning, of a subject and create an impersonal construction, which was unacceptable.

[487]) Cf. also TC 2, 1, 20f. for a similar *mišlam* (cf. above note 123). We have in similar contexts adverbial *mišlā* (CCT 2, 34, 12), *ša mišlim* (BIN 6, 75, 14) and *ša mišal kaspim* (TC 3/1, 69, 17).

5 shekels of gold 50 textiles of normal quality; for a value of 1 mina of silver *lubūšū*-textiles...; and for the rest of the gold *kutānū*-textiles". The "money" which is paid is gold, and payments of gold on purchase are introduced by *ana*; when the value of a purchase is expressed in silver, however, *ša* is used because silver was not actually paid. Cf. for the use of *ana*, "for, against payment of", also TC 1, 2, 17ff., quoted on p. 80, 1.

A few times we meet a passive construction of *šīmam ša'āmum*, when not the buyer but only the fact of the purchase is stressed: TC 3/3, 270, 33: *ši-ma-am* É *a-bi-a i-ši-ma-ma*; OIP 27, 57, 28f.: É *a-bi$_4$-a ši-mu-um i-ši-ma*; its duplicate I 633, 22 (MATOUŠ 1969, 172-3 and 178-9): [É *a-b*]*i$_4$-a ši-mu-um i-ši-im-ma*. Contrary to the opinion of MATOUŠ in all three cases we have a N-stem of *ša'āmum*, to buy, which was probably pronounced *iššī'im*, and before a vowel e.g. *iššī'mam* or *iššīmam*. A translation "to be determined" makes no sense here; the words state that "a purchase was (in fact) carried out in the "house" of my "father" (in the firm of my principal? [488]).

At times *šīmum* receives a complement, qualifying the purchase to be made, which is interpolated between *šīmam* and the verb —the only possible way to do it—, and tends to give *šīmum* a more independent meaning, though primarily referring to the purchase and not to the "merchandise". Thus we have:

ša ālim, "of the City", TC 3/1, 69, 14 quoted above; it seems rather superfluous, as normally all purchases were carried out in the City of Aššur; cf. also EL 313, 7f.: *ina ālim šīmam iša'umūnim*, and the frequent *kaspum ana ālim ana šiamātim*, to be discussed below *sub* 7, b.

ša libbišu, "according to his choice", CCT 2, 32a, 25; TC 3/2, 129, 9f. The agent or transporter is given a free hand in deciding what he wants to purchase; this seems to be the case when he himself was interested in the purchase and not merely served as an uninterested employee.

wasmum, "proper, appropriate", TC 3/1, 69, 18ff. The purchase has to be fair in commercial terms, allowing a good margin of profit, and not too expensive. Cf. the use of *wasmum* to describe the contents of a packet of tin: it should have a fair weight of at least some 60 minas (above p. 15).

ša balāṭišu, "of his living/coming to life", TC 3/1, 67, 19f. (above p. 81, 3); 69, 19 (quoted above); cf. also *CAD* B 52b, 5. In the first text we even have *ana amēr ēnišu ša balāṭišu*. The meaning of these words is disputed. EL II, 155^b and 162^a took *balāṭum* as "in Sicherheit bleiben", "die Bewahrung der Selbständigkeit": the purchase should be such that the

[488]) I hope to deal more in detail with verbs II-aleph in OA in a forthcoming review of HECKER *GKT* in *BiOr*.

merchant or agent did not risk his financial independence. *CAD* B loc. cit. translates "with small profit sufficient for only a bare living". This was rightly criticised by LARSEN *OACP* 37f., and indeed does not fit the context. In texts like TC 3/1, 67 and 69 Enlil-bāni is much concerned about the doings of one of his partners or agents, because the proceeds of the transaction are most probably to serve to pay off a debt they have with him. Far from wishing to minimise his profits, he wants them to make a good purchase, which allows them to "stay alive" or "revive" economically. The suffix added to *ša balāṭim* accordingly refers to the person(s) directly affected by the purchase as investors, owners, or trustees, whether they carry out the purchase themselves or not. Cf. e.g. TC 1, 21, 40f.: *ší-tí* 41 KÙ.BABBAR-*pì-a ší-ma-am ša ba-lá-ṭí-a ša-ma-nim*, "make for the rest of my silver a purchase which is profitable for me", where the suffix clearly refers back to the owner of the silver. In TC 3/1, 63, 18ff. the writer, probably Inbi-Ištar, reproaches her correspondents to have carried out purchases to their own profit with her money, without paying her off (text quoted *CAD* loc. cit.). The suffix *-šu* in TC 3/1, 69, 19 accordingly does not mean "its (small profit)" (*CAD* loc. cit.), but refers to Kudādum, whose trust the silver is: "profitable for him"; and in TC 3/1, 67, 20 it refers to Kukkulānum, who carries out the purchase himself.

What is the meaning of the added *ana amēr ēnišu*, preceding *ša balāṭišu* in TC 3/1, 67, 19, but following it in BIN 6, 31, 14ff. (LARSEN *OACP*, "type 2 : 2", p. 71)? LARSEN translates "(in) what according to his estimate is a profitable way"; cf. *CAD* B loc. cit. "which according to his estimate will yield him a small profit". *CAD* A, 2, 20b s.v. *īnu* translates "with a small profit directly". While LARSEN mentions the possibility that the expression may be related to *ēnē A amārum*, "to look up, visit somebody", *CAD* A, 2 makes it a virtual synonym of *ana itaṭlim*, "for cash", a situation in which "money" and "goods" "face each other" (*MSL* 1, 30, 30ff.; *AHw* 767b *sub* Gt), and change hands simultaneously.

a-me-er (*a-mì-ir*) may be, a) *status constructus* of the verbal adj.: "person(s)/thing(s) looked upon, spotted"; b) *status constructus* of the part. act., "some person(s) looking (for)"; c) *status constructus* of a noun of the *parīs*-type (*GAG* § 55 i, 10, IIβ: substantivische Ersatzbildungen zum Inf. G-Stamm; also possible is a substantivated verbal adjective (cf. IIα), but this yields a meaning identical to a)), "the looking at". The preposition *ana* cannot be related to the verb, as *ša'āmum* is construed with *išti* for the seller and *ana* for the price. Possibilities a) and c) offer the best solutions; a) could mean "according to what has been observed by his eye"; c) "according to the observation of his eye". Both yield a meaning "according to his own estimate", but construction c) seems more

probable, in which case we have to transcribe *ana amīr* (*amēr*) *ēnišu*. We may compare this expression with OB *ina amertišu*, "according to his choice" (*CAD* A, 2, 63b), an expression where instead of *ina* the preposition *ana* is occasionally used: *ana amertišunu* in CT 45, 52, 28 (*CAD* loc. cit.). The best parallel however is OB *ana amerti īnišu*, CT 44, 60, 11, translated with "nach eigener Wahl" in *AbB* 1, 136, 11 (reference Prof. KRAUS) [489]).

The combination *ana amēr ēnišu ša balāṭišu* allows the agent a certain freedom of choice, provided that the purchase he makes is profitable.

šīmum is only used when the attention is focussed on the purchase situation. If it shifts to transport, tax, or legal procedures, *šīmum* disappears. EL 108 mentions a shipment of silver to Aššur *ana šiamātim*, "for purchases", but after the purchase has been made, the writer speaks of *luqūtum*, "merchandise", which comes up from Aššur. TC 3/1, 69, quoted above speaks of *šīmam ša'āmum* in line 14ff., but when the goods purchased are entrusted to a transporter *luqūtam paqādum* is used. In the texts dealing with the inheritance of Puzur-Aššur, OIP 27, 57 and I 633 (L. MATOUŠ op. cit., above p. 363), we read that "the purchase has been carried out" (*šīmum iššiʾimma*), but that consequently the "merchandise" was distrained (line 24: *illuqūtim qāssunu iškunū*, "they laid their hands on the merchandise"). When the assets of a merchant are enumerated, we do not meet *šīmum* [490]).

We cannot isolate the word *šīmum* from the corresponding verb and reason that when the Assyrians make purchases of tin and textiles in Aššur, these items are consequently *šīmum*, "merchandise", "Kaufgut", as contrasted with "money". Nevertheless it is clear that *šīmam ša'āmum* is almost exclusively used to denote the purchase of tin and textiles in Aššur. What they are doing in Anatolia, acquiring silver and gold in exchange for tin and textiles, was not called *šīmam ša'āmum*, but instead *luqūtam/awītam ana kaspim ta'urum* (also with *luqūtum* as subject and *tu'ārum*, G; cf. BIN 4, 24, 20ff., 39, 15ff.; 96, 6ff.; CCT 2, 7, 17ff., 32; EL 321, 26ff.; TC 1, 49, 40; TC 2, 13, 25ff.). We also read repeated requests like AN.NA-*ki ana* KÙ.BABBAR *litūr*, "let my tin become silver again, be turned back into silver". This shows that the merchants considered silver

[489]) *āmir* in *CAD* B 52b suggests a participle, but this cannot be reconciled with the translation "according to his estimate".

[490]) Prof. KRAUS observes that the title of ownership of "merchandise" offered for sale hardly matters, hence the restricted use of *šīmum* in OA. With real property, however, it was important, hence designations like: house *šīmāt A*, "acquired by A through purchase" (and comparable *pūḫāt* A, "acquired through exchange") in OB. The fem. as a *nomen unitatis* describes the single item, stressing the result of the transaction.

and gold as the starting point of a commercial enterprise, which was finished when the goods bought had again been converted into (more) silver and gold. And indeed an enterprise was started, as the text edited by LANDSBERGER 1940, no. 3, p. 20ff. shows, by collecting the necessary funds in gold. This "money" was temporarily converted into "merchandise", *luqūtum*, by means of an act called *šīmam ša'āmum*; after this merchandise had been sold (*tadānum*), or been taken for sale (*ana šīmim laqā'um*) by the Anatolians, and thus was again converted into silver (and gold), the cycle could start anew.

3. *ana šīmim tadānum*

This expression, which one might translate with "to offer for sale" or "to hand over for a purchase price", "to sell", is the opposite of *šīmam ša'āmum*, and one would expect it to be frequently used to describe what happened in Anatolia. This however is not the case, and the question arises: why?

An unpublished text of the BÖHL Collection, LB 1202, 10ff. records the following instruction to some agents: [10] *lu-qú-tí a-na* KÙ.BABBAR [11] *ta-e-ra-ma ù* ANŠE.ḪI.A [12] *a-na ší-mì-im dí-na-ma*, "convert (after arrival of the caravan in Anatolia) my merchandise into silver and sell my donkeys". Why this difference in terminology? It can hardly have been caused by a difference in the procedure: donkeys were normally also sold for silver after the arrival of a caravan in Anatolia (cf. above n. 128). Moreover "merchandise" and donkeys were both moveable objects, and donkeys, like "merchandise", were bought for silver in Aššur. So why not describe their sale in Anatolia with *ana kaspim ta'urum*? We may suppose, unless the scribe acted from stylistic motives, that this variation has a commercial background.

In fact the expression *ana šīmim tadānum* is very rare in OA; with merchandise as an object they use, besides *ana kaspim ta'urum*, as a rule simple *tadānum*. We meet *ana šīmim tadānum* almost exclusively in deeds of slave sale: BIN 6, 10, 5ff.; CCT 5, 20a, 4ff.; EL 105, 2ff.; ICK 1, 27, 12ff.; 69, 10ff.; TC 3/3, 253, 1ff [491]). The same is true of the corresponding OB *ana šīmim nadānum*, cf. R. HARRIS, *JCS* 9, 1955, 99b *ad* no. 88, 7-8 (add to the examples quoted there T. JACOBSEN, *AS* 6, 29, line 5). One of

[491]) In a commercial context, exceptionally, probably in KTK 12, 23-26: *ù sá-ḫe-er-tám* [24] *ša* KÙ.BABBAR *10* GÍN *ša-ma-ma* [25] *a-na ší-m*[*i-im*]? [26] *dí-in-ma*, "moreover buy for me retail goods for a value of 10 shekels of silver, and sell (them again) and.....". Cf. for *saḫertum*, "small merchandise", well distinguished from the main items like tin, textiles, copper, etc., LANDSBERGER 1967, 18of., f.; and for the terminology used in this text, the OB text, quoted above p. 354.

the reasons why this expression is attested so rarely, is that OB deeds of sale are normally worded *ex latere emptoris* so that the expression could not occur frequently. This is only part of the truth, the main reason is to be found in the earlier history of the expression.

It originally belongs to the formulary of the "Preisquittung", at a stage (roughly the period before Ur-III) when the buyer on paying out the purchase price of an object received a "Preisquittung", stating that he had "handed over the purchase price for item X" (Sum. níg . sa_{10} . x . šè ... sum; Akk. *ana šīmē x nadānum*) [492]. This "Preisquittung" has to be distinguished from the deed of purchase, stating the object, the purchase price and the fact that the buyer had bought it. In the course of time, from Ur-III and the early OB period onwards, these two documents merged into one so-called "deed of purchase", though occasionally separate "Preisquittungen" do still occur (cf. F. R. KRAUS, *JCS* 3, 1951, 100, 105). This led to an important simplification. The statement from the "Preisquittung": "B(uyer) has given x silver as its purchase price" (*ex latere emptoris*), or "S(eller) has received x silver as its purchase price" (*ex latere venditoris*)—in both cases the actual weighing out of the amount, lá/*šaqālum* could also be mentioned—was combined with that of the deed of purchase: "item x, y silver its purchase price, B has bought from S" (to which later also a statement about the weighing out or paying was added). This resulted in a formulary in which only the act of purchase (in . ši . šám) and the weighing out of an amount of silver šám . til . la . bi . šè/*ana šīmim gamrim*, "as its complete purchase price" (or perhaps better: "to make the purchase definitive") were recorded (cf. for a detailed analysis of the development of the formula KRAUS, op. cit. 98ff.).

As in this formulary neither the actual transfer of the object sold, nor the transfer of the price paid was stated explicitly [493], and as henceforth

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[492] Cf. for Old-Sum. EDZARD 1968, no. 44 II, 4ff.: A bought X from B, A níg . sa_{10} . ma . ni . šè Y kù (etc.) e . na . sum, "A handed over to him (B) Y silver as its purchase price" (for a female slave); no. 55, II, 21ff.: níg . sa_{10} . X . kam . . . i . ši . sum, "as purchase price for X he handed over to him . . ."; cf. also A. FALKENSTEIN, *NSGU* I, 121[3]. For OAkk I. J. GELB, *MAD* 3, 259, last paragraph: *kaspam ana* ŠÁM *x A ana B iddin* (FM 4), "A handed over to B silver as purchase price for x".

[493] A number of mixed formularies, containing various survivals are attested in early OB texts. Cf. for a mixture of elements in which the "seller" and "buyer" are subject, BIN 7, 69, discussed by KRAUS, *JCS* 3, 1951, 111 *sub* 3 (where special reasons are shown to be responsible for a wording partly *ex latere venditoris*). Cf. the combination between *ša'āmum* and *nadānum* in RIFTIN no. 21, 15, and the curious phrases in CT 48, 91, 5-9: *kaspam išqul, eqlam išām, ana šimīšu gamrim kaspam libbašu ūblam* etc. *nadānum* to denote the actual transfer of the purchase price rarely occurs in OB; only when special stress was placed on the fact that this had actually been done one finds *kaspam nadānum*, as in GRANT, *Bus. Doc.* no. 56, cf. SAN NICOLO, *Schlussklauseln*, 228 *ad* 128.

the deeds were worded *ex latere emptoris*, the combination *ana šīmē/ šīmim nadānum* gradually disappeared. As stated above it was preserved mainly in deeds of slave sale, drawn up *ex latere venditoris*, which have been considered a survival from earlier times [494]). But even in these 'survivals' an important change of meaning had taken place. In the old "Preisquittungsformel" *ana šīmē X nadānum* means "to hand over as (payment of) purchase price for", *ana šīme* normally being a predicate to an amount of silver [495]). But in the deeds of slave sale *ex latere venditoris*, *ana šīmim nadānum* means "to hand over for (payment of) a purchase price". In the former the buyer is subject, in the latter the seller [496]). Is it accidental that *ana šīmim nadānum* in OB is only attested in deeds of slave sale? Or is this due to the fact that these deeds were almost the only ones occasionally drawn up *ex latere venditoris*? [497]).

If we realise that *ana šīmim nadānum* originally denotes the payment of a purchase price, we may understand why it is not used to describe the sale of goods by Assyrians, though at the same time we have to realise that it could be used occasionally (so in LB 1202, 12 for the sale of a donkey, and in the text quoted in note 491) with the meaning attested in deeds of slave sale; Assyrians in fact did hand over merchandise in return for payment of silver.

To describe the sale of goods OA texts use besides *ana kaspim ta'urum* the following combinations: once *ana kaspim tadānim* (BIN 4, 13, 16-18;

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[494]) Y. Muffs, *SD* 8, 1969, 100[4]; 107[4]; in the addendum on p. 200 he regards OB texts in which *ana šīmim nadānum* occurs (he also mentions examples from Alalakh) "a transitional stage from Old Akkadian tradition, preserved in the Susa documents, to the Old Babylonian formulary reflected in the Sippar deeds". Also OA and Ešnunna texts preserve traces of this earlier formulary.

[495]) This is proved by the Sumerian equivalent, where we have besides nig . sa_{10} . X . šè (with terminative affix), níg . sa_{10} . X . kam, lit. "it is the purchase price for X", cf. note 492. One might compare OB *kī kallat* alternating with *ana kallat*, "as/to be bride *in spe*", cf. Kraus, *JCS* 3, 1951, 166[26].

[496]) Cf. the texts quoted in note 492. Occasionally also in OAkk a meaning "for payment of a purchase price" is attested, cf. *MAD* 3, 259/60, text Yondorf a, U: A (a woman), her purchase price in silver x shekels, *ana B qaqqassa ana* ŠÁM *iddin*, "sold herself to B", lit. "gave herself for payment of a purchase price to B"; also in a combination like *x*(object) *ana* ŠÁM *y* KÙ.BABBAR *ana A nadānum*. Gelb differentiates the two constructions and meanings by translating a) silver *ana* ŠÁM item *x A ana B iddin*, with "A bought item x from B"; and b) item *x ana* ŠÁM silver *ana A B iddin*, with "B sold item x to A". This is in line with the observations made above p. 360, where the difference between "to buy" and "to sell" was found in the handing over of "goods" or "money".

[497]) San Nicolo, *Schlussklauseln* 27ff. observed that also in NB times deeds of sale of movable property were drawn up *ex latere venditoris* (as OB deeds of slave sale), while sale of real estate was normally formulated *ex latere emptoris*. Is there any real connection here, or is it a coincidence?

the nearest approach to *ana šīmim tadānum*); twice *šīmam tadānum*, "to hand over, sell purchase goods" (in this case *šīmum* acquires an independent, concrete meaning). I quote the texts: KTS 18, 25-26: *ší-mì* [26] *ba-tí-iq ù wa-tur*$_4$ *dí-na-ma*, "sell my merchandise at any price"; L 29-568 (H. LEWY, 1968, 13f.), 21ff.: DUB-*pá-am ša ší-a-ma-tim* [22] *ší-ta-me-a-ma ší-ma-am* [23] *dí-na-ma* KÙ.BABBAR *mì-iš-li-šu* [24] *ku-un-kà-ma* [25] *šé-bi-lá-nim*, "read carefully the letter about the purchases (made in Aššur), and sell the goods purchased, and send me half of its proceeds in silver under seal".

Normally, however, one uses, as said before, simple *tadānum*, especially when describing a sale that has or has not yet taken place. Cf. e.g. CCT 2, 12b, 13f. *60* TÚG *ta-ad-nu* [14] *40* TÚG *a-ḫu-ru*, "60 textiles are sold, 40 still remain (for sale)"; ICK 1, 81, 12f.: *6½* GÍN.TA [13] AN.NA-*kum ta-dí-in*, "the tin has been sold at a price of 6½ shekels of tin (for) each (shekel of silver)"; EL 162, 16ff.; *i-na* TÚG.ḪI.A-*ba-tí-šu ta-da-nim* [17] KÙ.BABBAR-*áp-šu x ma-na* [18] *A i-lá-qí-ma*, "when he sells his textiles, A will collect his silver amounting to x minas"; cf. also TC 1, 12, 12; TC 3/1, 21, 31; 46, 12; and the combination *batiq* (*u*) *wattur tadānum*, "to sell (goods) at any price".

4. *ana šīmim laqā'um*

This expression is normally used to describe what the local Anatolian palace does, when it makes use of its right of pre-emption, called *ša šīmim*, "that/those of the purchase" or *išrātum*, "tithe", cf. LARSEN *OACP* 157f. [498]). In a few cases, when a passive, impersonal construction is preferred, *laqā'um* N, without *ana šīmim* is used; cf. BIN 4, 128, 5; CCT 2, 24, 21 and ICK 1, 51, 19. The objects of this "purchase" are always textiles (the right of pre-emption was not extended to the tin) [499]).

This situation may account for the use of the verb *laqā'um* which is uncommon in sale transactions. It denotes that the buyer takes, or collects, what he wants to obtain. Normally the taking over of an item bought is not specially mentioned in the deeds of sale.

In OAkk texts and Old Sumerian texts we have examples of the use of the verbs *maḫārum*/šu.ti, "to accept", but they denote that the seller accepted the purchase price, thereby sealing the transaction. Cf. for OAkk GELB, *MAD* 3, 172, second paragraph, for the expression x (normally barley or silver) *ana* ŠÁM item y *maḫārum* (GELB translates: "to sell y

[498]) Cf. also texts like BIN 4, 61, 44f.; 65, 8ff.; CCT 3, 28b, 10f.; KTH 18, 7f.; ATHE 62, 12f.

[499]) Besides "x textiles *ša šīmim*" we also find "x textiles *šīmum*" (BIN 4, 29, 32) or "x textiles *ana šīmim*" (CCT 4, 13a, 8f.); the latter may be compared with the fuller *ana šīmim laqā'um*, and we might translate "as/for purchase".

for x"); for OSum, EDZARD 1968, no. 30, III, 3 and no. 117, I, 16-17, with phrases like x (normally barley or silver) níg.sa$_{10}$ item y.kam/šè šu.ti [500]). The "buyer" is not normally the subject of the verbs.

This suggests that there was a special reason for using the verb *laqā'um* in this connection, and this should be the fact that the transaction is ambiguous: on the one hand a collecting of a kind of tax (right of pre-emption), hence *laqā'um*; on the other hand also a kind of purchase, hence *ana šīmim*. In the first place we may compare the expression with *ana nisḫatim laqā'um* (e.g. ICK 1, 51, 18f.), "to take (textiles) as/for *nisḫatum*-tax", and similar expressions in connection with other taxes (*ana šaddū'itim*, CCT 4, 13a, 18f.; *ana išrātim*, BIN 4, 61, 11f.; *ana mētum ḫamšat*, TC 3/2, 165, 37). In the second place comparison is possible with *ana šīmim tadānum*, discussed above. While *ana nisḫatim* (etc.) could be conceived as qualifying the textiles (etc.), taken *as* tax (the preposition *ana* does not depend directly on the verb, as the variant "x textiles *nisḫatim laqā'um*" shows; cf. BIN 4, 61, 7; CCT 3, 28b, 8f. [501]), I don't think we should conceive *ana šīmim* as "as purchase goods", in view of the verbal notion of *šīmum* pointed out above. *ana šīmim* embraces the notions "as purchase (goods)" and "on/for (payment of) a purchase price", mentioned above, and we should not try to disentangle these two aspects. *ana šīmim* denotes that the action of "taking" is one of purchase, without further specification [502]).

In other contexts *laqā'um* in OA is often used to denote that something is taken or collected from somebody on account of a right or claim; the

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[500]) *laqā'um* is not used in OAkk texts in connection with purchase according to *MAD* 3. Cf. for the use of *maḫārum* and *leqûm*, both equated with šu.ti, the remarks of EDZARD 1970, 29, 'Exkurs'. Sumerian šu.ti occurs beside túm, which is used to denote the acceptance and collection of the purchase price, cf. EDZARD 1968, nos. 45, II, 3 and 55, III, 3f.; note ba.ši.túm in no. 21, 22 to denote the taking over of the object acquired through exchange. Normally túm corresponds to Akk. *tabālum*, "take along/away" (cf. also túm = *leqû ḫamṭu* in *MSL* 4, 27, 8). túm with the buyer as subject could be compared with NB *abākum ana kaspim* (SAN NICOLO, *Beiträge* 203; *CAD* A, 1, 7a, 2'). Cf. for an example of the use of *ana šīmī leqūm* in the Nuzi texts, LEEMANS, *Merchant*, 9[40].

[501]) Besides *laqā'um* we also have (*ana*) *nisḫatim tadānum*, cf. CCT 2, 2, 1f. and BIN 6, 65, 10f.

[502]) Other formal parallels of *ana šīmim laqā'um* are *ana bitiqtim laqā'um*, "to borrow (silver) as/for (to cover) a deficit" (EL 87, 11; 185, 11), paralleled by the expression (*kaspam*) *alaqqēma bitqātim umallā* (ICK 2, 95, 9-11), "I will borrow (silver), to supplement the deficit". The expression *kaspam ana ṣibtim laqā'um*, used passim in OA, could be translated "to borrow money on/for payment of interest", but this translation may obscure the true meaning of *ana ṣibtim*. Cf. the phrase máš.bi.šè gur.ru.dam = *ana ṣibtišu utār* in *MSL* 1, 18, 33. Modern "at interest" need not have the same grammatical construction; *ana ṣibtim* could mean "as an amount which increases".

person affected is normally preceded by the preposition *ina ṣēr*, denoting that the burden of the payment is his. The object is normally silver, e.g. a debt which is payable, a share in the profits to which one is entitled, etc. (cf. CCT 2, 3, 6.31.41; 19a, 21; EL II 156a etc.).

The verb alone occasionally also has a commercial notion, "to take for sale", from which the noun *luqūtum*, "merchandise" is derived (this noun is applied to goods in the course of a commercial transaction, when they still have to be sold or converted into silver). Some examples may be quoted.

CCT 2, 34, 11ff.: AN.NA [12] *ù* TÚG.ḪI.A *mì-iš-lá li-qí-a-/ma* [13] KÙ.BABBAR *me-eḫ-ra-tim i-ra-mì-/ni-ku-nu* [14] *ki-ma ta-ga-mì-lá-ni-/ni* [15] *id-a-ma* KÙ.BABBAR [16] *i-šé-eṗ A li-li-/kam*, "take each of you half of the tin and the textiles and deposit, to do me a favour if you can, their countervalue, from your own means, in silver, and let the silver reach me with A's caravan". In this case *laqā'um* does not simply mean "to take, to buy", but most probably indicates that the two Assyrians "take over" merchandise, take it on commission and exceptionally, are asked to pay in advance. Such a meaning also obtains in CCT 2, 11, 27ff.: *ší-im* TÚG-*ba-tí ša* [28] *ik-ri-bi*$_4$*-a ša A il*$_5$*-qí-ú* [30] *er*^{1}*-ša-šu*, "ask A for the payment of the textiles, being my "temple-trust", which he took (on commission)".

A more general meaning "to take, to acquire", almost the equivalent of "to buy", is attested in BIN 6, 10, 9ff.: *lu ša-áp-tám* [10] *lu maš-ki lu pí-ri-kà-ni* [11] *i-ší-mì-ša* [12] *li-qí-a-nim*, "(sell the slave-girl) and buy either wool or fleeces or *pirikannū*-textiles by means of (with) the price she fetches". So also in L 29-604 (H. LEWY 1970, 68), 9ff.: *i-na ší-im e-ma-ri-im* [10] 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR [11] *a-šar ša-ḫu-za-tí-ni* [12] *dí-in a-na ší-tí* KÙ.BABBAR [13] *ší-ma-am li-qí-a-ma* [14] *šé-bi*$_4$*-lam*, "deliver from the proceeds of the (sale of the) donkey 5 shekels of silver where you have been instructed; buy for the rest of the silver purchase goods and send (them) to me". In this text *šīmam laqā'um* is virtually synonymous with *šīmam ša'āmum*; this is also clear from the use of the preposition *ana*, typical for "(to buy) for", denoting the means by which one pays (BIN 6, 10, 11 uses the instrumental *ina*) [503]).

One may ask why *šīmam ša'āmum* is not used with the Anatolian com-

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[503]) VAT 9220 (communicated by K. HECKER, *OLZ* 1970, col. 357f.), 13 and 18 alternate in connection with the purchase of tin in Aššur between *le-qé-a-ma* and *ša-ma-ma*, proving that both verbs can be used as synonyms. Note also TC 1, 27, 11ff.: *10 šurum*-textiles.... [13] *a-na qá-tí-kà a-*É *kà-ri-im* [14] *la-qá-am lá i-mu-ú-šu-nu-ma*, "they did not want to take as a deposit on your account in the *bīt kārim*", where *laqā'um* is more than just "to accept", and has a notion approaching "to take for sale". From later times one may compare *laqūm ana kaspi* in M/NA, cf. SAN NICOLO, *Beiträge 203*.

mercial partner as subject. As we have seen *ana šīmim laqā'um* is used when the local palace is the subject, and probably has a special nuance in that case ("collecting" of a kind of tax, cf. above). Other Anatolians, buying merchandise, hardly figure in the texts, and their actions are rarely recorded. This is partly due to the fact that the big merchants, whose activities are recorded in the texts, apparently did not contact the Anatolian customers themselves; merchandise as a rule was sold by largely anonymous commission agents (*tamkārum*, *mer ummeānim*), to whom it was entrusted for sale. We are informed about the settlements between the merchants and these agents, but not about the sale to the native Anatolian themselves. The latter were the anonymous consumers and customers, in which the Assyrian traders apparently were not over-interested. They were people important in providing the Assyrians with silver and gold, but the latter apparently did not take the trouble to imagine themselves in their position, or at least describe the transactions occasionally from their point of view.

It is also possible that *šīmam ša'āmum* had acquired a special commercial connotation, "to buy in order to sell again with profit"; what the Anatolians did was probably not inspired by this intention. They were customers, who only "took for sale".

5. *šīm* + NOUN IN THE GEN. OR POSS. SUFFIX

This use of *šīmum* is particularly frequent, and may have a double meaning: a) what somebody pays to an Assyrian on purchase of his goods, normally in Anatolia: "proceeds"; b) what an Assyrian pays to acquire merchandise, normally in Aššur: "purchase price".

It is remarkable that while what the Assyrians did in Aššur is normally called *šīmam ša'āmum*, *šīmum* alone is hardly ever used to denote the "purchase price" of tin and textiles bought [504]). Instead of a statement like "x tin/textiles, *šīmšu(nu)* y silver", we meet the following descriptions of the purchase price:

a) a statement that "its/their (price/value in) silver", KÙ.BI/*kasapšu-(nu)*, amounts to so much per mina/apiece.

b) a statement that tin or textiles "cost", *itbal/itbulū* (lit. "carried away"), so much silver.

[504]) CCT 3, 5a, 13ff. (LARSEN *OACP* "type 3 : 5", p. 106): $^1/_3$ *m[a-na]* KÙ.BABBAR *ší-im* [14] *2!* T[ÚG *š]u-ru-en* [15] *ša A e-zi-ba*(copy: *e-ba-zi*)*-ku-ni*, "$^1/_3$ mina of silver, payment for 2 *šurum*-textiles, which A left behind for you", looks like an exception, but the text does not deal with a purchase of the normal kind; it records the repayment of an old debt on the arrival of a caravan with silver in Aššur (cf. line 22).

Only in connection with the purchase of donkeys—for which also the phrases a) (cf. TC 3/1, 43, 16f.; CCT 3, 22a, 18) and b) (cf. CCT 3, 27a, 17f.; TC 2, 6, 14) are used—do we occasionally meet a description of the price by means of *šīmum*. One may say either: *x* KÙ.BABBAR *šīm y ēmārī*, e.g. BIN 6, 65, 11-12, or *x ēmārū y* KÙ.BABBAR *šīmšunu*, e.g. TC 3/1, 36, 39.

We meet *šīmum* elsewhere referring to the purchase price of animals (L 29-577—H. LEWY 1970, 47f.—, 17: *šīm perdim*, "purchase price of a horse(?)"; *šīm ēmārī mala taša'amāni*, BIN 4, 214, 8'f.), houses (VAT 9218, 25f.: x silver *ana šīm* É *A*, "as purchase price for the house of A"; cf. CCT 5, 31a, 4f.; 19c, 5) and slaves (TC 3/3, 254, 6f.; 258, 1f.; 262A, 4f.: x silver *šīm A* (slave) *B ana C išqul*, "purchase price of slave A, B paid to C").

The question of why one did not use *šīmum* in connection with tin or textiles is not easy to answer. A phrase such as "x silver *šīm* y textiles" could mean both "the purchase price of" and "the proceeds from", and could thus create some confusion. But in letters arriving from Aššur there could be no doubt about its meaning. Perhaps the regular use of *šīmam ša'āmum* in connection with tin and textiles, played a role: tin and textiles themselves were in some way *šīmum*, "the purchase(d goods)", and this could have made the use of *šīmum* as "purchase price" less acceptable. There seems hardly any other reason for making this differentiation: donkeys were also bought for silver in Aššur, cf. TC 3/1, 43, 16-18 (LARSEN *OACP* "type 3 : 2", p. 98). The avoidance of *šīmum*, "purchase price", with tin and textiles cannot be used to argue that the latter were not really bought in Aššur; the verb *tabālum*, "cost, take away", speaks against this assumption. Moreover the purchases were made with the silver arriving from Anatolia, and the note, sometimes found at the end of "caravan accounts", that "all the silver has been spent for you" (*gamrakkum*; TC 3/1, 43, 40; CCT 3, 5a, 28; TC 2, 6, 25 etc.) suggests that this silver was really spent on purchases. It is possible that the way in which tin and textiles were bought in some way differed from that of donkeys, harness etc., and that transactions took place mainly in the "houses" of the "merchants", where book transfers and book-keeping may have played an important role (cf. the use of the administrative term šà . ba in many "caravan accounts" describing purchases, LARSEN *OACP* "type 3" nos. 1-9); this may have conditioned the avoidance of *šīmum* in some way (cf. below p. 397f.).

What the buyer pays as "purchase price" are "the proceeds" of the seller. It is not always possible to make out which meaning *šīmum* has,

if the circumstances of the transaction are not very clear. Sometimes both meanings occur side by side, e.g. in the deed of slave sale CCT 5, 20a, 4ff.: x silver *šīm A u B* (two slaves) *C ana šīmim ana D iddiššunu šīmīšu ilqī*, "x silver the purchase price of (perhaps verbally: "paid for") A and B; C sold them ("gave them for payment of the purchase price") to D, and collected the purchase price ("proceeds") in question" [505]); cf. also ICK 1, 69, 10f.: (a slave-girl) *ana šīmim dinīšīma šīmša liqī*, "sell her and collect the proceeds from here sale"; and BIN 6, 10, 9f., quoted above p. 371.

