

STUDIA ORIENTALIA
EDIDIT SOCIETAS ORIENTALIS FENNICA
V 3

NEW KIRKUK DOCUMENTS
RELATING TO SLAVES

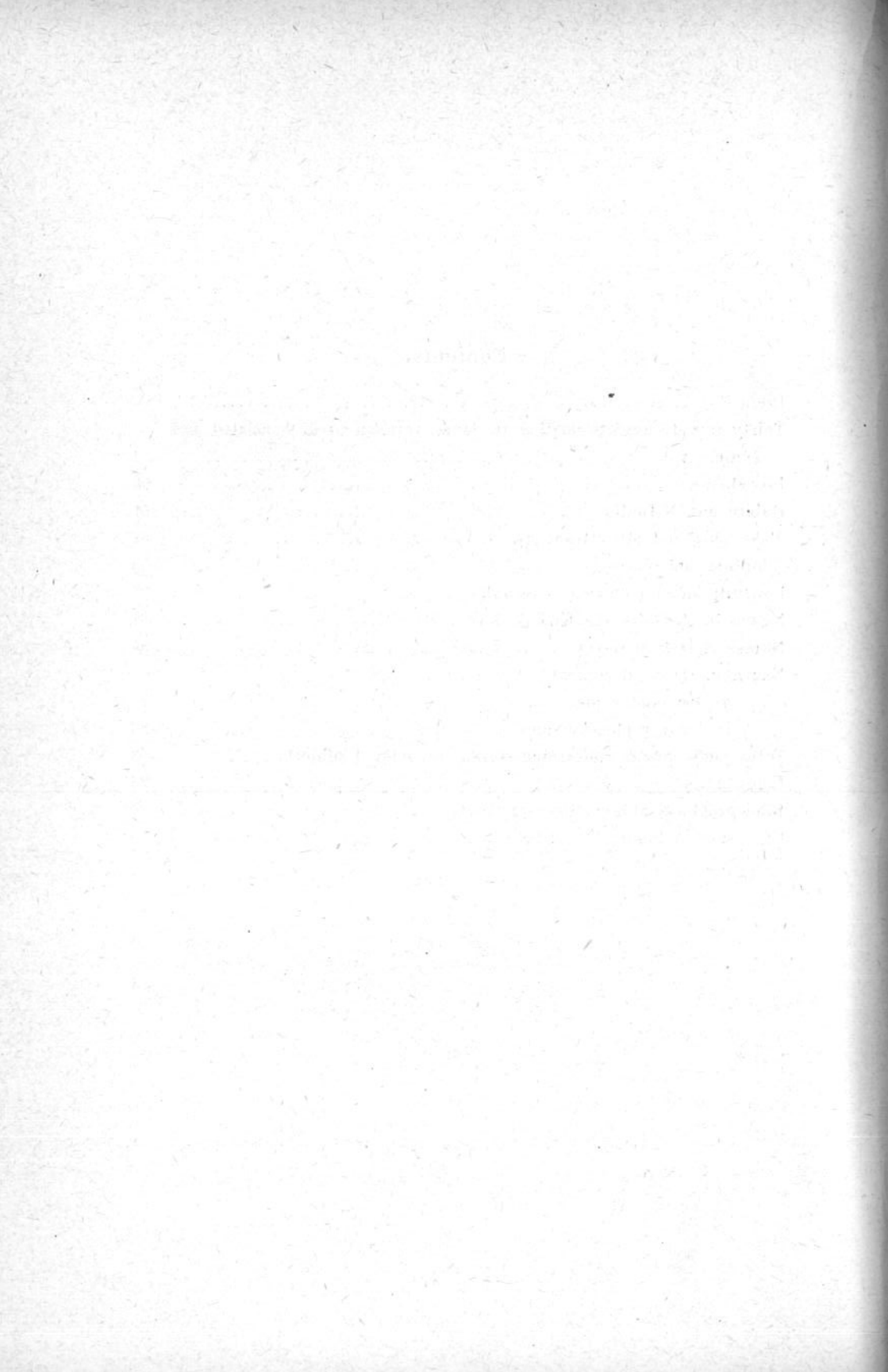
BY
AAPELI SAARISALO

HELSINGFORSIAE 1934
SOCIETAS ORIENTALIS FENNICA

PRINTED BY SUOMALAISEN KIRJALLISUUDEN SEURAN KIRJAPAINON OY.
HELSINKI 1934

Contents.

	Page
Preface	V
Thirty five documents relating to slaves, transliterated, translated and commented	1
Introductory	58
Ḥabiru and N(L)ullu	61
Slave sales and other transfers	68
Adoption and marriage.....	73
Lawsuits and miscellaneous records	77
Names of slaves in the Kirkuk documents	81
Names of Ḥabiru slaves	84
Names of the 35 documents	
a) Personal names	87
b) Topographical names	93
Terms and phrases concerning slaves and related subjects	93
Index	95
Bibliographical abbreviations and notes	98
Excursion: A family of scribes	100



Preface.

In connection with my Palestinian researches I spent two winter seasons in Mesopotamia (1930—1932). While working with Professor SPEISER as an associate director in the excavations at Tell Billa and Tepe Gawra respectively (Pennsylvania Expedition, 1930—1931), I was fortunate enough to come into personal contact with our neighbours, the excavators in the Kirkuk (Nuzi) expedition. The cities of the Subareans (Hurrians) brought into light by the excavations at Nuzi and Tell Billa gave me the first incentive to study the social conditions of this newly-found nation.

In publishing this study I am bound to express my great obligation to the two Leipzig scholars, KOSCHAKER and LANDSBERGER. It is Prof. Paul Koschaker, who was the first to suggest to me this subject of investigation in the field of the social conditions revealed by the Kirkuk documents, and whose great authority in the history of Oriental laws has given me inspiring and effective guidance.

I wish too to express my respectful gratitude to Professor Benno Landsberger, Director of the Semitic Institute in Leipzig, for many valuable suggestions and for the kind permission to use the library of his institute — also to Professor TALLQVIST, the editor.

The Kirkuk tablets are written by two classes of scribes; those having Subarean names form a majority, while the scribes with Akkadian names are also not uncommon (see p. 100—101). It is plain that this involves more than a mere difference in name; actually the Akkadian written by the scribes bearing Akkadian names is more correct than that written by those with Subarean names. All of

the scribes bearing Akkadian names were not necessarily of Semitic origin. In several cases we see that they took to themselves Semitic names in place of their original Subarean ones (cf. the family of Taya, p. 94, and the names compounded with Adad, which is a translation of the Subarean national god Tesup).

While writing Akkadian words the Subarean scribes did not differentiate between the cases only (genitive pro nominative, one of the numerous instances is 35: 38, left edge, cf 10: 10) and genders 5: 11; 9: 15) but also between the persons (5: 5; 8: 8; 14: 5) and numbers (7: 13, note, and 16: 7). Further, they confused the voiced with the voiceless stop (*ta-ma* for *dama*, 2: 18) and the voiced with the voiceless sibilant (*zu-ha-ru* for *šuhāru*, 21: 10; *ru-pu-uz-zu*, $\sqrt{\text{rapāšu}}$, 10: 7; *i-sa-az-zi*, 15: 12, cf *a-za-az-zi*, N II 106: 18, $\sqrt{\text{šasū}}$; *zi* and *ši* in the same name, 18: 15, 16) as well as the dental with the palatal sibilant (*sa-ti-ir* for *šatir*, 25: 31).

In the Subarean language all stops must have been voiceless according to the evidence hitherto available. It would seem at first sight that in our personal names, which are, roughly speaking, the only representatives of the Subarean language in these texts, the *gi*-sign forms an exception to the foregoing statement. In the writing of Subarean personal names *gi* is too consistently distinguished from *ki* to be merely accidental. While we cannot say with certainty what the phonetic value of the sign *gi* was, it is clear that it had a different value from that of *ki* and that also the *gi*-sign does not represent a voiced stop.

It is also scarcely possible that the Subareans possessed voiced or-palatal sibilants, or emphatic consonants (e. g. *qa* sign was preferred to the *ka* sign by Subarean scribes obviously as a simpler form of writing). In our transliteration, however, the palatal sibilant *š* is employed in the Subarean words in order to avoid the complications involved by the use of the extra numbers which are not to be found in the Thureau-Dangin system. In the rendering of Subarean personal names in the translation voiced stops and sibilants, palatal sibilants and emphatic consonants are not used.

In this study the Sumerian transcription is employed consistently in all the ideograms, owing to the fact that for the form of the Akkadian equivalents there is hardly any consistent guidance to be traced in those cases where the respective words and phrases are phonetically spelled out. (THUREAU-DANGIN, *Les Homophones Sumeriens*, Paris, 1929).

According to the frequent phonetical spelling of the ideogram *IGI*, it is pronounced in plural *šī-bu-tu* (10: 46), *a-na pa-ni šī-bu-ti* (10: 25). On the other hand, one would expect that this plural form *šī-bu-tu* (built according to the adjectives) means »elders» in the Kirkuk usage, while the ideogram *IGI* (12: 25; 14: 23) with the plural sign ought to be pronounced *šībū*, *šībē* and translated »the witnesses». But where the shorter plural form is spelled out it seems to mean »elders», *šī-bé ša URU A-pè-na-aš*, N II 202: 45.

Another difficulty lies in the rendering of the Akkadian correspondent of the partitive genitive. In the phonetic complements and in the phonetically spelled words, one finds both nominative, genitive and accusative.

Further one is perplexed in cases where the *MEŠ* sign seems to have been employed for other purposes than that of indicating the plural. (Cf. CHIERA-SPEISER *JAOS*, 1927, p. 47: »The plural sign to indicate the length of the final vowel, this secondary signification of the sign meets us in these documents time and again.» Cf. also *KDFL*, p. 44 and *GADD*, p. 84, note 10.) It seems, however, that in the case of almost every noun the primary signification of this sign can be here understood. (Cf. the Assyrian influence in using terms of materials with the plural sign. Cases like 24: 13; 16: 7; 26: 8 can also be explained as scribal errors due to misplacement of the *MEŠ* sign, etc.).

In the transliteration of the syllabic signs the system of THUREAU-DANGIN, »*Le Syllabaire Accadien*», 1926, is employed with some additional symbols: (cf. *NKRA* p. VI) *ga*₅ for *QA*, *ša*₇ for *SA*, *mi* for *ME* (Hom. Sum.), *ti*₄ for *DI* (Hom. Sum.), *UG*₆ for *TIL* (13: 14) *šuk* for *MUK*.

The following parentheses are employed: () to indicate added words in the translation; [] for broken words and { } for superfluous words in the tablets. The male determinative is suspended *m*, the female determinative is suspended *f*, and divinity is indicated by a suspended *d*. All the rest of the determinatives are given in Sumerian transcription. The determinatives are omitted in the translation.

Helsinki, Christmas, 1933.

A. S—LO.

1. HSS V 35. A tablet concerning a stolen slave.

<p><i>um-ma</i> ^m<i>Mu-ša-pu</i> DUMU <i>Ku-</i> <i>us-sà-ri-ia</i> Ìrì <i>ša</i> ^m<i>Ak-ku-ia</i> ^m<i>Ma-aš-ka-an-ta-ar</i> DUMU <i>Tup-ki-ia</i> <i>iš-ta-ri-iq-ma</i> 5) <i>a-na</i> ^{KUR}<i>Ha-ni-gal-bat</i> <i>a-na</i> <i>ši-mi</i> <i>il-ta-dì-iš-šu</i> <i>ab-bu-ta-šu</i> ^m<i>Mu-ša-pu</i> <i>il-ta-pa-at</i> <i>tup-pu an-nu-ú</i> <i>ša hu-uz-zu-ri</i></p>	<p>Thus (says) Musapu son of Kus- sariya: the slave of Akkuya Maskantar son of Tupkiya has stolen and to the land of Hanigalbat for a price has sold him. His slave-mark Musapu laid hold of. This tablet concerns — — —</p>
--	--

(10) ^{TĀGŠID} *Ne-maš-še* DUMU *Ar-na-pu* (11) ^{TĀGŠID} *Te-šu-ia*
DUMU LUGAL (12) ^{TĀGŠID} *Mu-uš-te-šup* DUMU *Pu-ḫi-še-en-ni*
L. 10—12, three seals (Tesuya, the prince, l. 11).