šīmum with the meaning "proceeds from a sale", "purchase price received" of course plays an important role in OA texts when the results of the trade in Anatolia are described. We read repeated requests to send (*šēbulum*) the "proceeds", either of "the merchandise" (*luqūtum*; CCT 4, 42c, 14f.) or "of the tin" (L 29-592—H. LEWY 1970, 61f.—, 12), or "of the textiles" (*šīm ṣubātī*; cf. BIN 4, 98, 15; CCT 2, 24, 11; 26a, 16f.; ICK 1, 191, 2), or from the sale of donkeys (CCT 2, 34, 30; 4, 13a, 40; 15a, 16; BIN 4, 54, 9; 57, 8f.; 98, 15f.; 144, 6; 172, 15f.). They might entrust *šīmum*, i.e. silver and gold, for transport: VAT 9219, 12ff.: *šīm* TÚG.ḪI.A *u šīm 50 mana*[1] AN.NA [13] *ana šēp A* [14] KÙ.BABBAR *1* GÚ *20 mana upaqqad*[1], "as the proceeds from textiles and 50 minas of tin I will entrust for transport to the care of A silver, an amount of 1 talent 20 minas". One may distrain or confiscate the proceeds of a sale: CCT 2, 9, 37f.: *šīmšunu ina bīt kārim qāti šuknā*, "distrain their proceeds (sc. from textiles) in my name in the *bīt kārim*". One may also mention CCT 3, 6b, 12f.: KÙ. BABBAR *lu iššīm* TÚG.ḪI-*tí lu iššīm* ANŠE.ḪI.A, "silver belonging either to the proceeds from the textiles or to those from the donkeys".

Several verbs are used in connection with *šīmum* in this meaning. It may "come up" from Anatolia to Aššur (*elā'um*; CCT 2, 35, 29), it may become "freely available" (*lū šaliṭ*; CCT 2, 22, 8); it may be "held back" (*kalā'um*; CCT 2, 34, 30); be "deducted from" an item on an account (*ṣaḫḫurum*; CCT 2, 37b, 8) etc. It is also described as a payment, a purchase price still due, which may be "outstanding with" someone (*išti PN*; CCT 2, 10, 54), should be "asked from" someone (*erāšum*; CCT 2, 20, 27; 11, 27f.), or "collected" (*laqā'um*; TC 1, 27, 26f.; VAT 9276, 11). In such cases one may well translate *šīmum*, remembering its verbal notion, with "payment for". So in TC 3/1, 5, 4ff., and comparable texts where the word order indicates that a payment in a special valuta is wanted, the valuta in that

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[505]) *šīmīšu* is remarkable for its being a plural and for the sing. suffix: we might translate "the purchase price/proceeds involved"; one might compare CCT 5, 26a, 13: *ana šūmi ḫuzīrī u šīmīšu*, "as for the pigs and the purchase price involved"; *-šu* refers to the sale/purchase as such, and not to the items sold.

case being frequently placed immediately before the verb: [4] ...*ší-im* 5 TÚG *ku-ta-ni* [5] *ša ki-ma A* [6] URUDU *li-dí-nu-ni-kum*, "let A's representatives give you copper as payment for 5 *kutānū*-textiles". Similarly CCT 2, 20, 27f.: ...*ší-im* TÚG.ḪI.A [28] URUDU *A e-ri-ši-ma*, "A asked from me a payment in copper for the textiles"; TC 3/1, 12, 12f.: *ší-im* URUDU-*ri-i-šu* [13] KÙ.BABBAR *dí-šu-um*, "give him silver as payment for his copper". Stress on the kind of valuta is also attested in TC 3/1, 5, 13ff.: ...*ší-im* [14] KÙ.BABBAR *da-nim A* [15] *e-ri-iš-ma*, "I asked A for a payment of highly valued silver".

Twice we meet *šīmum* to denote an amount paid as hire or wages to an employee or helper: OIP 27, 10, 7-8 mentions silver *ší-im* [8] *mu-pá-zi-ri-im*, "payment for (to) a smuggler"; TC 3/2, 173, 14f. mentions copper, with a value of 1⅓ mina of silver, to be paid *ší-im* [15] *kà-ṣa-ri*, "as payment to/for freighters". One might say in both cases that the services of these people have been "bought"—which in fact may be true—but a translation "payment" seems more probable.

6. *šīmum* AND *šīmū* AS SUBJECTS OF A SENTENCE, AND CONSTRUCTIONS LIKE *ana šīmim ibaššī*

We meet a variety of such expressions to describe the market situation: the supply and demand, the possibilities of sale and purchase, the fluctuation of prices etc. In these cases *šīmum, šīmū, šīm ṣubātī* etc., receive a number of predicates which describe the situation, mostly permansives of verbs, adjectives used predicatively, and the verbal forms *ibaššī* and *laššū*. The main question is whether we can distinguish nuances in the use and constructions of *šīmum*, depending on whether the situation described is in Anatolia or in Aššur and whether in constructions like *šīm* + noun in the gen. or *ana šīmim* preceded by a nominal antecedent, "money" (silver) or "merchandise" (tin, textiles, copper etc.) is involved.

The translations and interpretations offered thus far of the phrases to be quoted below have varied considerably. *AHw* 114a *sub batāqum* 3, b, translates in text no. 4 below *šīmū* as "die Waren"; *584a* s.v. *maḫīrum* 4, a, gives for *šīmū* in text no. 7 below the meaning "Gegenwert" and on p. *581a sub* 10, translates *šīmum* in text no. 3 with "Preis". *CAD* B 146b, 2′, translates *šīmum* in text no. 16 below with "the market", while *CAD* E 17a, 1′, a, 1, proposes for what is text no. 2 below a translation "commerce". LANDSBERGER 1965, 293f. translates *šīmum* in what are texts nos. 1, 4 and 16 below also with "the market".

We can distinguish the following constructions, in which I have assumed a predicate *ibaššī* in all cases, and in 2-4 "textiles", *ṣubātū*, as the items involved.

1. *šīmum* (*šīmū*, *šiamātum*) *ibaššī*, "there is (are) *š.*";
2. *šīm ṣubātī ibaššī*, "there is *š.* of textiles";
3. *ana ṣubātī šīmum ibaššī*, "there is *š.* for textiles";
4. *ṣubātū ana šīmim ibaššī(ū)*, "textiles are available as/for *š.*".

a) *The texts*

Type 1

1. BIN 4, 12, 22ff.: (sell tin and textiles at any price and send the silver) *šu-ma ší-mu-um* [23] *a-ma-kam ba-tí-iq* [24] *a-na GN* [25] *lu-qú-tí li-tí-iq-ma* [26] KÙ.BABBAR *1 ma-na li-li-a-am*, "if over there the market is deficient, let my merchandise travel on to GN, so that at least 1 mina of silver will turn up for me".

2. BIN 4, 39, 7ff.: (as for the tin) *ki-ma e-bu-ur-šu-nu-ni* [8] *ù ší-mu-um kà-sú* [9] AN.NA *pá-ṭá-ra-am* [10] *lá a-mu-a a-dí 5 u_4-me* [11] *e-bu-ur-šu-nu* [12] *ú-šé-ru-bu-ma* [13] AN.NA *a-lá-qí-ma* [14] *a-na* KÙ.BABBAR *ù* GUŠKIN [15] *ú-ta-ar-ma* [16] *ší-im* AN.NA-*šu* [17] *ú-šé-ba-lá-šu-um*, "as they are harvesting and (consequently) the commerce has fallen flat, I did not even want to unpack the tin. Within 5 days they will bring in their harvest, and then I will take the tin and convert it into silver or gold, and send him the proceeds of his tin".

3. CCT 4, 3a, 37ff.: in answer to a complaint about not sending silver, we read: KÙ.BABBAR *1* GÍN *ša ú-šé-ṣa-ni lá ku-a-um* [38] *lá ta-áš-ta-na-me-e ki-ma ší-mu-um* [39] *ma-aḫ-ṣú-ni*, "is not every single shekel of silver which I produce yours? Have you not heard from various sources that the commerce has been affected?"

4. CCT 4, 10a, 21ff.: the market is disturbed (*maḫīrum parrud*; line 18), sales are impossible, silver cannot be obtained: KÙ.BABBAR-*pu* [22] *da-nu a-na* KÙ.BABBAR *ma-dim* [23] *e ta-ad-gu_5-ul* [24] *ší-mu ba-at-qú-ma A* [25] *a-na GN* [26] *aṭ-ru-sú*, "silver is difficult to obtain (LANDSBERGER 1965, 293); don't expect (too) much silver, the commerce is down, and therefore I sent A to GN".

5. CCT 4, 44a, 18ff.: the context is not completely clear; silver seems to be difficult to obtain: *qá-tám im x x x* [19] *ší-mu lá-šu iš-tí* [20] *A ana GN* [21] *e-ra-áb*, "……; there is no trade; I will enter the town of GN together with A". In l. 18 *qātam maḫāṣum*, cf. BALKAN 1967, 396?

6. TC 1, 29, 37ff.: the writer has bought tin in Aššur when it was very expensive, and now it can be bought much cheaper, at a rate of exchange tin : silver = 1 : 16, or even more favourable. Now he wants to make new purchases; he asks for silver to be sent, because: [37] *ší-ma-am la-áš-a-ma-kum* [38] *ší-a-ma-tum i-ba-ší*, "I want to make a purchase for you; purchase goods are available".

7. TC 3/2, III, 15ff.: "when I stayed here they told me: *ší-mu-um i-na ma-ḫi-ri-im lá-šu* [16] *ú-ma-am a-ša-me-ma ší-mu-um i-na ma-ḫi-ri-im* [17] *ma-ad*, "there is nothing to trade on the market; but to-day, as I hear, there is plenty of trade on the market".

8. L 29-572—H. LEWY 1968, 30—, 32: the writer requests the addressee to send any silver he collects from his outstanding debts to the City of Aššur, because: *ší-mu i-ba-ší*, "it is possible to make (good) purchases".

9. VAT 9249, 10f. The writer reports on the commerce in and supply/prices of "Akkadian textiles" (4f.: *aššūmi šīm* TÚG *ša akkidīē*); they are not available or very expensive now. If they do arrive before the winter: [10] *ší-mu-um ša ba-lá-ṭí-kà* [11] *i-ba-ší ni-ša-a-ma-ku-um*, "if it is possible to make a purchase, which allows you a profit, we will buy for you" [506]).

Type 2

10. BIN 4, 48, 41 (cf. for this text above, p. 312 no. 9 and p. 324, no. 33). As tin cannot be sold here, it has to be shipped on to Burušḫanda, where the writer awaits it: *a-na-kam ší-im* AN.NA *i-ba-ší*, "there is a market for tin here".

11. L 29-588—H. LEWY 1970, 57f.—, 28ff.: *ší-im pì-ri-kà-ni* [29] *a-na-kam ba-at-qú* [30] *ma-ḫi-ir Kà-ni-iš lá ma-ṣí*, "trade in *pirikannū*-textiles is slack here: the market of Kaniš is not sufficiently supplied".

12. TC 1, II, 9ff.: *a-na* [10] *2 ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR *ša tù-šé-bi-lá-ni* [11] *ki-ma ší-mu-um* [12] *ša a-ki-dí-e lá-áp-tù-ni* [13] *lá ú-šé-ba-lá-kum* [14] *šu-ma a-dí 10 u₄-me-e* [15] *ší-mu-um ša a-ki-dí-e* [16] *lá i-ta-áš-ra-am* [17] AN.NA *a-ša-a-ma ú-šé-ba-lá-kum*, "for the 2 minas of silver which you sent me I have, since the trade in Akkadian textiles has been affected, not sent you (any of them). If the trade in Akkadian textiles has not become normal again, I will buy tin (instead) and send it you" (cf. already above p. 98).

13. TC 2, 7, 21ff., to be compared with the previous text: *ú ší-mu-um ša a-ki-dí-e* [22] *šu-ma i-ta-áš-ra-am* [23] *ša* KÙ.BABBAR *1 ma-na a-ša-a-am*, "and if the trade in Akkadian textiles has again become normal, I will buy (them) for a value of 1 mina of silver".

14. ICK 1, 55, 31ff. The addressee is ordered to buy *amūtum*, probably a kind of iron, if it is of good quality; the writer continues: *ší-im a-mu-tim ma-ṭí-ma* [32] *i-na u₄-mì-im* [33] *ša ta-ša-pá-ra-ni* KÙ? *lu-šé-bi₄-lam*; we most probably have to translate "if the supply of *amūtum* is too small, I

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[506]) Perhaps one might add as another example of type 1: CCT 4, 27a, 11ff., if my restoration is correct: SÍG.ḪI.A *maš!-ki pí-ri-kà-nam me-nu-n[i-a-nam.....]* [12] *ù ma-aš-ki ší-ma-am šu-um-šu lá i-[šu]*, "they do not have any wool, fleeces, *pirikannū*-textiles, *mēnuniānū*-textiles.....and hides for sale". But in this case *šīmam* is acc., perhaps depending on *išū*.

will send you silver, as soon as you write to me for it". Cf. for this text below *sub* c, 7).

15. CCT 4, 38a, 8ff.: you wrote to me: *ší-[im]* 9 *ša-áp-tí-im k[i-ma]* 10 *i-za-zu té-er-t[a-kà]* 11 *li-li-kam-ma* [?] 12 *ú ša-áp-t[ám* (x)] 13 *2 ma-na.* TA *ạ-[na* URUDU] 14 *ší-ki-im i-za-az*, "let information from you reach me how the rate of exchange of wool stands"; well, as for the wool, the rate of exchange stands at 2 : 1 against copper of *šikkum*-quality".

Type 3

16. BIN 4, 15, 15ff.: the writer states, to explain why no silver was brought by the caravan: *ší-mu-um a-na* AN.NA 16 *ù* URUDU SIG_5 *lá-šu-ma* 17 *ù* AN.NA *ma-sú-úḫ-ma* 18 *a-na* ITU.*1*.KAM-*im* 19 *ù* ITU.*2*.KAM *a-na umme-a-nim* 20 *ke-nim ú-šé-er*, "there is no market for tin and copper of good quality; and moreover the tin is of inferior quality, so that I had to leave it to the hands of a trustworthy commissioner, with a credit term of a few months."

17. KTS 18, 21ff.: *lá ta-áš-ta-na-me-e* 22 *ki-ma* KÙ.BABBAR-*pu da-nu-ni* 23 *ù a-na* TÚG *ší-mu-um lá i-ba-ší-ú* 24 KÙ.BABBAR-*pu a-na-kam da-nu i-na* 25 DUB-*pì-kà um-ma a-ta-ma ší-mì* 26 *ba-tí-iq ù wa-tur*$_4$ *dí-na-ma a-tal-kà-nim* 27 *a-na ší-mì-im* GUŠKIN *i-za-az* 28 GUŠKIN *lu né-pu-ša-kum*, "do you not hear from various people that silver is hard to obtain and that there is no market for textiles? Silver is indeed hard to obtain here. You wrote to me in your letter: "sell my purchase goods at any price and depart hither". There is gold available as means of payment (on the Anatolian side; i.e. we can sell for gold, gold can be acquired through purchase); we will earn ("make") gold for you" (cf. below p. 381).

18. KTS 25b, 6ff.: *lá ta-áš-ta-na-me* 7 *ki-ma a-na* URUDU SIG_5 8 *ší-mu lá ma-aḫ-ṣú-ni*, "don't you hear from various sources that the market for copper of good quality is not down?"

Type 4

19. TC 3/1, 17, 30ff. (cf. above p. 104): a woman should not weave textiles herself, because: *a-ša-me-ma* 31 *a-ma-kam a-ší-mì-im* 32 *ma-du*, "as I hear there are plenty for sale over there (to be purchased)".

20. LB 1204, 10.: the writer cannot help the addressee, because textiles cannot be obtained and he has no textiles (7: TÚG-*tí lá i-šu*): 10 TÚG-*tí a-na ší-mì-im lá-šu*, "textiles are not for sale".

21. KTS 18, 27, quoted above as no. 17: *a-na ší-mì-im* GUŠKIN *i-za-az*, "gold is available as a means of payment," or "can be acquired through purchase" (is for sale).

b) *Commentary*

šīmum in its various constructions describes the situation of the market, where three, closely interrelated aspects may be distinguished: supply/sale, demand/purchase, and the rate of exchange or purchase price/proceeds. To distinguish which nuance is meant in each text—supposing we should always try to make these distinctions, which is not obvious—we have to ask: where is the transaction to be situated; are the Assyrians buying or selling; and which items are involved: tin, textiles, copper of good quality—which they usually sell in Anatolia—or wool, normal copper, and *amūtum*, which they may buy as well as sell?

Certainly to be situated in Aššur are texts nos. 6, 8, 9, 12, 13 and 19. No. 20 also deals with the purchase of textiles, but this time in Kaniš, where an Assyrian wants to buy textiles, so as to deposit them as his share in the *bīt kārim*. All these texts show the Assyrians as purchasing goods. This is also the case in no. 11, where they want to buy native *pirikannū*-textiles, rather than sell them (*batqum* used here can elsewhere also describe the possibilities of purchase, cf. TC 1, 29, 31). I am not certain about no. 7, which deals with *Elāli*; he does import merchandise into Anatolia (TC 1, 13), but I am not sure whether in this case the rather small amounts of silver are meant for making purchases in Aššur. The other texts envisage situations in Anatolia, where Assyrians are trying to sell their merchandise.

The various aspects of the market situation are closely related, as is shown by texts nos. 9, 12 and 13, dealing with the situation on the Assyrian market concerning "Akkadian textiles": the import from Babylonia is interrupted, the supply becomes very short, the prices for the pieces still available rise, and the Assyrians are unwilling to buy these expensive items; they prefer to wait for better times, or buy other goods, especially tin. As for Anatolia the main problems facing the Assyrians seem to have been that either the native population was too busy (no. 2) or not interested to buy their goods, or that the supply of silver and gold, which the Assyrians wanted as payment, was too small, so that the rate of exchange became unfavourable for them, and the proceeds dropped; commerce falls flat, the market is slack. The Assyrians keep their goods in store, or ship them elsewhere, where there are better chances of profit.

How are these various situations reflected in the terminology? If an Assyrian wants to *sell* a load of textiles in Anatolia he may describe the situation in the following ways:

a) *šīmum* (*ina maḫīrim*) *ibaššī* (*laššū*), nos. 5, 7 (= d)

b) *šīm ṣubātī ibaššī*, no. 10, cf. no. 15 (*izzaz*) (= e)

c) *šīmum ana ṣubātī ibaššī*, nos. 16, 17; cf. also no. 21: *ḫurāṣum ana šīmim izzaz*, which may also belong under f.

If he wanted to *buy* textiles, either in Aššur or in Anatolia, he could say:

d) *šīmum* (*šīmū*, *šiamātum*) *ibaššī*, nos. 6, 8, 9 (= a)

e) *šīm ṣubātī ibaššī*, not actually attested but reconstructed on the basis of no. 11 where the predicate is *batiq*, which is the counterpart of *ibaššī*; cf. also no. 9 where *šīmum . . . ibaššī* occurs alongside *šīm ṣubātī ša akkidīē*.

f) *ṣubātū ana šīmim ibaššīū*, nos. 19-20; cf. no. 21 *ḫurāṣum ana šīmim izzaz*, which may belong under c.

Constructions a) = d) and b) = e) can be used in both situations, when an Assyrian wants to buy or to sell. But c) and f) are in opposition. We here meet the same basic difference, as observed in the OAkk constructions used to denote "to sell" and "to buy": to give an item *ana šīmē kaspim* is "to sell", to give silver *ana šīmē* some item, is "to buy" (cf. note 496). *In concreto šīmum* in a)-c) denotes that silver is available on the Anatolian side, to buy the merchandise.

We are not surprised therefore to note parallels to these expressions in which *šīmum* is replaced by *kaspum*. Cf. e.g. those texts stating *kaspum ibaššī*, "silver is available", quoted in *CAD* B 146a, 2′. The opposite is found in CCT 4, 34c, 8f.: KÙ.BABBAR *i-na ma-ḫi-ri-im* [9] *lá-šu*, "there is no silver (obtainable) on the market". The expression *šīmum batiq* might be compared with *kaspū dannū*, "silver is hard to obtain", discussed by LANDSBERGER 1965, 293f. [507]). Besides these texts, which are parallel to construction a), I note TC 2, 48, 9′, *ša-qá-al* KÙ.BABBAR *lá i-ba-ší*, "no payment of silver takes place", which provides a parallel to b). A parallel to c) is afforded by the nice text KTH 13, 4off.: *šu-ma* [41] *ta-da-ga-lá-ma a-na* TÚG.ḪI.A [42] KÙ.BABBAR *i-na Kà-ni-iš* [43] *i-ba-ší a-na* KÙ.BABBAR *dí-na-ma* KÙ.BABBAR *a-na pá-ni-a* [44] *li-im-ḫu-ra-ni šu-ma i-na Kà-ni-iš* [45] KÙ.BABBAR *a-na* TÚG.ḪI.A *lá i-ba-ší a-li* KÙ.BABBAR [46] *a-na* TÚG.ḪI.A *i-ba-ší-ú iš-tí A šé-bi*$_4$*-lá-nim*, "if you observe that there is silver in Kaniš (to be obtained) for textiles, sell them for silver and let the silver go to meet me; but if there is no silver in Kaniš for textiles, send my textiles with A to wherever there is silver available for textiles". The text shows

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[507]) LANDSBERGER mentions KTS 18, 22; CCT 4, 10a, 21 and TC 3/1, 49, 7; cf. also BIN 6, 109, 25 and TC 3/2, 131, 8′. In TC 2, 33, 5ff. and TC 3/1, 5, 14, where *šīm kaspim dannim*, "a payment in *kaspum dannum*", is required, *dannum* may denote a special quality of silver; a translation "payment in silver, (though it is) difficult to obtain" seems less probable. The translation "steady, high" proposed in *CAD* D 94b, d, and rejected by LANDSBERGER, may hold good for later dialects, cf. also GANBA *idannin* "the rate of exchange becomes steady", alongside GANBA *išannī*, "it changes, fluctuates", quoted in *CAD* D 83b from *ACh Šamaš* 10, 90.

how the Assyrians look for the places where they can sell their goods for silver, and the expression *kaspum ana ṣubāti ibaššī* offers a good parallel for construction c).

Constructions d)-f) describe the possibilities of purchase, *in concreto* that tin, textiles, iron and whatever the Assyrians want to obtain, is available in good supply at normal prices. We again have a number of parallels in which *šīmum* is replaced by the merchandise it actually refers to. With construction d) we may compare texts like TC 1, 29, 33f.: AN.NA *16* GÍN.TA [34] *ù e-li-iš i-ba-ší*, "tin is available (for sale) at a rate of exchange of 16 shekels (of tin) each, (against 1 shekel of silver), indeed even more (than 16)". In a negative way also TC 2, 7, 9f.: AN.NA *13* GÍN.TA *ú šu-uq-lum*$_x$ *za-ku-tum lá-šu*, "Tin is not available, not even at a rate of exchange of 13 : 1 and in quantities of one proper (?) packet". In connection with textiles we have: CCT 4, 34c, 13f.: *šu-ma* TÚG-*tú lá-šu*, "if textiles are not available (for purchase)"; with *ašium*, a kind of iron, BIN 4, 45, 11f.: *šu-ma a-ší-um a-a-kam-ma i-ba-ší*, "if *ašium* is anywhere available (for purchase)"; in connection with textiles and wool, CCT 2, 18, 4-5: TÚG.ḪI.A *ù ša-áp-tum i-ba-ší*, "textiles and wool are available"; with lead: TuM 1, 13b, 14f.: *a-lá-an a-ba-ri-im mì-ma ša-ni-um lá-šu*, "there is nothing else to be obtained but lead". Note also CCT 5, 5b, 8-9, where the fact that no tin at all can be purchased in Aššur is described in this way: *ba-at-qú-um ù wa-tù-ru-um* [9] AN.NA *ba-ab-šu lá-šu*, "there is no supply of tin at any price, expensive or cheap"; in this text *bābum* could imply that tin passes the market gate (*bāb maḫirim*) before it can be bought, though I rather believe that *bābum* has acquired a transferred meaning "supply, offer".

The situation as to gold is somewhat complicated. Text no. 17 makes it clear that there is no silver to be obtained in exchange for textiles, but that gold is available (*izzaz*), which the writers will try to "make". The terminology reminds one of f) *ḫurāṣum ana šīmim izzaz*, and suggests that the Assyrians did "buy" gold, a verb they did not use in connection with silver. There was indeed some difference in function between silver and gold. Both were much wanted—though in text no. 17 gold is only a substitute for silver!—but gold had a more limited economic function. It was used as a valuta in which investments in a *naruqqum*-enterprise were expressed; it was sent from Anatolia to Aššur (the standard expression *ḫurāṣum ana ḫarrān ālim*); it was used as a gift; but it is attested only occasionally as a standard of value and means of payment. Hence it has much less clearly the function of "money" than has silver. We note also that when gold arrived in Aššur it was normally converted (in reality or in the accounts?) into silver, before purchases were made, because silver was

the standard valuta in which prices were expressed and transactions done. One could "sell" gold (*tadānum*; cf. TC 3/1, 40, 5f.; 72, 11) and "buy" gold (*ša'āmum*; cf. CCT 3, 47a, 4f.), but also "sell something for gold" (TC 2, 22, 20f.; TC 1, 17, 19f.), just as one sold for silver. The translation of text no. 21 according could be "gold is available (as means of payment)", in the same way that one could say this of silver, as well as "gold is for sale". Note that in ICK 1, 135, 6ff. the alternative is: *šu-ma* 7 KÙ.KI *za-ku*.... 9 *šu-ma* KÙ.KI 10 *lá-šu*, "if gold is freely available... if it is not available" (as payment for wool).

We could say that *šīmum* in these expressions has a verbal notion [508]), and transcends the distinction "to be sold"—"to be bought". *šīmum ibaššī* can be considered as an abbreviation for both *šīmam ša'āmum ibaššī*, "it is possible to purchase", and *ana šīmim tadānum ibaššī*, "it is possible to sell". Similar constructions with an inf. (used independently or in the *status constructus*) do occur in OA; cf. *šitapkum ibaššī*, "it is possible to 'deposit' " (TC 3/2, 90, 23f.) and *šaqāl kaspim ibaššī*, "payment of (with) silver is possible (does occur)" (TC 2, 48, 9'). But they are not attested with *ša'āmum* and *tadānum* in the constructions mentioned above. We only have *šīmum ibaššī* and *šīm ṣubātī ibaššī*; once we meet the expression *šā'imum laššū* (TC 3/2, 88, 19; slave sale), "there is no buyer", with approximately the same meaning.

These considerations make me reject a translation "the rate of exchange" or even "purchase price", though it does look appropriate in texts like nos. 12, 13 and 15. A more dynamic translation like "market", "trade in", "commerce", proposed by LANDSBERGER and *CAD* is the best solution. In my translations I have deliberately avoided using one and the same equivalent, in an attempt to render the various nuances and shades of meaning, required by the context, the typical situation and the various constructions [509]).

c) *The predicates of šīmum/šīmū*

Of the various predicates of *šīmum* (*šīmū*) we have so far only commented on *ibaššī* and *laššū*, meaning simply "is (not) available/possible". The other ones which are basically used to denote various gradations between the extremes *ibaššī* and *laššū*, in describing the supply, demand and commerce, are:

1) *mādum*, in nos. 7, 17 and 19, 32: denotes that a large supply of the

[508]) Especially in text no. 2, *šīmum kasis*, "the trade is paralysed", which means that Anatolians have no time to trade, as they are busy with the harvest.

[509]) The alternation between *šīmum*, *šīmū* and *šiamātum* will be discussed below *sub* 7.

item desired is available. Moreover it may also mean that the rate of exchange (consequently) is better than normal, which allows for a good profit. In the same way *šīmum ibaššī* may at times mean not just that "trade is possible", but rather that "a profitable transaction, good commerce is possible". Cf. text no. 4, 22, where the result of a transaction is expected to be: *kaspum mādum*, "much silver".

2) *batqum* is used in nos. 1, 23; 4, 24 and 11, 29. The word denotes that something is missing, deficient, less than expected. LANDSBERGER, loc. cit., translates in all three cases "the market is deficient" and this has the advantage of being ambiguous: both the supply of goods and the prices achieved fail to be as expected. *batqum* may apply to supply and demand, and to the rate of exchange, the proceeds. It is hardly possible to choose between these nuances. In no. 11 *šīmum batqum* occurs beside *maḫīrum lā māṣī*, and this suggests that we should somehow differentiate in the translation. One might distinguish between cause and effect, taking the latter as cause: an insufficient supply on the market resulted in a shortage of *pirikannū*-textiles (*batqum*, "missing"), made the goods expensive, and the proceeds for the Assyrians less than expected (*batqum* sometimes has a meaning "causing a loss", like in *batiq wattur tadānum*, "sell either with loss or with profit", cf. below p. 406). But I cannot deny that *maḫīrum* may have the meaning "rate of exchange", "Warenkurs", in which case the translation of *batqum* would have to be different too; cf. below p. 390f. for *maḫīrum*.

That *batqum*, via "in short supply", could acquire a meaning almost like "expensive", is clear when one reads about *annukum batqum* in TC 1, 29, 32; TC 2, 7, 17ff.; 11, 19ff.; cf. LANDSBERGER, *loc. cit.*. The first text (no. 6) does not contrast *batqum*, "missing, in short supply", with *ibaššī* or *mād*, "(plenty) available", but with the fact that tin is now cheap, i.e. available at a very favourable rate of exchange (16 : 1). In the lines quoted above *sub* no. 6 *šiamātum ibaššī* does not only mean that tin is available, but also that it is very cheap (16 : 1) [510]).

3) *kasis*(?). Text no. 2, 8 has *šīmum* GA-ZU (subjunctive); this situation is caused by the fact that the native population is occupied with harvest-

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[510]) Cf. for *batqum* also ATHE 65, 17f.: *kurrum batiq šē'am dināma* translated by LANDSBERGER, loc. cit., as "the grain bushel is in short supply. Sell (again) the grain". But why is *še'um* not used if that is the meaning? *kurrum* is either the standard amount of grain or the standard measure, as a unit of account. *kurrum batiq* would denote that the rate of exchange of the grain is below average, i.e. the amount of grain one acquires for 1 shekel of silver (the *maḫīrum* of the grain) has dropped, and consequently grain fetches a higher price on sale; hence the order to sell it. Cf. for *batqum* also *nēmelum batiq* in ARM 5, 67, 35 (reading proposed by VON SODEN): "the profit is less than expected". [Cf. *Addendum* p. 464]

ing. *CAD* E 17a, 1′ a, 1′ and LANDSBERGER, loc. cit. both read *kassu*, and translate "is paralysed". This writing suggests a derivation from a verb *kasāsum*. There is some difference between *CAD* and *AHw* in the arrangement and treatment of the verbs *gaṣāṣum*, *kaṣāṣum* and *kasāsum* [511]). The most likely candidate, in view of its meaning, seems to be *gaṣāṣum*/*kaṣāṣum* B of *CAD* (to be equated with *kaṣāṣum* I of *AHw*) with a meaning "to cut off, to curtail", which yields a statement that the trade was "cut off", had fallen flat. A derivation from *kasāsum* faces the problem that the translation proposed by *CAD* and LANDSBERGER cannot well be harmonised with one of the meanings given by *AHw* to *kasāsum*/*kaṣāṣum* II ("kauen, nagen"; "the commerce is meagre" looks a modern metaphor, even though *barā'um*, "to be hungry" occurs with a commercial meaning, cf. note 380, end). Perhaps their distribution of the various meanings over the verbs mentioned is different [512]). Another solution is, as suggested by Mr. POSTGATE, to take *kassu* (GA-ZU) of *CAD* and LANDSBERGER as meaning *kassū*, permansive D of *kasū*, "to bind", a verb attested in OA (*AHw* 455b, D, 4, cf. G, 4; but our text is not mentioned), a meaning which would make good sense. In that case, however, one would have expected a writing *kà-sú-ú* or *kà-sú-ni* on the part of the Assyrian scribe (subjunctive of a verb III-*infirmae*; cf. HECKER *GKT* § 47c, 79g, 95g and examples of *waddū*/*uddū* quoted in *CAD* I/J 4, 30 *sub* 4).

4) *maḫiṣ*, "smitten", is used in texts nos. 3, 39 and 18, 8. Note moreover TC 2, 18, 7ff.: *ki-ma* URUDU-*i-ú* [8] *i-na GN* [9] *ma-aḫ-ṣú-ni* $i^{!}$*-re-qám* [10] *lá ni-gu*$_5$*-ur-ma* [11] *a-na GN* [12] [*lá*] *nu-šé-ri-ib*, "as copper has been "hit" in GN, we did not rent a wagon to bring it into the city of GN". The text shows that the commerce in copper was badly affected, and a similar meaning is required for texts nos. 3 and 18. I do not think it is necessary to start from *šīmum* "price", with *AHw* 581a, 10, and give *maḫāṣum* the meaning "drücken, herabsetzen"; moreover OA uses *kabāsum* to express that idea (BALKAN 1967, 393ff.). The simile is rather that the "trade" has been "hit", has received a blow, has been badly affected.

5) *lapit*, "affected", "hurt", is used in no. 12,12, perhaps in a slightly more transferred meaning than *maḫiṣ*, "having become unfavourable".

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[511]) *AHw* distinguishes *kasāsum*/*kaṣāṣum* III, "kauen, nagen" from *kaṣāṣum* I, *gaṣāṣum* (sem.*qṣṣ*), "Zähne knirschen", permansive: "abgeschliffen"; D "beschneiden, stutzen". *CAD gaṣāṣum* A, "to gnash the teeth"; *gaṣāṣum* B, "to trim, cut", acknowledging a variant *kaṣāṣum* (OB and later) for both.

[512]) The translation "paralysed" for *kasis*, in the sense of "curtailed", may be semantically related to the meaning of the word *kizzatum*, derived from a verb *kazāzum* in *AHw* 496b, and written *gizzatu* in *CAD* G, 115a, which derives it from *gazāzum*, "to shear". Cf. for this word recently F. R. KRAUS, *Symbolae M. David*, II, 1968, 13.

The verb is used as the opposite of *ešārum*, "become normal", in text no. 12, and we note that also in connection with *omina* (*tērtum*) these verbs are contrasted, especially in Mari (*AHw* 254b, 4; 535b, 8).

6) *ešārum*, not used in the permansive, "become normal". Twice, in nos. 12, 16 and 13, 22, it is used in the ventive, which could denote "for me", for the prospective buyer, but may also indicate the movement, or development, towards the normal situation. Both *AHw* (254b, 5, a) and *CAD* E (355b, d) give *šīmum* with this verb the meaning "price". But in view of the use of *šīmum* in similar texts this seems unjustified. Moreover *ešārum* elsewhere is not used to describe a development of a "price" or "rate of exchange"; instead one uses *kēnum*, "stable, normal, trustworthy" in this connection (*MSL* 1, 26, 23′; níg . šám *kittim* in *MDP* 28, p. 5 no. 3, 8; also with measures, *AHw* 481b, 8, c).

7) *maṭī*, finally, used in no. 14, 31, causes problems. *CAD* A, 2, 98a translates: "buy the *a.* for me since the price of the *a.* is (very) low, whenever you write I will send the silver". These lines are preceded by the statement: *amūtum ša ištu* 1 GÍN *ù* 2 GÍN *ù* 3 GÍN *ištišu ibaššī* (21f.), which *CAD* translates with "*a* for from one, two, and three shekels (of silver) (up)", taking it as a statement about the quantities of *a.* available according to the *price* to be paid *for* them in silver. As however *amūtum* is extremely expensive, and was normally worth about 40 times as much as silver (*CAD* A, 2, 98b, discussion), this should *de facto* mean quantities of $^1/_5$ to $^1/_2$ gram of *amūtum*. This seems incredibly little, even compared with the very small amounts of *amūtum* mentioned elsewhere, which however still range from $^2/_3$ to some shekels (ca. 5 grams and more). Therefore the statement in line 21f. must denote in which quantities the *amūtum* is available: pieces of 1 shekel and more. This, accordingly, tells us nothing about the price to be paid. And I do not believe *šīmum maṭī* to refer to it in the first place either. One uses *maṭīum* to express that the amount of goods one receives in exchange for a payment is "too small", "less than expected"; cf. ganba . lá . e = *maḫīrum maṭū* in *MSL* 1, tablet II, III, 21′. But the buyer can hardly use *šīmum maṭī* to describe the price he pays or has to pay. In our text these words moreover are connected by means of *-ma* with a promise to send an (additional) amount of silver to the prospective buyer, who for some reason is not yet able to make a purchase. In this context *šīm amūtim maṭī* should mean that the trade in, the sale of *amūtum* is below normal, apparently because the Anatolians are in short supply of *amūtum* or are unwilling to sell it. The writer suggests that an additional investment of silver or the offer of a price-increase by the Assyrian merchant may change this situation. This interpretation makes *maṭī* virtually synonymous with *batiq*.