1. *Mu-ša-pu* must have been an official, because employed twice in connection with the river ordeal (HSS V 45: 11; 50: 11). In the latter tablet there is an attribute attached to the name: *mu-ri*, which (*mūru*) was possibly contracted from *mu'irru*, inspector (cf. KDFL, p. 29).

5. *Ha-ni-gal-bat*. The real name of the land seems to have been *Hani*, the latter part being only an attributive component, because *Hani* also occurs alone. Cf. *Haligalbat*, HSS IX 17: 2 and *Hali*, HSS IX 34: 3, and the many personal names with *Hani* or *Hali* as their first component, e. g. *Ha-ni-Ku-us-si* G. 1: 32, *Ha-li-Pa-am-pa*, G. 35: 6. Cf. SPEISER, *Mesop. Origins*, p. 144.

7. *abbutašu iltapat*. The slave-mark, according to the latest study of the subject (DAVID, *Adoption*, 48 ff.) was usually placed on the head of the slave. But in the few references to it in the Kirkuk texts it seems to mean a metal chain placed on the foot (ankle) of the slave (*ab-bu-ta-šu-nu i-na GIR-šu-nu i-na-an-di-nu* HSS V 73: 23 KDFL 20). Cf. also *abbuta ana X nadānu* (HSS IX 12: 13). Cf. *√lapātu* »aufbewahren», OLZ XXVI p. 534. For additional material on the problem of the slave-mark see RSGH p. 303 ff.; EISLER, *Die Gesetzestele Hammurapis*, A.O. 31 (1932), in the alphab. index.; SAN NICOLÒ-UNGNAD, *Neubab. Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden I*, p. 100 f.

9. *hu-uz-zu-ri*: Landsberger has drawn my attention to the expression *rēšamtam ú-uz-zi-ir, √czēru* »to examine», VAB VI, p. 247. [Cf. ZA 31, p. 247]. Possibly this verb was pronounced with an *h* sound in the land of *Arrapha*. Thus *tuppu ša huzzuri* would mean »a tablet concerning examination».

2. HSS V 43. A lawsuit against the wife of a slave.

*m*A-kap-še-en-ni DUMU Št-gi
 it-ti ¹Im-še-en-na-a-a
 i-na dī-ni a-na pa-ni
 DI.KUD^{MEŠ} i-te-lu-ma
 um-ma *m*A-kap-še-en-ni-ma it-ti
 5) *m*A-ri-ḫa-a-a ⟨u⟩ ti-du-ka₄-
 am²-ma i-te-pu-uš
 à ¹Im-še-en-na-a-a a-ḫi-ia qa-sú-
 ma i-te-pu-uš
 à DI.KUD^{MEŠ} ši-bu-ti-šu a-šar
*m*A-kap-še-en-ni
 i-te-ir-šú à *m*A-kap-še-en-ni ši-
 bu-tù
 ša ú-bi-la ^mLUGAL-^dSIN
 DUMU Ar-ša-tù-ia
 10) ^mÚ-ku-ia DUMU Gi-eš-
 ḫa-a-a
*m*A-kip-til-la DUMU Ik-ki-ia
*m*A-ri-ḫa-a-a DUMU Šu-ri-
 ka₄-a-a
 IV LÚ^{MEŠ} ši-bu-tù ina pa-ni
 DI.KUD^{MEŠ} iq-ta-bu
*m*A-kap-še-en-ni it-ti *m*A-ri-ḫa-a-a

Akapsenni son of Siki
 with Imsennaya
 in a lawsuit before the judges
 appeared.

Thus said Akapsenni: with
 Arihaya I had fight

and Imsennaya laid her hand on
 my brother.

And the judges from Akapsenni
 demanded

witnesses. And concerning Akap-
 senni, the witnesses,
 which he brought forward, (were)
 Šarru-Sin, son of Arsatuya
 Ukuya son of Kieshaya,

Akiptilla son of Ikkiya, Arihaya
 son of Surikaya.

(These) four witnesses spoke in
 presence of the judges:
 Akapsenni with Arihaya

3. *ina dīni*: the literal meaning is not »in the court«, as is often given, but »in the case, process, lawsuit«.

5. The copula *u* is superfluous. Note *itepuš* pro *ētepuš*.

6. *qa-sú-ma i-te-pu-uš*: One expects here a Subareo-Akkadian phrase in analogy with *šaššumma epēšu* (NKRA, p. 15) »to forfeit«, *šinamumma epēšu* (KDFL, p. 17) »to renew«, *ewirumma epēšu* (NKRA, p. 14) »to make or to become heir«, etc. All the phrases of this category, hitherto explained, are of an abstract, legal character. But because of the concrete character of the context (*tidūku, dāma muššurum*, l. 17) we are bound to interpret this also in a concrete way. Note *qa-sú-ma*, masc. pro fem.

8. *i-te-ir-šu*, i. e. *itēršū*, $\sqrt{\text{erēšu}}$, cf. H SS V 68: 16; IX 11: 14, 17; N II 191: 12; N III 289: 32; 299: 11; 318: 9.

tì-du-ka₄-am?-ma i-te-pu-uš [erased] (*DU-šu*)

15) *ù¹ Im-še-en-na-a-a it-ta-al-im-ma*

ù a-ḥa-sù ša^m A-kap-še-en-ni i-na sù-qí-im-ma qa-sù-ma i-te-pu-uš

ù dá-m[a] mu-uš-šu-rum

ù ni-nu ni-ta-mar-šu-nu-ti

20) *ù DI.KUD^{MEŠ} a-na¹ Im-še-en-na-a-a iq-ta-bu-ú*

ši-bu-ti-šu ša^m A-kap-še-en-ni — DINGIR^{MEŠ} i-ši-šu-mi ù¹ Im-še-en-na-a-a

a-šar DINGIR^{MEŠ} it-tù-ra

<^m>A-kap-še-en-ni

ina di-ni il-te-ma ù DI.

KUD^{MEŠ}

¹Im-še-en-na-a-a a-na <I>

GUD^{MEŠ}

25) *a-na I ANŠU^{MEŠ} ù a-na*

X UDU^{MEŠ}

had a fight

and Imsennaya became excited

and on the brother of Akapsenni in the street she laid her hand,

and blood flowed, and we saw them.

And the judges spoke to Imsennaya:

The witnesses of Akapsenni have sworn (in presence of) the gods, and Imsennaya

has turned from the place of the gods, Akapsenni

has prevailed in the lawsuit. And the judges

(fined that) Imsennaya one ox,

one ass and ten sheep

14. The scribe wrote the ideogram DÙ (*epēšu*) superfluously after the fully spelled *itepuš*. Note the frequency of the t-forms.

15. *it-ta-al-im-ma* = *ittalibma*, $\sqrt{ta'ābu}$.

16. *a-ḥa-sù*, i. e. »his sister«, a scribal error for *a-ḥa-šu*, due to the Subarean (Nannatah, the scribe) confusion between *š* and *s* in the Akkadian words.

17. *sūqu*, cf. HSS V 26: 4; 55: 10; 72: 16; N III 273: 6; G. 31: 12.

18. For the expression *dāma muššurum* $\sqrt{wašāru}$ cf. HSS IX 10: 9.

21. *i-ši-šu-mi*, acc. to the form $\sqrt{šasū}$, »to cry«, but in this context we expect a word meaning »to swear«. Thus it may stand for *iššū* ($\sqrt{našū}$; *nīš* (*ili*) »oath«).

22. *it-tù-ra*, i. e. Imsennaya refused to submit herself to a purification oath, thus showing herself guilty, VAB V, p. 348.

23. *il-te-ma*, $\sqrt{le'ū}$.

25. *I ANŠU^{MEŠ}*, here *MEŠ* superfluous, a scribal error due to the context.

a-na ^m*A-kap-še-en-ni it-ta-du-uš*
DI.KUD^{MES} ^m*A-ni-na-pí*

DUMU *Ar-šá-an-ta*

ù ^m*Hu-ti-ia* DUMU *Ú-ta-a-a*
a-šar ^m*Ha-iš-te-šup it-tap-ru-uš*

30) *um-ma* ^m*Ha-iš-te-šup-ma*

^l*Im-še-en-na-a-a*

aš-ša-at *IR-ia* ù *pá-nu*

ki-i i-ka₃-ša-du ù

pu-ur-sà ^m*Ar-še-iš-li* DUMU

Ar-te-ia

^m*Te-hi-ia* DUMU *Ú-ta-a-a*

35) ù ^m*Ši-mi-ia-nu-qa-ri-bu*

III LÚ^{MES} *ma-ša-at-tù-uh-li*

ki-me-e

^l*Im-še-en-na-a-a a-šar*

DINGIR^{MES} *it-tù-ru*

un-tù tup-pu i-[ša]-at-ṭá-<ru>

ù ^m*A-ri-ša-a-a i-za-az*

to Akapsenni shall pay.

The judges Aninapi son of Ar-
santa

and Hutiya son of Utaya

sent to Haistesup.

Thus says Haistesup: (concern-
ing) Imsennaya,

the wife of my slave,

whether she shall be pardoned

decide! Arsehli son of Arteya,

Tehiya son of Utaya

35) and Simiya the gardener,

three men of *masatuhlu* (witness)

that

Imsennaya did turn from the

place of the gods.

When the tablet was being written

Arihaya was present.

(40) ^TAGŠID ^m*A-kap-tùk-kí* (41) ^TAGŠID *Kur-ku-tar* ^TAGUt-*hap-*
ta-e (42) ŠU ^m*Na-an-na-tah tup-sar-rum*

* L. 40—42, three seals and signature of the scribe.

26. *it-ta-du-uš*, $\sqrt{\text{nadū}}$, »to fine». Cf. 20: 10; *ana mullī itadūš* (HSS V 45: 50).

29. *it-tap-ru-uš*, cf. *iš-tap-ru-šu-nu-ti*, G 35: 27.

31. *pānu ki ikaššadū* (a subjunctive), i. e. »whether she shall obtain pardon», cf. *pāni wabālu* »to pardon» (LANDSBERGER).

36. LÚ^{MES} *ma-sà!-at-tù-uh-li* (here *ša* could easily be a scribal error for *sà*) otherwise spelled phonetically LÚ *massatuhlu* or *mansatuhlu*, seems to be the Subarean equivalent of the Akkadian *rābišu*, *rābiš daiāni* (KOSCHAKER, OLZ, 1931, p. 226). The Subarean element *-(u)hlu* (which is also to be found in *halsuhtu*, e. g. N II 106: 3, probably the Subarean equivalent of the Akkadian *ḥazannu*, N III 290: 41 [cf. KOSCHAKER, OLZ, 1932, p. 402 f.], and in many personal names) seems to denote a vocation. A parallel to our case is HSS IX 12: 32—34.

37. Cf. *iš-tu* DINGIR^{MES} *it-tu-ur*, i. e. »shrank from the gods», G. 35: 29.

38. *un-tù* = *ultu*, *ištu*, since, when (also in the Amarna letters from Mitanni and in Hittite contracts). Cf. *i-ša-at-ṭar-ma i-ša-at-ṭar*, TCL IX 41: 36.

3. HSS IX 6. An official letter concerning a
handmaid.*a-na mPu-i-ta-e**qí-bí-ma**um-ma mHa-ši-ip-tíl-la-ma**um-ma lu-ú LUGAL-ma-mi*5) *LÚ NIGIR*^(a)*i-na URU An-zu-gal-lim**li-il-sí*ù *ERIM*^{MEŠ} *ša URU An-zu-gal-*
*lim**li-ip-hu-ur*10) *ù ki-na-an-na**qí-bí ma-an-nu-me-e**a-na GEME ša mŠi-il-wa-te-šup*
KÛ.BABBAR^(b) [*id-di-in*] *di-na*
*DÛUŠ**ha-mu-ut-tá šu-pur-šu-ma*15) *ina UGU LUGAL**li-il-li-ka₄**šum-ma ia-nu I LÚ ša ki-i*
*ka₄-ša ma-aš-lu**ina UGU LUGAL li-li-ka₄**TÀG mHa-ši-ip-tíl-la*20) *ù [e₄-ma li-li-[kam?]*

Unto Puitae

speak!