7. *šīmum, šīmū* AND *šiamātum*

a) *šīmum and šīmū*

While in OA the singular is normal, we have the plural *šīmū* in texts nos. 4, 24; 5, 19; 8, 32 and 18, 8. In no. 11, 28 the predicate *batqū* is in the plural; cf. also *šīmīšu* discussed in note 505.

In OAkk *šīmū* is *plurale tantum*, as the "syllabic indicators" show (GELB, *MAD* 2², 138, b and *MAD* 3, 259: *ši'mū* or *šīmū*; also in the *status constructus*, cf. ŠE *a-na* ŠÁM-*me A*). In the OB dialect of Susa singular and plural alternate without any observable rule, cf. L. DE MEYER, *L'Accadien des Contrats de Suse*, 1962, 53; we meet *ana šīmīšu gamrūti* as well as *ana šīmim gamrim* (etc.). DE MEYER notes that, rather unexpectedly, the sing. is more common in the earlier texts from the *sukkalmaḫ*-period. Cf. also a singular in the early OB text from Ešnunna, published by T. JACOBSEN in *AS* 6, 29, line 5: *a-ší-mi-im*. In OB the word is normally in the singular. We have occasional traces of a plural even in later periods, cf. *MSL* 5, ḪḪ II, 114, p. 60: še . šám = „ *ši-i-me*; alongside: še . ganba = „ *maḫīri* (where *-me* denotes a plur., cf. line 124: *šam-šá-me*).

Also in OA a difference in meaning between sing. and plur. is not easily observable. Both are used in exactly the same context; they receive partly the same predicates: *batiq* in no. 4 and in no. 1; *maḫiṣ* in nos. 3 and 18; *ibaššī/laššū* (where the verb does not distinguish between sing. and plur.) in nos. 5 and 8, beside nos. 7 and 9.

OA knows several plur. in *-ū* (occurring alongside sing.), especially as designations of materials, cf. HECKER *GKT* § 59d. Beside *kaspū* (*dannū*) and *weriū* (*maḫṣū*), quoted there and in this chapter, one could mention *an-nu-ku waqrū*, "tin is expensive" in BIN 6, 59, r. 13'f. Perhaps also TC 2, 7, 17: AN.NA *ba-at-qú-ni*, which however may also be a case of a double subjunctive ending. The plural seems to be used when a material is mentioned in general, and not a specific amount or ingot. The use of *šīmū* in texts nos. 4, 5, 8 and 18 should be explained along the same lines: the texts describe the general trends of the trade in some item. The fact that the plural is not attested in the construct state is not accidental; the determination by means of a noun in the gen. requires the use of the sing. In this connection the words of text no. 11 deserve attention: *šīm pirikannī batqū*, with the predicate alone in the plur. Unless we assume a *constructio ad sensum* or a scribal error, we may suppose that the wording reflects an original *šīmū batqū*, the plural of the predicate having survived the replacement of *šīmū* by a sing. due to the *status constructus*.

b) *šiamātum*

In text no. 6 the situation on the market is, exceptionally, described by

šiamātum ibaššī, words which are the equivalent of *šīmū ibaššī* (cf. the preceding *šīmam laš'amakkum*).

šiamātum is very frequent in letters and transport contracts, dealing with shipments of silver of gold, sent to Aššur; the purpose and function of these shipments is described by *ana šiamātim*. We meet it in expressions like *kaspum/ḫurāṣam ana ālim ana šiamātim* (or *ana šiamātim ana ālim*) *paqādum* ("to entrust" to a transporter; e.g. GARELLI 1965, 31 no. 10, 6ff.; 34, no. 12, 5ff.; frequently with an added *ana ṣēr PN*, denoting the addressee), or *wabālum/šēbulum* ("to bring", "to send"; G. in EL 108, 5ff.; 139, 7ff.; Š. in 109, 4ff.; 140, 7ff.; 294, 9ff.; TC 1, 22, 7ff.), or *tadānum* ("to hand over", "to entrust"; EL 149, 5ff.; 204, 6ff.—cf. EL II p. 183 ad loc.—; ICK 1, 67, 6ff.).

In this expression *ana ālim* has become an independent part of the sentence, comparable to the words (*ḫurāṣum*) *ša ḫarrān ālim*, "(gold) for a journey to the town", to be shipped to the town. The preposition *ana* will originally have depended on a verb of motion, e.g. *wabālum*, but cannot function in this way with verbs like *paqādum*, *tadānum*, where *ana* can only denote the person to whom something is entrusted or given. We might translate *ana ālim* with: "destination the City".

The meaning of *ana šiamātim* and the function of *ana* are not immediately clear. We could take *šiamātum* as denoting the wares one buys, yielding "for purchase goods", or the means by which one buys, yielding "as (money to make) purchases", or as expressing a more verbal idea: "for making purchases".

In a number of texts *ana šiamātim* functions as a predicate, normally of *kaspum*; it qualifies the silver as being meant for making purchases, as the means to make purchases with. The preposition *ana*—as is clear when the verb is *wabālum* or *tadānum*, as in CCT 2, 21a, 6ff.; 5, 7a, 10ff.—does not depend on the verb, but introduces the nominal predicate. In comparison with a phrase like *ana šīmum ša'āmim*, "for making purchases", which describes the purpose of a transaction, *ana šiamātim* rather describes the nature and function of the silver.

The expression is not only used with silver. With copper it is attested in L 29-561—H. LEWY, 1968, 15f.—, 38ff.; and one could use copper for making purchases in Anatolia. In EL 281, 17ff. the context makes it clear that *šiamātum* is not what has been bought, but the money given to make purchases: a merchant receives two loans, the first called *ēbūṭum*, the second called an amount of silver *ana šiamātim*. Line 23, summarising, talks simply of his *ēbūṭum* and *šiamātum*, both of which have been used up (*gamrū*). In ICK 2, 126, 1ff. an amount of tin is given *ana šiamātim*, which would denote that it was meant to "purchase" silver or gold

with it, even though the Assyrians hardly use "to buy" in that situation.

There are, however, several texts in which *šiamātum* clearly denotes "merchandise purchased", mainly in the combination *kaspum u šiamātušu/šiamātum*, "silver or what has been purchased (by means of it; *-šu*)", attested in KUG 7, 5ff. (cf. for the form *šiamassu* HECKER *GKT* § 64g); ICK 1, 70, 9; TC 1, 27, 9 (*ù šiamātim ša ālim*); TC 3/1, 59, 36; KTS 34a, 23. A similar meaning is required for L 29-568 (H. LEWY 1968, 13f.), 21f.: DUB-*pá-am ša ší-a-ma-tim* [22] *ší-ta-me-a-ma ší-ma-am* [23] *dí-na-ma*, "read carefully the letter of (listing) the purchases made, and sell the goods purchased". A *ṭuppum ša šiamātim* apparently is the Assyrian name for what LARSEN *OACP* calls a "caravan-account", a letter listing what merchandise has been purchased in Aššur and what has been paid for it. The word also has a concrete meaning in BIN 4, 64, 34: *ší-a-ma-tí-kà ú-za-kà*, "I will clear (make available) your purchase goods", which is the equivalent of *šitti bābtika uzakkā* used in line 6/7; *šiamātum* consequently denotes here merchandise entrusted to commissioners and still outstanding, unpaid.

In the light of the foregoing, we might translate *šiamātum ibaššī* in text no. 6 with "there are goods to be purchased", or "the market is well supplied".

In general we can say that *šiamātum* has a more concrete meaning than *šīmum*; the feminine noun apparently functions as a *nomen unitatis*, with a more concrete, in this case resultative meaning: "goods purchased" (cf. above note 490, where the comparable OB *šīmātum* is mentioned). While *šīmum* only rarely has this meaning, and consequently as a rule is not provided with a possessive suffix (but cf. text no. 17, 25, above p. 378: *šīmī*), it is much more frequent with *šiamātum*, which regularly occurs with possessive suffixes. We may compare *šiamātum* with *luqūtum*, "merchandise" (awaiting sale) [513]), but I hesitate to use such a translation for *šiamātum*, as the word still points to the purchase.

[513]) *šiamātum* may be compared with the OB plural *šīmātum* which, according to F. R. KRAUS, *SD* 5, 75, has the same meanings as OB *šīmum*. But both cannot be used indiscriminately; one has *bīt A šīmāt B*, and not *bīt A šīm B*; or *ṭuppi šīmātim*, not *ṭuppi šīmim*. In these examples *šīmātum* describes the item as acquired through purchase, as bought property; *šīmum* seems to be used rather to denote what is for sale, is actually purchased, or what is paid for it.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

MAḪĪRUM, "MARKET" AND "RATE OF EXCHANGE"

1. GENERAL ORIENTATION

This word, as shown above, plays an important role in the theory of POLANYI, who denies the existence of a market (as a special place) and of "market-trade" generally for the Ancient Near East. Others, notably OPPENHEIM, take a less definite and less radical standpoint, and accept the existence of markets and market-trade at least outside Babylonia proper.

The word *maḫīrum*, originally probably a dynamic concept, denoting that different goods, or "merchandise" and "money", are confronted (*mḫr*) with each other for exchange, or balance each other in value, in the course of time acquired a more concrete meaning, finally even denoting a place where exchange trade was practised [514]). Hence we have to distinguish two basic meanings: A) Firstly the exchange of goods, the trade as such, resulting in the rather technical meaning "Warenkurs", i.e. the amount of goods one acquires in exchange for other goods, or, more generally, in exchange for an amount of money. At least from OB times onwards it especially denotes the amount of goods obtainable for the unit of value or payment of 1 shekel of silver; cf. the texts quoted above in note 478. This unit of value, 1 shekel, had even become so self-evident that it could be altogether omitted, as the last example quoted in note 478 shows. *maḫīrum* in this meaning is the opposite of *kārum*, originally the quay, the harbour quarter, where goods arrived and trade took place, but later also acquiring a more functional meaning, denoting the trade as such and the "rate of exchange" prevailing there [515]). The meaning accordingly

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[514]) Cf. for this word LANDSBERGER, *MSL* 1, 125; THUREAU-DANGIN, *TMB* 221 s.v. ("*maḫīrum* est le rapport inverse de celui que nous appelons le 'cours'"); NEUGEBAUER, *MCT* 106[276e] with H. LEWY, *OrNS* 1949, 52 (*ad MCT* p. 106); LANDSBERGER 1967, 184ff.; *AHw* s.v. 584a. LANDSBERGER calls it "variabeler Marktwert, meist Quantum pro Ware pro Schekel, selten umgekehrt".

[515]) Already NEUGEBAUER, loc. cit., states that sometimes *maḫīrum* acquires the meaning and function of *kārum* (cf. the quotation of LANDSBERGER in the preceding note). But note that the problem of the text MLC 1842 (*MCT* 106f.) has been solved by H. LEWY loc. cit. (cf. note 514): in this case also *maḫīrum* denotes the amount of grain received for 1 shekel of silver. In this problem text the amount fluctuates between 4/5 kor ("the *maḫīrum* went down") and 1 kor ("the *maḫīrum* went up"). That it was computed from the monetary unit of 1 shekel of silver is not even

developed in a direction opposite to that of *maḫīrum*, which only secondarily acquired a more concrete, spatial meaning. *kārum* in its technical, secondary meaning denotes the "rate of exchange" computed on the unit of "merchandise". B) In the second place, *maḫīrum* could, as stated, denote the market, as a place where exchange trade was practised. In analysing the OA occurrences we should try to make out which meaning the word has in each case.

A second, important, point is to distinguish whether a particular text situates a *maḫīrum* in Aššur or in Anatolia. This may shed some light on the importance of the market (as locale) or market-trade in both regions.

The OA texts contain about twenty occurrences of the word, about a dozen of which are mentioned in *AHw* 584a. There all texts are included under 4. "Markt", but this seems an unwarranted simplification, and it shows that a fresh analysis is in order [516]). We may formally distinguish four groups of occurrences:

a) *maḫīrum* used as an independent noun, either as the subject of a sentence, or preceded by a preposition;

b) *maḫīrum* connected with a second noun in the *status constructus*, or qualifying another noun in the form *ša maḫīrim*;

c) occurrences of *bāb maḫīrim*;

d) occurrences of *rabī maḫīrim*.

2. THE TEXTUAL SOURCES

Type a

1. TC 3/3, 262, 1ff.: *i-nu-mì A* [2] *sú-ub-ru-um iš-tù* [3] *ma-ḫi-ri ú-šé-ri-da-ni* [4] *12 ma-na* URUDU *ší-im* [5] *sú-ub-ri-im B* [6] *ù C* [7] *iš-qú-lu*, "when A brought down a slave(!) from the market, B and C paid 12 minas of

mentioned, as this is the normal procedure. Cf. also BOYER, *Contribution* 33, 6: GANBA *ana 1* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR (prices of fishes), and above note 478.

[516]) *AHw* 583a-584a distinguishes the following meanings: 1. "Gegenwert, Kurs" (here he lists *bīt maḫīrim*, "etwa Wechselstube?" and constructions like (*kima*) *maḫīr illakū/ibbaššū*); 2. "n/spB etwa Kurs-, Wertumrechnung" (here he mentions *maḫīram nabū*; *m. epēšu*, "den Kauf vollziehen"); 3. "in Omina", with the meaning "Gegenwert" and (*sub* d) "Handel" (here *maḫīru idannin/ipaṭṭar/kīnu/damqu*); 4. "Markt", where he records all OA occurrences (CCT 4, 10a 18 is translated with "Empfänger" on p. 827b sub *parādum*, D, supposing a reading *māḫirum*, but this looks like a mistake). The origin of the Sumerian KI.LAM, to be read ganba, is not clear; cf. *JCS* 9, 1955, 62 *ad* 8, 11 for an occurrence of KI SIG_7.LAM and simple SIG_7.LAM. We cannot make out whether KI in É.KI.LAM, which occurs already in texts from the third mill.B.C., originally had a local sense. Cf. for the occurrences of the logograms in OB texts, EDZARD 1970, 31.

copper, the purchase price of the slave". The word *subrum*—the nom. in line 2 is to be considered a mistake with *CAD* Ṣ 254a, a)—must denote a "slave", as is certain from such texts as CCT 3, 27b, 8; 4, 45b, 32 and ICK 1, 11 B, 5.16. It may ultimately go back to a designation "Subarian", as *CAD* A, 2, 218a, 2 translates (rejecting its former proposal to regard *ṣuprum* (sic) as "a domestic animal"); we do not go into the questions connected with this word, which have received much attention recently (cf. the literature quoted in note 168). The writing *ma-ḫi-ri*, without mimation, is not a plur., but rather a mistake or an example of a less rigid application of the rules of mimation (HECKER, *GKT* § 35, c; our text mentions several native Anatolians, and slave sale was an occasion when natives were involved). The use of *warādum* could but need not denote that the market-place was higher than the surrounding territory (than the *kārum*?).

2. CCT 4, 34c, 8ff., already mentioned on p. 381: KÙ.BABBAR *i-na ma-ḫi-ri-im* [9] *lá-šu ú* URUDU [10] *da-ni-[š]a-ma ú-me-ru-ú*, "there is no silver on the market, and one had to make enormous stocks of copper". In line 10 my tentative solution is to read *dannišamma*, as an adverb, and *ūm-merū* as a D from *amārum* II, "to pile up", attested with bricks as object, cf. *CAD* A, 2, 27b. Because there was no silver, copper could not be sold and stocks had to be formed. One may compare text no. 2 quoted *sub šīmum* 6, a, where tin was left unpacked, because there was no trade.

3. TC 2, 7, 25ff.: *ša-ap-tum* [26] *šu-ur-pu-i-tum lá-šu* [27] *1* TÚG *kà-ab-tám i-na* [28] *ma-ḫi-ri-im ni-ša-a-ma*, "because there is no *šurpuītum*-wool, we will buy one textile of heavy quality on the market". Because in Aššur no wool can be obtained to weave a textile, one has to buy it on the market there.

4. TC 3/2, 111, 15ff., quoted above *sub šīmum*, p. 376 no. 7: *ší-mu-um i-na ma-ḫi-ri-im lá-šu* [16] *ú-ma-am a-ša-me-ma ší-mu-um i-na ma-ḫi-ri-im ma-ad*, cf. the translation offered on p. 376. The text probably refers to the situation in Anatolia (cf. above p. 379); the exhortation in line 18, "make them pay the silver", is argued by the lines quoted: they can pay, because they can sell their merchandise. If however the stiuation in Aššur is meant, one could understand this order as a request to collect (and send) silver, because the situation in Aššur is favourable for making purchases.

5. CCT 4, 10a, 16ff.: *wa-ar-ki-[š]u-nu-ma* [17] ZI.GA-*tum* [*ú*]-*ṣí ú* [18] *ma-ḫi-ru-um pá-ru-ud-ma* [19] *i-na re-eš ba-áb-tim* [20] *ú-lá na-aṭ-ú-ma pá-am* [21] *ú-lá nu-ma-lá*, "after their departure the..... 'went out' and the market is disturbed, so that it is impossible for us to fulfill our promises, given when the merchandise was commissioned". The translation of these lines is

beset with problems. Line 17 denotes some abnormal situation, the nature of which is not clear to me, cf. the remarks in note 445 on ZI.GA-*tum*. I prefer the reading *na-aṭ-ú-ma*, "is (im)possible to do....", to a possible reading *nad'ū* ("they have not deposited (silver?) when taking merchandise in commission, and therefore..."), because it seems to make better sense; cf. for the construction with *naṭūma* + finite verb, above p. 330 *ad* nos. 33 and 34.

In this text the "market" is "disturbed", *parrud*. *AHw* 827b, D translates "frightened", which of course applies primarily to the people doing trade there. But the meaning may also be "disturbing", "in disorder", cf. the use of *pardum* with dreams and omina. Perhaps even "unfavourable" is not too far from the mark. Because of this situation Assyrians cannot obtain silver and pay in time for the merchandise accepted in commission, as they had promised.

6. ATHE 34, 21ff.: A should seize (*ṣabātum*) B in the name of C to force him to pay an old debt: *šu-ma i-ma-ḫi-ri-im* [22] *lá i-na-mar* [23] DUB.SAR *ša kà-ri-im*.... [25] *na-ḫi-id*, "if he does not turn up on the market.... inform the scribe of the *kārum*". If the debtor does not appear in public, at the place where merchants meet each other, but apparently hides himself elsewhere, the authorities should be informed and asked to make the debtor appear in court. According to line 23 the place of action is Anatolia.

7. EL 335, 1ff.: *A ú B* [2] *i-na ma-ḫi-ri-im* [3] *na-aṣ-bu-tù-ma* [4] *um-ma A* [5] *a-na B*, "while A and B were holding each other (quarreling with each other, cf. *CAD* Ṣ 41, 13, b, 1′) at the market A said unto B..". The text describes the introduction to a legal case between Suea and Ennum-Aššur, the former being represented by his brother Buzāzu, who lived in Anatolia [517]).

Type b

8. EL 183, 7ff.: A gave to B $^5/_6$ mina of silver for making purchases in Aššur: *ša* $^5/_6$ *ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR [8] AN.NA *ma-ḫi-ir* [9] *a-lim*^{ki} [10] *C* [11] DUMU *D* [12] *i-na li-bi* [13] *B* [14] *iṣ-ba-at*, "tin for a value of $^5/_6$ mina of silver, according to the rate of exchange of the City, C son of D impounded with B". The amount of tin is not mentioned, but instead its equivalent in silver at a given moment is stated. When the debt was paid off later on or elsewhere

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[517]) LEWY 1956, 6[23] quotes VAT 13547, 7-9: *ina maṣṣartim* [8] *ina ḫuršim* [9] *ma-ḫi-ri-im*; but we most probably have to read in line 9: *ma-aḫ'-ri-im*, and translate: "in the 'safe' in the front 'container'"; *maṣṣartum* normally denotes the "safe" or archive room in private merchant's houses; LEWY's reading would require a *status constructus ḫuruš/ḫurši* instead of *ḫuršim*.

the rate of exchange might have changed in the meantime, and this should have had its effect on the amount to be paid back.

9. BIN 6, 262, 11'f.: [A]N.NA *za-ku-am ma-ḫi-ir* 12' *[a]-lim ša-ma-ni-ma*, "buy for me pure tin according to the rate of exchange of (or: marketable in?) the City".

10. EL 137, 1ff.: DUB-*pu-um ša 3 ma-na* 2 GUŠKIN *pá-ša-lim* SIG_5 3 *ša ma-ḫi-ri-im a-ba ma* 4 *ša A* 5 *B ú C* 6 *a-na* DAM.GÀR-*im ḫa-bu-lu*, "a document (deed of loan) stating that 3 minas of electrum (?) of good quality, current on the market, according to the native weight standard, A, B and C owe to the "creditor". The use of *a-ba⟨-an⟩ ma⟨-tim⟩*, "(stone) weight of the country", i. e. the native Anatolian weight (cf. *Excursus* II, 1, above p. 54ff.) suggests that the text refers to a transaction in Anatolia. *ša maḫīrim*, describing the electrum of good quality, may denote "current on the market", "well salable", "which may fetch a good price"; LEWY: "marktgängig".

11. L 29-588—H. LEWY 1970, 57f.—, 28ff.: *ší-im pì-ri-kà-ni* 29 *a-na-kam ba-at-qú* 30 *ma-ḫi-ir Kà-ni-iš lá ma-ṣí*, "trade in *pirikannū*-textiles is slack here; the market of Kaniš is not sufficiently supplied". Cf. p. 377 *ad* no. 11, and the commentary on p. 383 *sub* 2).

Type c

12. BIN 4, 38, 3ff.: *a-na-kam i-na té-er-tí-kà* 4 GUŠKIN *1 ma-na ù 2 ma-na* 5 *A ba-[á]b ma-ḫi-ri-im* 6 *ú-ḫa-bi-il*$_5$ *a-dí 10 u*$_4$*-me-e* 7 *i-ša-qal*, "according to your instruction I made a loan here, in the market-gate, to A of a few minas of gold; he will pay back within 10 days." The scene of the action is Anatolia.

13. TC 3/2, 131, r. 8'ff. (fragment of a letter): KÙ.BABBAR-*pu* 9' *da-nu ú ša A a-dí u*$_4$*-mì-im* 10' *a-ni-im i-ta-na-pì-li-ni* 11' *lá ta-pá-al-šu* GUŠKIN 12' *i-na ba-ab ma-ḫi-ri-im* 13' *i-lá-qá-at ú šu-ul-mu-um* 14' *a-dí 5 u*$_4$*-me-e i-ša-ká[n]*, "silver is difficult to obtain, and (therefore) do not answer him that A keeps giving me evasive answers (keeps me on a string by not paying); he (A) is scraping together (all available) gold in the market-gate, and within five days all will be sound again". The translation follows a suggestion of Prof. KRAUS in taking lines 9'b-10' as the contents of the (forbidden) answer, mentioned in line 11'; who the "he" in line 11' is, remains obscure. The Gtn of *apālum* is attested with a similar meaning in CCT 4, 30a, 7; TC 2, 21, 20 and TC 3/1, 25, 28 (cf. also *CAD* A, 2, 164a, 2'). The words *kaspū dannū* and the use of the verb *laqātum* [518]) refer to a situation of emergency, when silver and gold are difficult to obtain,

[518]) Cf. the use of *laqātum* D in CCT 3, 23b, 14; 24, 13; 4, 24a, 56; BIN 6, 214, 7 (cf. *Belleten* 14, 1950, 228, 51).

probably because of a stagnation in the trade. I am not sure that *šulmum* in line 13′ implies the reasons of this disturbance are of a political or military nature.

Type d

The title GAL/*rabī maḫīrim*, "overseer of the market" is, as far as I know, attested at least six times. Twice the name of its bearer is not mentioned, cf. CCT 2, 18, 35 and BILGIÇ, *DTCFD* 6, 1948, 508[94]. A photograph of an unpublished text, shown at the Rencontre Assyriologique at London by BALKAN, mentioned a *rabī maḫīrim* called Kalua. CCT 2, 18, 35 mentions in broken context "the silver of the *rabī maḫīrim*". Three times this official is called Wašḫūba:

14. CCT 5, 26a, 2: seal of Wašḫūba, GAL *ma-ḫi-ri*, as a witness to a sale of pigs between native Anatolians.

15. BIN 6, 226, A, 6//B r. 8′: Wašḫūba, GAL *ma-ḫi-ri-im*, brings back a slave(?) who has fled the place where he lived (*iḫ-pí/bi-ar*, "fled"?; cf. HECKER *GKT* § 19a) on account of a debt, and settles the payment of the debt.

16. TC 3/3, 253, 1f.: seal of Wašḫūba GAL *ma-ḫi-ri-im*, as first witness to the sale of an Anatolian as slave.

3. INTERPRETATION OF THE DATA

a) *Anatolia*

Of the texts quoted, besides those mentioning an Anatolian *rabī maḫīrim*, nos. 1, 2, 5, 7, 6, 10, 11, 12, and 13 describe the Anatolian scene. Of these almost certainly nos. 1, 2, 6, 7, 12, and 13 mention *maḫīrum* as a special place, where trade was practised. In the other texts one may hesitate: in no. 5 *maḫīrum* can denote simply "the trade", or even "the people trading"; in no. 10 *ša maḫīrim* may only refer to "exchange trade"; in no. 11 again *maḫīr Kaniš* could simply mean "commerce in Kaniš", but in view of the preceding *šīmum*....*batqū*, which describes the trade, *maḫīrum* may well mean the market, where one expects a supply of textiles. Unambiguous are nos. 6 and 7, which show *maḫīrum* was a place where businessmen met and legal and commercial affairs were handled. The terminology of no. 6 *ina maḫīrim innamar* reminds one strongly of similar words used in OB in connection with *kārum*: *ina kār innamarū*, "on the quay where he is spotted", attested in *ARM* 8, 78, 24; *VAB* 5, 58, 7f.; *TIM* 3, 135, 7f.; and in OB Susa in *MDP* 23, 274, 9f. and 24, 344, 13f. (cf. also *CAD* A, 2, 24b, b, 1′). An unpublished later OA text in a private collection uses the expression to indicate the place where a

fugitive slave may turn up. As *kārum* clearly denotes a special place, *maḫīrum* would have the same meaning. Texts nos. 2, 5, 11 and 13 show that *maḫīrum* was a place where trade was carried on in gold, silver, copper and native Anatolian textiles; it was especially the place where Assyrians tried to earn silver and gold.

The function of the *rabī maḫīrim* is not very clear. The transactions mentioned in nos. 14-16 in which he is involved fall outside the normal trade-pattern; they are private dealings of native Anatolians. The *rabī maḫīrim* may have had a controlling function, especially in cases of the sale of native slaves, which may have gone so far that, as no. 15 attests, he takes great pains to settle an affair concerning a fugitive slave. Did he act somehow as a public warrantor, who had to prevent the effects of a slave sale being cancelled? Unfortunately the context of CCT 2, 18, 35ff. is far from clear and very damaged: KÙ.BABBAR *ša* GAL *ma-ḫi-ri-im* [36] *ša lu x* (DA?) [*x x*] *lu ša x* [*x x*] [37] *ra*/DUB?-*ba*/*pá-a-tí bi a* [*x x* ?] [38] *ba-a-áb-ta-kà za-ki-i*. The last line means: "settle the affairs of your outstanding claims" (and depart for Aššur). The beginning of the text contains instructions to travel in due time with a load of textiles and wool from one place in Anatolia to the next, and to do some business in sheep and rams in the meantime. The "silver of the *rabī maḫīrim*" may have to do with this latter transaction (lines 21f.), as he is also, according to text no. 14, somehow involved in the sale of domestic animals.

Waṣ̌ūba, the *rabī maḫīrim*, is also attested, without his title, in KTB 9 (EL no. 100), 2, where he is witness to a loan of 2(?) minas of silver by Puzur-Aššur to 5 Anatolians. Such a loan most probably means that the Anatolians had bought merchandise on credit. This shows some involvement in purely commercial matters, but perhaps only if liabilities arose. Waṣ̌ūba may be the same man as Ūṣ̌ūba, son of Ḫalgiašu, who in KTH 28 (EL no. 194) has a credit of ⅓ mina of silver with Aššur-nādā; but we do not know the background to this [519]).

[519]) The importance of Waṣ̌ūba's position would be confirmed if he were identical with Ūṣ̌ūba, and if the latter's father, Ḫalgiašu is to be equated with the *rabī simmiltim* of the same name, mentioned in EL 3, 10′ and 189, 21f. Cf. for Waṣ̌ūba also the remarks in ORLIN *ACC* 110[92], who connects our texts nos. 15 and 16 (he is wrong in taking *ḫu-zi-ri* in text no. 14 as a PN; the word means "pigs"), and on p. 112 comments on Waṣ̌ūba and Ḫalgiašu. The title *rabī maḫīrim* may be an Assyrian translation of a native Anatolian title, which of course we cannot reconstruct. The presence of these and similar officials points to a fair degree of administrative organisation on the part of the Anatolian governments; cf. the list of such officials, with titles beginning with *rabī*, in GARELLI *AC* 216ff. He lists 24 such titles; one might add: *rabī adrim* (GARELLI 1964, 130, GOUDCHAUX no. 1, 3); *rabī lukšē* (ATHE 67, 7, cf. *AHw* 562a) and perhaps *rabī nāgirī* (if LEWY's reading in *AHDO* 2, 1938, 111ff. of TC 3/3, 214B, 3 is correct). GARELLI's *rabī* [*ē*]*riqqātim* (BIN 6, 258, 7) seems doubtful (GAL may have to be combined with DUB).

From text no. 1 (using *warādum*) we may perhaps deduce that the market was situated on a higher level than the *kārum* where the Assyrians lived, viz. here on the city-mound of Kültepe. The excavations so far have not revealed anything which could have been a market, though important administrative buildings with extensive storage facilities, contemporary with *kārum* level II, have been unearthed. Speculating further, we can imagine that such a market-place, closely watched by and perhaps joined with the palace of the local ruler—where the merchandise had to be cleared—would have been a very effective device to check the Assyrian trade. If this were true and there existed an obligation to sell merchandise on the city-markets, the problems of smuggling merchandise into a city would become understandable, and the *bāb maḫīrim*, the place where merchandise, silver and gold entered and departed, would fulfill an important function. But this is all speculation and we have to await new epigraphical or archaeological evidence to solve the problem.

The possibility, however, cannot be altogether excluded that the *kārum* itself had a market, or at least a cluster of alleys lined with shops (*sūq šīmātim*), which functioned as a market. The excavations have shown that the *kārum* had a wall, had "thoroughfares...wide enough to allow carts to pass". Moreover "many small shops with their stone and wooden shelves" have been discovered (cf. N. Özgüç, *Archaeology* 22, 1969, 253a). More recent excavations seem to have brought to light an open space, which could have been used as a market [520]).

In general we should say that, though the existence of a market, where trade in import goods went on, is beyond discussion, the number of references is rather small. Even if one adds some texts in which *šīmum* has a meaning which approaches *maḫīrum*, this remains true. I think two reasons can be given for this feature. The first is that we read very little in the texts about the actual selling of merchandise to native Anatolians; only the obligatory sales to the palace (the "tithe") are well documented. We get the impression, mainly from the exceedingly numerous "deeds of loan", which state that substantial amounts of silver have been borrowed by Assyrians, to be paid back within a certain number of weeks (*ḫamšātum*), that the merchandise was entrusted to agents, who had to acknowledge the credit as a debt. They most probably travelled around and tried to sell the goods to the local Anatolians, and consequently would have visited the markets. But the texts tell us little about their business—which may not have required written evidence, as the sale to the Anatolians may have been for cash—and only inform us that they did or did

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[520]) Cf. M. J. Mellink, *AJA* 73, 1969, 206a, mentioning "a small open square".

not pay back their loans in due time. The activities of these agents may have constituted a special branch of trade. In the second place we have to realise that the letters of the Assyrians are not normally interested in giving details about the method and place of a sale transaction and only report facts and figures—unless special problems arose. In many cases there would have been no need to talk about the market.

b) *Aššur*

Only texts nos. 3, 8 and 9, and maybe no. 4, refer to that City. The meaning of *maḫīr ālim*, qualifying tin in nos. 8 and 9, should have been "current in the City" or "according to the rate of exchange in the City". This may suppose the existence in Aššur of a market ("current (on the market)"), but this is at most indirect evidence for the existence of a market. Text no. 3 is clear: textiles are bought on the market, and this holds good too for no. 4, if it refers to Aššur. There is thus some evidence for the existence of a market there—to which may be added the two OA texts mentioned in the introduction to this chapter (p. 354f.)—, but on the whole it is, even if we take into account the fact mentioned at the end of paragraph a), very meagre.

This raises the question of whether the role of the market was important or only subsidiary. From text no. 3 we can see that purchase on the market was only an alternative for personal production of textiles. This is also suggested by TC 3/1, 17, 30f., quoted on p. 104.

Again, we are badly informed about the way the purchases in Aššur were carried out. Part of the textiles was imported by Babylonians into Aššur and tin arrived from elsewhere too, probably from northern Iran. Are we to assume these items where offered for sale on the market in Aššur? Or was the trade in the main organised along different lines?

In a number of texts we are told that purchases in Aššur have to be carried out in somebody's *bītum*, "house" (or "firm"?). As such I mention KTH 25, 15ff., edited and discussed by LARSEN *OACP* 51 as "type 1 : 7", and GARELLI 1965, 33f., no. 12, 10ff., discussed by LARSEN 179f. LARSEN writes on p. 153: "This suggests that the silver, when brought to Aššur to the house of the recipients was offered for sale, and that the merchants who wanted to trade went there". In both texts the real owner of the shipment of silver seems to have been Enlil-bāni, as LARSEN has pointed out, and it is quite natural that purchases should be made in his "house" in Aššur; the Anatolian "branch" of the "firm" co-operated closely with the Assyrian "branch", and tried to keep all transactions within the firm, to earn the best profits. Anyhow the texts show that there was a "house" of a merchant, or head of the firm

(a translation which LARSEN *OACP* 181 tentatively suggests for *tamkārum*, the title Enlil-bāni is given), where sales could be made. While the texts quoted prescribe that purchases should be made there [521]), other texts, also connected with the firm of Enlil-bāni, show that agents or trustees are permitted to make purchases *ana amēr ēnīšu ša balāṭišu*, "(in) what is, according to his own estimate, (the most) profitable (way) for him" (cf. above p. 363f.). This may imply that not only the composition of the load but also the choice of where to buy the merchandise was up to him.

Also the texts dealing with the inheritance of Puzur-Aššur, most recently discussed by MATOUŠ 1969, 156ff., contain references to purchases made "in a house" (TC 3/3, 270, 33f.; OIP 27, 57, 28f.; I 633, 22f.; cf. above p. 363), this time the "house" of "my 'father' " (viz Buzāzu's 'father'). Again we see a merchant taking care that purchases are made within the same firm as that to which he belongs.

This information could be combined with the statements or requests, mentioned by LEWY 1956, 23[102], GARELLI *AC* 187f. and LARSEN *OACP* 142f., that the *nisḫatum* should be paid (on arrival of a shipment of silver in Aššur) not to the palace or the *bīt līmim* but to or in the houses of merchants or "firms". LARSEN suggests that this *nisḫatum* may have been a "kind of "private tax" " or "commission levied according to the fixed rate of 5 : 120 and received by the bankers in Aššur as their share of every overland trade transaction". He infers from some texts that the *umme'ānū*, the principals and financial backers of the merchants, received these sums, when the silver entered their houses.

We may ask whether this *nisḫatum* was in fact only a kind of obligatory interim-dividend or interest for investors or money-lenders, or whether the recipients rendered some services in return, as LEWY, loc. cit. suggested: "a toll for sheltering goods or for similar services". The possibility exists that the silver entered their houses not only for the payment of *nisḫatum*, but at the same time for making purchases there. I cannot prove this suggestion, and the background of this *nisḫatum*-tax and the making of purchases may be more complicated. I only quote here TC 3/2, 129, 4'ff. (fragment of letter) to show what could happen in a particular case: *pu-uz-ra-am i-na pá-ni-kà* 5' *iṣ-ba-tam-ma a-na a-lim*[ki] 6' *i-li-kam-ma i-na* É-*tí-a mì-ma* 7' *lá ú-šé-ri-ba-am i-na* É *e-ší-im* 8' *i-na ḫu-ur-ší-im ra-gu*$_5$*-um šu-ut* 9' *ú-šé-ri-ib-ma ù ší-ma-am* 10' *ša li-bi*$_4$*-šu i-na* É *ku-um-ri-im* 11' *ša Sú-in iš-ta-a-am-ma*, "he went into hiding before you, and came to the City, but did not bring in anything within my

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[521]) *i-ša-a-am*, LARSEN *OACP* 179, line 12, is a N-form: *iššaʾam*.

'house'; that criminal, within a new 'house' in a depository he brought (it) in, and later on he made the purchases he liked in the house of the priest of Su'en". I do not understand the implications of this letter, but it seems to suggest that on the arrival of silver in Aššur two actions could be distinguished: *šērubum* and *šīmam ša'āmum*. The first may have something to do with the *nisḫatum*-payment—the reason why the writer is disappointed that his house was not selected—, and may show that the merchants were to some extent free in selecting the house where they wanted to "bring in" their silver. If this is true it should mean that in return for the *nisḫatum* payment some service had to be rendered. The use of *šērubum* requires our attention as it cannot be combined with *ina bītia* or *ina bītim eššim*, as "to bring into (a house)" requires the preposition *ana*, cf. e.g. CCT 3, 14, 7ff.: *unūtam*... [8] *ana bītim* [9] *eššim šeribāma*. Therefore *šērubum* is something which took place within a house; could it be "to clear", before purchases could be made?

Anyhow it seems clear that 'houses' played a important role in the purchase of merchandise, probably a more important one than the market. We may even suggest the possibility that these 'houses' were involved in the import of textiles and tin into Aššur as investors or by their own merchants, or acted as wholesale dealers, who used to buy and store these articles, to sell them in their houses in due time for export to Anatolia. In fact we do know next to nothing about the organization of the import-trade in Aššur. It may have been a separate branch, but it seems unlikely that the great bankers and money-investors actively involved in the "Anatolian branch" of the trade, would not have taken part in the complementary "Assyrian branch" too. Their operations and commercial methods may have determined the way purchases were made in Aššur, and their "houses" may have been more important than a market, though it did exist and tin and textiles were offered for sale there.

4. SOME CONCLUSIONS

Our analysis of the terminology has yielded some results which are not without importance for the problems of economic history mentioned in the introduction. We can state that in OA trade silver served a purely commercial purpose and functioned as money in all the meanings of the word. This does not mean that administrative devices and "banking" did not play an important role in the economy and the commerce. We further have to conclude that markets did exist in Anatolia, where trade in the goods imported by the Assyrians and in silver, gold, copper and wool was practised, but due to the circumstances outlined above we cannot ade-

quately assess the importance of the markets, compared with other possible forms of trade. The number of occurrences of *maḫīrum* however may give some indication of their relative importance.

For Assyria the evidence is very meagre. There was a market, but it may have played only a subsidiary role in the purchase transactions, compared with the 'houses' of the trading companies.

Both for Anatolia and Assyria occasional changes in the market situation are attested, due to different causes: the season, emergency situations, changes in supply or demand, unfavourable prices etc. The fluctuations of the prices (for tin once within a fairly short period of time from 13 : 1 to 16 : 1, or a difference of more than 20%) do not suggest that prices had been fixed by treaty, as in the system of "treaty-trade", advocated by POLANYI. In general the governments on both sides seem to have played a limited role in the actual trading process, though they checked transactions, imposed taxes, and might even prohibit trade in some articles. But all this does not make trade a governmental business, unless one wants to make the *tamkārum* a "public trustee" (to be distinguished from the "guild merchant", being a member of the *kārum*), and the *umme'ānum* "a public figure", whose "investments and partnerships are what might be called treasury advances" (POLANYI 1957, 24f.). This however has only been tentatively suggested, and not proved thus far. In my opinion this reconstruction is rather unlikely. A thorough analysis of the use of the words *tamkārum* and *umme'ānum* and the ways in which commercial enterprises were financed may reveal more of the truth.

CHAPTER TWENTY

SOME VERBS WITH TECHNICAL MEANINGS

In this chapter the meaning, use and construction of the verbs *batāqum, be'ālum, kašādum, lamādum, ṣaḫārum, šakānum, wabālum* and *waqārum*, already mentioned in ch. XVII, will be discussed. Both in the *CAD* and *AHw*, and in studies particularly devoted to OA problems the translation and interpretation of these verbs have at times caused considerable problems, and no unanimity has been reached. These verbs, to be compared with e.g. *kabāsum*, which has recently been treated by BALKAN [522]), are typical examples of the highly technical commercial jargon used by the Old Assyrians.

1. *batāqum* (G, N)

a) This verb and its derivatives (*batqum, bitiqtum, butuqqā'ū*) have been treated in *AHw* s.v. and *CAD* B s.v. As I cannot agree with some of the translations and interpretations given there, a fresh analysis will be attempted in the following pages.

We limit our discussion to the use of the verb in financial and commercial contexts. Cf. for the basic meaning "to cut off, to take away", developing into "to deduct, to reduce", the references in *CAD* B 162, 1, d, 1', especially BIN 4, 146, 13 and 6, 29, 11. One might add CCT 4, 40a, 19 (here an imp.; the text goes on to speak about "the rest").

b) In some cases *CAD* loc. cit. translates "to go lower than", "to concede..less than"; on p. 163b, 5, b, under the heading "to become cheap" *CAD* translates in some texts "to go down in price", "to go below the price", "to sell cheaper than". On p. 165a, 10, "IV passive to meaning 1" it translates in KTS 6, 40 with "to be sold below the price". Is this differentiation and distribution over several lemmata justified?

c) We first quote the texts involved:

1. CCT 2, 50, 7ff.: "entrust me 30 fine textiles; [8] *10 ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR *a-na* [9] *10 ḫa-am-ša-tim* [10] *lá a-ba-ta-qá-kum*, "I will not go for you beyond the conditions: 10 minas of silver, within 10 weeks".

2. KTS 6, 36ff.: "ship the 10 talents of refined copper which you 'made' (acquired through trade) to me; [38] *1 ma-na*.TA *ù* [39] *a-na* ITU.*1*.

[522]) *OrNS* 36, 1967, 393ff.

KAM-*im iš-tí-in* [40] *ù ší-na la i-ba-ta-qá*, "they should not go (be commissioned) for less than: 1 mina (of copper) for each (shekel of silver), payment within one or two months".

3. CCT 2, 3, 22: A brought him (*ūbilšum*, 21) textiles, together with his own textiles; [22] *1 ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR *lá i-ba-ta-qám*, "he/it will not go beyond (for less than) 1 mina of silver".

4. BIN 4, 19, 17ff.: "they will send me tin at a rate of exchange of 6 shekels of tin for one shekel of silver (15: *6* GÍN.TA *a-na* AN.NA-*ki-a*); moreover I have a tablet of theirs, in which they promise: *6* GÍN [18] *a-na* AN.NA-*ki-a la i-ba-tù-qú*, "they will not go beyond (a price of) 6 shekels (of tin for 1 shekel of silver) for my tin".

5. TC 1, 17, 19ff.: "send him one talent of tin. I reached the following agreement with the gentleman: [19] *a-na* AN.NA [20] *1 ma-na* GUŠKIN [21] *lá i-ba-ta-qám*, "he will not go for me beyond: 1 mina of gold for my tin".

6. TC 2, 3, 18f.: "A son of B owes me 16½ minas of tin and ½ mina 7 shekels of silver; [18] *a-na* AN.NA *6* GÍN.TA [19] *ú-lá i-ba-ta-aq*, "he/it will not go beyond (the price): 6 shekels (of tin for) each (shekel of silver) for my tin".

7. TC 1, 26, 29f.: *a-na* AN.NA-*ki-a 6* GÍN.TA [30] *la ta-ba-ta-qám*, "you will not go for me beyond (a price of) 6 shekels (of tin for) each (shekel of silver) for my tin".

8. KTS 41c (KT 45), 4'f.: *2* TÚG ½ *ma-na*.TA [5'] *ú-lá i-ba-ta-qá-*[*x*], ". . . . will not go lower than a price of ½ mina for each of my two textiles."

9. BIN 6, 176, 20off.: *i-nu-mì* [21] [KÙ].BABBAR [523]) *i-ba-tù-qú-ni* [22] *šu-a-tí i-ba-tù-qú-šu-um*, "if the silver (*kaspū*) becomes scarce (and thus rises in exchange value), it becomes scarce (expensive) for his account".

10. L. 29-567—H. LEWY 1968, 23—, 21ff.: "Do me a favour: take the 1 talent of tin, my temple trust, for sale and *10 ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR [24] *lá ta-ba-ta-qá-am*, "do not go lower for me (with the price your are paying) than 10 minas of silver".

d) *batāqum* is used in various grammatical constructions. The *subject* is personal in texts nos. 1, 7, and 10, denoting the person who "deducts (from)", "goes beyond" a price or condition of sale. In nos. 3, 5, 6, and 8 the subject seems to be a "he", in nos. 4 and 9 a "they". In no. 2 the verbal form requires a fem. plur. subject, which can only be *bilātum*, "talents". In no. 8, however, the writer uses the second person throughout and we cannot introduce an anonymous "he" in the translation; but as also *ṣubātū* (masc. plur.) cannot be the subject we apparently have to restore the form as *i-ba-ta-qá-*[*am*], and take the transaction as such, the sale as

[523]) Cf. LEWY 1946, 394[6] and *CAD* B 163b, 5, b.

the subject, which in that case is impersonal. We might translate: "it (the sale) should not yield less than...". We may ask whether the other texts, quoted above, where *ibattaq(am)* occurs allow of a similar interpretation. We cannot rule out this possibility, but have to admit that a personal subject fits the context equally well: the seller or potential buyer of the merchandise; in no. 4 the plural subject apparently is the persons mentioned earlier in the letter.

A similar subject seems to be attested in text no. 9, "if they "cut off" (pay too little?) silver...". The text refers to a settlement concerning wool-trade and the lines quoted deal with the question of who has to bear the financial consequences of a change in the rate of exchange between wool and silver, cf. above p. 134f. The meaning apparently is: "if the silver becomes scarce/expensive...", and this seems to exclude the possibility of a personal subject; a translation "if they make the silver expensive..." moreover requires a D-stem of the verb, as we have to explain the use of the verb from the permansive *batiq*, "scarce, expensive". The best solution is to read *ibbattuqū*, as a durative N, (with KÙ.BABBAR = *kaspū* as a plur. subject; cf. above p. 386) which in this case seems to have the meaning of an *ingressivus* to the permansive. The text accordingly should have been quoted in *CAD* B 165a, 10, where our text no. 2 is rightly interpreted as containing an N-form: *ibattaqā*. One may ask the question of whether not also our text no. 3 (without *ana*) could be interpreted as containing a N-form: *ibbattaqam*.

Interpreted thus, all texts quoted can be translated without problems. When *CAD* B 163b, 5, b introduces a meaning "to become cheap", beside "to deduct" (162b, d, 1′, where our texts nos. 1, 3, and 5 are quoted), it creates confusion. It suggests, mainly by quoting here our text no. 9 as containing a G-form with *kaspū* as subject, that *batāqum* at times is used as an intransitive verb "to become cheap" (fientic, alongside *batqum*?). This is wrong. On the other hand it uses "to be cheap" with a personal subject, which in fact means "to sell/buy cheap", "to go below (a price)"; but this same translation is already used under 1, d, 1′, where the texts quoted by *CAD* under 5, b really belong. The differentiation probably was suggested by the presence of the preposition *ana* in most of the texts quoted *sub* 5, b; but this is hardly an argument (cf. below).

The *person affected*, is whose interest stipulations about price and credit-term are made, is represented by a pers. dat. suff. in texts nos. 1 and 9 (in the latter accentuated by an added pers. pronoun: *šuāti*). The ventive ending *-am* in texts nos. 3, 5, 7, and 10 accordingly could be translated with "for me". As however text no. 6 shows that a dative suff. is optional

and in no. 3 a "for me" is excluded by the context, I rather take it as a ventive with a more general meaning (hard to define exactly, cf. HECKER, *GKT* §79f.). We may compare *ibattaqam* in text no. 3 with *ikšudam* and *iškunam*, also impersonal forms with a ventive ending (to be discussed below).

In texts nos. 5-7 *ana* introduces the indirect object and precedes AN.NA, which points to some syntactical relation between *batāqum* and *ana*. *CAD* B 163b, 5, b translates this *ana* in text no. 7 rather unsuccessfully with: "(sell cheaper....) with regard to (*ana*) (my tin)". I suppose the scribe did use *batāqum*, but thought in categories of sale, and used *ana* with the meaning it has in *tadānum ana*, "(to sell) for.."; hence my tentative translation given above. In texts nos. 1-2 on the other hand *ana* introduces the credit-term; it is the *ana* regularly used in the clause *ana x ḫamšātim išaqqal*, "he well pay within x weeks", attested in deeds of loan. This *ana* may even occur without a verb, cf. e.g. lines 44f. of text no. 2: *1 ma-na*.TA *ù 1* GÍN.TA *a-na* ITU.KAM *iš-tí-in ù ší-na dí-šu*, "entrust it to him (on the following conditions): 1 mina (of copper) for each shekel (of silver, payment) within one or two weeks". This *ana*, used in texts nos. 1-2 is of course completely independent of *batāqum*. In text no. 4 the word order is different from nos. 5-7, and the words *6* GÍN.TA *ana* AN.NA-*ki-a*, as their use again in line 15 shows, are an independent part of the sentence, which as a whole figures as the object of *batāqum*. *ana* used here may be compared with the *ana* familiar from the so called price-tariffs (e.g. in 'Laws of Ešnunna' § 1), where it precedes the unit of the valuta on which the rate of exchange was computed. One may compare also CCT 3, 47a, 5ff.: GUŠKIN ½ *ma-na šu-ma 8* GÍN.TA *ú-lá 9* GÍN.TA *a-na* KÙ.BABBAR *ša-a-ma*, where one should not connect *ana kaspim* with *ša'āmum* ("to buy...for silver"), but translate: "buy half a mina of gold, if the rate of exchange stands at 8 or 9 shekels each, (computed) against (*ana*) silver".

While the direct object of *batāqum* originally denotes the amount *which* is "cut off", i.e. by how much a price may be reduced or how much longer a credit-term may become, in the texts quoted the object is that *from which* something is "cut off". The object of the verb consequently is not the margin allowed, but the (original) price or credit-term. The words "10 minas within 10 weeks" (no. 1), "6 shekels for my tin" (no. 4), and "10 minas of silver" (no. 10) figure as such and denote the prices and conditions of sale beyond which the agent in question is not permitted to go.

e) The analysis of text no. 9 has already shown we cannot fully understand the meaning of the verb without taking into account the permansive *batiq* and the accompanying verbal adjective *batqum*, which have acquired a meaning of their own.

The permansive is used in connection with calculations, counts and checks, and signifies that something is missing. In TC 2, 11, 9 *batiq* describes the surface area of a plot of land bought as "less (than the surface area paid for)", "too small"; the opposite is *watar*, "more (than the area paid for)", "too big" (cf. for this text p. 424f. below) [524]). In a commercial context *batiq* may denote that a transaction yields less than expected, while *watar* indicates it is "excessive", yields more than expected, cf. EL 321, 31 (to be compared with L 29-555—H. LEWY 1968, 5f.—17). In BIN 6, 247, 17 we read: *šu-ma* AN.NA *a-na 10 ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR *ba-tí-[iq....]*; this does not mean (with *CAD* B 167a): "if there is not enough tin for ten minas of silver (on the market)", but rather: "if the tin cannot yield 10 minas of silver" (the text does not refer to the supply of tin or silver, but to the proceeds of the sale, 10 minas being the minimum price at which the tin is to be sold).

batiq is frequently used with a meaning "deficient, missing" in connection with the checking of weights and numbers; cf. CCT 2, 2, 9 and TC 3/1, 36, 22, quoted above in *Excursus* I, 1, b. In these cases *batiq* denotes that a deficiency has been established, that something is missing [525]). Three times we meet in closely related contexts the punctual N: *ibbitiq*. Once, BIN 4, 54, 13, in connection with the weighing of an amount of copper, twice in relation with a metallurgical process (cf. above p. 50 with note 90, and *CAD* B 165a, 10). The use of the N-form instead of *batiq* may indicate that N of *batāqum* functioned as an *ingressivus* to the permansive *batiq*; cf. also above *sub* d *ad* text no. 9.

f) *batqum* means "missing", "not available", cf. the first texts quoted in *CAD* B 167a. When used to describe the market situation its meaning is more complex. It may have the meaning "not available", "not for sale",

[524]) While this text contrasts *batiq* with *watar* OB texts from Susa, reflecting the terminology from Babylonia proper (cf. the texts quoted below p. 423, 5, a) use *maṭā'um* as the opposite of *watārum*; cf. the OB formula *lītir - limṭī*. A real difference of meaning seems absent. But the situation is different as to the corresponding adjectives: OA *batqum* is only used to denote what is "missing", "not available", while *maṭium* is used to denote a quality, "less good, inferior" (cf. above ch. IX, 5, f); *watrum* may have two different meanings: "extra, additional" and "extra good" (cf. ch. IX, 5, a).

[525]) The derivative *bitiqtum* in *bitqat* NA_4 is used to denote "underweight" (EL 278, 6). In other texts *bitqātum* are amounts still "missing", "outstanding", which cannot be submitted (amounts lost, debts outstanding, old claims etc.). *bitqāt* AN.NA in BIN 6, 185, 18 seems to be the equivalent of *muṭā* AN.NA discussed above p. 17ff. *butuqqā'ū* (*CAD* B 356b) is the "defecit", and may denote a commercial loss on a transaction which yielded too little; it seems to be a kind of synonym of *ibissā'ū* and to be distinguished from *muṭā'ū*, "loss of weight or volume" and *ḫuluqqā'ū*, "loss of goods through accidents". The pair *bitiqtum - butuqqā'ū* may be compaired with *ītertum - ūturrā'ū*, cf. above p. 16f.

as in TC 2, 7, 8ff. and 17ff. The text first states that tin cannot be obtained, not even at a high price and in small quantities (cf. 8ff., quoted above p. 381; I do not understand the translation in *CAD* Z 24b, 5, a), and continues by saying that *kima* AN.NA *batqūni*, "because tin is *batqum*", the writer did not buy tin up till now, but will do so when tin arrives (AN.NA *errabamma aša'amma*; 19). The use of *erābum* gives *batqum* the meaning "not available". But according to TC 1, 29, 31ff. *batqum* can also mean "not available in sufficient quantities", "in short supply": the writer complains that he has bought AN.NA *batqam* (31) while there is now plenty for sale, at the very favourable rate of exchange of 16 shekels of tin for 1 shekel of silver (33f.; cf. above p. 381f.; 383). Here *batqum* means "in short supply" and so "expensive" for the buyer. Cf. also CCT 4, 4a, 13, mentioning *kaspam batqam šaqālum*, "to pay silver which is scarce/expensive" (has a high rate of exchange); in this case *batqum* is nearly synonymous with *dannum*, "hard to obtain" (cf. note 507).

The translation "poor, low (said of a price)" proposed in *CAD* B 166b, 1, b, has been rightly criticised by LANDSBERGER, 1965, 293f. with note 36. The first four texts quoted there really belong under 2. "deficient, missing, in short supply"; in some cases the consequences of being "in short supply", "to be expensive", seem to be stressed, a meaning which could be considered as 2, b.

The translation "at a bad price", used by *CAD* B 166b, 1, b nevertheless has an advantage. It suggests that the use of *batqum* is not restricted to situations in which it describes what one wants to buy ("expensive"). At times the word may denote that the *result* of a transaction is negative, that it yields less than expected. *batqum* when used with *ša'āmum*, "to buy" describes the goods as expensive; but *batqum* when used with *tadānum* denotes that the proceeds are disappointing, the prices made are "bad". This use in connection with sale has suggested translations like "billig" (*AHw* 115a, 2) and "low" (in price) (*CAD* loc. cit.). Such translations, nevertheless, are better avoided, as they refer only to the price, while *batqum* describes the result of the transaction as "deficient": the proceeds are too small, the profit (if any) is below normal, there even are losses. This meaning of *batqum* is well attested in the expression *luqūtam* (etc.) *batiq wattur tadānum*, "to sell merchandise with loss or profit"; we could translate "to sell at any price" for lack of a better alternative; cf. *CAD* B 166b, 1, b and texts like BIN 6, 10, 7; 204, r. 9′ (*ūttur*); EL 324, 18.31; TC 1, 7, 14. The expression occurs in letters whose writers need silver for cash immediately. When the verb *tadānum* is not used and the situation is one of purchase the translation of this expression becomes difficult; so in CCT 5, 5b, 8f.: *batqum u watturum annukum bābšu laššū*,

where we can hardly avoid translating "there is no supply of tin, cheap or expensive". The transition from a relative notion like "scarce", "yielding a loss" etc. to more absolute ones like "expensive" or "cheap" is a gradual one, and the right to use the latter translations is suggested both by the fact that the Assyrians did use *batqum* and *wat(tu)rum* in various contexts (purchase, sale, market-situation) and by the conclusion, reached above, that silver did function as money.

2. *be'ālum* (G, N)

a) The verb is frequently used in OA texts with the meaning "to get/have power of disposition over (money/goods)", cf. *CAD* B 200b, c. We meet it especially in the phrase *kaspam ana be'ālim tadānum*, words denoting that the freighters (*kaṣṣārū*) of a caravan received an interest-free loan, called *be'ulātum* (cf. *CAD* B 215f.; GARELLI *AC* 249f.; LARSEN *OACP* 149f., who translates "working capital") to be used for private business, in order to earn their own wages. By accepting that loan, they were contractually bound to their superiors, "they were kept (in service) with the silver" (*išti kaspim uktāl*), cf. EL 159ff.; CCT 5, 19b; ICK 1, 126; 131; 2, 73-75; 105-109; 286; TC 3/3, 246. In these cases *be'ālum* denotes free disposition, without ownership. Though the verb has been discussed several times (*EL* p. 110c; LANDSBERGER *ZA* 38, 280; GARELLI *AC* 249f.) and is treated in both dictionaries, its use in other, still more idiomatic and technical meanings has hardly received attention, and will be discussed here.

b) We meet the verb in a special meaning in the following texts:

1. TC 1, 16, 21ff.: *a-pu-tum iḫ-da-ma* [22] ANŠE.ḪI.A [š]*a-ki-lá-šu*[1]*-nu* [ú]*-ku-ul-tám* [23] *lá ta-bi-i-lá*, "please take good care to fodder the donkeys; don't be sparing with the fodder!".

2. BIN 6, 121, 16ff.: *a-pu-tum* ANŠE-*ru-šu* [17] *lu ak-lu* KÙ.BABBAR [18] *1* GÍN *lá ta-be-el*, "please let the donkeys be (well) fed; don't try to economise even one shekel of silver".

3. BIN 4, 53, 24ff. (= L 29-558—H. LEWY 1968, 11f.—, 23ff.): AN.NA-*ki ù* TÚG.ḪI.A [25] *i-na ṣé-er* DAM.GÀR *ke-nim* [26] *a-na* u_4*-me id-a* DAM.GÀR [27] *lu ki-in* u_4*-me* ITU.KAM [28] *ù 2* ITU.KAM *lá ta-be-e-lá*, "entrust my tin and textiles to a trustworthy merchant for a fixed term (of credit). The merchant should be trustworthy; don't attach too much value to one or two months (longer credit)".

4. TC 1, 17, 21ff.: ..*ší-tí* [22] *lu-qú-ti*[1]*-a i-ṣé-er* [23] DAM.GÀR *ke-nim lá ša a-ša-ḫu-tù* [25] *id-a* u_4*-me* (erasure) ITU[1].*1*.KAM [26] *ù 2* ITU.KAM *lá ta-be-e-lá*, "entrust the rest of my merchandise to a trustworthy merchant, about

whom I need have no fear; don't attach too much value to one or two months (longer credit)".

d) *CAD* B 201b, c, translates in the first text "do not use the feed (for commercial purposes)", which is obviously wrong. LANDSBERGER, *AHK* 26, translating "behaltet (nicht) für euch" is closer to the truth. The meaning of *be'ālum*, as indicated in my translation, is the outcome of a development: "to have disposition over" > "to try to keep disposition over" > "to be unwilling to give up, to spend", or in an economic context "to try to economise". In texts nos. 3 and 4 *CAD* loc. cit. translates "to use", and assumes an ellips of the object (money or goods), and that "one or two months" denotes the period during which someone is asked not to use it; hence the translation "*for* one or two months". LANDSBERGER, *AHK* 19 translated "behaltet sie nicht ..... in Händen", and understands the phrase as an order to the addressee to sell or commission his merchandise without delay. The meaning of *be'ālum* in texts nos. 3 and 4 would then come rather close to that proposed for nos. 1 and 2. But still a direct object of *be'ālum* would be missing. The most logical solution is to take the words immediately preceding the verb as its object: "one or two months". The verb then should be translated as "to stick to", "to attach (too) much value to", a natural development from the meaning established for texts nos. 1 and 2, in view of the change of the object. The correctness of this interpretation is confirmed by the fact that other texts in identical situations use the verbal form *lā tušēqarā*, "don't attach (too much) value to", cf. below p. 443ff *sub* c).

e) The background of such a request is as follows. Upon arrival in Anatolia the merchandise has to be sold. This was normally done by means of a trusted commissioner (called *tamkārum*) to whom merchandise was entrusted (*ana tamkārim qiāpum*; *ina ṣēr tamkārim tadānum/nadā'um*). He promised in a deed of loan to pay for his lot of merchandise a fixed sum of silver within a fixed period of time. The credit period he was granted was expressed in weeks (*ḫamšātum*), but in letters one also meets the following terms to denote the term of credit: *ana itaṭlim* "for cash"; *ana ūme qurbūtim*, "on short term"; and *ana ūmē patiūtim*, "on long term". The price stipulated was of course influenced by the conditions agreed upon; the longer the credit term, obviously the higher the price. A sale *ana itaṭlim* had the advantage of providing the importer with cash silver, which enabled him to ship it immediately to Aššur, to start a new round, but the proceeds probably were smaller. The commissioners for their part at times seem to have been inclined to or perhaps forced to accept goods on a rather short-term credit; we frequently meet complaints

that they are in arrears with their payments of silver. They may also themselves have tried to keep the credit term as short as possible: the price agreed on will have been lower, and if they were lucky in selling the goods without delay they could make an additional profit. In this situation the merchants importing the merchandise from Aššur were faced with an alternative: either to aim for quick payment, entrusting the goods to a rather daring commissioner, who accepted a short-term credit; or to play safe by granting a long-term credit to avoid any risks and to be sure of the eventual proceeds. Texts nos. 3 and 4 clearly show that they preferred the latter alternative: the commissioner (*tamkārum*) should be trustworthy, safe; and the agent should not attach too much value to one or two months, which in fact means that he may, if necessary, grant a longer credit term than was customary. The whole situation is well illustrated in CCT 5, 5a, 13ff., a letter from Šalim-Āḫum to Pūšu-kēn and Laqīpum: AN.NA *ù* TÚG.ḪI.A *a-na* DAM.GÀR [14] *ke-nim ša ki qá-qí-di-ku-nu* [15] *a-u₄-me qú-ur-bu-tim dí-na* [16] *šu-ma a-u₄-me qú-ur-bu-tim* [17] *lá i-ba-ší ki-ma i-qí-pu-ni* [18] AN.NA *ù* TÚG.ḪI*-tí-a a-na* [19] DAM.GÀR *ke-nim ša ki-ma* [20] *qá-qí-dí-ku-nu dí-na* DAM.GÀR*-ku-nu* [21] *lu ke-en₆* ITU.*I*.KAM *iš-tí-in* [22] *ú ší-na lá tù-šé-qá-ra* [23] KÙ *ma-lá i-na ṣé-er* DAM.GÀR [24] *ta-na-dí-a-ni ú u₄-me* [25] *i-na* DUB*-pì-ku-nu lu-up-ta-nim*, "entrust tin and textiles to a commissioner whom you can trust like yourselves, on a short-term credit. If a short-term credit is impossible, give my tin and textiles on whatever conditions they can be entrusted to a trustworthy commissioner, (safe) like yourselves. Your commissioner should be absolutely safe! Don't attach too much value to one or two months (longer credit). Write to me in your letter how much silver you impose on the commissioner and the credit term agreed upon".

f) A different, though related use of *be'ālum* is attested in:

5. CCT 2, 1, 10ff.: *ša 45 ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR [11] AN.NA *a-na ba-ri-ni* [12] *ša-a-ma* KÙ.BABBAR*-áp-kà* [13] *li-bi₄-i-il₅*, "buy tin for a value of 45 minas of silver for our common funds; let your silver.....".

6. TC 1, 26, 21ff.: *šu-ma* KÙ.BABBAR*-áp-kà a-na ší-a-ma-tim* [22] *tù-šé-ba-lam la-ma* KÙ.BABBAR*-áp-kà* [23] *e-ru-ba-ni* DUB*-pá-kà li-tí-qá-ma* [24] *ší-ma-am ša ta-ša-pá-ra-ni* [25] *i-ra-mì-ni-a lá-áš-a-ma* [26] *lu-šé-bi-la-kum* KÙ.BABBAR*-pí* [27] ITU.*I*.KAM *iš-tí-in ù ší-na* [28] *li-bi-lá-ni*, "when you are sending me your silver for making purchases, before your silver arrives here, a letter from you should proceed hither, then I will make the purchases you write me from my own funds and send them to you. Let my silver for one or two months.....".

7. TC 2, 15, 9ff.: *ma* KÙ.BABBAR *ša a-na-kam aḫ-bu-lá-ku-ni* [10] *ta-ak-*

lá ù šu-ma KÙ.BABBAR *a-ma-kam* [11] *lá i-šu-ma ma i-na ra-mì-ni-kà* [12] *ta-áš-ta-qál-ma* ITU.KAM *iš-tí-in* [13] *ù ší-na i-ta-ab-e-el-kà*, "What! The silver I owed you here, you have kept back. Moreover, if there was indeed no silver over there, you could have paid (it) out of your own funds, and your silver could have.....for one or two months!"

8. TC 2, 22, 41ff.: *šu-ma* KÙ.BABBAR *i-na lu-qú-tim* [42] *lá-šu a-ḫu-a-a a-tù-nu* [43] [KÙ.BABBAR] *i-na ra-ma-na-tí-[ku-n]u* [44] [*x ma*]-*na* [*ku-un-k*]*à-ma* [45] [*i-p*]*á-ni-e-m*[*a šé-bi*$_4$-*lá-n*]*im* [46] ITU.*1*.KAM *ú* ITU.*2*.KAM *li-bi*$_4$-*il*$_5$-*ku-nu-ma gi*$_5$-*im-l*[*a-ni*], "if there is no silver from the (sale of) merchandise, please, send out of your own funds x minas of silver under seal towards me; let it....for one or two months; do me this favour!"

9. TC 3/1, 32, 20ff.: ^{d}*A-šur li-ṭù-ul 1½ ma-na* [21] *a-šu-mì-kà áš-qú-ul-ma* [22] *5* ITU.KAM *lu i-bi*$_4$-*i-il*$_5$, "Aššur is my witness, I paid 1½ mina of silver on your behalf, and truly for 5 months it...".

10. TC 3/1, 46, r. 6'ff.: *ú ki-ma a-wi-li-im* [7'] *ḫa-al-pì-im la-áš-pu-ra-kum* [8'] *um-ma a-na-ku-ma a-šar lu-qú-ut-kà* [9'] *a-dí-nu* KÙ.BABBAR-*áp-kà ḫa-lá-aq* [10'] *A-šur ú* ^{d}NIN.ŠUBUR *i-li* [11'] *a-bi*$_4$-*a a-wa-tám a-ni-tám* [12'] *e i-dí-na um-ma a-na-ku-ma* [13'] KÙ.BABBAR-*pì* ITU.KAM (erasure) *ší-na* [14'] *ú ša-la-ša-at li-bi*$_4$-*il*$_5$, "I could (should?) have written to you like a scoundrel (?) in these words: "Where I sold your merchandise, your silver is lost". Aššur and Ilabrāt, the gods of my father, forbid! (Instead) I wrote: "let my silver.....for two or three months".

11. VAT 9212, 32ff.: *a-ṣé-er* KÙ.BABBAR *30 ma-na* [33] *ša A-šùr*-DÙG *ú ší-im* TÚG.ḪI.A [34] *ša šé-ep A-šùr--ma-lik* [35] *ú a-ta* KÙ.BABBAR *10 ma-na ra-dí-ma* [36] KÙ.BABBAR-*áp-kà 1* ITU.KAM *ú ší-na* [37] *li-bi*$_4$-*il*$_5$, "You too add to the 30 minas of silver of Aššur-ṭāb and the proceeds of the textiles transported by Aššur-mālik some 10 minas of silver; let your silver ....for one or two months".

g) *CAD* B s.v. *bêlu* deals with these texts under several headings. No. 8, called unique, is found *sub* 1, b (201a), G-stem, "to be in authority (over persons)", and is translated: "let him have the upper hand over you for...". Nos. 9 and 10 are listed *sub* 1, c "to have power of disposition over money or goods", where no. 10 is translated with "let him use my silver for two or three months". No. 7 is classified as N-stem, *sub* 3, and translated "he has had the upper hand on you for a month or two", a translation in which the passive element seems missing. *AHw* 121a mentions most texts under *bêlu(m)*, 7, "verfügen über (Akk.)", *sub* b; but no. 8 is listed *sub* c, "mit Person als Obj."; no. 7 is classified as N, 2, and translated "wurdest du in Anspruch genommen".

This may suffice to show the uncertainty about the meaning and con-

struction of *be'ālum* in these texts. The splitting up of the various forms over different meanings and even stems is totally unjustified. All texts quoted show a close similarity. In all texts two (groups of) persons are involved, one of which advances or is asked to advance silver for the other, who is his commercial partner in some way. This is indicated by the use of *ina raminika* (etc.) in nos. 6-8, *aššūmika* in no. 9, *ana barīni* in no. 5, and elsewhere by the context. In all cases but one (no. 5) the form of *be'ālum* is preceded by a phrase denoting a period of some months; the verbal form itself in all cases is 3rd pers. sing. The subject could, theoretically, be a "he", as introduced by *CAD* loc. cit. in the translation of nos. 7-10. While a "he" could be involved in no. 10, a third person is out of question in the other texts, where all verbs are in the second person.