Thus says Hasiptilla:

Thus verily says the king:

The overseer of the palace

in the city of Anzugallim

he may call

and the people of the city of
Anzugallim

he may gather

and in the following way

give Thou a commandment:

whoever

for the handmaid of Silwatesup

[has given] money [and] brought

an action (against Silwatesup)

so send him speedily,

to the king

he may come.

If there does not exist (such a
man, then) one man who is
like Thee

may come to the king.

Seal of Hasiptilla.

And a report shall com[e here].

(a) ŠL II 347: 11.

(b) The sign KÛ is written in the cursive Babylonian script, cf. Fossey, Manuel, no. 30362.

1. Cf. HSS V 104.

9. *liḫur*, a scribal error for *lupahḫir*.

17. »a man like Thee», i. e. »Thy deputy, representative».

4. HSS IX 7. A slave deputizes for his master
in a lawsuit.

um-ma ^m*Ku-up-pá-ti-ia-ma*
 ÌR ša ^m*Ši-il-wa-te-šup* DUMU
 LUGAL
 šum-ma ^m*Šu-ur-til-la* DUMU
 E-en-na-ma-ti
 i-na mu-ši i-na GIŠ.SAR ša
^m*Ši-il-wa-te-šup*
 5) la *it-ta-ra-ad-ma*
 ù II GIŠ^{MEŠ} ša-aš-šu-ku (*ik-is*)
 lîb ša GIŠ.SAR la *it-ta-ki-is-*
sú-nu-ti
 ù šum-ma NAM.LÚ.LÚ^{MEŠ}
 ša-nu-tù ša i-na GIŠ^{MEŠ} ša
ik-ki-sú
 10) ^m*Šu-ur-til-la* la *i-de₄-šu-nu-ti*
 ù i-na-an-na la *ik-ki-ru*

Thus says Kuppatiya
 slave of Silwatesup son of the
 king:
 verily Surtilla son of Ennamati
 in the night in the orchard of
 Silwatesup
 went down
 and two trees of *šaššuku*
 cut in the orchard
 and verily the other people
 who were under the trees which
 they cut
 were recognized by Surtilla
 and now he has spoken a false-
 hood.

2. We read *Ši-il-wa-te-šup* (pro *Ši-il-wi-te-šup*), cf. ^m*Ši-il-wa-a*, HSS IX 20: 40, 56.

3. *šumma* is used in oaths like the Hebrew *im*. In affirmative statements it is used with the negative *lā* and mutatis mutandis, when alone, the statement has a negative sense, cf. l. 7; VAB VI, no. 238, h; HOLMA, ZA 28, p. 112.

6. *ša-aš-šu-ku*. The ideogram of *ša-aš-šu-gu*, GIŠ.SĒ.ŠIŠ, MEISSNER, Assyriol. Studien, Die dritte Tafel der Serie *harra* = *hubullum*, I 57, p. 16 (MVAG, 18, 1913), gives an idea of a tree bearing bitter (ŠIŠ) seeds. Further (p. 21, 68) *ša₄-áš-šú-gu*, GIŠ.MĒS.GĀM, we conclude that it was a species of *mēsu* tree (p. 38). As to the sign GĀM, there are so many values given to this sign in ŠL II: 60 that it is difficult to obtain help from them in the matter of identification of this tree.

7. *ik-is*, the first sign is badly defaced. It seems that the scribe wrote first *ik-is* (cf. *ik-ki-sú*, l. 9 and 21) forgetting the negation *lā*, which he employed in the following line with the verb *it-ta-ki-is-sú-nu-ti* ($\sqrt{\text{nakāsu}}$). Note the confusion of *sú* with *šu* when the same suffixed form is rendered again (l. 18) *-šu-nu-ti*.

um-ma mŠu-ur-til-la-ma DUMU
E-en-na-ma-ti

šum-ma a-na-ku i-na mu-ši
i-na GIŠ. SAR ša mŠi-il-wa-te
šup DUMU LUGAL

15) *at-ta-ra-ad-ma šum-ma*
II GIŠ^{MEŠ} an-nu-tù ša-aš-šu-ku

ša mKu-up-pa-ti-ia iq-bu-ú
[šum]-ma [lìb] ša GIŠ. SAR
a-na-ku

[at-ta-ki-iš]-šu-nu-ti

[ù šum-ma] NAM. LÚ. LÚ^{MEŠ}

20) [ša-nu-tù ša] *i-na GIŠ^{MEŠ}*
[ša i]k-ki-sú *a-na-ku e-de₄-šu-*
nu-ti

[ù šu]m-ma *i-na-an-na ak-ki-ru*

[aš-š]um *a-wa-ti an-na-ti*

[a-na] ^{ìD}hur-ša-an GIN^{hu}

25) [ma-an-nu i]k-kál-lu LUGAL
te₄-e-ma

[i-ša]-ak-ka₄-an

Thus says Surtilla son of Enna-
mati:

Verily, I in the night
in the orchard of Silwatesup son
of the king

did not go down, verily
these two trees of *šaššuku* about
which Kuppatiya has spoken
[verily] [in] the orchard I

[have not cut] them,

[and verily] [the other] people,
[who] (were) under the trees

[which they] cut, I did not
recognize them,

[and verily] now I have not
spoken a falsehood.

[Because] of these statements

[to] the river of *huršān* they
shall go

(Concerning) [the one who shall
hold] back the king
shall decide.

(27) *TÀGŠID mÚ-^{nap}-ta-e DUMU Šuk-ri-ia* (28) *TÀG mNa-i-[te-*
-šup] DUMU Te-eš-šu-ia (29) *TÀGŠID mA-ki-ia DUMU [Si-li]-*
pa-pu (30) *TÀG mWa-qar-EN DUMU Ta-a-a* (31) *TÀG mŠa-ar-til-la*
DUB. SAR DUMU DINGIR-SUM

L. 27—31, five seals, among whom that of the scribe.

23. *aš-šum a-wa-ti*, a fixed term of speech in connection with river ordeals
(Ch. p. 55). VAB V does not give this.

24. *nūr^{hur}-ša-an (HUR.SAG)* as the river of the water ordeal, HSS V
45: 11; 50: 12; N II 125: 23; Ch. 18: 19; G. 29: 42.

25. *šarru tēma [iš]akkan*, lit. »the king shall set forth a report».

5. HSS IX 9. Document of a lawsuit, concerning
a fugitive handmaid.

mŠi-il-wa-te-šup DUMU LUGAL
it-ti mEn-na-ma-ti DUMU Pur-
na-aš-šu-ka₄

i-na di-ni a-na pa-ni

DI. KUD^{MEŠ}

i-te-lu-ma um-ma mŠi-il-wa-te-
šup-ma

5) *GEME-ia iḫ-ta-li-iq*

i-na É^{ti} ša mEn-na-ma-ti

a-na a-ša-bi iq-ta-bu-uš

ù DI. KUD^{MEŠ} mEn-na-ma-ti

iš-ta-lu-uš ù iq-ta-bu-ù

10) *GEME ša mŠi-il-wa-te-šup*

ša i-na É-ka₄ aš-bu a-di-na-

a-mi

ù EME-šu ša mEn-na-ma-ti

a-na pa-ni DI. KUD^{MEŠ} iq-ta-bi

[a-a]n-ni-mi GEME ša mŠi-il-

wa-te-šup

15) [— — — —] *i]l-li-ku*

gap of several lines

[— — —] . . *ma a-na* [—

[— — —] . *šu-ma aš* . . . [—

a-na mŠi-il-wa-te-šup

it-ta-dú-uš

Silwatesup son of the king
with Ennamati son of Purnas-
suka

in a lawsuit before the judges

appeared. Thus declares (the
same) Silwatesup:

»My handmaid ran away,
in the house of Ennamati
to live they permitted her.»

And the judges Ennamati
questioned and spoke:

»The handmaid of Silwatesup
who is living in your house, (is
she living there) till now?

And the declaration of Enna-
mati, (which)

he spoke before the judges:

»Yes, the handmaid of Silwate-
sup

————— has come,
(gap of several lines)

to Silwatesup

they have delivered her.

4. *iḫlū*. Cf. *uṣṭelūš*, Ch. 16: 307; *uṣṭēlī*, N II 206: 18; *šutēlū*, HSS IX 11: 9, 29; *uṣellū*, HSS V 7: 24, 26.

5. *iḫtaliq* pro *tahtaliq*.

11. *aš-bu*, ms. pro fem., note the subjunctive form, in a subordinate sentence; in l. 15, *il-li-ku*, the same grammatical correctness, which is rare in the Kirkuk texts.

(20) ŠU ^mTar-mi-te-šup (21) TĀG ^mA-ki-ia SUKAL (22) TĀG ^mIt-ḫi-ti-l-la DUMU Še-ir-pa-taš-ši (23) TĀG ^mŠa-ar-te-šup DUMU Pa-i-ti-l-la (24) TĀG ^mA-kip-ta-še-ni (25) DUMU Ḫu-ti-ip-LUGAL (26) [.] lu-šá-kin (27) TĀG ^mAr-ta-še-en-ni DI.KUD (28) TĀG ^mUr-ḫi-te-šup DUMU Ḫu-ti-[ia]

L. 20, signature of Tarmitesup. L. 21, seal of Akiya, the overseer.

L. 22—26, five further seals. L. 27, seal of Artasenni, the judge. L. 28, one further seal.

6. HSS IX 10. An official inspection concerning
a beaten slave.

^mAt-ti-ia ĪR ša
^mŠi-il-wa-te-šup DUMU LUGAL
a-na pa-ni DI.KUD^{MEŠ} i-te-li
um-ma šu-ma ^mTup-pi-ia ša
NIN.DINGIR.RA
5) ir-tap-sá-an-ni-mi
ù DI.KUD^{MEŠ} mi-ih-ší-šu
ša ^mAt-ti-ia i-ta-am-ru
la-ḫu^{MEŠ}-šu i-na GIŠḪAD ma-
ḫi-iš
ù dá-ma^{MEŠ} mu-uš-šur
10) a-ah-šu ù qí-in-ší-šu
i-na GIŠḪAD-ma ma-ḫi-iš
ù mi-ti-in-nu

Attiya slave of
Silwatesup son of the king
before the judges appeared
Thus says he: Tuppiya (slave)
of the high priestess
has beaten me.
And the judges the beatings
of Attiya have inspected.
His jaws were bruised with a
stick
and blood had been flowing.
His arm and shin-bone
with the stick were bruised
and *mitinnu*.

4. NIN.DINGIR = *ēntu* (sister of God), refers to a high position among the priestesses, something like the virgins of Vesta in Rom. The scribe must have omitted a word after *Tup-pi-ia*, which was most probably *ardu*. The *ēntu* seems to have been *ukkurtu*, sterilized, and could also hardly have had an adopted son. LANDSBERGER, *Zu den Frauenklassen des Kodex Hammurabi*, ZA 1915—16, p. 71—72, KOSCHAKER, RSGH, p. 201—214.

9. *muššur*, II₁ √*wašāru*, permansive as also *maḫiṣ*.

12. The meaning of *mi-ti-in-nu* is unknown.

7. HSS IX 13. Debtor's own person pledged on account of a borrowed boy servant.

EME-šu ša ^mAl-ki-til-la
 ù EME-šu ša ^mSú-un-na-a-a
 DUMU-šu ša ^mKa₄-in-nu-ia
 a-na pa-ni ši-bu-ti
 5) iq-ta-a-bi 1 šú-ha-ru-ú! 2
 am-ma-ti IR^{du}
 a-bi-ni ^mKa₄-in-nu-ia
 a-šar ^mŠi-il-wa-te-šup DUMU
 LUGAL
 il!-te-qì ù i-na-an-na ni-i-nu ki-i
 šú-ha-ri
 10) i-na É^{ti} ša ^mŠi-il-wa-te-⟨šup⟩
 ti-te-nu ti uš-te-ri-ib
 (aš-bu) ù im-ma-ti-me
 2 am-ma-ti šú-ha-ru
 a-na ^mŠi-il-wa-te-šup

The declaration of Alkitilla
 and the declaration of Sunnaya,
 sons of Kainnuya,
 before the witnesses
 they spoke: one boy servant, a
 slave of two cubits
 our father Kainnuya
 from Silwatesup son of the
 king
 borrowed and now us as boy
 servants
 in the house of Silwate⟨sup⟩
 as security he caused to enter.
 And when
 a boy servant of two cubits
 to Silwatesup

1. Note the confusion of singular with plural: *mār-šu* (l. 3), *iq-ta-a-bi* (l. 5), *a-bi-ni* (l. 6), *u-ta-ar-šu* (l. 15), *u-še-iš-šú-ú* (l. 17).