The verbal form in no. 7 has unanimously been interpreted as N-stem, cf. besides the dictionaries HECKER *GKT* § 91h. It is a t-punctual used as a *potentialis* (in continuation of *taštaqal* in line 12) in a conditional sentence, introduced by *šumma la išūma*, "if there had not been...". As this text, apart from this feature of the sequence of tenses, is in every respect comparable to the others, we have to conclude that all forms of *be'ālum* in texts nos. 5-11 are N-stems. As moreover a personal subject is excluded, *kaspum*, "silver" has to be the subject in all cases.

Grammatically there is nothing which speaks against an interpretation of the forms as punctual (precative) N. We have the following forms:

li-bi$_4$*-il*$_5$ (nos. 8, 10, 11); (*l*)*i-bi*$_4$*-i-il*$_5$ (nos. 5, 9); *li-bi-lá-ni* (no. 6). The first and second form should be interpreted as (*l*)*ibbi'il*, in line with the observations of Miss E. REINER, *A Linguistic Analysis of Akkadian*, 1965, 47f. and 91f. That *li-bi*$_4$*-il*$_5$ may contain a aleph or syllable boundary is clear from a comparison with a form like *ta-ra-am*, to be read *tara'am*, as is proved *ta-ra-i-mì-ni*, a form with vowel harmony due to a vocalic ending (HECKER, *GKT* § 91b). The form *li-bi-lá-ni* was treated as a N-stem by HECKER *GKT* § 91h. We have to assume that normally the N-stem of the verbs mediae-aleph was strong, but that the aleph or hiatus could be assimilated or could disappear if its position was at the end of a syllable and it was not followed by a vowel: *libbi'il* + *anni* > *libbi'lanni* > *libbīlanni*. One cannot rule out the possibility that the pronunciation still was as the second form of this series shows it, in view of forms like *i-šú-i-ma* besides *i-šú-ma-ma* (cf. for these forms, N-stems of *ša'āmum*, above p. 363) [526]).

[526]) The conclusion that the seven forms quoted are N-stems has a bearing on the reconstruction of the forms of verbs mediae-aleph, and forces one to modify some of the conclusions reached by HECKER *GKT* § 91. I hope to deal with this problem in a forthcoming review of this grammar in *BiOr*.

As for the meaning of the phrase, its literal meaning is that "silver is (should be) "dominated" for a few months". This obviously means, as the texts show, that one partner advances money for the other, that the silver by doing so is temporarily withdrawn from the original owner's disposition, is blocked for him. This meaning accords well with an OB occurrence of the N-stem in *LIH* 48, 10 = *AbB* 2, 46, 10: *ina* É.GAL GN *nibbe'el*, "in the palace of GN we are kept prisoners"; their freedom of movement and action is gone, by their being "dominated".

In nos. 5, 8, 10 and 11 the precative is used; somebody is asked to help by taking over financial obligations, and doing so was considered a favour (*gimlanni*), urgently requested (*aḫḫū'a attūnu*; no. 8). In no. 9 the writer complains that this money has not been at his disposition for 5 months, because the person he helped has failed to pay it back. In no. 6 one of the partners spontaneously offers to pay for the other's purchases in advance, out of his own funds, to speed up the transaction. In no. 7 the writer regrets that the addressee, when silver was missing, has not been so kind as to advance a sum for some months.

In this interpretation the pronominal suffixes used in texts nos. 6, 7, 8, which caused the dictionaries problems, become meaningful. These accusative suffixes refer to the persons who should advance the money: in no. 6 the writer makes this offer himself, the suff. is 1st pers.; in no. 7 the addressee is scorned for not having done so, the suffix is 2nd pers.; in no. 8 the addressee is asked to do so, the suffix again is 2nd pers. The acc. suffixes are to be taken as having an ablative function—as proved by T. JACOBSEN *JNES* 19, 1960, 101ff. and *JNES* 22, 1963, 18ff.— usual with *verba privandi*, construed with a double acc. object. This use of the acc. suff. is well attested in OA with the verb *erāšum* + double acc. obj., "to ask something from somebody"; cf. also the form *iḫtalqanni*, "it escaped me" (LEWY 1960, 25, quoting Ka 169). By being advanced to somebody else the silver is "withdrawn *from*" the original owner. The examples with *be'ālum* show that when an assumed *be'ālum* + double acc. object is transformed into a passive, the direct object, viz. the silver, becomes the grammatical subject, the person affected being represented by an acc. suff. [527]).

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[527]) Cf. for passive forms with this abl. suffix, JACOBSEN, *JNES* 19, 1960, 104a, 2, e.g. *iḫḫaṣbanni*," (a fifth) was cut off for me". This example, and the forms of *be'ālum* N with acc. suff., show that the statement in *GAG* § 145, h: "Wenn diese Verben (mit doppelter Akkusativrektion) ins Passiv gesetzt werden, wird das Obj., auf das die Handlung am unmittelbarsten gerichtet ist (wenn vorhanden, immer das persönliche Obj.), zum Subject, während das andere im Akk. bleibt" requires some modification. The personal object does not become the subject if it is not the direct object; the words in brackets could be omitted.

3. *kašādum*

a) The original meaning of this verb is "to reach", "to arrive (at)". In a commercial context it is used to denote that somebody arrives at, acquires something, or that something (usually costs and expenses) reach, affect somebody. In the latter meaning we have met it frequently in the *dātum*-texts in the form *ikšudam*. The use of the verb with a personal subject, normally denoting that somebody arrives somewhere, but also used to express that a merchant reaches, acquires, money, goods etc., offers no special problems, cf. the texts quoted in *AHw* 459b, 3, a. We only note that it is not always easy to decide whether or not the subject is a person, especially in cases where the 3rd pers. sing. is used [528]).

b) When *kašādum* has a non-personal subject, it is used to denote that merchandise or money "reaches" somebody, "falls to his share", "accrues to" someone. In VAT 9255, 4ff. the subject is an amount of copper, probably somebody's share in a collective commercial undertaking: *i-na* 1 GÚ *12½ ma-na 8* GÍN AN.NA [5] *ša* É.GAL-*lúm* il_5-*qí-ú* [6] *3 me-at 43 ma-na* URUDU [7] *a-1* GÚ-*tim ú-ṣa-ma* [8] *4 me-at 10 ma-na* [9] *ik-šu-ud-ni-a-tí*, "from the 1 talent 12½ minas 8 shekels of tin, which the palace took for sale, 343 minas of copper pro talent resulted, so that 410 minas (of copper) accrued to us". In connection with silver, we read in CCT 4, 49b, 17ff., dealing with a settlement: *lu ša-a* [18] *A lu ša-a* [19] *1⅓ ma-na 5* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR [20] *ik-šu-da-kà* [21] *šu-ma li-bi-kà* [22] *i-na* KÙ.BABBAR *ša* É *a-bi-a* [23] *ta-zu-zu* [24] *šé-bi-lam-ma*, "(the silver), both that of A and that which accrued to you to the amount of 1⅓ mina 5 shekels of silver—if you agree, send it to me from the silver which you received at the partition of my father's estate". Also CCT 2, 31b, 5ff.: "either silver or gold, *lu a-na* [6] *qá-tí-a i-ma-qú-ut lu i-na* [7] *ša li-bi*$_4$ *A* [8] *lu iš-tí a-ḫi-im eb-ri-im* [9] *ma-lá-a ik-šu-du* [10] *a-kà-na-ak-ma* [11] *ú-šé-ba-lam*, "either what falls to my share, or what has accrued either from A's (old) debt or from colleagues and friends, I will send to you under seal".

c) More frequently *kašādum* is used in this way to denote that costs, taxes and expenses are incurred; we have met the verb in this meaning in the *dātum*-texts, discussed in ch. XI. Various constructions are attested, and we may distinguish the following (the numbers of the texts refer to the numbers used in ch. XI):

1. *x mana*.TA *dātum ikšud*, "the *dātum* amounted to x minas each"; texts nos. 13; 38-40;

[528]) *kašādum* is especially used to denote that someone or something reaches (overtakes) a merchant or transporter *en route*, both in the G and the Š.

2. *1* GÚ-*tum/tám x mana*(.TA) *ikšudam*, "per talent it amounted to x minas (each)"; *dātum* is the logical subject, but not mentioned as such; texts nos. 7, 6; 10, 6′; 11;

3. *x mana*.TA *dātum ikšudam*, "the *dātum* amounted to x minas each"; the specification *biltam*, "per talent" may be added; texts nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 9. One might compare also ICK 2, 280, 4′-7′: *1* GÍN *16* ŠE 4′ [*š*]*a ší-mì-im* 5′ [*i*]*k-šu-dam 14½* GÍN 6′ *bi*$_4$-*il*$_5$-*tám ik-šu-dam* 7′ *ša ḫa-ra-nim*, "the pre-emption amounted to 1 shekel 16 grains; the travelling-expenses to 14½ shekels per talent". Construction 3) is the same as 1) but for the use of the ventive.

4. *x mana qaqqudutum ikšudam*, "the "head-tax" amounted to x minas"; text no. 7, 8-10, cf. p. 266 where *qaqqudutum* was taken as a plural and not as an abstract-formation.

5. *x mana dātum ikšud* + pron. suff. acc., "the *dātum* amounted to x minas for you", "a *dātum* of x minas affected you"; *ikšudka* in texts nos. 3 and 4, 5; 15, 3.11: *ikšudniāti*; 33, 11: *mala ikaššudūšunini*. Also with different subjects: TC 3/1, 85, 39f.: ½ *ma-na 5* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *gám-ru-um* 40 *ik-šu-ud-kà*, "35 shekels accrued to you (affected you) as travelling-expenses"; BIN 6, 185, 14f.: [*x* AN.NA] *ú-ku-ul* 15 [ANŠE.ḪI.A$^?$] *ik*-[*š*]*u-sú*, "the costs of donkey-fodder amounted for him to x (shekels/minas of tin)".

6. *x* KÙ.BABBAR *ḫuluqqā'ū ikšudū*, "the loss amounted to x silver"; with pron. suff. acc. in BIN 6, 185, 23-4 (*ik-šu-du-šu*) and CCT 4, 13a, 11 (*ik-šu-du-kà*).

7. *qá-tám* 12 *5⅔ ma-na 2⅔* GÍN 13 KÙ *ṣa-ru-pá-am* 14 *ik-šu-dam*, KTS 57b (KT 23), "it amounted to 5⅔ minas 2⅔ shekels of refined silver per share(-holder)". The text lists the shares of various persons, received or taken over by other people (*qāti A B ilqī*) and concludes with the lines quoted [529]).

d) What is the subject of *kašādum*? In constructions 1), 3) and 5) either *dātum* may be the subject, or, if one takes this word as an apposition, the amount preceding it. The first alternative is the most probable one, on account of construction 6), were the subject is *plurale tantum* and the verb is also in the plural. In construction 2) *dātum* is not mentioned, though it is the logical subject; this could be an abbreviated formula. In 4) the subject *qaqqudutum*, most probably plural, is followed by a verb in the sing.; this may be a *constructio ad sensum*, because *qaqqudutum* has acquired a meaning "head-tax", which could be considered as sing. Note that in ICK 2, 280, 7′ (quoted *sub* 3) the possible subject of the verb,

[529]) Cf. also CCT 4, 34b, 6ff.: *da-tum ma-lá* 7 *ik-šu-du ù ma-lá ta-az-mì-ra-ni* 8 *té-er-ta-ak-nu* 10 *li-li-kam*, "let a message from you reach me, telling how much the *dātum* amounted to and whatever you have accounted for (?)" (cf. *CAD* Z 39a).

ša ḫarrānim, "travelling-expenses", takes a curious position at the end of the sentence, which suggests that is rather an explanatory gloss, than a grammatical subject.

Construction 7) poses serious problems, as the verb here occurs with a double accusative, and a subject seems absent. The only reasonable solution in view of the context is the translation given above, in which *qātum* is given the meaning "per share" (like *biltam*, "per talent" in the *dātum*-clause), and *kaspam ṣarrupam* denotes what was "reached", to how much each share "amounted" (cf. the remarks made on p. 234 *sub* a) and the OB text quoted there, where *kašādum* is construed with an acc. and *ana* + a noun in the gen.). One could perhaps compare the fact that "to become..., to be turned into" in Akk. is normally expressed by *ewūm* + noun in the terminative adverbial (*-iš*), but also once by *ewūm* + acc.; cf. *CAD* E 414a, 1, a-b. Anyhow *ikšudam* is construed here as an impersonal verb.

Another example of such an impersonal construction of *kašādum* may be found in TC 2, 16, 19ff. The text states that the *kārum* has to deliver to the palace 213 *kutānū*-textiles. They "have asked (them) from us" (*etaršūniati*); [19] *26* TÚG [20] *A ù i-a-tí* [21] *i-kà-ša-ad*," it amounts to 26 pieces of textile for A and me". In this phrase *26* TÚG cannot be the subject, as this would normally require a plural verb, as in phrases like *1 me-at 33* TÚG [9] *a-na* É.GAL-*lim* [10] *e-ru-bu*, "133 textiles entered the palace" etc. (text no. 5 on p. 309). This impersonal use of *ikaššad/ikšudam* makes it possible to take *ikšudam* in construction 2), above, as being impersonal too.

This example of an impersonal construction is not isolated. We suggested the possibility of such a construction above on p. 402, where *ibattaqam* in some cases might be interpreted in this way. Below we will meet other examples, like *iškunam*, "it cost" (below p. 438ff.) and *iṣḫir*, "it became less, minus" (cf. below p. 427ff.). Note also the use of *izzaz*, "it (sc. the rate of exchange) stands at..": BIN 6, 59, r. 13'ff.: *an-nu-ku* [14'] *a-na-kam wa-aq-ru 14* GÍN.TA [15'] *ù ša-ap-li-iš i-za-az*, "tin (plur.) is expensive here; it (not the tin, being plur., but something like "the rate of exchange") stands at 14 shekels (of tin) each (against 1 shekel of silver), and even less". Again one may think of a *constructio ad sensum*, with "tin" as the logical subject (cf. *ana šīmim* GUŠKIN *izzaz*, quoted above p. 378 no. 21, where "gold" is the subject). But in CCT 4, 38a, quoted above p. 377 as no. 15, a subject for *izzaz* is missing, the logical subject, wool, being in the acc.; *izzaz* here seems to be an abbreviated, impersonal expression for e.g. *maḫīrum izzaz* [530]).

[530]) One should also mention the expression *šiamātum ibassī*, "purchases (pur-

e) The person affected by the costs is in the accusative, as the examples quoted under 5) and 6) show. In CCT 4, 49b, 20: *ik-šu-da-kà* (collated by Mr. C. B. F. WALKER), the acc. suff. is preceded by the ventive, as happens occasionally in OA (HECKER *GKT* § 78c). We could translate *kašādum* with acc. suff. with "to affect, to strike somebody", and *ikšudka* with "it amounted for you to...". The use of the acc. suff. in this meaning shows the ventive ending in a form like *ikšudam* cannot be rendered with "for me", but it is not easy to say what the ventive does express in these cases. We might translate with "it amounts to (so much)", or "(the costs) result in...". I have been unable to discover any reason why the scribes alternate between a construction with acc. suff. and one with ventive ending. I only note that three of the four cases without ventive ending (*ikšud*) occur in texts dealing not with the tax or toll incurred *en route*, but with the *dātum* as a deposit in or contribution to the funds of the *bīt kārim*. In text no. 13 we have *ikšud* in a summarising statement, without mention of the towns passed, where the toll was incurred. In text no. 4 the ventive occurs in combination with the tariff, *ikšudka* in combination with the absolute figure, to which the *dātum* amounted in all. Note finally that in texts nos. 1 and 13 *ikšud(am)* alternates with *iškun(am)* without obvious difference in meaning.

f) The derivative *kišdātum*, almost a *plurale tantum*—the sing. is only attested in TC 3/1, 34, 30—can denote that which somebody (viz. a merchant) "reaches, acquires", in most cases profits, a share in the proceeds of an enterprise, etc.; but it may also denote what reaches him, what he incurs, normally expenses, losses, taxes etc. (cf. already A. WALTHER, *Gerichtswesen*, 22[1]). When the first meaning is required *CAD* (e.g. A, 1, 258a, 10) may translate "profits"; *AHw* 491a s.v. uses the more neutral "Erlangtes". This meaning fits well when texts mention that the *kišdātum* are divided, as in EL 279, x + 7ff. In KTS 55b, 6; BIN 4, 96, 11; CCT 5, 9a, 32 the word denotes somebody's share in collective proceeds. As profits or dividends were frequently invested anew in an enterprise (e.g. in a *narruqqum*-society) we can explain why gold—the normal valuta in which such investments were expressed—is mentioned in connection with *kišdātum* in BIN 4, 19, 27. When TC 3/3, 247, 19ff. states that two

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chase goods) are possible (available)", quoted above p. 376, no. 6. But *ibašši* may be construed without congruence of number. The use of *ibašši* as a modal conjunction, "certainly" (*CAD* B 155a, 2, where examples from Mari and Shemshāra are quoted; one might add from OA: CCT 5, 4b, 2of.: "his letter..... in GN [20] *i-ba-ši A* [21] *ú-kà-li-im*, "A has certainly showed (you)"; and CCT 3, 49b, 19ff., where we have three times *ibašši ša*, in the meaning "either....or....or else") suggests that an impersonal use cannot be excluded.

partners share expenses and taxes according to their *kišdātum* [531]), the background may be the same.

kišdātum, denoting a share in common costs or expenses, is *inter alia* attested in CCT 5, 13b, 17ff.: in connection with 4 textiles which are missing, it is said: *1* TÚG *ki-iš-da-tù-a* [18] *ma-lu-am ṣú-ba-tí-šu* [19] *lu-nu-ma-li*, "1 textile is the share which falls to me; we will supply all his (missing) textiles". ICK 1, 53, 12f. mentions half a textile as someone's share in a loss, which he has to pay to the person who provisionally bore the loss (*ḫuluqqā'ē kišdātum ša A* KI *B*). OIP 27, 54, 9f. mentions *ki-iš-da-tù-šu* 3½ GÍN AN.NA, "his share (in the expenses amounting to 12 shekels in all) is 3½ shekels of tin". Finally VAT 9239, 20ff. is instructive: *1½ ma-na a-ta ù* [21] *A a-na* [22] *ar-ni-im ta-ad-na-tù-nu* [23] *⅔ ma-na 5* GÍN *ki-iš-da-[tù-k]à*, "you and A have been fined (in all) 1½ mina; your share amounts to ⅔ mina 5 shekels".

4. *lamādum* (G, D)

a) In the G-stem the verb means "to learn, to become acquainted with". In OA it is used in financial contexts with both a personal and a non-personal subject. In the former case the translation should be "to acknowledge, to recognise as one's liability, to take for one's account"; in the latter we might translate "to be liable to, to be subject to, to suffer". In both cases a legitimate claim or a right based on agreement is the basis of the liability.

b) With a personal subject we meet the verb in the following texts:

1. ICK 2, 292, 5'f.: *be-lu-šu-nu da-tám* [6'] *ú-lá i-lá-mu-du*, "their owners should not account for the toll" (*bēlum* may be the owner of a caravan load, or the trusted agent, the *bēl luqūtim* (to be distinguished from the real owner) who travels with a caravan, as in BIN 6, 101, 16, quoted above, p. 275).

2. TC 1, 1, 13ff.: KÙ.BABBAR *1 ma-na* [14] *[gám-r]a-am kà-ru-um* [15] *[lá] i-lá-ma[!]-ad*, "(don't send a messenger) lest the *kārum* incurs an expense of 1 mina of silver" [532]).

c) A non-personal subject is much more frequent, cf. the texts:

3. BIN 4, 85, 8ff.: *da-tám* [9] *ni-is-ḫa-tim* [10] *ú-lá i-lá-mu-[du]*, "they (the textiles) are not liable to toll and import-tax".

[531]) The text reads: *ana gamrišunu u nisḫatišunu akkišdātišunu izzazzū.*

[532]) One could also read *i-lá-pá-at*, "has to book" (G) or "is booked for" (N). The latter construction would make good sense, as the *kārum* seems to be liable to pay the costs of an official messenger, sent to collect funds for restoring the city-wall of Aššur. But in that case the acc. *gamram* would be strange. Therefore I prefer the reading *ilammad*; the verb is used, as the texts quoted below will show, with items to be qualified as expenses.

4. KTS 27b, 11ff.: *i-na a-wi-tim* [12] *ša* ILLAT-*tim*[!] *ki ma-l*[*a* KÙ].BABBAR [13] *ik-ri-bu-ni* [14] *wa-dí-ma ša-du-a-tám* [15] *i-na ḫa-ra-nim* [16] *lá i-lá-ma-ad*, "indicate how much silver of the assets of the caravan, is temple-trust, so that this will not be liable to š.-tax *en route*" (cf. note 409).

5. VAT 9212, 27ff.: *i-na 13* TÚG *2* TÚG [28] *da-tám lá i-lá-mu-du*, "two of the 13 textiles are not liable to toll".

6. GARELLI-KENNEDY 1960, no. 4, 12ff.: "299 *kutānū*-textiles, being your temple-trust (*ikribū*) entered the palace. [15] Thereof 15 were import-tax; [16] *iš-ra-tim mì-ma* [17] *lá* il_5*-mu-du*, "they were not subjected to the "tithe" " [533]).

d) In the D-stem the meaning of the verb is "to make somebody acknowledge something", "to charge something to somebody" (cf. already LARSEN *OACP*, 88 *ad* 14). It may be construed with a double acc. object (nos. 8-12). In all examples I know the subject is probably personal:

7. CCT 5, 30a, 13ff.: *22½* ŠE [14] KÙ.BABBAR *i-na Té-ga-ra-ma* [15] TÚG.ḪI.A *a-na* É.GAL-*lim* [16] *i-lu-ú-ma* [17] *ú-la-mì-du*, "they charged 22½ grains of silver in Tegarama, when the textiles went up to the palace". We have to assume a change of subject after *ilūma* (cf. for the initial *i-* of this form HECKER *GKT* § 17d; the ending *-ū* instead of *-iū* is exceptional, one might compare *būlātum* besides *be'ulātum*, ibidem § 19e) rather than make the textiles the subject, so that they "charged" expenses.

8. BIN 4, 13, 11ff.: *i-na a-wi-tí-ni* [12] *mì-ma da-tám ú-ku-ul-tám* [13] *ù ša sà-ri-dim* [14] *ú-la ú-lá-ma*[!]*-da-ni*, "he will not charge me any toll, costs of food and costs of the donkey-driver on the value of our shipment". This text may be compared with no. 4. While in the G-stem there is an acc. object, the amount or expense charged, in the D-stem we have a construction with a double acc.: the person who and the amount or tax which are charged.

9. BIN 6, 29, 37ff.: "For two donkeys, loaded with tin, which I led to Mardaman, I incurred expenses of 20 shekels of silver. [40] [*ú-k*]*ul-tám ša ṣú-ḫa-ri-šu* [41] [*ú-l*]*á-mì-sú*, "I charged him the costs of food for his personnel".

10. BIN 4, 23, 13ff.: "A son of B is bringing you two *kutānū*-textiles;

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[533]) GARELLI-KENNEDY transcribe in this text *iš-ra-tum*$_8$ and state about *ilmudū*: "le sujet de *ilmudû* peut être soit les fonctionnaires qui ont reçu le *nisḫatum*, soit les employés du marchand, qui l'ont payé". A change of subject is not necessary. A form of *lamādum* G is perhaps also attested in BIN 4, 29, 9, in an enumeration of expenses (LARSEN *OACP* 137): [8] ..... ½ *ma-na ta-ší-*/*a-tum* [9] *ša* SA.TU ½ *ma-na x* RU GA [10] *ú-ku-ul sà-ri-dim* il_5*-*/*mì-da*[*m*]*?*. The reading of the last word is conjectural; a subject of the verb is missing or may be hidden in the obscure *x* (looks an AŠ) RU GA.

one of them is the property of C; [15] *mì-ma lá ú-lá-ma-ad-kà*, "he cannot charge you any costs".

11. TC 3/1, 26, 10ff.: "A son of B brought you 5 white *lubūšū*-textiles; [12] *mì-ma lá ú-lá-ma-ad-kà*, "he cannot charge you any costs".

12. TC 2, 52, 18f.: 5 LÁ ¼ TÚG.ḪI.A [19] *ḫu-lu-qá-e ú-lá-mì-da-ni*, "(of the 85 textiles) he charged me with 4¾ textiles, (my share in) the loss". One might compare this text with ICK 1, 53, 12f. (quoted p. 417) where someone's share in a common loss is called *kišdātum* [534]).

e) The use of *lamādum* with these rather technical meanings is not restricted to OA. We meet the G-stem also in OB, e.g.: *YOS* 8, 96, 9f.: *ummiānum bābtam ul ilammad*; and *TIM* 3, 124, 7ff.: *qīptam bābtam ummiānum ul ilammad*. Both clauses stipulate the conditions of a commercial society ("Gelegenheitsgesellschaft") and refer to the rights and responsibilities of the principal or money-lender in relation to the actual merchant or travelling agent. We have to translate: "the principal does not take into account (does not suffer the financial consequences of) merchandise given as a trust or claims outstanding". When the merchant or agent has to settle accounts with his principal, but is unable to return the money invested or given as a loan and to pay interest and/or a share in the profits, because he has sold merchandise on commission and has not yet collected the outstanding amounts, the principal is nevertheless entitled to a full payment; he has nothing to do with (*ul ilammad*), does not acknowledge commissioned goods and outstanding debts.

These OB phrases have their Sumerian precursors or counterparts. In *PBS* 8/2, 151, 17f. we read: giškim.àm.ti.la ù àm.mi.íb.tag$_4$.tag$_4$ um.mi.a nu.ub.zu.zu, which is the equivalent of OB *iqippam izzibamma ummiānum ul ilammad* (cf. in Akkadian *TIM* 3, 124, 9ff. and *VS* 9, 182/3, 7ff.), "should he entrust (to a commissioner) or leave behind (as outstanding debt), the principal shall not acknowledge it." Here the protasis of the clause consists exclusively of verbs [535]). In some OB texts from Ur there is a nominal object, depending on the verb zu.zu (= *lamādum*): *UET* 5, 415, 11f. read: um.mi.a dag.gi$_4$.a nu.mu.un.ta.zu.zu; 428, 24f.: um.mi.a sila.gé(KE$_4$).ne nu.un.ta.zu.zu!

[534]) A form of the D-stem perhaps also in KTK 9, 4f.: *da-ta-am? ša ḫa-ra-ni-[im?]* [5] *A ú-lá-mì!-da?-ni?*.

[535]) Cf. for tag$_4$ = *ezēbum* in this context *CAD* E, 421, 3, a, where one may add TIM 3, 124, 9ff. and VS 9, 182/3, 7ff. The translation of the text given by EILERS, *Gesellschaftsformen*, 61 (cf. also LANDSBERGER *OLZ* 29, 1926, col. 763 for this text) requires modification in the light of the new texts. It is not what the principal did to his agent or partner, that matters, but what the latter did with the merchandise: trusting it to a commissioner or leaving it behind on credit, which made him unable to pay back.

(collated by Dr. E. SOLLBERGER); and 367, 12f.: i.bí.za dam.gàr.ra nu.mu.un.ta.zu.zu [536]).

The acc. objects of zu.zu in these cases are: i.bí.za (= *ibissū*, "commercial losses"), dag.gi_4.a and sila.gé.ne. As is shown by LANDSBERGER, *MSL* 1, III, 1, 48ff. and 57ff. the latter two words are equivalents of *bābtum*. *ana ittišu* III, 1, 48ff. deals with sila.gál.la ("being in the street"), equated with *bābtum* and *qīptum*, and the curious sila.gé.ne most probably is identical with this sila.gál.la, which in the form sila.a.gál.la is already attested in Ur-III texts with the meaning "outstanding goods/claims" (cf. *CAD* B 11b, 2).

ana ittišu III, 1, 57ff. introduces dag.gi_4.a = *bābtum*, and has the following two phrases, in which again *lamādum* is used:

59: um.mi.a dag.gi_4.a.ni nu.un.z[u]—[*ummiānu bābtašu u*]*l idī*, LANDSBERGER: "Der Kapitalist hat sein Quartier nicht gekannt";

60: um.mi.a dag.gi_4.a.ni nu.un.zu.z[u]—[,, ,, *ul*] *ilammad*, LANDSBERGER: "Der Kapitalist wird sein Quartier nicht erfahren".

The translations proposed by LANDSBERGER prove to be wrong in the light of the new evidence, though the phrases remain in some way problematic. LANDSBERGER based his translation on the well attested equation dag.gi_4.a = *bābtum*, "city-quarter" (cf. *CAD* B 10), and was probably prompted to do so by the fact that *bābtum* in this meaning is combined with the verb *idūm* (Š) in CḪ § 251 (cf. now also 'Laws of Ešnunna', § 54), and that *bābtum* with the meaning "outstanding goods" in commercial clauses, as quoted above, is not provided with a pron. suff. However, in view of the use of dag.gi_4.a in UET 5, 415 and *lamādum* in YOS 8, 96 and TIM 3, 124 and the commercial context of the *ana ittišu*-passage, it is clear that line 60 should be translated in the same way as YOS 8, 96, 9f. and that *lamādum* has the technical sense of "to take into account, to acknowledge" [537]).

This makes it probable that line 59 requires a similar translation, even

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[536]) The clauses recently have been discussed by EDZARD 1970, 59, commenting upon his no. 28, 9: *i-qí-pa-am i-zi-ba-am* [10] *i-na ki-si-šu*. . . .Cf. also no 51, 7ff.: *A* [8] *ba-ab-ta-a*[*m*] [9] *ú-la i-la-ma-a*[*d*].

[537]) It is a difficult question how the two Sumerian equivalents of *bābtum*, sila.gál.la and dag.gi_4.a, are related. Did Sumerian dag.gi_4.a, basically a topographic indication (cf. *CAD* B 14b, discussion), acquire a secondary meaning "that which is outside, in the city-quarter" > "outstanding goods", and was this meaning transferred to its Akkadian equivalent *bābtum*, "city-quarter", which, once this had happened, could be used as the equivalent of sila.gál.la? Or should we start from the latter Sumerian word (already attested in Ur-III texts), which had received as Akkadian equivalent *bābtum*, "outstanding goods" (perhaps formed after a Sumerian ká.e.gál.la, once attested, cf. *CAD* loc. cit.; cf. also the use of *bābum*

though the verb is this time *i-di*, and LANDSBERGER, probably on account of the distinction between nu.un.zu/*idī* and nu.un.zu.zu/*ilammad* (the latter with the so-called *praesens*-reduplication of the verbal root; zu.zu considered as *marū* alongside zu as *ḫamṭu*?), translates *idī* as a past tense. But it seems unlikely that line 59 looks back in the past on what the principal has done, as the clause normally stipulates rights and obligations of the principal in advance. To consider line 59 not as a real clause, derived from actual deeds, but as a product of a learned scribe, who took the opportunity to illustrate a point of Sumerian grammar and the difference between *idūm* and *lamādum*, is hardly convincing. We better take nu.un.zu/*idī* as standing for a present tense, parallel to *lamādum*. As the texts quoted in *CAD* I/J 20bff. show, *i-di* can be used as a present tense and the Sumerian equivalent of *idūm* is normally a single zu, in whatever tense the verb is used (only some lexical texts differentiate between igi.zu = *uddū ḫamṭu* and igi.zu.zu = *uddū marū*; cf. also zu.zu, *CAD* I/J 20b).

An important argument for considering the use of *idī* in line 59 as correct and for attributing to this verbal form the meaning "he will acknowledge, take into account" is the occurrence of *idūm* with exactly the same meaning (though not recorded in *CAD* I/J 28f. *sub* b (3'?)) in *UET* 5, 212, a lease of a field, where we read: [9] *bi-ib-lam* [10] *ri-iḫ-ṣa-am* [11] *na-am-ka-ra-am* [12] *ù ma-na-ḫa-at* A.ŠÀ [13] *ú-ul i-de-e-ma* [14] *1* IKU [15] *0.4.1.0* ŠE Ì.AGA.E, "without taking into account (damage through) flooding, inundation, (costs of maintenance of) irrigation canals and investments in the field, he (the tenant farmer) will measure out per *iku* $^5/_6$ kor of barley" (cf. *CAD* B, 222a, 1, a). Here *idūm*, "to know", acquires a meaning "to take into account" (which in fact means "to deduct" when measuring out the rent). Perhaps the scribe writing *ana ittišu* III, 1, 59 had this *idūm* in mind, which indeed could have been used to describe the fact that the *ummiānum* should not take into account the nature of the transactions of his agent.

In a deed, closely parallel to both *YOS* 8, 96 and *TIM* 3, 124, stipu-

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in a commercial context in OA AN.NA *bābšu laššū*, "there is no supply of tin", quoted above p. 381; and OB *bāb kīsim*, "the opening of the money bag", i.e. receipts and expenditures in connection with the capital, cf. *CAD* B 24b, b: BE 6/1, 97, 17)? In that case *bābtum* would have had a double meaning, and the second meaning, "outstanding goods", would have been shared in due time by its Sumerian equivalent in the first meaning, dag.gi$_4$.a, not only in *ana ittišu*, but also in actual deeds like *UET* 5, 415 (Rīm-Sīn). I cannot solve this problem with the textual evidence available. Cf. for the meaning of *bābtum*, never simply "commercial loss" as *CAD* B 13b, 3 proposes, and its combination with the verb *ezēbum*, my remarks in *BiOr* 24, 1967, 185 *ad* no. 12, with note 1. Cf. now EDZARD 1970, 187 *ad* no. 190, with note 2, where he suggests a spelling *ba'abtum* for OA.

lating the relation between the *ummiānum* and his trusted agent, *VS* 9, 182/3, we read: [7] *i-qí-pa-am* [8] *i-zi-ba-am-ma* [9] *um-mi-a-nu-um ú-ul i-še-mi-šu(-ú)*, "if he (the agent) gives something as trust (*qīptum*) or leaves it behind (as *bābtum*, "outstanding claim"), the money-lender will not "hear" him". In this text *šemūm* obviously means "to listen to his explanation", in the sense of to accept his excuses for non-payment, obliging him by granting him extension of payment. This is the same idea that *idūm* and *lamādum* express in the other texts. In OA a similar meaning for *šamā'um* is attested, again showing the use of similar terminology. BIN 6, 74, 35f. reads (the subjunctive is caused by the fact that it is a promissory oath): *1½* GÍN.TA *ṣibtam* [36] *ana 1 manā'im la a-ša-me-ú-kà*, "I shall not oblige you with regard to the payment of an interest of 1½ shekels (per month) per mina" (I will not relieve you of payment).

g) I know of no occurrences of *lamādum* D in OB with this technical meaning, as attested in OA (above *sub* d). In OB deeds from Susa, however, we have in similar contexts, i.e. contracts of a commercial society, regulating the relations between money-lender (*ummiānum*) and agent the permansive Š of *aḫāzum*: *šūḫuz*, cf. the texts quoted in *CAD* A, 1, 182b, f., e.g.: *ana bābti u šiḫiṭ ḫarrāni ummānu ul šūḫuz*, "the creditor is not liable for outstanding merchandise/claims (not: "payments to the city quarter", *CAD* loc. cit.) and (losses through) highway robbery". The Š of *aḫāzum*, here translated with "liable for" (the translation "need not be informed about" in *CAD* E 421b, a has rightly been abandoned; *CAD* B 13b, 3, b has "is held responsible", which approaches the meaning more nearly) denotes "to make somebody take, grasp, hold something". As *aḫāzum* can also mean "to learn", and *šūḫuzum* also "to teach, to instruct", the use of this verb offers a good semantic parallel to *lamādum/lummudum*; cf. *Šurpu* II, 64 where both verbs are used in the permansive as parallels. The form *šūḫuz*, "is liable for", may denote that the person in question has been made to accept, to recognise expenses, losses etc. as incumbent on him [538]).