10. The etymology of the technical term, which is here and in many other cases spelled *ti-te-nu-ti* and not seldom also *tidennutu* or *ditennutu*, is not yet certain. SPEISER in his latest study (KDST) devotes much space in order to show that *ditennūtu* is of an Akkadian origin (\sqrt{dnn}). Because I incline to the Subarean origin of the word, the word is transcribed in this study with voiceless stops. Speiser arrives at the translation »possession» (KDST). KOSCHAKER, however, after a systematic investigation interprets the word in most cases as »usufruct» (Nutzniessung, RORH). Here is one of the many examples in the development of the words from the concrete into abstract. From *erēbu* »to enter under one's authority», we get finally the Hebrew *ērābōn*, pledge (SAN NICOLÒ, AO IV, 34 f.; KDST, 360; contrast GESENIUS-BUHL, Wörterbuch. As to the pledging contrast Pfeiffer, p. VII.

ina bīti uštērib (also HSS V 40: 10; N III 312: 7), cf. [*ina É*]^{MEŠ} *i-ru-[ub]* (N. III 272: 23) or *ina bīti īrub*, N. 304: 6; 308: 6.

11. When the scribe wrote *aš-bu* in the beginning of the l. 11, he had the phrase *ina bīti ašbū* in his mind, which expression is out of place here.

mAl-ki-til-la ù mSú-un-na-a-a
 15) *ú-ta-ar-šu ù ra-ma-an-šu-nu*
i-na É^{ti} ša mŠi-il-wa-te-šup
ú-še-iš-šú-ú KIN^{MESŠ}-šu-nu
ù ša mSú-un-na-a-a aš-la aš-gi-
im-ma-an-ni

Alkitilla and Sunnaya
 return, then they themselves
 from the house of Silwatesup
 shall bring out. Their works
 and that which belongs to Sun-
 naya — — —

(20) *IGI Ta-a-a-[-]ú-[-]ki-[-] DUMU Ši-ka₄-a-a* (21) *IGI*
Nu-ul-te-šup DUMU Ut-hap-ta-e (22) *IGI Ša-an-ša-pu DUMU*
Gi-el-gi (23) *IGI Uh-li-pa-pu DUMU Ur-hi-te-šup* (24) *IGI Ta-e*
DUMU A-pi-pi-tù (25) *IGI Ni-ik-ri-ia DUMU Tar-mu-LUGAL*
 (26) *IGI Aš-ta-ri DUMU Pa-pa-an-te* (27) *IGI Hu-ti-ip-til-la*
DUMU Ta-ú-ka₄ (28) *IGI Tar-mi-ia DUMU Ha-ni-ú* (29) *IGI*
Ip-ša-ha-lu DUMU Al-pu-ia

(30) *TÀG mHu-ti-ip-til-la* (31) *TÀG mŠa-an-ša-pu* (32) *TÀG*
mTa-e (33) *TÀG mNu-ul-te-šup* (34) *TÀG mUh-li-pa-pu* (35) *TÀG*
mTar-mi-ia (36) *TÀG mIp-ša-ha-lu* (37) *TÀG mNi-ik-ri-ia tup-sar-rum*

L. 20—29, nine witnesses and the scribe, Nikriya.

L. 30—37, seven seals and the scribe.

8. HSS IX 14. A slave representing his master
 in a puhisarru-business.

EME-šu ša mŠe-ka₄-a-a DUMU
Ur-hi-ia
a-na pa-ni LÚ^{MESŠ} ši-bu-ti
an-nu-ti ki-am-ma iq-ta-bi
 VIII *ANŠU ŠE^{MESŠ} a-šar*
 5) *mŠu-ši-ib-^dUTU ÌR ša*

Declaration of Sekaya son of
 Urhiya,
 before these witnesses
 he spoke as follows:
 8 homers of barley from
 Šušib-Šamaš, slave of

18. *aš-la aš-gi-im-ma-an-ni*: The meaning of these words is still doubtful.
 The word *ašlu*, occurs elsewhere in these texts as a name for a measure (G 26: 4;
 N II 126: 6; N III 297: 9).

(a) ŠL II 74: 170.

5. Note a slave with a Semitic name, whose owner is a Subarean, see pref.

mŠi-il-wa-te-šup i-na
URUPa-ḥa-ra-aš-wa pu!-zi-qa-
ar-ri
il-te-qi-mi
 VII ANŠU SE^{MEŠ} *mŠe-ka₄-a-a*
 10) DUMU *Ur-ḥi-ia pu-ḥi-iz-za-*
ar-[ri]-šū
i-na URUKip-ri a-na
mŠu-ši-ib-^dUTU SUM^{na-1din?}
šum-ma VII ANŠU ŠE^{MEŠ}
mŠe-ka₄-a-a i-na
 15) *URUKip-ri la-i-na-an-din*
mŠu-ši-ib-^dUTU GUD-šū
ša mŠe-ka₄-a-a ú-tar-ru
 XVI ANŠU ŠE^{MEŠ} *mŠu-ši-ib-*
^dUTU
a-šar mŠe-ka₄-a-a
 20) *i-na URUPa-ḥa-ra-aš-wa*
i-liq-qi-e
i-na GĪSBĀN^(a) ša mŠi-il-wa-te-
šup

Silwatesup in
the city of Paharas as *puhisarru*

I have received.

7 homers of barley Sekaya
son of Urhiya (as) his *puhisarru*

in the city of Kipri to
Šušib-Šamaš shall deliver.

If 7 homers of barley
Sekaya in
the city of Kipri should not give
(then) *Šušib-Šamaš* the ox
of Sekaya shall confiscate,
(moreover) 16 homers of barley

Šušib-Šamaš

from Sekaya

in the city of Paharas
shall receive

with the measure of Silwatesup.

(23) TĀG Še-ka₄-a-a DUMU *Ur-ḥi-ia* (24) IGI^{TĀG} Šá-tù-gi-wi
 DUMU [— — —]-e-ta (25) IGI^{TĀG} *Ur-ḥi-te* DUMU *Ka₄-na-a-a*
 (26) IGI^{TĀG} Še-ḥal-te-šup *tup-sar-rum*

L. 23—26, seals of Sekaya and of three witnesses, among whom the scribe.

6. *Pa-ḥa-ra-aš-wa*, the last syllable *wa* a genitive termination, BORK, op. cit. p. 46, MESSERSCHMIDT, op. cit. 97. *pu-zi-qa-ar-ri* pro *pu-ḥi-za-ar-ri*, cf. l. 10. From the material hitherto available this word means exchange business, barter. In it might be embedded the Akkadian *pūhu* = exchange (KOSCHAKER, OLZ, 1932, p. 404). Note *puhizarru* concerning persons, N II 120.

7. *il-te-qi-mi* pro *al-te-qi-mi*.

9. On account of the transport of the barley to another (perhaps distant) city Sekaya is entitled to one homer as his provision: he receives 8 homers and is obliged to deliver 7 homers in the city of destination.

16. *alap-šū*, note the poverty of Sekaya, who owes only one ox.

9. HSS IX 17. Part payment for handmaids.

<p>III SAL^{MES} ša mŠi-il-wa-te-šup DUMU LUGAL ù mÚ-a-ma DUMU Ha-iš-te-šup ša ^{KUR}Ha-li-gal-bat il-te-qì-šu-nu-ti ù mÚ-a-ma II SAL^{MES} I GUD I ANŠU a-na 5) mŠi-il-wa-te-šup it-ta-din-šu- nu-ti ù I SAL SIG₅.GA na-si-iq-tu₄ i-na muh₂-hi mÚ-a-ma ir-te- ih [—] šum-ma I SAL SIG₅.GA na-si- iq-tu₄ ù šum-ma X SU GUŠKIN^{MES} SIG₅.GA 10) a-na mŠi-il-wa-te-šup i-na- an-din ù mMa-si-ia DUMU A-bu- DÛ(G).GA a-na mÚ-a-ma ma-hi-iš pu-ti-šu šum-ma SAL^{MES} ša mÚ-a-ma id-di-nu pá-qi-ra-na TUG^{su}</p>	<p>Three women of Silwatesup son of the king Uama son of Haistesup (who is) from the land of Haligalbat has received and Uama two women, one ox, one ass to Silwatesup has given and (moreover) one woman, healthy and selected remained (still) upon Uama (to pay) until one woman, healthy and selected, or until ten shekels of good gold to Silwatesup he gives, Masiya son of Abū-tāb (being) for Uama his guaranter. If the women that Uama has given have a claimant</p>
--	--

12. *māhiš pūti* seems to refer to a symbolic act in the matter of guaranteeing. It should be rendered literally «the one who strikes the forehead». On the contrary, according to the old idea (BABR, p. 222—223), *pūt* serves in this phrase only as a preposition, cf. BEZOLD (Glossar, *mahāšu*): «*muhāšu* (sc. *qāta*) *pūt*, jdm. (gegenüber) durch Handschlag bürgen».

14. *paqirānu*, «claimant», occurs in the Kirkuk texts parallel with *pirqu* (by metathesis, N II 113: 21) «claim». The formula of *paqirānu* (*pirqu*) is here a more general form of the guarantee against claims than the formulae of $\sqrt{\text{šasū}}$ (N II 113: 18; 118: 11); Cf. BABR, p. 176.

15) <i>m</i> Ū- <i>a</i> - <i>ma</i> ū- <i>za</i> - <i>ak</i> - <i>ka</i> ₄ - <i>šu</i> - <i>nu</i> - <i>ma</i> <i>a</i> - <i>na</i> <i>m</i> Ši- <i>il</i> - <i>wa</i> - <i>te</i> - <i>šup</i> <i>i</i> - <i>na</i> - <i>an</i> - <i>din</i> - <i>šu</i> - <i>nu</i> ša <i>KI</i> . <i>BAL</i> ^{tu} ₄ <i>III</i> <i>SAL</i> ^{MEŠ} <i>SA</i> ₅ ^{la} (a)	Uama shall clear them and restore them to Silwatesup The one who breaks the agree- ment shall pay three women as compensation.
---	--

(18) *IGI* *Hu*-*ut*-*te*-*šup* *DUMU* *Ar*-*rap*-*ha*-*ri* (19) *IGI* *Hu*-*ti*-*ia*
DUMU *Ku*-*uš*-*ši*-*ia* (20) *IGI* *Hu*-*ti*-*ip*-*a*-*pu* *DUMU* *Ur*-*hi*-*te*-*šup*
(21) *IGI* *Ta*-*i*-*ka*₄ *DUMU* *Ha*-*na*-*a*-*a* (22) *IGI* *Ha*-*na*-*a*-*a* *DUMU*
It-*ha*-*a*-*pu* (23) *IGI* *Ku*-*un*-*nu*-*un*-*na*-*a*-*a* *DUMU* *Ip*-*šá*-*a*-*a* (24) *IGI*
Tu-*ra*-*ri* *DUB*.*SAR* *DUMU* *Ta*-*a*-*a*

(25) *T*ĀGŠ*ID* *Hu*-*ut*-*te*-*šup* (26) *T*ĀGŠ*ID* *Hu*-*ti*-*ia* (27) *T*ĀGŠ*ID*
Tu-*ra*-*ri* (28) *T*ĀGŠ*ID* *Ku*-*un*-*nu*-*na*-*a*-*a* (29) *T*ĀG *Hu*-*ti*-*ip*-*a*-*pu*
(30) *T*ĀG *Ta*-*i*-*ka*₄ (31) *T*ĀGŠ*ID* *Ha*-*na*-*a*-*a* (32) *T*ĀGŠ*ID* Ū-*a*-*ma*

L. 18—24, seven witnesses, including Turari, the scribe.

L. 25—32, eight seals, including Turari and Uama.

(a) *SA*₅^{la}, not *DIRIG*. That the ideogram, composed of *si* + *a*, was read *sā* when meaning «to be full», is confirmed by CT XII, 8 f., DELITZSCH, *Sum. Glossar*, p. 238. This is not to be found in ŠL.