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[538]) *CAD* A, 1, 182b, g, quotes two OB texts which show a construction *ina eqlim šūḫuz*, "has a claim on the field"; the use of the preposition *ina* is remarkable, as in the texts quoted above we always have *ana bābtim...šūḫuz*. Prof. KRAUS refers me also to *AbB* 1, 74, 11f.: *ana amātim šināti ul šūḫuzaku*, and line 16:*ūl šūḫuzāku*. The latter could be translated with "I am not involved"; the former is translated by KRAUS with: "Mit besagten Sklavinnen habe ich nichts zu schaffen". It is not easy to make out how the construction *šūḫuz ina* (*eqlam aḫāzum* does not occur) or *šūḫuz ana* has to be interpreted or derived. Is the basic notion that of "intellectual acceptance" (*aḫāzum*, "to grasp") or one of "factual seizure" (*aḫāzum*, "to seize, hold")? In view of the parallel with *lamādum/lummudum* the former alternative seems more probable. But one gets the impression that the permansive Š

5. *ṣaḫārum* (G, D)

a) As is clear from *CAD* Ṣ 120ff. s.v. *ṣeḫērum*, 1, d and 2, c this verb is in frequent use in OA. This is natural because many texts deal with financial matters, book-keeping and accounting, and in particular because *ḫarāṣum*, "to deduct", frequent in OB accounting, is not used in OA. One may compare two similar clauses in OB and OA, both dealing with a sale of land, in which the case is envisaged that the recorded and the actual size of the plot do not tally. *MDP* 24, 255, 24ff., OB Susa, stipulates: *imaṭṭīma* (*kaspam*) *iḫarraṣ iwattirma kaspam ūṣṣab*, "if it is too small, he (the buyer) deducts (silver); if it is too big, he adds silver". OA TC 2, 11, 9ff. writes: [*šumma*] *batiq kaspum iṣaḫḫer šumma....watar kaspum itter*, "if it is too small, the silver becomes less; if it is too big, the silver increases". This comparison moreover shows a marked tendency in OA to use intransitive verbs with a non-personal subject, where OB uses transitive ones with a personal subject (*iḫarraṣ - iṣaḫḫer*; *uṣṣab - itter*). This preference makes it possible to make general statements, but at the same time tends to complicate verbal constructions from a syntactical point of view, especially when they nevertheless tried to denote who were the agents, the persons affected, and the amounts deducted or added.

b) The verb is used in the G- and D-stems. *CAD* loc. cit. tries to differentiate them by giving as their respective meanings in financial contexts: G: "to count as a credit, to appear as a credit"; D: "to reduce a credit by entering a debit against it, to debit (a person for an amount)". In many texts these translations do indeed make good sense, but in general they are too specific, and bring too much interpretation into the text. There is no reason why *ṣaḫārum* G could not be used to signify that a credit diminishes, or D to express that a debit is reduced. To quote one example: CCT 3, 48a, 9 is translated in *CAD* Ṣ 124a with "in accordance with PN's document, whereby he is in debt for the money of the pectoral, debit (*ṣaḫḫirma*) (him for) eight shekels of silver and get him to weigh out the balance..". This translation, however, makes no sense, as the context shows that the original debtor was credited for some reason with 8 shekels of silver, and that this amount had to be deducted from his debit (his debit should be reduced by 8 shekels), after which he still had to pay the balance (*šittam*). The imp. D *ṣaḫḫirma* simply states "make it less", "reduce it" viz. the debit, or if we use the verb in this meaning, "deduct it".

The two main problems in an analysis of the verb and its constructions are the following. Firstly: the verb basically means "to become less", and

acquired a rather independent meaning "brought into relation with", and from there "liable for", "involved in", "having a claim on" etc.

in a financial context can only have a non-personal subject in G, and in the D, "to make less", a non-personal object. But in a text like CCT 3, 48a, *ṣaḫḫir*, "make less" has as object not the original amount of the debt, which is "reduced", but the "eight shekels", which are "subtracted". The conclusion seems warranted that in the D the verb not only means "to make less, to reduce", but also "to deduct, to subtract". In the G, accordingly, as some examples will show, we observe that its meaning is not only that the basic amount, from which something is deducted, "becomes less", but that also the amount deducted can be the subject of the verb; in that case we are to translate "to be deducted from" (Dutch: "in mindering komen op").

In the second place we note that originally the person affected by the transaction and the amount deducted could not enter into a syntactical relation with the verb. They figure more or less as in a list: "initial amount: x silver; minus: y silver; person affected: A". Gradually however such relations came to be expressed by prepositions and pron. suffixes. This development went hand in hand with the development in meaning, just mentioned. In some cases such relations were not yet expressed, as in CCT 3, 48a, 9, where the simple *ṣaḫḫirma* does not indicate by syntactical means from what one deducts, nor for whose account. The words "make (it) eight shekels less" acquire their meaning from the context. In other cases, to be quoted below, this was done by syntactical means. We must try to show this variety of constructions in our translations, but if we supply the relations not indicated *expressis verbis* in the context, the constructions may be obscured and words may be over-interpreted.

c) I first quote a number of examples of the G-stem.

1. EL 321, 38ff.: *A* [39] DUB-*pì-šu e-mar-ma šu-ma ba-tí-iq* [40] *i-ṣa-ḫe-er šu-ma* DIRIG *ú-ma-la*, "A will check his tablets and if it is too little, it (the debt) will diminish; if there is an excess, he (the creditor) will supplement". The amount of an old debt has to be balanced with the value of confiscated assets (deeds of loan, the "tablets" of line 39). If the latter is less than the original debt, the debt will become less (we could say: it will be deducted from the debt, but no relations are expressed); if it exceeds the debt, the creditor may keep the confiscated assets, but must pay back or supplement the excess [539]).

2. TC 2, 11, 6ff. (already partly quoted *sub* a): *ša-la-áš* [7] *šu*[!]*-ba-tim*

[539]) A change of subject has to be assumed in this text with EL commentary ad loc. and *CAD* S 123a, d. Line 39f. may be compared with a clause from OB Susa (*MDP* 24, 357, 5ff.; cf. *CAD* A, 2, 488a): *imtaṭīma umallā imtātirma* (written: *i-*UM*-ta-ti-ir-ma*) *kaspa išaqqala*, "should it be too small, he will supplement, should it be too large, he will pay silver".

i-ma-du-du-m[a] [8] *[i]-na ša-la-áš* [9] *šu-ma ba-tí-iq* KÙ.BABBAR [10] *[i]-ṣa-ḫe-er šu-ma* [11] *i-na ša-la-aš* [12] *wa-ta-ar* KÙ.BABBAR *i-té-er*, "they will measure out three "plots" [540]) and if there prove to be less than three "plots", the silver diminishes; but if there are more than three, the silver increases [541]).

3. KTK 97, 15ff. (*EL* 95): A received a loan of 14 shekels of silver for a trading enterprise; *šu-ma lá-ma* u_4*-mì-šu* [16] *ḫa-ra-nam i-ta-ra-iṣ* [17] *i-na ku-ru-mì-tí-šu* [18] KÙ.BABBAR *i-ṣa-ḫe-er*, "if he completes his journey within the term set for him, the silver (of the loan) becomes less by means of his (unused) food allowance" (cf. *CAD* Ṣ 123a, d).

4. LANDSBERGER 1940, no. 2 (= TC 2, 77 = *EL* no. 331), 9ff.: *i-na* 1 GÚ *30 ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR [10] *ša* DUB-*pá-am ša A* [11] *B iḫ-ri-mu* [12] AN.NA *ù* TÚG.ḪI.A *ša GN...* [15] *...lu-qú-tám* [16] *ša GN ki-ma* [17] *na-áš-ú-ni i-ṣa-ḫe-er*, "from the 1 talent 30 minas of silver, for which B (the creditor) drew up a valid deed of loan of A, tin and textiles in GN—as soon as one brings this merchandise from GN, it will be deducted". The text continues in 19ff.: *ší-tí* KÙ.BABBAR [20] *ki-ma i-dí-nu-šu-ni* [21] AN.NA *i-na* AN.NA... GUŠKIN [23] *i-na* GUŠKIN [24] *i-ṣa-ḫe-er*, "as for the rest of the silver (of the debt), as soon as he will have given it to him, tin from tin....and gold from gold will be deducted".

5. KTB 3, 7ff.: in consequence of the purchase of wool and fleeces: 1 *ma-na 10* GÍN.TA KÙ.BABBAR [8] *i-qá-ta-tí-ku-nu i-ṣa-ḫe-er*, "1 mina 10 shekels of silver (for) each (of you) will be deducted from your shares (accounts)". A similar construction in EL 287, 31 where the slave-girls the heirs have taken, will be deducted from their shares in the inheritance (*iqqātišunu iṣaḫḫer*); and CCT 1, 24a, 16ff. where somebody's proportional share in a loss "will be deducted from his share (in the proceeds, or from his account)": *iqqāti A iṣaḫḫer*.

6. KTH 19 (*EL* 176), 16ff. A, B, C, sons of D owe Pūšu-kēn 7 minas of silver. When the latter settles accounts with his *ummeānū* in Aššur: *i-na ší-ip-kà-tim* [17] *ša D* [18] *i-qá-tim ša A* [19] *B* [20] *ù C i-ṣa-ḫe-er*, "it will be deducted from D's dividends on the accounts (from the shares?) of A, B and C". D probably was one of Pūšu-kēn's *ummeānū*, who receives dividends. D having died, his investment in Pūšu-kēn's enterprise had been divided into three separate shares for his sons; the debt of the latter is paid off, by subtracting it from what they would receive as their father's heirs.

7. TC 3/1, 24, 38ff.: you have to balance 1 mina 3⅓ shekels of silver 2¼ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR [39] *ša i-na-pu-lu-ni-ku-ni iṣ-ḫi-ir-ma* [40] 1 *ma-na* 1 GÍN *15* ŠE *a-na A* [41] *a-pu-ul*, "minus the 2¼ shekels of silver which they

[540]) For *šubtum*, "plot" as a surface measure cf. above p. 323.
[541]) *i-té-er*, cf. for this form HECKER *GKT* § 93b.

will pay you as balance, you should pay 1 mina $1^1/_{12}$ shekel of silver to A".

8. TC 2, 69 (*EL* 204; cf. *EL* II 183 ad loc.), 7ff.: of (*ina*) the 44 shekels of silver, which A gave to B in GN for purchases, *da-tám* [8] *ni-is-ḫa-tim ù mu-ṭá-e* [9] *iṣ-ḫi-ru-ma* $8\frac{1}{2}$ *ma-na* AN.NA [10] *a-na C D* il_5*-qí*, "after deduction of *dātum*, import-tax and underweight, D took $8\frac{1}{2}$ minas of tin for C".

9. CCT 5, 5b, 17ff.: *ni-is-ḫa-tum ù* [18] *ša-du-a-tám iṣ-ḫi-ir-ma* [19] $7\frac{1}{2}$ *ma-na 2* GÍN [20] KÙ.BABBAR KI *A ni-*il_5*-qí-ma*, "after deduction of import-tax, and *šaddū'utum*-levy, we took $7\frac{1}{2}$ minas 2 shekels of silver from A".

10. BIN 6, 255, 4'ff.: [*i*]*-na šu-uq-lim ša A* [5'] *lu ni-is-ḫa-tum lu mu-*[*ṭá-ú*] [6'] *iṣ-ḫi-ir-ma 1* GÚ $5\frac{1}{2}$ *m*[*a-na*] [7'] [*iz*]*-ku-a-am*, "after deduction of both import-tax and underweight from the packet, 1 talent $5\frac{1}{2}$ minas became available".

11. VAT 9257, 7'ff.: *10* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *lu ú-ku-ul-tí* [8'] [*ša*?] *sú-ub-ri-im lu ga-am-ru-um* [9'] [*š*]*a ḫa-ra-nim iṣ-ḫi-ir-ma* [10'] *ší-tí* KÙ.BABBAR *1 ma-na 16⅔* GÍN, "after deduction of ten shekels of silver for food [for] the slave and other travelling-expenses, there remains 1 mina $16\frac{2}{3}$ shekels of silver".

12. CCT 5, 38a, 34ff.: A owes B $10\frac{1}{3}$ shekels of silver, price of a textile: *7* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *iṣ-ḫi-ir-ma* $3\frac{1}{3}$ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR [35] *ša B i-li-*bi_4*-a*, "after deduction of 7 shekels of silver (an earlier debt of B towards A) I still owe B $3\frac{1}{3}$ shekels of silver".

13. TC 3/1, 59, 11ff.: KÙ.BABBAR *a-na a-wi-lim áš-ta-qál* [12] KÙ.BABBAR *i-na ta-aḫ-sí-is-ti-kà* [13] *li-iṣ-ḫi-ir*, "I have just paid the silver to the gentleman; it may become less on (be deducted from) your memorandum".

14. KTK 95, 8ff.: KÙ.BABBAR *ma-lá* [9] *qá-sú-nu i-kà-šu-du-ni* [10] *i-ša-qú-lu-ma* [11] *i-na* DUB*-pí-šu-nu* [12] [*ḫa*]*-ar-mì-im* [13] [*i-ṣa*]*-ḫe-er*, "all the silver they obtain they will pay and it will become less on (be deducted from) their official deed (of loan)".

d) In texts nos. 1, 2 and 3 the subject of *iṣaḫḫer* is the amount from which something is deducted: in nos. 1 and 3 the original debt, in no. 2 the purchase price. In texts nos. 4, 5, 8, and 10, however, the use of the preposition *ina* shows that the amount deducted from (*ina*) some other amount is the subject. In nos. 4 and 8 *ina* precedes an amount in silver; in no. 5 and comparable texts mentioned there we have *ina qāti* or *ina qatāti*, "from the shares/accounts". In the latter case we could take *ina* not only in a partitive sense, but also in a local one: the amount becomes less on an account(-tablet). This is suggested by no. 13 (*ina taḫsistika*) and no. 14 (*ina ṭuppišunu*). But we should bear in mind that "on a tablet" does not mean that the figure on the tablet actually changes (one could hardly alter a figure on a baked, encased (*ḫarmum*, text no. 12) tablet). In that case one would have to write a new document. Therefore we may assume

ina ṭuppim actually means "(deducted) from the amount mentioned on the tablet"; in other words: *ina* will be partitive in these cases too. The same is true in no. 6, where *ina* is repeated.

In text no. 2 *ina* is not dependent on *ṣaḫārum*, but belongs to *batiq/watar*; *batiq* + *ina* is "missing from", the preposition being repeated with *watar* for the sake of brevity, though one would expect rather *ina ṣēr* or *ēli*. In no. 3 *ina* rather has an instrumental meaning: *ina kurummitišu iṣaḫḫer* does not mean that the amount is deducted from the food allowance, but, as the translation suggests, the debt diminishes "by means of", "by clearance of" the amount of the (unused) food allowance.

e) In texts nos. 7-12 we have the punctual *iṣḫir(ū)* in various constructions:

no. 7: x silver *ša.....iṣḫirma* y silver *apul*;
no. 8: *ina* amount x *dātam nisḫatim u muṭā'ē iṣḫirūma....A ilqī*;
no. 9: *nisḫatum u šaddū'atam iṣḫirma....nilqī*;
no. 10: *ina šuqlim lu nisḫatum lu muṭā'ū iṣḫirma....izkū'am*;
no. 11: *x* silver *lu ūkulti..lu gamrum..iṣḫirma...šīti..*;

The use of the punctual + *ma* expresses the idea that this process of "becoming less" precedes that expressed by the main verb or the result stated as a nominal sentence (nos. 11, 12). In no. 7 the final imperative denotes a future action, which must be preceded by the action expressed by *iṣḫirma*, which itself is still in the future; we may translate: "pay... after deduction of...".

There are remarkable differences in number and case between the texts quoted. The verb is in the plur. only in no. 8, where, however, the three logical "subjects" are in the acc. In nos. 10 and 11 the sing. of the verb can be explained by the distributive *lu*, which does not however indicate alternatives, but means, as often in OA, "both....and". In no. 9 the "subject" is plural, the verb singular; of the "subjects" one is in the nom., the other in the acc.

How are we to explain these features? We cannot refer to text no. 4, where we seem to have the phrase: *ina..kaspim....luqūtam...iṣaḫḫer*, because *luqūtam* also functions as object to *naš'ūni*, which does explain the acc. In our texts nos. 8 and 9 the items or amounts deducted are not the logical object of the verb *laqā'um*; one can only "take" what remains, after deduction of the items mentioned. To explain the acc. in no. 9 as caused by the preceding *u* (referring to Hecker *GKT* § 125m; cf. Matouš, *OLZ* 1968, col. 250) is too simple and the introduction of syllabic values like tum_{10} for DAM or tam_4 for TUM hardly convincing, as *mu-ṭá-e* in no. 11 cannot be explained away by this method.

These facts suggest that the OA scribes at times were themselves not quite sure how to use the verb *ṣaḫārum*, because the meaning fluctuated between "to become less" (construed with a subject in the nom.) and "to deduct" (construed with an acc. object). One moreover gets the impression from the lack of number congruence that *iṣḫirma* was more or less used as an adverbial expression, meaning "minus", or "after deduction of", while the syntactical relations—apart from the use of a clear punctual—remained rather unclear. In no. 8 the construction would have been grammatically correct if the writer had used *ṣaḫḫurum*, "to deduct"; did he start the phrase with the D-stem in mind? In no. 9 also the scribe seems to have used *iṣḫir* as an impersonal, more or less adverbial expression, and had trouble in expressing "by how much" the amount diminished. On the other hand some texts using the D-stem, below nos. 22 and 23, have the "object" in the nom.; did the scribe have *ṣaḫārum* G in mind?

The use of the G shifts the attention from the human agent who deducts to the fact that there simply are negative items to be deducted. Nobody really deducts the *muṭā'ū*, "underweight"; the amount has simply become less. It was not important but rather self-evident who took the *dātum* and *nisḫatum*; it only mattered that the amounts paid as such reduced the amount eventually available. The G-stem describes these deductions as in some way natural procedures. In no. 1 this is clear: nobody really has to deduct the assets from the debts, the latter almost automatically become less if they exceed the assets. If however the reverse proves true the human agent has to supplement (*umallā*). When occasionally in similar texts *ṣaḫārum* D is used, more stress is laid on the calculations and the accounting. When in text no. 30 *ṣaḫḫurum* is used with *muṭā'ū* as object, the book-keeper of the *kārum* may be thought of as the subject of the action.

f) While the D-stem can indicate the person affected by the operation by means of a pronominal suffix or a pronoun, the G-stem as a rule does not express this. A single exception is text no.

15. TC 1, 29, 17ff.: *um-ma a-ta-ma ú-ta-ni-iš* [18] *2* GÍN *ṣa-aḫ-ra-tí ší-tí* KÙ.BABBAR-*pì-a* [19] *a-ki-a-ma i-na* [20] *pá-ni-ú-ti-ma* [21] *šé-bí-lam*, "You said: "I have become (financially) weak". Herewith two shekels are deducted for you; but send me at least the rest of my silver with the first opportunity". The form *ṣaḫrāti* cannot simply mean "you are (have become) small", like e.g. *ṣaḫrāku* in CCT 5, 14a, 6 ("I was (still) young"). The translation given assumes the following construction: a) a (not attested) construction *iṣaḫḫerakkum*, "it becomes less for you", in which the person affected is expressed by a dative suffix as with *ṣaḫḫurum* (see below); b) a trans-

formation of this sentence into the pass. perf., yielding *ṣaḫrāti*, "it is now less for you". This construction is comparable to the permansive *qabiāku*, "I have been ordered (to do...)", as a passive to *iqabbiūnim*, "one orders me". The dative suffix of the finite verb becomes the grammatical subject of the permansive. "Two shekels" denotes how much it has become less, and serves as the virtual subject of the permansive [542]).

This unusual construction may have been chosen because a phrase *ṣaḫḫirma...šēbilam* might suggest that the debtor was the one who deducted, which is not the case. Another form, making the creditor the subject, would require a change of subject [543]).

g) For the D-stem I first quote a number of texts:

16. EL 287, 14: *nu-ṣa-ḫi-ir-ma*. This form follows clauses stating that before an inheritance can be divided the claims and obligations of one of the heirs have to be established.

17. BIN 4, 72, 2f.: *šu-ma wa-at-ra-am mì-ma* [3] *ta-dí-nam ṣa-ḫi-ir*, "if you paid in any way too much, deduct".

18. CCT 3, 48a, 8ff.: *8* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ṣa-ḫi-ir-ma ší-tám...ša-áš-qí-il*$_5$*-šu-ma*, "deduct 8 shekels of silver...and make him pay the rest".

19. TC 1, 27, 36ff.: "I did not take the 10 shekels you gave me; *ší-im* ANŠE [39] *tù-ṣa-ḫi-ir*, "but you reduced the price of the donkey (check your memorandum)".

20. ATHE 65, 33ff.: *ga-am-ri* [34] *š[a-d]u-a-at* TÚG-*tí-ku-nu* [35] *ú-ṣa-ḫi-ir-ma...*, "I deducted my expenses and the *š*.-tax on your textiles".

21. CCT 4, 13c, 4ff.: *4* TÚG *ku-ta-/nu* [5] *ša li-bi*$_4$*-šu me-at* [6] *5* TÚG *lu-ṣa-ḫi-ir-ma* [7] *ší-tí* KÙ.BABBAR..., "4 *kutānū*-textiles which he (still) owes me—let him 'reduce' the 105 textiles and the rest of the silver...".

22. KTH 18, 23: *13½* GÚ *a-wi-tí da-tum lu-ṣa-ḫi-ru*, "13½ talents the value of my merchandise, let them deduct the toll".

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[542]) The permansive is used here more or less like a t-punctual, stressing the effect: "herewith it is 2 shekels less for you"; i.e. with my sending or your reading of this letter. Hence the use of *iṣḫir* would have been inappropriate. Another possibility is to connect *ṣaḫrāti* directly with the following *šēbilam*, "send me, while it is...less for you". This paratactical, asyndetic construction has been dealt with by ROWTON, *JNES* 21, 1962, 271b ff. and FRANKENA, *BiOr* 19, 1962, 164. They only mention examples of a combination between a permansive and a durative, punctual and t-punctual, but an imper. of course is not to be excluded. In this case the descriptive permansive would in fact describe the object of the main verb.

[543]) Not included is I 453, 15ff. (MATOUŠ, *AS* 16, 1965, 177a) which reads: "if he does not pay" [16] *1 ma-na-um ½ ma-na-em* [17] *i-*ZI-*ḫu-ur* (envelope: *i-*ZA-*ḫu-ur*). MATOUŠ reads *i-ṣé/ṣa-ḫu-ur*, apparently understanding the phrase as "per mina it becomes ½ mina less", but this hardly makes sense, as it is a matter of a "Verzugszins" of 50%. Moreover the thematic vowel *-u-* points to *saḫārum/isaḫḫur*, "to return, to go around". We might translate: "half a mina comes back to, is added again to each mina". I know of no parallels to this unique terminology.

23. VAT 9225, 20f. A has to pay back a debt in three annual instalments, and if he has advanced money for his creditor: [20] *i-na* KÙ.BABBAR *ša li-bi$_4$-šu* [21] *lu-ṣa-ḫi-ir-ma*, "he should deduct it from the silver he still owes", and this has the effect that [29] *ma-áš-qá-al-tù-šu* [30] *lu-ṣa-ḫi-ru*, "one should reduce his (annual) instalments" [544]).

24. CCT 1, 20a, 10ff.: A has a credit with B, [12] ŠÀ.BA *16* GÍN *ša ṣa-ri-dim* [13] *nu-ṣa-ḫa-ar*, "thereof: we will deduct 16 shekels costs of a donkey-driver". Similar constructions, first stating an amount and adding ŠÀ.BA ....*uṣaḫḫir/uṣaḫḫurū* in CCT 2, 6, 30ff. and 3, 19b, 12ff.

25. ATHE 30, 20ff.: an amount of silver, [19] for which you debited me [20] *i-na ša-du-i-tí-a* [21] *tù-ṣa-ḫi-ra*, "you deducted from the š. to which I am entitled". A similar construction in VAT 9245, 1ff., where gold is deducted from the dividends of a *naruqqum*-capital (*ina šipkātim ša naruqqīšu... uṣaḫḫar*).

26. CCT 2, 37b, 8f.: If you have paid silver to A or B, *i-ší-im* URUDU SIG$_5$ [9] *lu ší-ki-im ṣa-ḫi-ra-ma*, "deduct it from the purchase price of the refined copper or the *šikkum*-copper".

27. CCT 2, 29, 33ff.: Buzāzu took 3 shekels of silver, saying: [35] *a-na A ṣa-ḫi-ir*, "debit (it) against A".

28. CCT 5, 32c, 6ff. "I gave your sister x shekels of silver, apart from the y shekels of silver [8] *ša i-na ḫa-mu-⟨uš-⟩tim* [9] *a-na A* [10] *ú-ṣa-ḫi-ru-ni*, "which they deducted for A from his one-fifth share".

29. KTS 29a, 13ff.: from (*ina*) x silver of yours.....y silver [14] *a-šu-mì A* [15] *ú-ṣa-ḫi-ru-ni-a-tí*, "they deducted for us on behalf of A".

30. KUG 34, 13ff.: *iš-tù 3 ma-na*.TA *mu-ṭá-e* [14] *2 ma-na*.TA *ni-is-ḫa-tim ú-ṣa-ḫi-ru-ni-ni*, "after they had deducted for me 3 minas each (packet) as underweight and 2 minas each (packet) as import-tax".. (cf. lines 24 and 36). Line 26ff. "5 minas as underweight and import-tax on each (packet) [27] É *kà-ri-im ú-ṣa-ḫi-ru-ni-a-tí*, "they deducted for us in the *bīt kārim*".

31. ICK 1, 111, 5ff.: 1 mina 27 shekels of silver, loss on 13 textiles of good quality [8] *ṣa-ḫu-ra-am*, "has been deducted for me".

32. ICK 1, 147, 1ff.: x silver price of y textiles; [3] *iš-tù 15* GÍN [4] KÙ.BABBAR *ša-du-a-tù-um* [5] *ṣa-ḫu-ru*, "after deduction of 15 shekels of silver, the *šaddū'utum*-tax" (he still owes me z silver).

33. CCT 4, 13c, 19ff.: "I keep an official document, stating: "the import-tax on the textiles has been deducted (*ṣa-ḫu-ur*, 21)".

34. CCT 1, 20a, 19ff. "After (the debts) of A and B have been deducted (20: *ṣa-ḫu-ru*), C is still in debt for x silver" [545]).

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[544]) Cf. for this meaning of *mašqaltum*, BALKAN 1965, col. 161 ("Rate einer Zahlung").

[545]) Not included BIN 6, 157, r. 7′, mentioned in *CAD* Ṣ s.v., because the copy reads *a-ḫu-ur*, "delayed, in arrears", which makes good sense.

h) Normally *ṣaḫḫurum* requires a non-personal object. In texts nos. 16, 17 and 26 this seems to be missing, but a protasis serves as such, introduced respectively by *mala*, "all that", *šumma* "if any", and *lu* "if either". In a number of cases the object of the verb is the amount which is reduced, "made small": no. 19: the price of the donkey (ca. 20 shekels) is reduced by deducting 10 shekels; one writes *šīm ēmārim tuṣaḫḫir*, not *ina šīm ēmārim*. In no. 21 the four textiles are deducted from the 105, the latter are said to be "reduced". The amount or number to be deducted in these cases figures as a kind of *casus pendens*. In no. 23, lines 29f. the annual instalments are reduced (though the 'object' is in the nom.).

More often the amount deducted is the object, e.g. in nos. 18, 20, 22 (*dātum* by mistake in the nom.?), 23, 24, 25, 26, 28 etc. Also in nos. 31-34, which use the permansive, this is the case. Used in this meaning *ṣaḫḫurum*, as stated above, has become a synonym of *ḫarāṣum*, "to deduct". The idea "to subtract from" henceforth could be expressed by *ṣaḫḫurum ina*, as texts nos. 23, 25, 26, 28 show. This construction of *ṣaḫḫurum* however evolved gradually from that in which the verb only had an acc. object. In a number of texts, mentioned as no. 24, we do not have the preposition *ina* but ŠÀ.BA, "thereof", a word taken from book-keeping, and not really a preposition depending on the verb; to show the difference from *ṣaḫḫurum ina*, we could translate: "thereof:...I deducted" [546]).

The person affected by the deduction figures as a dative; in nos. 27 and 28 we have a name preceded by *ana*; in nos. 29, 30 and 31 a pron. dative suffix. OB *ḫarāṣum* is also construed with a personal dative suffix, cf. *VS* 16, 120, 13 and *UET* 5, 437, 3 quoted by *CAD*. In texts nos. 32-34 the permansive is used and no prepositions or suffixes specify from which amount and for whose account deductions were made. Here the context provides the information [547]).

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[546]) In OB *ṣuḫḫurum* normally means "to reduce, to make smaller", being a factitive D-stem, cf. *CḪ* § 264 (*CAD* Ṣ 123b, a). But we also have, rather exceptionally, a meaning "to deduct from", e.g. in *ana ittišu* 4, IV, 20-21 (*MSL* 1, 65): šà KA.KEŠ.da é.a bí.íb.tur.re = *ina libbi kiṣir bīti uṣaḫḫar*, "he will deduct it from the rent of the house", to be compared with the OA construction with ŠÀ.BA. Occasionally it is used in accounts, as in CT 45, 40, 5.15 (twice *ṣuḫḫurma*), where it is used in an almost adverbial way, and we might translate simply with "minus", or "after deduction of".

[547]) A "Steigerungsadjectiv" of *ṣaḫrum* or verbal adjective of the D-stem is *ṣaḫḫurum*, "(very?) small" or "(made) small". It occurs in EL 290, x + 15, in the so-called *kārum*-statutes, where we have to read: *ṣa-ḫu-ru-tim*, "small ones", to be contrasted with the GAL-*ú-tim* in line x + 7. In connection with copper one uses the word *ṣaḫḫirum* (*ṣaḫīrum*?): L 29-561—H. LEWY 1968, 15f.—, 42: *1* GÚ URUDU *ṣa-ḫi-ri-im*; CCT 1, 35, 19-20: *40 ma-na* URUDU *ṣa-ḫi-ru-um*. The word evokes comparison with *šabburum*, "broken", "in small pieces" frequently used of copper (ATHE 37, 18; EL 13, 2; 52, 2; KTB 5, 10 etc.). The N-stem of *ṣaḫārum* is not

6. *šakānum*

a) This verb is used in various constructions and various meanings, which are not easy to understand and have caused some confusion. I first quote the most important relevant texts:

1. BIN 6, 187, 6: KÙ.BABBAR *lá áš-ta-kà-nam*, "I cannot 'put down' every time silver; r. 5′: *ší-a-ma-tim ší-ta-kà-na-ma*, "put down' regularly purchase goods".

2. TC 3/1, 1, 8ff.: (since you left for the City thirty years ago) [8] *ma-tí-ma ú-lá ta-áš-ku-na-ma* [9] KÙ.BABBAR-*ap-kà 1* GÍN [10] *ú-lá ni-iṣ-ba-at-ma*, "you have never 'put down' (anything), but we did never seize even 1 shekel of silver of yours".

3. CCT 5, 35a, 9ff.: *18* GÍN *ú-ku-ul-tum* [10] *ša iš-tù* [11] *GN ni-iš-ku-un*, "18 shekels (costs) of food since (our departure from) GN; we 'put (it) down' ".

4. VAT 9239, 24ff.: *2⅓ ma-na ga-ma-ar-kà* [25] *ša GN* [26] *ú-lá iš-ku-nu 18* GÍN [27] *ša ṣú-ḫa-re-e-kà* [28] *ù* ANŠE-*ri-kà* [29] *ú-lá iš-ku-nu*, "2⅓ minas, your expenses in GN, they did not 'put down'; 18 shekels, expenses for your servants and your donkeys, they did not 'put down' ".

5. BIN 6, 239, 4ff.: (I gave A 1½ mina of refined silver) AN.NA *ma-lá* ILLAT-*tum* [5] *i-ša-ku-nu šál-ma-am* [6] *i-na Kà-ni-iš* [7] *i-ša-qál*, "all the tin which the enterprise 'puts down' he will weigh out completely in Kaniš".

6. CCT 4, 2b, 7ff.: (2 donkey-loads of tin and textiles are mentioned) ⅔ *ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR *ù 6 ma-na* [8] AN.NA *a-na qá-tí-šu* [9] *ki-ma* AN.NA ILLAT-*tum i-ša-ku-nu* [10] *a-na* KÙ.BABBAR AN.NA [11] *li-iš-ku-na-ku-nu-tí*, "⅔ mina of silver and 6 minas of tin for his hand; at the rate at which the enterprise 'puts down' tin, he has to 'put down' tin for you for the silver".

7. TTC 15, 1ff.: "When the *nisḫatum*-tax [2] of A's enterprise [3] was levied, [4, 5] I 'deposited' 14 *kutānū*-textiles on my father's share; [6] ⅓ *ma-na*.TA *ni-ša-kán*; [7] 1½ mina for 3 *kutānū*-textiles *i*-KÀ-*na-im* [9] *tí-ša-áp-ki-im* [10] *iš-ta-ap-kà*[?]-*a* [11] ½ *ma-na*.TA *ni-ša-kán*, "were 'deposited' at the 'depositing' of.....; we will 'put down' ½ mina for each (textile)".

8. ICK 1, 155, 1ff.: ⅔ *ma-na 5* GÍN [2] *a-na* É *kà-ri-im* [3] *a-dí i-ni-kà-sí* [4] *1⅓ ma-na 2½* GÍN [5] *a-ša-kán šu-ra-am* [6] *i-nu-mì-šu-ma* [7] *a-dí 15* GÍN [8] *a-ša-kán*, "⅔ mina 5 shekels I 'deposited' at the *bīt kārim*; on the account I will 'put down' 1⅓ mina 2½ shekels; at the same time I 'deposited' a *šurum*-textile and I will 'put down' 15 shekels".

9. BIN 4, 28, 18ff.: *1 ma-na*.TA [19] KÙ.BABBAR É *kà-ri-im* [20] *iš-tap-ku-*

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attested; *ta*-ZI-*ḫi-ir-ma* in TC 3/2, 110, 16 (// L 29-564—H. LEWY 1968, 20—, 13) is to be read *tassiḫirma*, punctual N of *saḫārum*, used in hendiadys, "to do something again".

ma 1½ ma-na.TA [21] *i-ni-kà-sí* [22] *i-ša-ku-nu*, "they have 'deposited' each one mina at the *bīt kārim* and they will 'put down' on the account each 1½ mina".

10. KTS 11, 20ff.: "6 *kutānū*-textiles, 6 *šurū*-textiles to the *bīt kārim* [22] ½ *ma-na*.TA *ana* TÚG *ku-ta-ni* [23] *18* GÍN.TA *a-na* [24] *šu-ru-tim a-na* [25] *ni-kà-sí ta-ša-kán*, "½ mina for each *kutānum*, 18 shekels for each *šurum*-textile you will 'put down' on the account".

11. CCT 5, 46b, 29ff.: *10½* GÍN *ṣí-ba-at ½ ma-na* [30] KÙ.BABBAR *ta-áš-ku-nam ni-kà-sí* [31] *ki-ma A iš-tí-a* [32] *ta*[1]*-sí-ma*, "10½ shekels, interest on ½ mina of silver, you 'put down'; in the name of A you settled accounts with me".