15. Note the pl. masc. suffix *-šunu* instead of the fem. *-šina*. For the use of *zukkū* (to declare free) in the Middle-Assyrian deeds of land sales in connection with the guarantee against legitimate claims, see NKRA, p. 32. Cf. HSS IX 19: 21; 25: 16 etc.

17. According to the frequent phonetical spelling of this technical term (*KI*.*BAL*) it was pronounced *ibbal(a)kat* (N II 115: 13) or *ittabalkatu* (N II 118: 19). Ideographically it is written except *KI*.*BAL*, also in some cases *BAL* (N III 273: 15), often with phonetic complements *ka* or *ka* + *tu* or *kat*. Other words of the phrase, preceding (*KI*).*BAL* are: *šumma* (N II 115: 13) or *mannu ša* (N II 118: 19).

10. HSS IX 19. A slave buys real estate under
the cover of a sale-adoption.

tup-pi ma-ru-ti

ša *mTar-mi-te-šup DUMU En-
na-ma-ti*

*mPa-i-te-šup ĪR ša mŠi-il-wa-te-
šup DUMU LUGAL*

a-na ma-ru-ti i-te-pu-uš

5) *GIŠ.SAR i-na URUNu-si*

*1 ma-at i-na am-ma-ti mu-ra-
ak-šu*

ù *40 i-na am-ma-ti ru-pu-us-sú*

*i-na su-ta-na-an KAS ša URU
DINGIR^{MEŠ}1*

*i-na il-ta-na-an GIŠ.SAR ša
mA-ri-ip-še-ri-iš*

10) *i-na KI.TA^{nu} GIŠ.SAR ša
mTù-ra-ar-te-šup*

ù *i-na AN.TA^{nu} GIŠ.SAR ša
mA-ri-ip-še-ri-iš-ma*

*mTar-mi-te-šup ki-ma ĤA.LA-šu
a-na mPa-i-te-šup id-din*

ù *mPa-i-te-šup V ANŠU V
BÁN ŠE^{MEŠ}*

15) *ki-ma GAR.BA-šu a-na
mTar-mi-te-šup id-din*

*šum-ma GIŠ.SAR ša-a-šu i-na
mi-in-dá-dì*

*i-ra-ab-bu-ú i-na ŠAG GIŠ.SAR
ša-a-šu*

Tablet of adoption

of Tarmitesup son of Ennamati,

Paitesup slave of Silwatesup son
of the king

he adopted.

An orchard in the city of Nusi,
its length one hundred in cubits

and its width fourty in cubits
(situated) South of the road of
the city of God(s)

North of the orchard of Aripseris

West of the orchard of Turarte-
sup

and East of the orchard of Arip-
seris,

(this) Tarmitesup as his portion
to Paitesup has given.

And Paitesup 5 homers 5 sūtu of
barley

as his reward to Tarmitesup has
given.

If that orchard in extent

is large in size that orchard

8. URU.DINGIR, here the omission of MEŠ sign is a scribal error. Note the inconsistency in the terminations of the phonetic spelling: *i-na su-ta-na-an*, contrast with *i-na šaplānu^{nu}*, l. 10. Note the rare form *su-ta-na-an* (*sú-ta-an*, HSS IX 20, *šu-ta-na-nu*, N II 140: 7) for South, see the note to HSS IX 20: 10.

la i-na-ak-ki-is ù la ú-ra-ad-dá

*šum-ma GIŠ.SAR pí-ir-qa ir-
ta-ši*

20) *GIŠ.SAR ša-a-šu-ma ^mTar-
mi-te-šup*

*ú-za-ak-ka₄-ma a-na ^mPa-i-te-šup
i-na-an-din il-ku ša GIŠ.SAR*

*^mTar-mi-te-šup-ma na-ši ù ^mPa-
i-te-šup la na-ši*

*EME-šu ša ^mTar-mi-te-šup a-na
pa-ni*

25) *LÚ^{MEŠ} ši-bu-ti an-nu-ti iq-
ta-bi*

*V ANŠU V BÁN ŠE^(MEŠ) ki-
ma GAR.BA^{ti}*

[*a-šar*] *^mPa-i-te-šup el-te-qi*

[*ù ap-la-ku*]-*mi ù ^mPa-i-te-šup*

*EME-šu a-na pa-ni LÚ^{MEŠ} ši-
bu-ti an²-n[u-ti]*

30) [— —]. *na- aš-ši ša
KI.BAL^{tu₄}*

I MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR I

MA.NA GUŠKIN SA₅

tup-pi ina EGIR šu-du-ti

shall not be diminished and not
enlarged.

If the orchard has a claim
(against it)

that orchard Tarmitesup

shall clear (and) to Paitesup
he shall restore (it). The feudal
tasks of the orchard

Tarmitesup shall bear and Paite-
sup shall not bear.

Declaration of Tarmitesup,
before

these witnesses he spoke:

5 homers 5 sūtu of barley as (my)
reward

[from] Paitesup I received

and am paid, and Paitesup

his declaration before these wit-
nesses

— — — — — he who
breaks (the agreement)

shall compensate with one mina
of silver and one mina of gold.

The tablet after the proclamation

22. *il-ku*. SCHOTT (OLZ, XXXII p. 854—5) does not accept KOSCHAKER'S view of *ilku* as »Lehenslast (NKRA, p. 60 f.), but translates it with »Dienstbarkeiten irgendwelcher Art». SPEISER (KDFL, p. 14) after comparing *ilku* with the Subarean synonym *irwi* + *ssi* (due to the king) arrives at the translation of *ilku* = »feudal tasks».

28. *elteqi u aplākūmi*, a technical expression for receipt, appears frequently in these tablets. The permansive *apil* of $\sqrt{apālu}$ occurs in the Old Babylonian texts in the sense of »is satisfied», VAB V, p. 511. [Cf. SAN NICOLÒ, Die Schlussklauseln der altbabyl. Kauf- und Tauschverträge, p. 150 f.]

ina KÁ e-kál ti₄-iš-šá-e

ša URUNu-sí ina ITUH₄ri-li
ša-ti-ir

in the gate of the palace of Tissae
of the city of Nusí in the month
of Hurili was written.

(35) IGI H₄a-ši-ip-til-la DUMU Ar-ši-mi-ka₄ (36) IGI Ur-hi-til-la
DUMU Ta-hi-ri-iš-ti (37) IGI Tù-ra-ar-te-šup DUMU A-bu-DÛ(G).
GA^(a) (38) IGI A-kip-še-en-ni DUMU Ni-nu-a-ri (39) IV LÚ^{MEŠ}
an-nu-tu₄ il-mu-ú ša GIŠ.SAR (40) IGI Tù-ra-ri DUMU Pu-hi-ia
(41) IGI Ku-us-sú DUMU A-ri-gi-el-pì (42) IGI E-ip!-še-en-ni
DUMU Wi-ir-ri-ka₄ (43) IGI An-ni-šu DUMU H₄a-ma-an-na
LÚ.EN.NU-UN [KÁ].GAL (44) IGI Tù-ra-a-a DUMU Ša-li-pè-li
(45) IGI A-bi-DINGIR DUMU ^dAG-DINGIR-RA DUB.SAR
(46) an-nu-tu₄ ši-bu-tu₄ na-di-na-nu ša ŠE^{MEŠ}
(47) TĀG ^mA-bi-DINGIR DUB.SAR (48) TĀGŠID ^mKu-us-sú
(49) TĀGŠID ^mH₄a-ši-ip-til-la (50) TĀGŠID ^mTù-ra-ar-te-šup (51)
TĀG ^mA-kip-še-en-ni (52) TĀG ^mUr-hi-til-la (53) TĀG ^mE-ip!-še-
en-ni (54) TĀGŠID ^mTar-mi-te-šup EN GIŠ.SAR (55) TĀG ^mAn-
ni-šu (56) TĀG ^mTù-ra-a-a (57) TĀG ^mTù-ra-ri

L. 35—38, seals of four witnesses, among whom (l. 37) Turartesup, son
of Abū-tāb.

L. 39 These (where the) four men, who fixed the boundaries of the orchard.

L. 40—45, seals of five witnesses, among whom (l. 45) the scribe.

L. 46 These witnesses (were) those that gave the barley.

L. 54, seal of Tarmitesup, owner of the orchard.

(a) BI, a scribal error for GA, cf. HSS IX 17: 11.

34. The year is hardly ever given in the Kirkuk tablets (HSS IX 98: 29),
the month comparatively often. I have counted 21 different names, among
which *Šehali* (ša Adad) occurs the greatest number of times (19 times).
The month of *Hu-ri-il-li* was the month of shearing, i. e. New Year (*ba-aq-nu*,
HSS V 82: 10), see also HSS V 95: 7, N II 128: 7. Cf. the month of *Kurilli*,
of the city of Sissa, HSS V 20: 13; *Kirilli* of Nusí, HSS IX 95: 7. Each
important city had its own nomenclature for the months.

39. *il-mu-ú* pro the usual *mušelwū* (Šafel $\sqrt{7725}$); KOSCHAKER (NKRA,
p. 68—72) after a thorough discussion, arrives at the conclusion that the
mušelwū were »Publizitätszeugen bei Veräusserung von Liegen-
schaften». Cf. also HSS V 61: 14.

46. *na-di-na-nu*, KOSCHAKER (NKRA, p. 69) translates this word with
»Trehänder», who was also a *mušelwū*, but every *nadinānu* was not a *mušelwū*.
nadinānu occurs e. g. N I 15: 20; 22: 25.

11. HSS IX 20. A sale-adoption of a slave concerning a mortgaged field.

tup-pí ma-ru-ti ša mŠuk-ri-te-šup

DUMU Ar-ru-um-ti

ù mPá-i-te-šup ÌR ša

mŠi-il-wa-te-šup a-na ma-ru-ti

<i-te-pu-uš>

5) ù ki-ma HA.LA-šú VIII

GIŠAPIN A.ŠÀ

i-na A.GÀR URUNu-si

i-na šu-pa-al A.ŠÀ ša mNu-la-sà-ḫi

i-na il-ta-an A.ŠÀ ša mTi-e-eš-wa-nu-uh-ni

i-na ŠAD^{dá-an} A.ŠÀ ša mA-ri-ip-še-ri-iš

10) ù i-na sú-ta-an A.ŠÀ ša mŠi-il-wa-te-šup

a-na mPá-i-te-šup SUM^{din}

ù mPá-i-te-šup. III ANŠU

II BÁN^(a) ŠE^[MEŠ]

Tablet of adoption belonging to Sukritesup, son of Arrumti. Paitesup, slave of Silwatesup he adopted.

And as his portion, eight aweharu of field

in the land of the city of Nusi, West of the field of Nulasahi,

North of the field of Tieswanuhni,

East of the field of Aripseris

and South of the field of Silwatesup

(this) to Paitesup he has given.

And Paitesup, three homers, two sūtu of barley

(a) BANLIMMU, ŠL II 295: 60.

5. The spelling of GIŠAPIN (*aweharu*) is established by *a-me-ḫa-ri*, which shows that the *PI* sign in the frequently written *A-PI-ḪA-RI* is to be pronounced *we* (N III 273: 11). Cf. APN, p. 24.

10. Here the points of the compass are given more fully than is usual in the boundary descriptions. Note that the West and East (*ina šupal* — *ina šadan*, lit. »downward — upward, to the mountain») are local names for the points of the compass. In the district of Kirkuk the ground slopes gently to the West. In IX 21: 15—20 all four points of the compass are mentioned. *ina elīni* is used instead of *ina šadan*. Cf. TALLQVIST, Himmelsgegenenden und Winde, *Studia Orientalia* II, p. 112—115. Contrast WEIDNER, *Inscr. d. altass. Könige*, p. 101, n. 9 (*elū* — *šaplū* = North—South). Cf. G. 2, 34, 47, 48, 50, 62, 69.

ki-ma GAR.BA-šu a-na mŠuk-ri-te-šup SUM^{din}

um-ma mŠuk-ri-te-šup-ma

15) *A.ŠĀ šá-a-šu ù mA-ki-ia*

DUMU mGi-e-li-ia ki-ma V

UDUMEŠ

a-na ti₄-te-en-nu-ti ú-ka₄-al

ù mPá-i-te-šup V UDUMEŠ

ša KAⁱ tup-pí-šu ša mA-ki-ia

20) *a-na mA-ki-ia ú-ta-ar-ma*

ù A.ŠĀ i-liq-qì

šum-ma A.ŠĀ šá-a-šu i-na mi-

in-dá-dì

i-ra-ab-bi la a-na-ak-ki-is

šum-ma A.ŠĀ pa-qí-ra-na

25) *TUG^{si} ù A.ŠĀ šá-a-šu-ma*

a-za-ak-ka₄-ma a-na

mPá-i-te-šup a-na-an-din

il-ku ša A.ŠĀ a-na-ku

na-a-ši ù mPá-i-te-šup

30) [*la*] *na-a-ši* [.] *ni*

2 lines destroyed

[— — —] *ki-ma* [*GAR.BA-ia*]

a-na mPá-i-te-šup el-[te]-qì

35) *ù [ap-la-ku]-mi ù mPá-i-te-*

šup

qa-[an-na-šu im]-ta-[šar]

as his reward to Sukritesup has given.

Thus said Sukritesup:

That field Akiya

son of Gieliya in exchange for five sheep

for security has been holding.

And Paitesup the five sheep

in accordance with the agreement of Akiya

to Akiya shall return,

and the field he shall take.

If that field in area

is large, I will not curtail it.

if the field has a claimant

that field

I will free, to

Paitesup I will give (it).

The feudal tasks of the field I

will bear and Paitesup

shall not bear — —

(2 lines destroyed)

[— — — —] as my reward

from Paitesup I have received

and am paid, and Paitesup

made the impression with his hem.

34. *a-na* pro *a-šar*, cf. HSS IX 21: 28.

36. *qannašu imtašar*; *qannu* (hem of a garment) was used in the Old Babylonia (VAB V, p. XL. f.) for the act of certifying a tablet by means of stamping it with a cloth, while it was still in an unbaked state. According to KOSCHAKER (NKRA, p. 20) it was not a mere substitute for a seal because of the fact that it was never used by the party, who drew up the tablet. Therefore it must have had a special legal significance.

ma-an-nu ša i-na be-[ri-šu nu]

KI.BAL^{at}

I MA.NA [KÛ.BABBAR I]

MA.NA [GUŠKIN] SA₅^{ta}

Whoever among them breaks the agreement,

one mina of silver, one mina of gold he shall pay as compensation.

(39) *IGI [— — —] DUMU Ar-te-še* (40) *IGI Ki-ip-ta-li-li DUMU Šu-ru-uk-ka₄* (41) *IGI Ši-il-wa-a-a DUMU Ĥap-tu₄* (42) *III LÛ^{MEŠ} ma-še-el-wu ša A.ŠĀ* (43) One line destroyed (44) *IGI Ar-šá-a-pu DUMU Ip-šá-a a* (45) *IGI Ku-uš-ši-ia DUMU Ĥa-na-a-a* (46) *ma-šar KÁ.GAL* (47) *IGI Ši-ma-^dIš-tar DUB.SAR DUMU ^dAG-DINGIR-RA* (48) *tup-pu i-na EGIR^{hi} šu-du-ti* (49) *ina URUNu-sí a-šar KÁ.GAL šá-ti-ir*

(50) *TĀG mKu-uš-ši-ia* (51) *TĀG mKi-ip-ta-li-li* (52) *TĀG mSi-ik-ni-ia* (53) *TĀG mŠuk-ri-te-šup* (54) *EN^{el} A.ŠĀ* (55) *TĀG mAr-šá-a-pu* (56) *TĀG mŠi-il-wa-a-a*

L. 39—41, three witnesses.

L. 42 The three men are the surveyors of the land.

L. 43, one line defaced.

L. 44—46, four further witnesses, among whom the gate-keeper and the scribe.

L. 48 The tablet after the proclamation in the city of Nusi, at the gate, was written.

L. 50—56, six seals, among whom Sukritesup, owner of the field.

12. HSS IX 21. A sale-adoption of a slave concerning houses.

tup-pi ma-ru-ti ša

mPi-ri-a-sà-na DUMU Pa-i-ti-la

mKu-ú-pá-a-sa IR mŠi-il-wa-te-

šup [DUMU LUGAL]

a-na ma-ru-ti i-te-pu-uš

5) *ki-ma ĤA.LA-šu É^{HI.A.MEŠ}*

i-na li-bi URUNu-sí i-ti

Tablet of adoption of

Piriasana son of Paitilla (whereby)

Kupasa, slave of Silwatesup [son of the king]

into sonship he adopted.

As his portion: houses in the heart of the city of Nusi, together with

na-ak-ka₄-ti-šu-nu 92 *i-na am-*
ma-ti [*mu-ra-ak-šu-nu*]
ù ma-la $\dot{U}^{(a)}$ *mi-in-dá-sú-nu*

hu-up-pal-la *mPi-ri-a-sà-na*
a-na *mKu-ú-pá-a-sa it-ta-din*
10) *ù mKu-ú-pá-a-sa I ANŠU*
TÚG

I sí-a-na-tum X MA.NA AN.
NA I MA.NA UD.KA.BAR
IV BÁN ^(b) *ŠE* [—] *ki-ma GAR.*

BA-šu a-na mPi-ri-a-sà-na
it-ta-din šum-ma É^{HI.A.MEŠ} pí-
ir-qa

ir-ta-šu-ú É^{HI.A.MEŠ} ša-šu-nu-ma
mPi-ri-a-sà-na

15) *ú-za-ak-ka₄-ma a-na mKu-pá-*
a-sa

i-na-an-din ù É^{HI.A.MEŠ} ša-a-
šu-nu

i]-na il-ta-na-nu É^{HI.A.MEŠ} ša
mI-ri-ri-t[il-la]

their building grounds, with their
[length] of 92 cubits
and just as much with their
extent (in width)

as *huppalla* Piriasana
to Kupasa has given.

And Kupasa one homer of cloth,

one headdress, ten minas of lead,
one mina of bronze

four *sūtu* of barley as his reward
to Piriasana

has given. If there is a claim
against the houses,
these houses Piriasana

shall clear, to Kupasa

shall restore (them). And (con-
cerning) those houses

North of the houses of Iriritilla

(a) (ŠL II 318: 6).

(b) ŠL II 341: 2; cf. HSS IX 20: 12.

6. *na-ak-ka₄-ti-šu-nu*, a plural form of *nagū*, f. *nagītu*. Due to the small extent of the area given (92 cubits in square) the word must refer to a building ground, cf. l. 18. Cf. 10 *i-na am-ma-ti mu-ra-ak-šu* 20 *i-na am-ma-ti ru-pu-šu* (N 76: 6); also N 19: 6; 42: 7; 46: 5; HSS V 36: 9. *ina burūi murākšu* etc. N 74: 7.

8. *hu-up-pal-la*, this obscure word occurs in another case also in connection with *ina amnāi*. In G. 31: 5 we read: XC *i-na am-ma-ti^{MEŠ} li-me-iz-zu hu-ub-bal-la*. GADD (p. 110, n. 3) attempts to derive *paihu* from the Akkadian root $\sqrt{\text{pehū}}$, «to enclose» and also this *huppalla* from the Akkadian $\sqrt{\text{habālu}}$. «to destroy». Most probably, however, both of the words are of a Subarean origin.

11. *sianātum* corresponds to the Aramaic *s²yānā'*, «a kind of headdress», KDFL, p. 37.

DUMU] *Tu-li-ia i-na e-li-ni na-
ak-ka₄-ti*

ša] *mPi-ri-a-sà-na-ma*

20) *i-na] sù-ta-nu BĀT i-na šu-
pa-al É^{HI. A. MEŠ}*

ša] *m]A-ri-wa-al-ti-ú*

*il-ku] ša É^{HI. A. MEŠ} mPi-ri-a-sà-
-na-ma*

na-a]-ši ù mKu-ú-pá-a-sa

la na]-a-ši EME-šu ša

25) *m]Pi-ri-a-sà-na a-na pa-ni
LÚIG^{MEŠ}*

an-nu-ti iq-ta-bi É^{HI. A. MEŠ}

ša] *pí-i tup-pí an-ni-i*

a-šar mKu-ú-pá-sa al-te-qì-mi

ù] *ap-la-ku-mi*

30) *ša KI. BAL I MA. NA
KÛ. BABBAR I MA. NA
GUŠKIN SA₅*

tup-pu EGIR^{hi} šu-du₄-ti

*i-na pa-ni KĀ. GAL Ši-is-sà-e
URUNu-sí*

šá-ti-ir

son of Tuliya, East of the build-
ing grounds

of Piriāsana

South of the wall, West of the
houses

of Ariwaltiu,

the feudal tasks of the houses
Piriāsana

shall bear and Kupasa

shall not bear. The declaration of
Piriāsana, in the presence of
these witnesses

he spoke: <the reward for> the
houses

according to the wording of this
tablet

from Kupasa I have received
and am paid.

Who breaks the agreement shall
pay as compensation one mina
of silver and one mina of gold.

The tablet, after the proclamation
before the gate Sissae of the city
of Nusi,

was written.

(34) *IGI Ĥa-ši-pa-pu DUMU Ta-ĥi-ri-iš-ti* (35) *IGI Kār-ra-te*
[.] (36) *IGI Ši-gi DUMU Ši-ir-wi-ia* (37) *IGI Aĥ-li-pa-pu*
DUMU Ur-ĥi-te-šup (38) *IGI Ta-i-ka₄ DUMU I-na-ap-[še LÚma-šar]*
KĀ. GAL (39) *IGI Ĥa-na-a-a DUMU Ta-a-a-ni* [.] (40) *ŠU*
[.] *-te-šup DUB. SAR* (41) *DUMU* [.]

(42) *TĀG mKār-ra-te* (43) *TĀG mPi-ri-a-sà-na* (44) *TĀG mTa-
i-ka₄* (45) *TĀG mĤa-na-a-a* (46) *TĀG mŠi-gi* (47) *TĀG mAĥ-li-
pa-pu* (48) *TĀGŠID DUB. SAR*

L. 34—39, six witnesses, among whom Taika son of Inapse, the gate-
keeper (l. 38).

L. 40—41, signature of [. . . .]-tesup, the scribe.

L. 42—48, seals of Piriāsana (l. 43), of five witnesses and of the scribe.

13. HSS IX 22. Real adoption of a slave.

tup-pi ma-ru-ti ša ^mT[up-ki-ia
DUMU Sur-ki-til-la ^mPa-[i-te-
šup ĪR]

ša ^mŠi-il-wa-te-[šup DUMU
LUGAL a-na]
ma-ru-ti i-t[e-pu-uš-ma um-ma]

5) ^mTup-ki-ia-[ma ^mPa-i-te-šup
a-na]

ma-ru-ti [e-te-pu-uš-ma]
A.ŠĀ^{MEŠ}-ia É^{MEŠ}-ia ù]
mi-im-mu-ia [—

ha-aš-bu ša i-šá-[— — — — ki-ma]

10) HA.LA-šu a-na ^mPá-[i-te-
šup a-na-an-din-mi]

a-di-i ^mTup-ki-i[a ba-al-tú]
ù ^mPa-i-te-šup [ep-ra ù TUG^{HI.A}]
i-na-an-din-aš-šu ù [i-pa-al-la-
ah-šu]

e-nu-ma BA.UG^{6(a)} i-ba-[ak-ki-šu

15) ù i-qi-ib-bi-ir-šu

DUMU^{ra} ša-na-am i-na muh-
[hi-šu]

ša ^mPa-i-te-šup la i-pu-u[š
A.ŠĀ^{MEŠ} ù É^{MEŠ} a-na ši-mi
la i-na-an-din il-ki-šu

20) ša ^mTup-ki-ia ù ^mTup-ki-ia-
ma

Tablet of adoption of T[upkiya]
son of Surkitilla. Pa[itesup slave]

of Silwate[sup son of the king
into]
sonship he [received and thus
(says)]

Tupkiya: [Paitesup into]

sonship [I have received]
My fields, my [buildings and]
anything [— — —]

even to the smallest things [as]
his portion to Pa[itesup I shall
give]

As long Tupkiy[a is alive]
Paitesup [food and clothing]
shall give him and [shall serve
him],

when he dies he shall [mourn him]
and bury him.