12. BIN 6, 111, 3ff.: *mì-šu* [4] *ša iš-tí a-li-ki* [5] *pá-ni-imma-lá-i-li* [6] *a-na-kam* ZI.GA-*tám* [7] *ta-áš-ku-ni-a-tí-ni*, "why is it that with the first caravan .....you imposed on us here expenses (or: export-tax?)".

13. TC 2, 3, 31ff.: ILLAT-*at A* [32] *ú-ku-ul-tám ⅔ ma-na 5* GÍN.TA [33] *iš-ku-nu šu-nu šu-a-tí* [34] ⅓ *ma-na*.TA *ú-ša-áš-ki-nu-šu*, "they imposed on the enterprise of A food-expenses of ¾ mina each, but at the same time they made (allowed) him to impose on himself expenses of only ⅓ mina each; (why does it happen that they eat out of my merchandise)" (cf. *CAD* I/J 84a, 5, a, 1′, end).

14. VAT 9295 (cf. above p. 236, no. 11), 8ff.: "for a merchandise with a value of x talents... [10′] from A until B [11′] it imposed on us (*iš-ku-ni-a-tí*) y minas of tin; [12′] from B until C [13′–14′] it amounted (*ikšudam*) to z minas of tin per talent".

15. TC 1, 106, 4f. (cf. above p. 236, no. 13): ⅚ *ma-na*.TA [5] *ú-kul-tám iš-ku-nam*, "it imposed expenses for food of ⅚ mina each".

16. TC 3/1, 24, 25f.: *1* ANŠE *i-mu-ut-ma 17* GÍN [26] KÙ.BABBAR *iš-ku-nam*, "one donkey died and it imposed 17 shekels of silver".

17. CCT 1, 34b, 3f. (cf. above p. 233, no. 6): *54⅓ mana* [4] *iš-ku-nam*, "it imposed 54⅓ minas" (cf. note 427).

18. BIN 4, 148, 26ff.: "12 talents 28 minas of copper, which A [27] brought into GN [28], 5½ minas 2 shekels, its (value/proceeds in) silver [29] *iš-ku-nam*.

19. BIN 4, 172, 12f.: *13 ma-na* URUDU *bi-it-qá-at* [13] ½ *pí-ir-dí-im iš-ku-nam*, "13 minas of copper, losses on half (the value of) the horse (?; or, reading *birdim*, "slave") it imposed".

b) *šakānum* means "to place, to deposit", and its objects can be amounts of money or merchandise either to be deposited for weighing or counting, or to be publicly transferred to a new owner or trusted agent. This meaning may apply to texts nos. 1-8. No. 1 probably refers to the proceeds of

the trade; no. 2 perhaps also, or to the payment of a debt; no. 3 deals with the payment of expenses incurred *en route*, as does no. 4. Nos. 5 and 6 envisage the acquisition of tin through purchase, and could mean that the tin is deposited by the agent to become the property of the trader(s). In nos. 7 and 8 the verb is used to describe some way of paying silver in the *bīt kārim* in order to acquire (later on?) some textiles.

But why do they use *šakānum*, and not *šaqālum* (when the object of the verb is silver) or *nadā'um* (in case merchandise is referred to)? Texts nos. 7,5 and 8,3 do use *nadā'um* to denote the 'depositing' of textiles and silver in the *bīt kārum*, but later on turn to *šakānum*. The writer of text no. 3 states in lines 6f. that he paid (*apālum*) costs of food to two people, but uses *niškun* later on.

The answer is suggested by texts nos. 8-11. Text no. 8,3 first uses *ina nikkassī šakānum*, but in line 8 simply *šakānum*, as an abbreviation. Texts nos. 9 and 10 use this same expression in a context where text no. 7 writes only *šakānum*. No. 11 speaks about the settling of the accounts (*nikkassī šasā'um*) in connection with the 'depositing' of silver (*kaspam šakānum*). This suggests *šakānum* may in all cases be an abbreviation of *ina/ana nikkassī šakānum*.

This expression is attested several times in OA , the use of the preposition *ina* being normal (*ana*, found in text no. 10, 24, is exceptional). Two translations may be considered. The first is "to put (to book) on the account", which makes it a purely administrative procedure: items are booked to be paid later on. This meaning is frequently attributed to OB *ana nikkassim šakānim*, cf. e.g. for OB F. R. Kraus, *SD* 5, 103[5] and *AHw* 789b, 4 (also the texts *JCS* 2, 73, no. 1, 5f.; no. 2, 5f.; no. 3, 5f. (accounts concerning herds); p. 91, no. 18, 12. Boyer, *Contribution*, 35, HE 113, 34). This translation, though at times appropriately describing what in fact happened, seems too mechanical. The use of the verb *šakānum* moreover does not suggest to do so; one would rather expect a verb like *šaṭārum*, or, especially in OA, *lapātum* [548]) "to inscribe, to book". A better translation seems to be "to submit for (*ana*) (or: at the time of, *ina*) accounting".

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[548]) *lapātum* is in frequent use in OA to denote all kinds of bookings, cf. *AHw* 535b, 5. Especially in connection with bookings in the *bīt kārim*, in a variety of constructions, cf. e.g. *šūmam lapātum*, "to book somebody's name, to book on somebody's name" (CCT 2, 30, 19; ICK 1, 184, 41f.; G and D); in the permansive with non-personal subject (*kaspum*, TC 3/2, 90, 5ff.; copper, CCT 1, 22a, 5); with personal object (and indirect non-personal object; e.g. *x mana alputka*, BIN 6, 63, r. 11'; N-stem: *qātam šalimtam lillipit*, TC 3/2, 90, 17-19; permansive: *išrātim... laptāku*, "I am booked for the "tithe"", BIN 6, 15, 4ff.); with personal dative suffix (and acc. object, *watartam alappatakkunni*, CCT 4, 8a, 23ff.); also permansive N-stem (*qātātišu nalputāku*, BIN 6, 211, 27). BIN 4, 139 uses *lapātum* alongside *innikkassī šakānum*, which accordingly should not have the same meaning.

This is suggested by the basic meaning of *šakānum* and also by the repeated use of the durative in this expression (in OB, cf. the texts quoted above; for OA texts nos. 8-11 quoted above). When the accounts are settled the items or documents in question should be summitted [549]). This may imply the booking of amounts in order to make calculations, but this is rather the effect of *ana/ina nikkassī šakānum*. The meaning just proposed fits well in text no. 11: the addressee of the letter "submitted" a claim for the payment of silver as interest, whereupon the account was in fact settled (OA *nikkassī šasā'um*; OB *nikkassī/nikkassam epēšum*).

This meaning, "to submit (for accounting)" makes good sense in texts nos. 1-8: proceeds of the trade, profits and expenses were liable to be taken into consideration when accounts were settled, no doubt on the basis of documents serving as written evidence. At times, of course, the stress may shift from the submitting of evidence for profits, expenses etc., to the actual payment of these items, which normally took place when the accounts were settled. Hence *šakānum* may at times acquire a meaning like "to realise (profits)", "to get paid for (expenses)", or even "to accept for payment".

In text nos. 5 and 6 the subject of *šakānum* is *illutum*, "enterprise, trading company, caravan". Both texts use *šakānum* to denote the purchases of tin actually made, and submitted for accounting on the basis of written evidence. In no. 5 the proceeds of an expedition to purchase tin in Aššur have to be weighed out completely, without any deduction (*šalmum*; cf. the use of this word in a similar context in EL 94, 17ff.), upon arrival at Kaniš, and the result has to be checked against the official caravan account: all tin recorded in the account has to be submitted. In no. 6 the situation is similar. A caravan has received, in addition to an amount of "loose tin", some silver to cover expenses *en route*. Lines 9-11, added as a parathetic clause, stipulate that this silver in due time has to be converted into tin, according to the rate of exchange recorded in the deed of purchase (or perhaps sale), to be submitted [550]). In both texts

[549]) I believe there is hardly any difference between *ina* and *ana nikkassī šakānum*. The former is usual (cf. *AHw* 789 a,A, 1, c; also texts nos. 8 and 9 quoted above, and CCT 1, 28b, 8ff.; 33a, 16ff.; 2, 9, 38ff.; 4, 1a, 12ff.; 9b, 27ff.; KTS 55, 29ff.; TC 3/3, 196, 10ff.), the latter is better attested in OB ,cf. above. OA moreover knows *ana nikkassī nadā'um/šapākum*, cf. *AHw* loc. cit. d, and CCT 4, 1a, 36; TC 3/2, 90, 26ff. A main terminological problem is whether *nikkassū* has a concrete meaning, "the account(-tablet)" as in *nikkassūni nappuṣu*, "our accounts are smashed" (EL 167, 12) or a more abstract one, as in *nikkassū qurbū*, "accounting will take place shortly", KTB 3, 26. The word is worth a special investigation, which I hope to publish elsewhere.

[550]) I follow HECKER *GKT* p. 255[2] who takes *kima* as introducing a kind of comparison. Another, but less probable solution is to give *kima* + durative the meaning "as soon as.....can be done", cf. *GAG* § 172i.

šakānum is used to refer to the officially established, documented proceeds of the trade; as, however, this at the same time implies that the enterprise has indeed carried out its purchase successfully—and thus is able to submit evidence—we could almost translate: "as much tin as the enterprise really yields".

c) *CAD* I/J 84a, 5, b takes the verbal forms in nos. 5,5 and 7,6.11 as passives. In the first text it reads *iššakunu* (for *iššakkunu*?) and translates: "for the tin that is on the account of the enterprise". While this is more or less what the words mean, as stated above, *CAD* seems to have arrived at this result in a different way. The use of "account" suggests that it considers *illutum iššakkan* as a passive of the well attested expression (*CAD* loc. cit.) *ana illitim šakānum*, translated with "to book on the account of the enterprise" (CCT 4, 1a, 26), perhaps suggesting that it is an abbreviation of *ana nikkassī illitim šakānum* [551]). But a passive version of this expression cannot have *illutum* as a grammatical subject; it would rather yield: *kaspum ana illitim iššakkan*. Even if one starts from *šakānum* with double acc. (to be discussed below *sub* d) yielding *kaspam illatam šakānum*, still *illutum* as the indirect object does not become the subject.

In text no. 7 *CAD* I/J 83b, 5, a, 1′ reads twice *niššakkan* (N), and translates "each of us will be charged (one third (half) mina)", apparently thinking of *ina nikkassī niššakkan*. The interpretation as a passive form was perhaps suggested by OB, where *ana nikkassim šakānum* in the N-stem is well attested (cf. the texts quoted above *sub* b). But we note that in all cases the subject is non-personal; the same holds good for the object of the G-stem in OA. Therefore a personal subject in the N-stem seems excluded.

The transaction this time is much more complicated. This text, and many others, suggest that Assyrian traders could partake in collective commercial enterprises of the *bīt kārim* by subscribing to a certain amount of goods (frequently textiles) for a certain amount of silver; in this connection *ina nikkassī šakānum* is used. Though I have to admit that I have not yet succeeded in understanding the operational devices of these so-called *kārum*-transactions, I am fairly sure that words like *x mana*.TA *ina nikkassī nišakkan* do not mean that the amounts in question will be charged

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[551]) Occasionally *illutum* may even mean something like "the funds of the company", especially in the combination *ina illitim laqā'im*, cf. *CAD* I/J 84a. In this case the use of *nikkassū* could be deemed superfluous. The expression *ana illitim šakānum* may also mean "to put at the disposal of (to invest in) the enterprise", cf. e.g. *šakānum ana* in *kaspam ana šiamātim šakānum* in ATHE 64, 40 and *luqūtam ana* URUDU *šakānum* in VAT 9232, 18-20. Cf. from OB YOS 8, 125, 19f., discussed by KRAUS, *SD* 5, 216ff., where *ana* (*ḫarrānišu*) *šakānum* seems to mean "zur Verfügung stellen".

to the merchants in due time, but rather apply to the guaranteed proceeds of these enterprises, to which the merchants are entitled on the basis of their subscriptions, recorded in written warranties. The latter have to be submitted *ina nikkassī*, when the accounts of such an enterprise are settled and the proceeds are put at the disposal of those who took part in it.

d) In texts nos. 12-14 the verb has a pers. acc. suffix: *taškunniati* (12), *ušaškinūšu* (13), *iškunniati* (14). It indicates who is affected by, incurred the expenses. In the beginning of no. 13 this is *illat A*, probably also an acc., "the trading company of A". But the expense itself (*ṣītam*, no. 12; *ūkultam*, no. 13) is also in the acc., so that we have *šakānum* with a double acc. The best explanation of this feature seems to be to assume a construction as is customary e.g. with *emādum* with double acc., meaning "to impose something on somebody" (*CAD* E 140b, b, 1; also TC 3/1, 12, 7: *dātam...ēmudka*). This meaning may have developed from (*ina*) *nikkassi šakānum*, "to submit" (a claim) for payment at the accounting, becoming "to charge an expense" (cf. the translation by *CAD* I/J loc. cit. of text no. 14), and "to charge a person with an expense". This construction and its meaning show that *šakānum* had developed into a verb with a technical use, comparable in construction and meaning to *lammudum*.

e) Finally we have texts nos. 15-19, using *iškunam*. The ventive ending cannot be translated "for me"/"upon me", as this would have required, as shown under d, an acc. suffix. The subject of this verbal form is far from clear. In no. 18 it may be the person who shipped and sold the copper, and was able to submit (evidence of) its proceeds in silver. But I doubt whether this is really the meaning here. A simple translation like "it yielded" (according to written records) seems much more likely. The amount of silver is far too big to be considered as the costs of the operation, which the man in question was charging. That the proceeds of the transaction are actually meant is clear from ŠÀ.BA in the next line, introducing a statement about the way the silver was spent. In nos. 15, 17 and 19 a personal subject, "he", is excluded; *iškunam* here occurs in memoranda about expenses, debts and assets, worded in the first pers. sing., and there is nothing to indicate who the "he" could be. In no. 16 one could take the donkey as subject, but the animal did not really impose the expenses, but rather the fact of its death. In text no. 15 moreover the expense incurred is in the acc., *ukultam*, so that a construction like "costs of food imposed an expense of..." is impossible. The subject in fact is not expressed in the sentence; rather the caravan journey, the circumstances of the death of a donkey, etc. are to be understood as such. Hence we have to translate "it cost", taking *iškunam* as an impersonal verbal form, like

ikšudam, and *iṣḫir*. That in text no. 18 it seems to mean "it yielded", may be an indication that the expression is derived from *ana nikkassī šakānum*, which is neutral as to debts or assets: "to submit for accounting" (and payment). We may even suppose that the use of this form *iškunam* goes back to a fuller form *ina nikkassī iškunam*, in which the subject is personal. As the stress however was less on the person who submitted an item for accounting, than on the fact that it was and could be submitted and that, consequently, expenses or profits were really made, *iškunam* could simply mean "it yielded", "it cost", the original human intermediary being forgotten.

I know only one text where *ina nikkassī iškunam* occurs, and where it has a personal subject: TC 3/3, 196, a text dealing with the settling of accounts (line 1: *nikassī nissīma*, "we settled accounts and..."). The text introduces a "he", who states (*umma šūtma*) that he borrowed for his 'father' 10 minas of silver, which has in the meantime increased by an interest of 3 minas 10 shekels. Then it goes on: *iš-té-ni-iš* [9] *13 ma-na 10* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR [10] *ú ⅔ ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR [11] *mu-ṭá-e i-ni-kà-sí* [12] *iš-ku-nam*, "in all 13 minas 10 shekels of silver, plus a deficiency of ⅔ mina he (the person introduced above) submitted at the settlement of the accounts". The following lines state that he did indeed receive the silver mentioned on that occasion, but later on was proved to have taken more than he was entitled to. Here the personal subject is important, because the person in question acted on behalf of his "father" and committed a fraud. When however the items to be accounted for were normal travelling-expenses, the fact of who claimed or paid them was less important; hence simply *iškunam*, "it imposed/cost".

In such a case, where the human agent is not important, one could have used a N-stem (as is attested for *emādum*, but not in OA, cf. *CAD* E 147b). It is once attested for *šakānum* in TC 1, 83, 9f. (cf. above p. 237 no. 16): *52½ mana dātum* [10] *iššikin*, "a toll of 52½ minas was imposed", or "the toll amounted to 52½ minas". This text is an exact parallel to text no. 17, above, where we have *54⅓ mana iškunam*, "it (sc. the toll) cost 54⅓ mina", showing that the latter construction is impersonal.

7. *t/wabālum*

a) In a financial context *wabālum* may have the meaning "to fetch a price, to be worth", as already noted by OPPENHEIM, *AfO* 12, 346[8] and *JNES* 11, 131, and recorded in *CAD* A, 1, 20b, 5, b, 1′, a′. There the texts **1.** TC 3/2, 114, 10: ANŠE *10* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ú-lá «ú-lá» ú-ba-al*, "the donkey will not fetch a price of 10 shekels of silver"; and **2.** TC 3/1, 40,

5f.: GUŠKIN-*kà* 7 GÍN.TA *la ú-ba-al* [6] 7½ GÍN.TA *a-dí-šu-ma*, "though your gold was not even worth 7 shekels (of silver for) each (shekel of gold), I managed to sell it at 7½ shekels per shekel", are quoted. I may add the following texts:

3. A text of the KALLEY-collection, quoted in LANDSBERGER-BALKAN 1950, 234 *sub* 4: [7] (*ḫusārum*) *áš-ra-kam a-na ta-am-le-e-em ší-ma-am ú-ba-al*, "haematite fetches a good price over there to serve for inlay". The same text reads in lines 9ff.: *i-na ma-lá áb-núm ú*[!]*-ba-lu* KÙ.BABBAR *1 ma-na ú* [10] *2 ma-na ša-pì-lá-ma me-eḫ-ra-at áb-nim* [11] .....*šé-bi-lam*, "you may go one or two minas under the price in silver which the stone may fetch, and send me the proceeds from the stone".

4. GARELLI-KENNEDY 1960 no. 11, 10ff.: *ú-ma-am* [11] *ša* ½ GÍN.TA *ú 1 ma-na*.TA [12] *lá ú-bu-lu* URUDU *ta-dá-nam*, "but to-day you want to sell/entrust to me copper which is not even worth half a shekel of silver per mina".

5. CCT 4, 35a, 17ff.: "If A and B ask you for two donkeys [20] *ší-im-šu-nu ki-ma* [21] *ú-bu-lu-ni gu*$_5$*-mu-ur-/ma* [22] ANŠE.ḪI.A *wa-še-er*[!]*-šu-nu-ma*, "ask the full price which they could fetch and leave them the donkeys". OPPENHEIM's reading in line 21: *iš*[!]*-pu-lu-ni* (*AfO* 12, 348[13]) is excluded by the text, according to a collation by Mr. C. B. F. WALKER.

b) Much more frequent is the form *itbal/itbulu*, the punctual of the verb *tabālum*, "to carry away". We meet this form in a non-financial context, as the following examples show: KTS 7a, 17ff.: *sú-am i-na Ni-na-ša-a* [18] *A a-Kà-ni-iš* [19] *it-ba-al*, "A took the mill-stone along (away) from Ninašša to Kaniš". CCT 4, 29a, 7ff.: *ma-l*[*a*] *i-na* É.GAL-*lim* [8] *úṣ-ú-ni ṣú-ḫa-ru ù A* [9] *ša Áb-ri-im li-it-bu-lu-nim*, "the servants and A from Abrum should take along as much (merchandise) as came out of the palace". TC 3/1, 32, 29ff.: *šu-ma-mì-in* [30] *me-ta-ku na-ru-qí-mì-in* [31] *ta-at-ba-al*, "if I had been dead, you would have carried off my capital". Finally TC 3/2, 158, 24ff.: 5 TÚG *a-bar-ni-e* [25] *i-na šé-pì-kà* [26] *a-ta ta-at-ba-al*, "you have carried off with your own caravan 5 Abarnian textiles".

In financial contexts *itbal/itbulu* are used to describe the costs of a purchase, especially in Aššur, where tin and textiles were bought. We meet it regularly in the so-called "caravan-accounts" (cf. LARSEN *OACP*, "type 3", nos. 1, 20; 3, 38; 5, 60 6, 13; 7, 13.14; 8, 17; 10, 22) in the phrase: *x* TÚG.ḪI.A (*y* GÚ AN.NA) *z ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR *it-bu-lu (it-ba-al)*, "x textiles (y talents of tin) cost z minas of silver". The basic meaning "carried off" describes in a very concrete way that the silver was spent on the purchase.

itbal/itbulu of course is not restricted to "caravan accounts"; we meet it elsewhere also in connection with purchases. So in ATHE 59, where

Imdīlim in Aššur complains that Inaḫ-īlī in Anatolia has seized his textiles, to cover a debt of $2^1/_6$ minas, textiles which were of fine quality and *a-na-kam-ma* [23] ⅓ *ma-na*.TA KÙ.BABBAR [24] *it-bu-lu*, "cost here already (*-ma*) 20 shekels of silver apiece" (not with KIENAST ad. loc. "haben hier je ⅓ Mina Silber erbracht"). Cf. as a parallel KTB 2, 7ff.: *5* TÚG *ku-ti-nu* ... [8] *ša* ⅓ *ma-na*.TA [9] *i-na a-lim*^{ki} [10] *it-bu-lu-ni*, "*5 kutīnū*-textiles which cost in the City 20 shekels apiece". Cf. also L 29-561—H. LEWY 1968, 15f.—, 34f.: *ší-im maš-ki ù pí-ri-kà-ni ma-lá it-bu-lu-/ni* [35] *ší-tí* KÙ.BABBAR *ma-lá i-ší-ta-ni*, "the purchase price of the fleeces and *pirikannū*-textiles, as much as they cost (and) the rest of the silver, as much as was left over...". Finally VAT 9292, 4ff.: *12 ma-na ḫu-sà-ra-am* [5] *ku-nu-ki-ni A na-áš-a-kum* [6] *6 ma-na 11* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR [7] *it-ba-al*, "twelve minas of haematite (?) A is bringing you. It cost (here) 6 minas 11 shekels of silver".

c) *CAD* A, 1, 20b, b, 1'a' states after listing examples of *wabālum* in the durative with the meaning discussed above :"pret. replaced by *tabālu*". It suggests by these words that in financial contexts *ūbil*—elsewhere not infrequent in OA; cf. HECKER *GKT* § 93c—with a meaning "fetched a price, yielded", is replaced by *itbal*, the punctual of *tabālum*. This is not in line with what we have observed above: the difference between *ubbal* and *itbal* is not one of temporal aspect or "Aktionsart", but is conditioned by the commercial background: *ubbal*, "it fetches a price" refers to the sale; *itbal*, "it carried away, it cost" to the purchase. The contrast is not durative versus punctual, but sale versus purchase.

The relation between the verbal forms of *wabālum* and *tabālum* is complex, as the following table, showing which forms are attested, makes clear:

	durat.	punct.	t-punct.	imper.	infin.	part.	permans.
**wabālum*	*ubbal*[a]	*ūbil*[b]	*ittabal*[c]	*bil*[d]	—	*wābil*[e]	*wabil*[f]
tabālum	*itabbal*[g]	*itbal*[h]	*?*[i]	*tabal*[j]	*tabalum*[k]	—	*tabil*[l]

[a] passim, cf. above *sub a*; [b] passim, cf. HECKER *GKT* § 93c; [c] not mentioned in HECKER *GKT* § 93d, but attested in CCT 5, 13b, 8ff.: *a-ni-ša-am a-na ta-ba-li-šu-nu* [9] *áš-pu-ur-šu-ma* [10] *i-tab-lu*! (collated by Mr. C. B. F. WALKER; copy: KU), "I asked him by letter to bring them along; they have brought them"; TC 3/3, 252, 21ff.: *šu-ma i-na ga-ma-ar* [22] ITU.KAM *a-nim 15* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR [23] *ší-mì-ša i-tab-lu-nim* [24] *ú i-ta-ru-ú-ší*, "if, before this month has passed, they should bring (t-punctual for *potentialis*) 15 shekels of silver, her purchase price, they may take her (the slave-girl sold) along". *ittabal*, to be compared with MA *ittabal* (quoted *CAD* A, 1, 22b, 2'), could also be taken as the t-punctual of *tabālum*, but the contexts require a meaning "to bring (here)" and not "to carry away", which makes me favour a derivation from *wabālum*; [d] passim, cf. HECKER *GKT* § 93c; [e] attested in the expression *wābil*

ṭuppim, cf. HECKER *GKT* § 93e; note, exceptionally, *bābil* in ICK 1, 103, 22, mentioned in HECKER *GKT* § 26e; [f] attested in VAT 9226, 14: *pāni A wablāti*, recorded in HECKER *GKT* § 72d, but not in § 93e; [g] attested in L 29-571—H. LEWY 1968, p. 28—21: [20] *šaniūtum bīt abīni* [21] *i-ta-bu-lu*, "other people (outsiders) carry off our father's house"; perhaps also in CCT 2, 35, 38: *i-ta-ba-al*; [h] passim, cf. the examples quoted above; [i] cf. the remarks under c; [j] cf. CCT 2, 17b, 12 (*tablam*) and BIN 6, 18, 23 (*tablim*); [k] cf. CCT 2, 45b, 14; and 5, 13b, 8, quoted *sub* c; [l] cf. EL 247, 13.

We may compare this state of affairs with the distribution of the forms attested of the pair *nadānum* and *tadānum*. Here the picture is:

	durat.	punct.	t-punct.	imper.	infin.	part.	permans.
**nadānum*	*iddan*[a] *inaddin*	*iddin*	*ittidin*[b]	*din*	—[c]	?[d]	—
tadānum	—	—	?	—	*tadānum*	?	*tadin*

[a] Cf. for all references HECKER *GKT* § 100b; [b] one could also classify this form as derived from *tadānum*; [c] an infin. **nadānum* seems attested once: KTS 25b, 15: *na-da-ni*; taking this form as an infin., with *CAD* A, 2, 39a, is much more probable than regarding it as a permans. 1st pers. plur. of *nadā'um* (HECKER *GKT* § 97c and p. 214[1]), as the context seems to exclude the latter interpretation; [d] no form attested. A comparison with *wabālum/tabālum* could suggest that we should expect **nadin*, but in MA *tadin* is attested [552]).

In the case of *nadānum/tadānum* we have, apart from one isolated infin., a pattern of complementary distribution; forms not attested of the defective verb *nadānum* are supplied by *tadānum*. The latter verb, probably the base *din* with *t*-augment, has no independent position nor a special meaning. The situation as to *wabālum/tabālum* however is completely different. There are clear indications of a similar complementary distribution, but there is also a marked overlap: numerous forms are attested of both verbs. In this case, as is clear from the context, we have to reckon with the existence of an independent verb *tabālum* (most probably also a base with a *t*-augment), with a special meaning, which seems to be separative (cf. in general for the meaning of the *t*-augment, also attested in the Gt-stem, *GAG* § 92c and 103d: "richtungsändernd"): "to bring away, to carry off".

This state of affairs makes it necessary to ask for the meaning of each form in its context; e.g. *tabālum*, infin., may supply the infin. of **wabālum*, "to bring", but may also mean "to carry off". The choice is not always easy; the two imper., quoted above *sub* j, apparently do not mean: "car-

[552]) Cf. for MA evidence on *nadānum/tadānum* C. SAPORETTI, 'La morfologia del verbo **ndn/ *tdn* nel medio-Assiro', in: *Studi sull'Oriente e la Bibbia*, 1969, 35-48. The picture he draws agrees with the OA evidence.

ry off", but rather "bring along, bring here", and consequently are synonymous to *bilam*. In this case one may compare the co-existence, without any difference of meaning, of the two imper. *šib* and *tašab*, "sit down" (HECKER *GKT* § 93c with p. 155[2]). On the other hand the permansive *tablū* in EL 247, 12 clearly means "carried off" and not "brought (here)".

itbal in financial contexts, as the pattern of distribution shows, has to be interpreted as the punctual of *tabālum*, "to carry off". That *ūbil* does not occur with the meaning "it fetched a price...", nor *itabbal* with the meaning "it will cost", may be accidental. Normally "prices" are not mentioned in advance as abstract concepts; they are only quoted when the purchase is (has been) made: "it cost (carried away) so much". That *ūbil* as such is not impossible can be inferred from 'Laws of Ešnunna' § 14 (B I, 8), where we have to read and interpret (with *CAD* A, 1, 20b, b, 1, b' and LANDSBERGER, *Symbolae M. David*, II, 1968, 73): *1* TÚG *5* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *li-bíl-ma*, "(the wages of a clothworker:) if the cloth is worth five shekels of silver.....". The remark of *CAD* quoted above ("pret. replaced by *tabālu*") would have been correct if the scribe had written *litbalma* instead of *lībilma*; now it proves to be wrong.

These observations, of course, do not solve all problems about *wabālum*/*tabālum*; but this is not the place to discuss the questions connected with the fact that in OB no t-punctual of *wabālum* is attested, and that when the syntax requires one, *itbal* is used instead (cf. *CAD* A, 1, 22, 6, a, 1').

8. *waqārum* (G, Š)

a) The basic meaning of this verb, treated in *CAD* A, 2, 205ff., is "to become precious", "to become in demand". To understand its use we have to start from the adjective *waqrum*, meaning "precious, dear", and in connection with the market situation also "in demand", which develops into "in short supply, rare, expensive" (cf. *CAD* A, 2, 208a, b); cf. also K.-H. DELLER, *OrNS* 27, 1958, 60f, *ad* CCT 5, 5a, 22).

In OA texts we meet this adjective *waqrum* when agents or merchants describe the chances of sale or purchase in Anatolia or Aššur, as the texts quoted by *CAD* A, 2, 208a, b show. If silver is "expensive" they do not sell their goods in Anatolia, but keep them in store or ship them elsewhere. In Aššur tin may be "expensive", when the rate of exchange is 14 shekels of tin for 1 shekel of silver (BIN 6, 59, r. 14'f.). Also textiles could be expensive, and in that case one would do better to buy tin, as ICK 1, 66, 13ff. says: *šu-ma* TÚG.ḪI.A [14] *wa-aq-ru* AN.NA [15] *ša-ma-nim*, "if textiles are expensive, buy tin". *waqrum*, "expensive" *in concreto* has

the same meaning as *batqum* "in short supply" and *dannum*, "hard to obtain", but *waqrum* starts from the demand, *batqum* from the supply, *dannum* describes the trade as "difficult".

b) Twice we meet the verb *waqārum* in the G-stem. In GARELLI 1964, 133, GOUDCHAUX 2, 19ff. we have to read: *i-na* [20] ANŠE.ḪI.A *lú ṣú-ḫa-ru* [21] *1* GÚ.TA *ù 2* GÚ [22] *li-iz-bi*$_4$*-lu-nim* [23] URUDU *a-na-kam i-qí*[1]*-ir*, "(bring) by means of donkeys, or let the servants carry hither each 1 or 2 talents. Copper has become expensive here." One might even translate, "a demand for copper has arisen here." This statement about a change in the market-situation may be compared with CCT 2, 40a, 19f.: URUDU [20] *a-na-kam-ma wa-qar*, "copper is expensive/in demand here". In CCT 4, 28a, a letter of Imdīlim to Ištar-bāšti, in a context which shows that silver has become scarce and is hard to obtain in Anatolia (lines 5ff.; 18ff.), we read: [39] KÙ.BABBAR *a-na-kam i-ta-aq-ra-ni*, "silver has now become too expensive for me (to sell my merchandise)". The verbal form, to be read *ittaqranni*, has a personal acc. suffix, which may be described with T. JACOBSEN, *JNES* 22, 1963, 20b f. as a "supra-lative accusative". One might compare a form like *im-tí-du-ni*, BIN 4, 19,19, "it (the term set) has become too long (much) for me"; and, also in a financial context, GARELLI-KENNEDY 1960, no. 11, 24: KÙ.BABBAR *1* GÍN *eú-ša-pí-li*, "let him not deprive me even of one shekel of silver by lowering the price".

c) Seven times we meet a Š-stem of *waqārum* [553]). Five times in an almost identical expression in the same context: BIN 4, 25, 18; CCT 2, 4a, 18; 4b, 16; CCT 5, 5a, 22; and KTS 28, 18. In all cases we have a phrase like ITU.KAM *iš-tí-in ù ší-na lá tù-šé-qá-ra* (in BIN 4, 25, 17 we have ITU.KAM-*am*; in KTS 28, 18: *1 ù 2* ITU.KAM). The texts are all letters addressed by Šalim-āḫum to his partners or representatives Pūšu-kēn and Laqīp. I quote here only CCT 2, 4a, 11ff. (LARSEN *OACP* 81, "type 2 : 6"; cf. for CCT 5, 5a, 13ff., above p. 409 *sub* 2, e): TÚG.ḪI.A *ù* ANŠE *ṣa-lá-ma-am* [12] *iš-tí* AN.NA-*ki-a* [13] *e-mì-da-ma a-na* U$_4$ [14] *qú-ur-bu-tim a-na* [15] DAM.GÀR *ke-nim ša ki-ma* [16] *qá-qí-dí-ku-nu dí-na* [17] ITU.KAM *iš-tí-in ù ší-na* [18] *lá tù-šé-qá-ra* [19] *tám-kà-ar-ku-nu* [20] *lu ki-in*, "join the textiles and the black donkey with my tin and entrust it together on short terms to a trustworthy commissioner, whom you can trust like yourselves. Don't attach too much value to one or two months (longer credit). (Rather) your commissioner should be trustworthy".

Various interpretations of the words in question have been proposed. GARELLI *AC* 239[1], following LEWY *OLZ* 1929, col. 25, considered it as

[553]) Cf. besides *CAD* A, 2, 206-7, with the literature quoted there, also LAMBERT-MILLARD, *Atraḫasīs*, 1969, 155 *ad* 384, and HUNGER, *AOAT* II 181 s.v. *waqāru*, Š, for the meanings "to make rare" and "to hold in esteem", "to value".

"probablement...une mesure défensive contre un crédit à trop long terme". He translates: "pendant un mois ou deux, vous n'élèverez pas le prix". This is impossible, because normally—and this is a normal case—merchandise was entrusted for sale in Anatolia to *tamkārū*, commissioners, at fixed terms against fixed prices, stipulated in the deeds of loan, mentioning an amount of silver to be paid with in a fixed number of weeks. There was no possibility of raising the price in the meantime. The only means to speed up the transactions was to grant a low price coupled with a short-term credit or to stipulate the payment of interest when the set term was exceeded. One could perhaps think of the sale price, as established when the goods were cleared in the local palace; in the case of sale within one or two months after clearance the price fixed in the palace (cf. for this procedure above p. 81, 1) would not be raised. But we have observed that normally the price to be paid by the commissioners was in fact higher than the one paid by the palace (above p. 82f., 2, 3). LARSEN *OACP* 81 translates "for one or two months you must not make it too expensive", and comments, after rejecting GARELLI's interpretation, on p. 82: "the text makes it clear that the writer wants the goods to be commissioned to a *tamkārum* on short terms (*ana umē qurbūtim*, K.R.V.), which may represent a period of 1 or 2 months. Šalimaḫum's words are thus to be understood: Do not make it too expensive for a *tamkārum* to accept a commission on short terms, one or two months!—because if they did, the transactions would be too hazardous for the *tamkārum*, and they would have difficulty in finding a trustworthy one who was willing". In this interpretation "for one or two months" is not the period during which the price should not be raised, but means "to become a short-term credit of one or two months". The interpretation proposed by GARELLI, could account for the fact that this period of time is in the acc. (*temporis*) (cf. ITU.KAM-*am* in BIN 4, 25, 17). LARSEN's interpretation would require a preposition *ana* in my opinion, not an accusative. Moreover he equates "for one or two months" with "on short terms" (*ana umē qurbūtim*), as Šalim-āḫum requests both in his letter. This is wrong, as shown by CCT 5, 5a; here, even if *ana umē qurbūtim* proves to be impossible (16ff.), the request worded in the phrase we are discussing can still be maintained, which proves that they do not amount to the same. The interpretation of LARSEN therefore cannot be accepted, nor the one proposed by *CAD* A, 2, 207a, 4: "let them not become too expensive (for a loan running) for a month or two", which agrees fairly well with LARSEN's proposal. K.-H. DELLER, *OrNS* 27, 1958, 60f. *ad* CCT 5, 5a, states that we have to start from *waqar*, meaning "gefragt" (in demand) "im markttechnischen Sinne", and proposes the translation: "lasst (ihm) ein, zwei Monate nicht

'gefragt', d.h. 'in hohem Kurswert' sein", womit offenbar gemeint ist "lasst ihn ein, zwei Monate Zeit"." This proposal is closer to be truth.