Another son in addi[tion to him],

to Paitesup he shall not adopt.
Fields and buildings he shall
not sell. The feudal task
of Tupkiya Tupkiya

(a) ŠL II 69: 34; cf. POEBEL, Sum. Gramm., p. 246 BA.TIL.

9. ha-aš-bu, lit. «a pot, potsherd».

12. The phrase epra u lubušta (TUG^{HI.A}) inandin occurs in G. 51: 6;
N I 18: 11; N III 319: 12.

14. Cf. šumma imāt, Ch. 6: 12 immatimī imtūl, Ch. 3: 20.

na-ši ù ^mPa-i-te-šup
 la na-ši um-ma ^mTup-ki-ia-ma

mi-nu-um-me-e KÛ.BABBAR ša
 DUMU.SAL^{MEŠ}-ia i-na bá-a-bi
 25) ša aš-bu ù ^mPa-i-te-šup
 ú-ša-ad-dá-an ù i-liq-qì

ma-an-nu i-na be-ri-šu-nu ìb-bal-
 kat

I MA.NA KÛ.BABBAR I
 MA.NA GUŠKIN SA₅^{la}
 tup-pí an-ni-i i-na EGIR^{hi} šu-
 du-ti

30) i-na ìb-bi ^{URU}Nu-sí i-na
 KÁ.GAL
 ti-iš-šá-e šá-tì-ir

shall bear and Paitesup
 shall not bear. Thus (says) this
 Tupkiya:

All the money of
 my daughters, who in the gate
 are living, Paitesup
 shall cause to be given (to him-
 self) and he shall take (it).

Whoever among them breaks
 the agreement
 shall compensate with one mina
 of silver, one mina of gold.

This tablet after the proclamation
 in the city of Nusi, at the gate

Tissae, was written

(32) IGI Tù-ra-ri DUMU Pu-^{hi}-ia (33) IGI Ta-i-te-a DUMU
 Ta-an-te-e-a (34) IGI Ur-^{hi}-tìl-la DUMU Ta-^{hi}-ri-iš-ti (35) IGI
 A-ki-ia DUMU Ti-ri-ku (36) IGI Sⁱ-li-im-^{ha}-ma-an-na DUMU
 [.] (37) IGI DINGIR-TUG^{šu} DUMU ^Ha-ma-an-na (38)
 LÚ^{ma}-šar KÁ.GAL (39) IGI ^aSIN-KUR-ni DUB.SAR DUMU
 A-mur-LUGAL

(40) TÀG ^mTa-i-te-a (41) TÀG ^mTù-ra-ri (42) TÀG ^mDINGIR.
 TUG^{šu} (43) TÀG ^mSⁱ-li-im-[^{ha}-ma-an-na] (44) TÀG ^mUr-^{hi}-tìl-la
 (45) TÀG DUB.SAR (46) TÀG ^mA-ki-ia

L. 32—39, five witnesses, among whom the gate-keeper and the scribe.

L. 40—46, seven seals.

24. *mārātiya ina bābi ša ašbū* refers to the daughters as »living in the gate» either as prostitutes or in order to be sold as wife to the highest bidder (see GADD, p. 60 and 114; KOSCHAKER, NKRA, p. 79. The former alternative is more probable in this case because the dowry of the daughters is not mentioned.

14. HSS IX 25. Sale of a handmaid.

um-ma ^m*Pa-e-ma DUMU Sa-ri-ik-[ki]*

^f*Ku-uk-ku-ú-ra-aš-še GEME-ia a-na ši-mi ki-ma XX SU KÛ.*

BABBAR^{MEŠ} *ha-ša-hu-še-en-ni a-na* ^f*Ša-šu-ri DAM-šu ša*

5) ^m*Ši-il-wa-te-šup it-ta-din-im-mi*

ù ^f*Ša-šu-ri*

I TÚG I^{en-nu}-tu₄ na-ah-la-ap-tu₄ ù

I TÚG eš-šu I! TÚG na-áš-ku

ki-ma XII SU KÛ. BABBAR

10) *IV MA.NA XXX SU UD.KA.BAR XIV MA.NA AN.NA*^{MEŠ}

II QA^(a) *IÁ ša ŠAH ki-ma VIII SU KÛ. BABBAR*

Thus says Pae son of Sarik[ki]

Kukkurasse my handmaid for the price of 20 shekels *hasa-husennu* silver to Sasuri wife of Silwatesup I shall give.

And Sasuri

one garment, one mantle,

one new garment, one selected garment

equal (to) 12 shekels of silver, (further) 4 minas 30 shekels of bronze, 14 minas of lead

2 *qa* swine fat equal (to) 8 shekels of silver,

(a) QA or SILA, ŠL II 62: 2.

3. The *hašahušennu* silver was assumed in the KDFL, p. 25, to mean «brotherhood money», i. e. the bridal price, paid to the bride's brother, the father being no longer alive. This theory was based on the seeming evidence provided by the materials of HSS V, where *hašahušennu* occurs only in relation with the purchase of a bride, and esp. on the observation of the fact that *-šennu*, which happens to be a component in the word in question, means «brother» in Subarean. But in this tablet as well as in several other tablets (G. 54: 11), N 290: 6, 40, 22 there is hardly any connection with bridal price. Cf. N II 120, where the brother of the bride is concerned with the bridal price, no *hašahušennu* is even mentioned. Another more probable interpretation is that *hašahušennu* is the name of a kind of silver, of a good quality. Cf. *šarpu*, another (Akkadian) qualification of silver, «purified» (Ch. 4: 23; HSS V 62: 11). The average bridal price is 40 *SU hašah*. in HSS V, the same value as is usual in the slave contracts, see above.

5. *ittadin pro attadin*.

ŠU.NIGIN XX SU KÛ.BAB-
BAR^{MEŠ} an-nu-ú ha-ša-hu-še-
en-ni

†Ša-šu-ri a-na mPa-e i-dinⁱⁿ
šum-ma †Ku-uk-ku-ú-ra-aš-še
15) GEME^{tu} pi-ir-qa ir-ta-ši

mPa-e ú-za-ak-ka₄-ma
a-na †Ša-šu-ri i-na-an-din
ma-an-nu KI.BAL^{tu}
II GEME^{tu} SA₅^{ta}

20) tup-pu i-na KÁ.GAL
ti-iš-šá-e i-na URU[Nu-sí]
ša₇-tì-ir EME-šu ša
mPa-e a-na pa-ni LÚ^{MEŠ}
IGI^{MEŠ}
an-nu-ti iq-ta-bi XX SU KÛ.
BABBAR [el]-te-[qì] ap-la-
ku-mi

total 20 shekels of this *hasahu-*
sennu silver

Sasuri gave to Pae.

If (against) Kukkurasse,
the handmaid, there exists a
claim,

Pae shall clear (her)
and hand (her) over to Sasuri.
Whoever breaks the agreement
shall compensate with two hand-
maids.

The tablet at the gate
Tissae, in the city of Nusi
was written. The declaration of
Pae, before these witnesses

he spoke: 20 shekels of silver I
have received and am paid.

(25) IGI Hu-pi-ta DUMU Sí-ku-ra (26) IGI Ut-hap-ta-e DUMU
Ar-tù-ra (27) IGI Ut-pu-ia DUMU Še-hal-te-šup (28) IGI A-ka₄-a-a
DUMU El-[lì] (29) IGI Hé-ir-ši DUMU Na-ni-[ia] (30) IGI ^dUTU-
ri-šú-ia DUMU Tù-ra-ar-te-šup DUB.SAR

(31) TÀG ^mUt-hap-ta-e (32) TÀG ^mHé-ir-ši (33) TÀG ^mUt-pu-ia
(34) TÀG ^mA-ka₄-a-a (35) TÀG ^mdUTU-ri-šú-ia DUB.SAR

L. 25—50, six witnesses, including *Šamaš-rišuya*, son of *Turartesup*, the
scribe.

L. 31—35, five seals, including the scribe.

23. See 9: 18.

24. *SU* is part of a shekel, which as such (*TU* or *ši-iq-lu*) does not occur
in the Kirkuk tablets. Since *SU* is the only subdivision of the mina the
value shekel is retained in the translation, see KDST, introd. Cf. *SU* pro
TU in the Amarna letters, KNUDTZON, *Die el-Amarna Tafeln* (1915), p. 1522.

15. HSS IX 29. A slave appointed as guardian over a legacy.

um-ma ¹*Ša-wa-a-a-ma*
aš-ša-at ša ^m*A-ka₄-wa-til*
I^{en} ru-ug-qú ša XXX MA. NA
 UD. KA. BAR
 XC MA. NA UD. KA. BAR
 5) 3 *ni-im-si-tu₄ ša* VII MA.
 NA XXX SU UD. KA. BAR
i-na ši-it-ri a-na ma-ri-ia
a-na ^m*Ta-mar-ta-e*
at-ta-din ma-an-nu-um-me-e
i-na lib-bi DUMU^{MEŠ}-ia
 10) *i-na aš-šum an-nu-ti* UD.
 KA. BAR
i-na EGIR ša ^m*Ta-mar-ta-e*
i-ša₇-as-si III TÚR UD. KA.
 BAR
a-na ^m*Ta-mar-ta-e*
SA₅ an-nu-tum
 15) *a-na ŠU* ^m*Pa-i-te-šup* ^{LÚ}*še-*
el-li-tá-nu ša ^m*Ši-il-wa-te-šup*

Thus says Sawaya
 wife of Akawatil:
 one cauldron of 30 minas of
 bronze,
 90 minas of (unworked) bronze.
 3 wash basins of 7 minas 30
 shekels of bronze
 as a gift for my son,
 to Tamartae
 I have given. Whoever
 among my sons
 for these bronzes

 behind the back of Tamartae
 disputes, 3 talents of bronze

 to Tamartae
 he shall pay as compensation.
 These
 into the hand of Paitesup, the
 plenipotentiary of Silwatesup

3. *ruqqum*, ein Metallgefäß: *ru-qi-im*, KRAUS, Altbabyl. Briefe 86₁₆.
 [Cf. ZA 31, p. 55.]

6. *i-na ši-it-ri*. We prefer to read *ši* as a scribal error for *ki*. It is probable that the scribe omitted to complete the sign *ki*, and so we have as a result *ši*. Thus *ina qitrī* = as a gift (*qatrū*), cf. *i-na qi-it-ri na-ad-nu*, HSS V 74: 18, 23.

10. Note the superfluous *ina* in the expression *ina aššum* (*aššum* contracted from *an(a) + šum*):

15. *šellūānu*, plenipotentiary. Note the termination *-ān* which has a functional significance, (cf. *nadinānu*, N I 15: 20; 22: 25 etc.). This *-ān* is primitive Semitic. As to *šellūānu* it has a close parallel in the Arabic *sullān* and in the Hebrew *šiltōn*, Sirach 4: 7 (Eccl. 8: 4); cf. *šallūt* (Gen. 42: 6, Joseph) is without *-ān*. Cf. the defaced *LÚ^{še}-el-[— — —]* (TCL IX 10 = NKRA 28).