In all these proposals some object to *šēqurum* has been supplied; GARELLI thinks of "raising the price", sc. of the merchandise; LARSEN introduces an "it", also referring to the merchandise to be sold; likewise *CAD* supplies "them", while DELLER adds in brackets "(ihm)", assuming a construction with a personal dative object (which is in fact attested, cf. below *ad* CCT 2, 41a and VAT 9212).

The real object of the verb, however, is, as implied by DELLER's translation "one or two months", hence my translation "do not attach too much value to (a credit term of) one or two months (more)". This means that the length of the credit term accorded to a commissioner is of secondary importance (within certain limits: one or two months), compared with his reliability. The situation is exactly the same as that described in connection with *be'ālum*, above p. 408 *sub* e, to which I refer here. The expression *la tušēqarā* proves to be a variant of *la tabe'elā* discussed there. The choice of the terminology may have been a matter of scribal preference, as *waqārum* Š is thus far only used in letters of Šalim-āḫum. The meaning "to attach value to" of *šēqurum* agrees well with the meaning recorded in *CAD* A, 2, 206b, b: "to value, hold in esteem".

A request or advice to give, if necessary, a few months more credit, in order to guarantee a transaction free of risk, should not surprise us. We happen to know from texts like BIN 4, 61 and BIN 4, 27 (LARSEN *OACP* "type 3", nos. 11 and 14), letters addressed to the same Šalim-āḫum by his agents in Anatolia (among whom again is Laqīpum), that merchandise was entrusted to commissioners with credit terms of respectively 50, 45, 47 and 25 weeks. This shows that one or two months in fact were only of relative importance. The latter text, BIN 4, 27, in fact could be considered as an answer to Šalim-āḫum's letters containing the *šēqurum*-phrase. It reads from line 35: "(merchandise with a value of) 40 minas 55 shekels of refined silver has been entrusted to a trustworthy commissioner, about whom you should not be afraid, on a 25-weeks credit" [554]).

d) Finally I discuss two texts in which *waqārum* Š has a personal dative suffix:

1. CCT 2, 41a, a letter from Aššur-imittī to Pūšu-kēn, 21ff.: *ù a-šu-mì* AN.NA-*ki-a* [22] *ša a-ma-kam* DUMU *I-ku-pí-a* [23] *ù* Il_5*--ba-ni i-dí-nu-šu-ni* [24] *a-na a-ḫi-šu pu-nu-ma um-ma a-ta-ma* [25] *a-wi-lum a-wi-*il_5 *gi-mì-lim* [26] KÙ.BABBAR 1 *ma-na lá tù-šé-qá-/ar-šum* [27] KÙ.BABBAR *li-dí-na-ku-ma*

[554]) A period of "one or two (a few) months" is attested several times in commercial texts, besides in the *šēqurum-be'ālum*-formula, cf. BIN 6, 55 r. 10'f.; 59, r. 16'f.; 97, 12f.; KTS 6, 38f.

[28] *i-pá-nim-ma šé-bí-lam*, "and as for my tin, which over there the son of Ikuppia and Ilbānī gave (entrusted) to him, approach his brother, saying: "the gentleman is a man in a position to do favours; don't keep him waiting for a mina of silver". He might give you the silver, and then you should send it to me with the first caravan".

Aššur-imittī has a claim for the payment of a load of tin on Šū-Ištar, who, however, has died shortly before (cf. the letters published by GARELLI 1965, 149ff.). Pūšu-kēn is asked to approach Š.'s brother, who apparently took over his dead brother's business (cf. *RA* 59, 1965, 151 line 11f.), in Kaniš. He has to remind him to pay the debt in order to maintain good relations with Aššur-imittī, whose favours he may need sometime.

2. VAT 9212, a letter from Šalim-āḫum to Pūšu-kēn, 9ff.: "You are my brother, my colleague! I have never asked you something similar: "take (for sale) from my stocks one talent of tin or 10 textiles, and so do me a favour. You are my brother, *a-na* [14] *ú-um ga-ma-li-im a-na* [15] AN.NA-*ki-a ú* TÚG.ḪI.A KÙ.BABBAR *1* GÍN [16] *lá tù-šé-qá-ra-am*, "now that it is time to do (me) a favour, you should not lower the price of my tin and textiles for me by even one single shekel". Šalim-āḫum is short of silver, probably because he has been unable to sell his merchandise and has been forced to put it, unsold, in store (*maškanātum*; 11). He finally asks his colleague and partner Pūšu-kēn to help him, by buying some of his tin and textiles. He appeals to Pūšu-kēn's loyalty not to take advantage of his financial problems by paying him less than normal for his goods.

The translations given are an attempt to render the meaning of the verbal forms as well as possible; a literal translation, starting from "to attach value to something in relation to (= to the detriment of) somebody" is hardly possible. In the first text *šēqurum*, though the object is "1 mina of silver", has nothing to do with the price, which had most probably been stipulated long before, when the merchandise was sold or entrusted to the original debtor. Hence the translation of *CAD* A, 2, 207a, 4: "do not raise the price by even one mina of silver" cannot be right (apart from the fact that if the debtor raises the price, the creditor receives more!) [555]). In the second text the price to be paid is at stake, as is

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[555]) A translation "don't make 1 mina of silver expensive for him", which could mean that by keeping the creditor waiting one deprives him of his money, which he could have used to make profits, or that one forces him to make expenses (*šagmurum*) to collect his money (by a *rābiṣum*, in a legal case etc.), is less likely. Why in that case "one mina of silver", and not simply "the silver (due)"? One cannot translate "don't make the silver 1 mina (more) expensive", as "one mina of silver" apparently is a unit, like "1 shekel of silver"; the word order with *kaspum* preceding the unit (mina, shekel) is customary in such expressions, and stresses the amount: "the silver, even an amount of one mina/shekel".

also clear from the words *ana annikia u ṣubātī*, "for my tin and the textiles", where the preposition *ana* evokes the idea of "to pay *for*, to sell *for*, to purchase *for*". The first text gives a round figure, "1 mina of silver", referring to the debt to be paid; the second uses "1 shekel of silver", referring to the price per mina of tin or piece of textile, where a difference of 1 shekel was important.

In both texts the translation should start from *waqrum* rather than from the verb *waqārum*, but even if we apply the normal meaning "valuable, precious" of *waqrum*, yielding "to make valuable, precious", the translation hardly makes sense. The point of departure should be the technical meaning of *waqrum*, "in demand", "expensive". In the first text the idea is that by not paying one "makes that the creditor is in demand for his silver"; this amounts to "do not keep him waiting for his silver", or "do not withhold the silver from him". It is an indirect order to pay promptly. The use of the words "one mina of silver" lend the expression a more general meaning: he is a man to be paid promptly. In the second text, where the price is at stake, we must start from the notion "expensive": "do not make 1 shekel of silver (to be paid as purchase price) for my tin...expensive". This means in fact do not make the rate of exchange silver: tin 1 shekel less favourable for me, do not lower the price you will pay in silver by even one shekel. One might compare this request with the words in GARELLI-KENNEDY 1960 no. 11, 24, quoted above *sub* b: KÙ.BABBAR *1* GÍN *eú-ša-pí-li*, "let him not deprive me even of one shekel of silver by lowering the price", where also the words "one shekel of silver" are used [556]).

[556]) Two other verbs could have been mentioned in this chapter, but they have already been treated above. In the first place *maṣā'um*, with the meaning "to be worth" (to be compared with *wabālum*) used in TC 1, 27, 11ff., quoted and discussed in note 143. In the second place the verb *i(z)zizum*, "to stand at", used to describe the rate of exchange and the supply of goods ("stands at"; "is available as"); it is attested in CCT 4, 38a, 10off. and KTS 18, 27 (quoted above p. 377f. as no .15 and 21) and BIN 6, 59 r. 13'ff. quoted and discussed above p. 415. Cf. for *šapālum* below p. 453f.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

QUOTATIONS OF PRICES AND RATES OF EXCHANGE, WITHOUT THE USE OF VERBS

There are still to be mentioned a number of ways of describing prices or rates of exchange, in which the verbs discussed thus far are not used, and which supplement the data on *šīmum* and *maḫīrum*, discussed above. We recall that when an Assyrian bought textiles in Aššur or sold them in Anatolia he could use the following expressions; in the case of purchase:

x textiles KÙ.BI (*kasapšu*) y silver
x textiles y silver *kasapšunu*
x textiles y silver *itbulū*
x textiles y silver
y silver *ša* x textiles

In the case of sale, to denote the proceeds of the trade, he might use the last two expressions mentioned above and moreover the following:

y silver *šīm* x textiles
(*ša*) x textiles y silver *šīmšunu*

But occasionally we meet other ways of quoting the price.

1. BY MEANS OF DISTRIBUTIVE TA

When one wants to indicate the rate of exchange of tin or textiles, one uses the distributive TA. In connection with tin one frequently meets: *x mana* (GÚ) AN.NA *y* GÍN.TA KÙ.BI *z mana*, "x minas (talents) of tin, at y shekels each, its value/price in silver z minas" (e.g. LARSEN *OACP* "type 3 : 2", 14-15). In this combination *y* GÍN.TA does not mean that every unit of tin mentioned (minas or talents) costs y shekels of silver. The figure mentioned as z shows that *y* GÍN.TA denotes the amount of tin to be obtained for one shekel of silver; it denotes the *maḫīrum* of the tin, computed on the unit of payment, 1 shekel of silver. Hence *y* GÍN.TA is a kind of ellipsis for *y* GÍN.TA AN.NA *ana 1* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR, the latter part of the expression being omitted as being self-evident. When describing the *maḫīrum* of items in OB *ana 1* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR is also frequently omitted,

cf. notes 478 and 515. In OA texts y normally ranges from 13 to 16, 13 and 14 being considered as expensive (*waqrum, batqum*), 16 as cheap, and 15 probably as normal.

When describing the rate of exchange of copper one uses the same formula, but in the form *y mana*.TA, because the difference in value between copper and silver is much bigger, the rate of exchange normally fluctuating between 60-120: 1. Cf. TC 2, 14, 29f.: 6½ talents of copper *1½ mana*.TA KÙ.BI *4½ mana*, with a rate of exchange of 90 : 1. Cf. also CCT 3, 1, 16ff.; CCT 5, 30d, 1ff.; TC 1, 23, 10off., etc. That again the *maḫīrum* is computed on 1 shekel of silver is clear from TC 2, 33, 8ff.: *1* GÍN *a-na* [9] *3 ma-na ší-ki-im ù* [10] GUŠKIN *1* GÚ *ší-ki-im*, to be translated: "1 shekel (of silver) against 3 minas of *šikkum*-copper, and, in gold, against 1 talent of *šikkum*-copper".

With textiles one normally indicates the price of a single piece by means of the words *x* GÍN.TA, which accordingly have to be interpreted as "x shekels apiece". This description is almost never used when great quantities of textiles are bought in Aššur, in which case one uses the *itbulū* or KÙ.BI formula, from which of course the price of a single piece can be deduced. The *x* GÍN.TA formula is regularly used in connection with sale in Anatolia. For the sake of brevity the scribes combine statements about the sale prices of tin and textiles in one phrase as in BIN 4, 61 (LARSEN "type 3 : 11"), 26ff.: ŠÀ.BA *3* GÚ LÁ *1 mana* AN.NA [27] *7* GÍN.TA *20* TÚG *ku-ta-ni* ½ *ma-na*.TA [28] *10* TÚG *šu-ru-tum 15* GÍN.TA, "thereof: 3 talents minus 1 mina of tin at 7 shekels each, 20 *kutānū*-textiles at ½ mina apiece, 10 *šurūtum*-textiles at 15 shekels each". In this phrase the *7* GÍN.TA in line 27 has a meaning completely different from *15* GÍN.TA in line 28. Cf. for the sale of textiles alone CCT 4, 13a (LARSEN "type 3 : 13"), 23ff.: *27* TÚG *ku-ta-nu iz-ku-ú-nim* [24] *11⅓* GÍN.TA *ta-ad*[1](copy: DA)*-nu*, "27 *kutānū*-textiles became available, they have been sold at 11⅓ shekels apiece".

With gold the situation is different again. When gold arrived in Aššur it was first converted (in fact or only in the accounts?) into silver. To describe the rate of exchange one uses a formula like "x minas/shekels of gold *y* GÍN.TA KÙ.BI z minas" (cf. LARSEN, "type 3 : 3", 3ff.; "3 : 4", 5ff.; "3 : 8", 4ff., where y is resp. 7⅓, 8⅚ and 7⅓). The figure z shows that *y* GÍN.TA here means: "y shekels (of silver) for each (shekel of gold)". In other words: the formula looks similar to the one used with tin and copper, but the value of the gold is not computed on 1 shekel of silver, but in this case 1 shekel of gold is the starting point, and the value of the silver is computed on it [557]).

[557]) Cf. for the way in which the rate of exchange of gold is expressed also CCT 3, 47a, 5ff., discussed below p. 404.

One should not draw far-reaching conclusions from the use of this formula, e.g. that silver functioned only as standard of value in relation to items of a lower value, but not to gold. This is not correct; even the value of natural iron (*ašium, amūtum*), 40 times more expensive than silver, is expressed in silver. The fact that gold upon arrival in Aššur was converted into silver itself shows the importance of silver as "money". Cf. also the remarks about the double function of gold, as "money" and "merchandise", made above on p. 381. We have to realise that it was practically impossible to describe the rate of exchange of gold in the same way it was done with tin. If this rate of exchange was standardised at 8 : 1 one could theoretically have used a formula *22½* ŠE.TA, "22½ grains (of gold for) each (shekel of silver"), though it would have been unpractical. But with a rate of exchange of $7\frac{1}{3}$ or $8\frac{5}{6}$: 1 such a description became impossible, requiring very small fractions of ŠE, "grain" [558]).

2. BY MEANS OF A DOUBLE TA

In a few texts we meet a description by means of a double TA:

1. GARELLI-KENNEDY 1960 no. 11, 10ff.: *ú-ma-am* [11] *ša* ½ GÍN.TA *ú 1 ma-na*.TA [12] *lá ú-bu-lu* URUDU *ta-dá-nam*, "but to-day you want to sell/entrust me copper which is not even worth half a shekel (of silver) per mina (of copper)".

2. KTS 6, 44f.: (URUDU SIG_5, cf. line 35) *1 ma-na*.TA *ù 1* GÍN.TA *a-na* ITU.KAM-*im* [45] *iš-tí-in ù ší-na dí-šu*, "sell it (the copper of good quality) at a rate of exchange of 60 : 1 with a credit term of one or two months"; cf. line 38f.: *1 ma-na*.TA *ù* [39] *a-na* ITU.*1*.KAM *iš-tí-in* [40] *ù ší-na la i-ba-ta-qá*, cf. for these lines above p. 401, 2.

3. TC 3/2, 165, 34ff.: KÙ.BABBAR *1* GÍN.TA *ù 1 ma-na*.TA URUDU [35] *a-na* É *kà-ri-im ša-du-a-tám* [36] *a-dí-in*, "I paid *šaddū'utum*-tax to the *bīt kārim* at a rate of 1 shekel of silver for each mina of copper". Cf. lines 40off.: *2 ma-na* URUDU [41] *a-na* ½ *ma-na*.TA *a-n*[*a*] [42] É *kà-ri-im a-dí-in*, "I paid to the *bīt kārim* 2 minas of copper at a rate of exchange of half a mina (of copper for) each (shekel of silver)". Compare also:

4. BIN 4, 35, 47f.: *ša* ½ *ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR [48] *ù 1* GÍN.TA *ra-ki-sà-ni-šu*, "bind him by contract for half a mina of silver and (at) a rate of exchange of one shekel each (60 : 1?)".

These notations have caused some confusion. GARELLI translates the

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[558]) Occasionally one meets fractions of ŠE in OA, e.g. *22½* ŠE in CCT 5, 30a, 13 ($\frac{1}{8}$ shekel); cf. also KUG 27, 9.24; CCT 5, 37c, 3; 34b, 3 ($6\frac{1}{3}$ ŠE), but this is exceptional.

first text with: "du cuivre qui ne rapportera pas ½ sicle ou 1 mine", commenting: "½ sicle d'argent par mine de cuivre, ou 1 mine d'argent par talent de cruive". This seems improbable; why should one express the value of the copper in two different ways, per mina and per talent, and why would the rate of exchange jump from 120 : 1 in the first case to 60 : 1 in the second? As my translation suggests, this description means only one rate of exchange, 120 : 1, expressed not simply by ½ GÍN.TA but by mentioning side by side the two quantities considered as equivalent: ½ shekel (of silver) and 1 mina (of copper). This expression is equivalent to that of TC 2, 33, 8f., quoted above *sub* 1: *1* GÍN *a-na 3 ma-na*; another possibility would have been to write like TC 2, 14, 29f. (quoted ibid.) *2 ma-na*.TA. The prices of copper communicated by GARELLI *AC* 297 show that a rate of exchange of 120 : 1 was rather low, and copper which did not even fetch such a price must have been of bad quality.

In text no. 2 the description with double TA in line 44f., to be compared with that in text no. 1, alternates with simple *1 mana*.TA in line 38, and this proves the correctness of the translation proposed. We note that in texts 1 and 3 the unit of silver comes first, while in text no. 2 the amount of copper serving as its equivalent is mentioned first. In text no. 3 the words "silver" and "copper" have been added, to make the meaning clear. The text deals with a payment of taxes to the *bīt kārim*; this was, exceptionally, done in copper, and the text specifies how much copper had to be paid instead of silver: 1 mina of copper for each shekel of silver. Line 40 mentions another payment, this time at a much higher rate of exchange, apparently 30 : 1; the reason for this is not clear. We note the use of *ana* before ½ *mana*.TA; normally this *ana*, "(in exchange) for", precedes the unit of account, (1 shekel of) silver, cf. above p. 448 *sub* 1 for *ana 1* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR. Here it has the meaning of "at the rate of".

Text no. 4, which does not show the double TA, but is in some degree comparable, presents more problems. The words stipulate in a contract a specific rate of exchange. Cf. for *rakkusum* in this meaning e.g. KUG 27, 19f.: *16* GÍN AN.NA *rakkus*, "by contract he is obliged to pay tin (at a rate of exchange of) 16 shekels (tin for each shekel of silver)"; the distributive TA is here found in line 17: *16* GÍN.TA *inappulūnikkum*. The problem of our text is that it does not have *ša* ½ *mana* URUDU *ù 1* GÍN.TA, which could mean perhaps "copper at a rate of exchange of 30 : 1". The use of *ša* before KÙ.BABBAR seems to indicate that the meaning is "(copper) for a value of (in all) ½ mina of silver, at a rate of exchange of 60 : 1", so that the text stipulates both the total amount and the price of the copper.

A kind of double notation of the rate of exchange may also be found in the difficult text CCT 3, 16b. In it Īdī-Ištar assures Aššur-nadā under oath

(hence the subjunctive) concerning the silver: "[6] since [7] the day you came to Durḫumid [8] and we met each other [9] *ší-ma-am ša i-na ša-na-im* [10] *ú 1 ma-na*.TA *wa-at-ru ú-na-sí-ḫu* [11] *a-ma-lá* u_4*-me-a* URUDU (erasure) [12] *3-ša-ú i-tù-ur-ma* URUDU *1 me-at* GÚ [13] *bu-tù-qá-e lu a-mu-ur*. We might perhaps translate :"I have always collected ("torn out") a purchase price which exceeded the double (of the price I paid) and a rate of exchange of 60 : 1 (for copper). Could I, as the copper always returned in time threefold, have suffered a loss of 100 talents of copper?". The text continues with the words: "Aššur himself and your god have rejected the gentleman; but as for me, silver fell into my hands, so that up till this very day you have always been able to satisfy yourself financially" (14-18). The writer boasts of his clever and very profitable transactions, yielding a profit of more than 100%, or even 200% on his copper trade. His addressee therefore need not be afraid that in consequence of financial losses he will be unable to pay the silver he owes [559]).

3. BY MEANS OF *ištu*

The use of *ištu* takes into account a certain fluctuation of the price, the amount following *ištu* being the minimum. A comparable use is known from other periods and dialects (cf. *AHw* 402a, B, 3, a and 4, c, but it does not record OA occurrences, which HECKER *GKT* § 103e also omits). We meet this *ištu* as far as I know four times. The text ICK 1, 55, 21 (*amūtum ša ištu 1* GÍN *ù 2* GÍN *ù 3* GÍN) has been discussed above p. 385 *sub* 7, where we had to conclude that its meaning was: "*amūtum* in quantities of 1, 2, and 3 shekels and upwards". The translation of *CAD* A, 2, 98a, taking the words to mean the price, could not be accepted. Furthermore we have: ATHE 47, 20ff.: TÚG.ḪI.A *a-na* [21] *lu-bu-uš ṣú-ḫa-ri* [22] *ša iš-tù* ½ GÍN ⅔ GÍN [23] *1* GÍN *ša-a-ma šé-bi*$_4$*-lam* [24] *a-ta* BA-*li-a-tim* [25] *ša 1* GÍN.TA *ù 1*½ GÍN.TA [26] *tù-uš-té-bi*$_4$*-lam*, "buy and send me garments for clothing of the personnel costing from ½ or ⅔ to 1 shekel; but you have sent me....-garments of 1 and 1½ shekel apiece". CCT 2, 18, 23ff.: *iš-tù* ⅔ GÍN

[559]) The meanings of *nasāḫum* D, *šanā'um* and *3-šā'ū* (*šulušā'ū*) have been tentatively established both on the basis of the etymology and the context. *šanā'um*, to be added in HECKER *GKT* § 71 c, has been taken to mean "the double"; *šulušā'ū* "threefold", is used as an adjective (with *weriū*, "copper" as collective plural, denoting a material), cf. HECKER *GKT* § 71d, and *GAG* § 71d, where its basic meaning is said to be "je drei". The word seems to denote that the merchant earns a profit of 200%, getting back three times what he invested. The word has nothing to do with *šušlušu* equated with URUDU 3.TAB.BA (MEISSNER, *Suppl.* 15, rev. 6; cf. OPPENHEIM, *Beer*, note 54) which seems to denote a quality of copper. The beginning of the text might also be translated: "I always (D) carefully selected purchase goods (*šīmum*) which....".

(erasure) [24] *1*! LÁ ¼ GÍN *1* GÍN *ša-qí-lá-ma*, "pay (for the sheep) a price ranging from ⅔ or ¾ to 1 shekel (of silver)".

Finally CCT 3, 18b, 4ff.: ZI-*ra-am iš-tù* [5] *20 ma-na ú ša-áp-li-iš* [6] *ša-ma-ma-a*.... [10] *šé-bi*$_4$*-lá-nim*, "buy and send me a *zīrum* of 20 minas or less (of at most 20 minas)". In the latter case it is hard to decide whether 20 minas denotes the very high price of the object called *zīrum* [560]), or perhaps its maximum weight [561]).

4. BY MEANS OF *eliš* AND *šapliš*

a) *šapliš*

The last text quoted *sub* 3 gives an example of the use of *šapliš*, "low(er), below (it)", following a weight or price, to denote the figure mentioned as the maximum. I also quote BIN 6, 59, r. 13'ff.: *an-nu-ku* [14'] *a-na-kam wa-aq-ru 14* GÍN.TA [15'] *ù ša-ap-li-iš i-za-az*, "tin is expensive here; it(s rate of exchange) stands at 14 shekels (of tin) (for) each shekel of silver, and even less (lower)"; *šapliš in concreto* could be "13 shekels each", a figure mentioned in TC 2, 7, 9 (cf. p. 381 and 406 for this text).

We may compare the use of *šapliš* with the occurrences of *šapālum* D [562]) to denote the lowering of a price, the going below a certain limit. An example with a personal (indirect) acc. object and "1 shekel of silver" as direct object, clearly referring to the price to be paid (GARELLI-KENNEDY 1960 no. 11, 24) was quoted above p. 443 *sub* b) [563]). A second example is the text from the KALLEY-collection, quoted above p. 439 *sub* a, which reads: [9] *ina mala abnum ūbbalū kaspam 1 mana u* [10] *2 mana šappilamma* where the preposition *ina* expresses the idea of "to go lower *than*", "to deduct something *from* (the price to be fetched)". The form *ša-pì-lá-ma* is an imp. D sing. + pers. dative suffix (not imper. plur. + *-ma* as the following *šēbilam* shows). While the first text, writing *šappilī* denoted the person affected by the change of price, who is robbed of his proceeds, by an acc.-ablative, here we have a dative *incommodi*, indicating to whose disadvantage this lowering of the price works. We also meet the verb in TC 3/1, 59, 17.19 and 23, as J. LEWY, quoted in *JCS* 14,

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[560]) The meaning of *z/sīrum* cannot be established. It normally occurs in inventories and lists of objects, e.g. in CCT 2, 18, 27 alongside a table. In CCT 4, 20a, 10f. a *z/sīrum* again has a weight of 20 minas. Cf. also KTB 5, 17; BIN 4, 162, 28 and perhaps CCT 2, 36a, 14.

[561]) Cf. also *ištu*....*eliš*, "at least..", in L 29-573, 25, quoted below *sub* b, p. 454.

[562]) The G-stem was postulated by OPPENHEIM in CCT 4, 35a, 21, but his reading *iš*!*-pu-lu-ni* cannot be maintained, cf. above p. 439 *sub* 7, a.

[563]) GARELLI, loc. cit. translates "il ne me fera pas baisser l'argent d'1 sicle".

1960, 17 *ad* line 24, has already pointed out. The text unfortunately is much damaged (line 17: *ú-ša-pì-*[ ]; line 19: *ú-ša-pì-il*$_5$ *ša* [ ]), but line 22f. reads: *4* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *A* [23] *ú-ša-píl-kà*, "A robbed you of 4 shekels of silver by lowering the price", again with a pers. acc. suffix. Finally I mention TTC 6, 10f.: KÙ.BABBAR *1 ma-na* [11] *nu-ša-pí-lá-am*. The text deals with the purchase of a house; cf. line 6f.: "You said: "buy a house for me". They asked much silver from us for the house, and we said: "we will pay it jointly (? *a-ḫa-iš*$^?$, cf. *CAD* A, 1, 166b, b)" ". The line quoted can be translated with: "we bargained a price of 1 mina less" [564]).

b) *eliš*

eliš occurs more frequently, cf. *CAD* E 97b, 3. It may denote that a certain amount is exceeded, as in TC 2, 15, 18f.: *a-na* KÙ.BABBAR [19] *20 ma-na ù e-li-iš* [20] *a-ṭù-ul*, "I expected 20 minas of silver or more (or: at least 20 minas of silver)"; cf. also TC 3/1, 34, 5ff.: *a-na* [6] *10 ma-na ù e-li-iš* [7] *i-ḫa-ra-nim im-ta-aḫ-ṣa-ni*, "he injured me (or acc. abl.?) for 10 minas and more during the journey"; and L 29-573—H. LEWY 1968, 31—, 25f.: *iš-tù* KÙ.BABBAR *1* GÚ *ú e-li-*/*iš* [26] *ṣa-ba-at*, "collect (seize) at least 1 talent of silver", where *ištu . . . ēliš* again denotes the minimum amount. Without *u*, "and" we have in KTS 12, 38f.: *tí-ib-nam ú e-ṣí* [39] *ša* KÙ.BABBAR ⅓ *ma-na e-li-iš ša-ma-nim*, "buy straw and (fire)wood for ⅓ mina of silver or more".

eliš is also used, like *šapliš*, in connection with the rate of exchange, e.g. in TC 2, 22, 18ff.: *šu-ma 6 ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR *ú e-li-iš* [19] *ḫu-sà-ra-am dí-na* [20] *šu-ma* ½ *ma-na* GUŠKIN [21] *pá-ša-la-am ú e-li-iš* [22] *kà-sá-am dí-na* [23] *šu-ma la i-ta-ab-ší*[*-ma*] [24] *la ta-ta-ad-na ḫu-sà-ru-um* [25] *ú kà-sà-am a-dí a-lá-kà-ni* [26] *li-bi*$_4$*-ší-ú*, "if you can make 6 minas of silver or more for it, then sell the haematite; if it is possible for half a mina of electrum (?) or more, sell the goblet. If that proves impossible and you cannot sell (them), let the haematite and the goblet (acc!) remain in store until I arrive" [565]).

eliš combined with a description of the price by means of *x* GÍN.TA is

[564]) An interpretation of the forms quoted as D-stems of *šapālum* has the advantage of solving a grammatical problem. Both TC 3/1, 59, 19.23 and TTC 6, 11 are mentioned in *CAD* A, 1, 10b and the latter text also in HECKER *GKT* § 93h as irregular formations from *wabālum* Š: *nušābil* instead of correct *nušēbil*. This proves to be wrong. The uncertainty of *CAD* in dealing with *šapālum* D is also evident from *CAD* A, 1, 166b, b, where the form in TTC 6, 11 is read as *nu-ša-kà*^{1}*-lá-am*, from *akālum* Š, "to satisfy a claimant" (*CAD* A, 1, 258a, 10; read ibid. in BIN 4, 47, 9 not *ša-ki-li*, but *ša ki-li*, "that of all (the silver) . . ."); this proves to be superfluous.

[565]) We frequently read similar instructions about price limits saying that, if a purchase price is too high, or a sale price is too low, no transactions must be con-

attested in BIN 6, 55, 6 (in connection with textiles): *9* GÍN.TA *ú e-li-[iš]*, "at 9 shekels or more apiece". In connection with tin in TC 1, 29, 33f.: while the writer had previously bought tin at an unfavourable rate of exchange, he observes [33] *ù-ma-am* AN.NA *16* GÍN.TA [34] *ù e-li-iš i-ba-ší*, "to-day tin is for sale at a rate of exchange of 16 shekels or even more (against) each (shekel of silver)". For tin and textiles in L 29-574—H. LEWY 1968, 32f.—, 7f.: *9* GÍN.TA *ù e-li-iš* [8] *dì-na*. In connection with gold: CCT 3, 47a, 5ff.: GUŠKIN [6] ½ *ma-na šu-ma* [7] *8* GÍN.TA *ú-lá* [8] *9* GÍN.TA *a-na* [9] KÙ.BABBAR *ša-a-ma* [10] *šé-bi*$_4$*-lim šu-ma* [11] *e-li-iš i-na* [12] *9* GÍN.TA *lá tù-šé-ba-/lam*, "as for the half mina of gold, if the rate of exchange against silver stands at 8 shekels or 9 shekels (of silver against) each (shekel of gold), buy it and send it to me; if it stands at more than 9 shekels each, don't send it to me". The comparative is expressed here by *eliš ina*; cf. *watar ina* in TC 2, 11, 11 (above p. 424 no. 2). Cf. for the meaning of *ana kaspim*, "against silver", HECKER *GKT* § 103c, 8 ("auf Silber") and the remarks made above on p. 404 in connection with this text.

The verb *elā'um* is used in OA in the meaning "to turn up", said of documents, merchandise, the results of refining etc., but not of the rate of exchange or the price, as in OB, cf. *CAD* E 121a, 7' [566]).

5. BY MEANS OF *kima*

In two texts, exceptionally, *kima* is used to denote the value (equivalence) or price of an article. BIN 4, 61, 37, after mentioning the prices at which tin and textiles were sold, adds: *1* ANŠE *ṣa-la-mu-um ki-ma* ½ *ma-na*, "one black donkey for half a mina (of silver)"; and in the same text line 47ff.: *ki-ma 2* TÚG *ku-ta-ni* [48] *7*½ GÍN LÁ *6*½ ŠE KÙ.KI *ù 5* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR [49] *i-dí-in-ni-a-tí*, "for two *kutānū*-textiles it (the palace) gave us 7½ shekels minus 6½ grains of gold and 5 shekels of silver". Cf. also TC 3/3, 252, 6ff. (a slave-sale): *A B ú C* [7] *ki-ma* ⅔ *ma-na 5* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR [8] *D a-na* [9] *E i-dí-nu-ší-ma*, "A, B and C sold D to E for ⅔ mina 5 shekels of silver". The use of *kima* clearly expresses the idea "in exchange for", showing that the items exchanged are equivalent. But, especially in the last text, it is simply variant for *ana*, "for", and no special reason for its use is apparent.

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cluded. Cf. e.g. TC 3/2, 109, 6ff.: *ṭá-áb-tí šu-ma* [7] ½ GÍN.TA *dí-na-ší* [8] *šu-ma la ki-a-am* [9] *li-ib-ší*, "as for my salt, sell if possible, at half a shekel (of silver for) each (.....of salt). If that is impossible, let it remain in store". Similarly TC 3/1, 46, 11ff.: *šu-ma 7* GÍN.TA [12] AN.NA-*ki dí-in šu-ma la ki-a-am* [13] AN.NA-*ki li-ib-ší*, "if it is possible at 7 shekels each, sell my tin; if not, let it remain in store". Cf. also TC 1, 12, 10ff.

[566]) Cf. for the OB pair *šapālum - elūm*, *MCT* p. 106a, MLC 1842, 1-2 (cf. for this text above note 515).

Addenda

P. 34, *riksum*. Cf. *TIM* 4, 7, 5: *3 mana* KÙ.BABBAR *ra-ak-sú-um* (OB).
P. 369. A new occurrence of *šīmam tadānum* in the OA letter published by D. O. EDZARD and K. HECKER, *MDOG* 102 (1970), 86ff., lines 15ff.: "You may collect the first proceeds when you are selling as/for your silver (which you invested, cf. l. 5ff.)". Ibid. l. 23 an instruction about the price?
P. 383, *batqum*. An unpub. text in Konya, photos of which were kindly provided by Mr. D. I. OWEN (Philadelphia) has: [17] IR (for ÌR) *ša ta-dí-na-ni-ni* [18] *ší-mu-um* (sic) [19] *ba-at-qám ú-kà-lu-ni* [20] *šu-ma 15* GÍN *té-er-ta-kà* [22] *li-li-kam-ma* [23] *lá-dí-in*, "for the slave you gave to me (to sell him), they are offering me a bad price. If (you agree with) 15 shekels, then let me know and I will sell (him)".

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Numbers in the right-hand column refer to the pages of the book, those in italics to the notes. Note that in part 2, "Texts", one single line may contain two separate references; for example 3, 12 (left-hand column) — 14, *108* (right-hand column) means that line 3 of the relevant text is discussed on p. 14 and line 12 in note 108, and not that both lines are treated in both places. I have not aimed at absolute completeness for the OA material (words, texts), but all references which might be useful have been listed. Lists of references for rather well known words or features, occasionally given in the notes, have not been incorporated. The texts tabulated in alphabetical arrangement in the *Appendix* on pp. 70-76 have been omitted here, unless the column headed "further data" contains a literal quotation. References to texts and words from other periods or dialects quoted or mentioned are selective. Cf. also the remarks on the index made in the *Introduction*, p. XXVII.

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