<p><i>na-ad-nu a-na</i> ^m<i>Ta-mar-ta-e i-na-an-din</i> <i>an-nu-tum i-na É^{it} na-ak-ka₄-am-</i> <i>ti GAR^{nu}</i> [— —] ^l<i>Ša-wa-a-a ú-ka₄-lu</i></p>	<p>are given, to Tamartae he shall deliver (them). These (things) are kept in the storehouse. [— —] Sawaya shall use (them).</p>
--	--

(20) ^TĀGŠID ^lŠa-wa-a-a (21) ^TĀGŠID Ú [—]-ni-(~~erasure~~) (22)
^TĀGŠID Pa-i-te-šup (23) ^TĀGŠID Ni-ra-ri DUMU Ta-a-a DUB.SAR

L. 20—23 seals of Sawaya, Paitesup and of the scribe.

16. HSS IX 34. Appointment of representatives
 for a slave.

<p>Case: <i>tup-pu A. ŠĀ^{MEŠ-ti}</i> <i>ša URU A-ka₄-a-a-[še]</i> Tablet: <i>um-ma m^Ha-na-a-a-ma</i> ^LÚĪR <i>ša m^Pe-en-ti</i> <i>ù ša m^A-pu-uš-ka ša ^{KUR}H^a-li</i> <i>A. ŠĀ^{MEŠ} ša URU A-ka-a-a-</i> <i>še^{MEŠ}</i> 5) <i>a-na m^Ši-il-wa-te-šup DUMU</i> <i>LUGAL</i> <i>it-ta-ad-nu um-ma m^Ha-na-a-a-</i> <i>ma</i> <i>ù a-na A. ŠĀ^{MEŠ} ša-a-šu^(a)</i></p>	<p>Tablet of fields of the city of Akaya[se]. Thus says Hanaya slave of Pentī and of Apuska from the land of Hali: (Concerning) the fields, which the people of the city of Akayase to Silwatesup son of the king have given — thus says Ha- naya — for that field</p>
---	---

(a) Note the *eglu* with the plural sign *MEŠ* and the singular form *šašu* (l. 20).

19. The defaced portion before the word ^lŠa-wa-a-a might be read with *rēša* (Landsberger). Thus *rēša Š. ukālū* ($\sqrt{kātu}$ II₁), lit. »(these vessels) shall hold the head of »S., i. e. the vessels may be used by her. The idea is that (though the vessels are theoretically given to the heir) the mother is still entitled to use them as long she lives. For the expression *rēša kullu*, see LANDSBERGER, ZDMG, 69 (1915), p. 505, note 2.

3. Hanaya is a slave of two owners; ^{KUR}H^a-li probably identical with ^{KUR}H^a-li-gal-bat, HSS V 35.

te₄-e-ma a-ša-ak-ka₄-an-mi
ù i-na-an-na a-na-ku al-ti-ib
 10) *ki-ma pu-ḫi-ia*
mPu-ḫi-še-en-ni DUMU Ša-at-
tù-ia
mA-bi-DINGIR DUMU EN-
ŠEŠ-šu
mŠal-li-ia DUMU Pu-ú-ia
mŠa-ar-te DUMU A-ki-ia
mA-wi-i-lu DUMU Nu-ri-ia
V LÚ^{MEŠ} an-nu-ti
ša URUPa-ḫa-ar-ri-wa
ù a-na ša-ma-al-lu-ti
a-na ŠU mḪa-na-a-a
 20) *it-ta-din ù A. ŠĀ^{MEŠ}*
ša-a-šu te₄-e-ma
i-ša-ak-ka₄-nu
um-ma mŠi-il-wa-te-šup DUMU
LUGAL
mi-nu-um-me-e ša É-šu
 25) *ša mḪa-na-a-a GUD^{MEŠ}-šu*
UDU^{MEŠ}-šu ka-lu-um-ma-ni-šu-
ma
ša mḪa-na-a-a
ù a-na ŠU^{ti}
V LÚ^{MEŠ} an-nu-ti na-din
 30) *šum-ma mi-im-mu-šu*
ša mḪa-na-a-a-ša i-ḫal-lī-qú

I give information.
 And now I have become old.
 As my substitute(s):
 Puhisenni son of Sattuya

Abi-ilu son of *Bēl-ahīšu*

Salliya son of Puya
 Sarte son of Akiya
 Awilu son of Nuriya,
 these five men
 of the city of Paharri
 for assistance
 into the hand of Hanaya
 he gave. And (about) those fields
 information
 they shall give.

Thus says Silwatesup son of the king:

anything belonging to the house of
 Hanaya, his oxen,
 his sheep, the domestics

of Hanaya,
 to the hand of
 these five men is entrusted.

If any movable property
 belonging to Hanaya that escapes

9. *altib* pro *aštib*, $\sqrt{\text{šibū}}$, I₂.

18. *šamallū*, apprentice, retailer, a Sum. loanword. Probably *ŠAMAN-LĀ* is a dialect form of *ŠAGAN-LAL*, *ŠAGAN* meaning a »vessel» and the participle *LAL* »weighing», contrast MUSS-ARNOLT, *ŠA-KAN-LAL* = *nāš šikkati*.

29. *nadin* rather than *attadin*.

Contrast PFEIFFER, according to whom the tablet concerns a »receipt of a field», the property of Hanaya »is put up as security with five men».

i-bá-aš-ši

ù URUPa-ha-ar-ra-aš-wa

ù-ma-al-la

shall be found (in the city of
Paharras)
the city of Paharras
shall pay as compensation.

(35) *TĀG mŠi-il-wa-te-šup DUMU LUGAL* (36) *TĀG mHa-na-a-a*
ĪR ša mPè-en-ti (37) *ù ša mA-pu-uš-ka₄*

L. 35—37, seals of Silwatesup, Hanaya and Apuska.

17. HSS IX 94. Record of a lawsuit against slaves.

mNa-hi-ia DUMU Ak-ku-ia

it-ti mTù-ul-tu-uk-kà ù

it-ti mHa-ni-ù-ia ĪR^{MEŠ}

ša mHi-iš-mi-te-šup DUMU

LUGAL

5) *i-na di-ni a-na pa-ni DI.*

KUD^{MEŠ}

aš-šum GUD hal-quí i-te-lu-ú

um-ma mA-kap-še-en-ni-im-ma

DUMU Hu-ti-ia a-na-ku . . .

GUD ša mNa-hi-ia mTù-ul-tu-

uk-kà

10) *ù mHa-ni-ù-ia iš-ri-quí*

EME-šu ša mHa-ni-ù-ia

ù EME-šu ša mTu-ul-tù-uk-ka₄

i-n[a? — —] . . az a-ni-mi

GUD ša mNa-hi-ia ni-iš-ri-quí-mi

15) *tup-pí ta-ah-sí-íl-ti*

Nahiya son of Akkuya
with Tultukka and
with Haniuya, slaves
of Hismitesup son of the king,

in a case before the judges

for a lost ox they appeared.

Thus says Akapsenni

son of Hutiya: I [have seen that]

the ox of Nahiya — Tultukka

and Haniuya stole.

The declaration of Haniuya

and the declaration of Tultukka

[— — — —]: Yes,

the ox of Nahiya we stole.

A memorandum note.

(16) *ŠU mI-ni-ia DUB.SAR* (17) *TĀG mPa-a-a* (18) *TĀG*
mÚ-ta-a-a (19) *TĀG mAr-te-eš-še* (20) *TĀGŠID mHa-ma-an-na*
(21) *TĀG mAr-ku* (22) *TĀG mHa-ši-pa-a-a* Left edge: *di-nu DI.*
KUD^{MEŠ} a-na mHi-is-mi-te-šup

L. 16, signature of the scribe.

L. 17—22, six seals.

Left edge of the tablet: The judgment of the judges on Hismitesup.

18. HSS IX 96. Sale of a son into temporary servitude.

Several lines destroyed

[— — —] *na* [—[— — —] *MEŠ-ti* [—[— — —] *b* *i*[— — —] *İR^{ti}*5) *ša mHi-iš-mi-te-šup DUMU LUGAL*... [— — —] .. [— — —] *a-na-ku ki-i* [— — —] *-ia mŠi-mi-ka-ri DUMU-ia**a-na mHi-iš-mi-te-šup at-ta-din mi-nu-um-me-e še-ir-ru-šu*10) *ša mŠi-mi-ka₄-ri ša ú-ul-la-du₄**ù mHi-iš-mi-te-šup 1 šú-ha-ru**ù 1 šú-ha-ar-tù ki-i li-iq-ti**i-na-as-sà-aq-ma ù i-li-iq-qì**ù ri-hu-tu₄ še-ir-ru-šu ša*15) *mŠi-mi-ka₄-ri a-na mŠi-mi-ka₄-ri-ma**mu-uš-šu-ru šum-ma mSi-mi-[— KI. BAL^{kat} II LÚMEŠ İR^{MEŠ}**a-na**mHi-iš-mi-te-šup ú-ma-al-la*

of Hismitesup, son of the king

[— — — — —] I

as my [— — —] Simikari my son

to Hismitesup I have given.

(From among) all the offspring

that is born to Simikari

Hismitesup one boy servant

and one girl servant as *liqtu*

shall choose and take.

And the rest of the offspring of

Simikari to the same Simikari

is released. If Simi[

breaks the agreement, two slaves to

Hismitesup he shall pay as compensation

9. The offspring of slaves is called *šerru*, *šēru*, Ch. 5: 13; 11: 9, 26; 20; 53; H SS V 57: 9, 13; 67: 22; 73: 33.11. For *šuhāru* meaning »boy servant» cf. N II 113: 10; 139: 7; N III 312: 1, 11; 317: 10 and *šuhartu*, girl servant H SS 37: 10, 17; 68: 35; N III 312: 1, 12; G 82: 24, 26, 29.12. *ki-i li-iq-ti*, meaning obscure.13. *inassaq u iliqqī*, cf. NKRA, p. 38—41.

ù šu-ú ki-i ÌR-ma

20) ù ÌR tup-pu an-ni-tu₄ i-na
EGIR

šu-du-ti ša É.GAL^{lim} i-na bá-ab

KÁ.GAL ša URUNu-sí ša-ti-ir

or he (himself) in exchange for a
slave,

and he a slave (shall be). This
tablet after

the proclamation of the palace,
at the entrance

of the gate of the city of Nusi
was written.

(23) IGI Ut-hap-ta-e DUMU Sí-[— — —] (24) IGI Tu-ra-ri
DUMU Ši-[— —] (25) IGI A-ki-ia DUMU Na-i-[te-šup] (26) IGI
A-mu-ur-ra-bi DUMU Ĥu-[ti-ia] (27) IGI Ni-ih-ri-ia DUMU
A-kap-[— —] (28) IGI I-ru-ia DUMU Sí-ka₄-a-a (29) IGI It-ĥi-ip-
LUGAL DUMU Ka₄-ru-as-sà (30) IGI Gi-li-ip-til-la DUMU Ša-at-
tù-[gi-wi] (31) IGI Pu-ĥi-še-en-ni DUMU Sí-gi (32) IGI MAR.
TU-ia DUB.SAR DUMU ^dUTU-MA.AN.SUM

(33) TÀG ^mA-ki-ia (34) TÀG ^mGi-li-ip-til-la (35) TÀG ^mTu-
ra-ri (36) TÀG ^mIt-ĥi-ip-LUGAL (37) TÀG ^m[. . . .] (38) TÀG
^mNi-ih-ri-ia (39) TÀG ^mMAR.TU-ia DUB.SAR (40) TÀG ^mI-ru-ia

L. 23—32, nine witnesses and the scribe.

L. 33—40, eight seals.

19. NI 50. Document of a daughter sold for
marriage to a slave.

tup-pi DUMU.SAL^{MEŠ-ti} ù kál-
la-tu₄-ti

ĥa-ta-me-ir-ša DUMU.SAL-sú
[ša ?] ^mA-ri-ih-ĥa DUMU Sí-
na-pu

a-[na DUMU].SAL^{MEŠ-ti} ù kál-
la-tu₄-ti

Tablet of daughtership and
daughter-in-law-ship
of Hatamersa daughter
[of] Arihha son of Sinapu.

As [daughter] and daughter-in-
law

26. Cf. ^dAmurru-abi, HSS IX, 88: 3, IX 119: 20; 120: 6.

39. For MAR.TU = amurrū in personal names cf. G 5: 48; 14: 3; HSS
IX 88: 3; 119: 20, ia being a nisbe termination.

- 5) ^m[A-ri]-ih-ha DUMU Sí-na-
pu
a-na [^mT]e-hi-ip-til-la DUMU
Pu-hi-še-en-ni i-din
ù [^mTe]-hi-ip-til-la ¹Hā-ta-me-
ir-ša
a-na [aš-šu]-ti a-na ^mI-ri-ša-pa
İR-šu i-din
šum-ma [^mI]-ri-ša-pa i-ma-at ù
[a-šar h]a-a-de₄-e
10) ¹Hā-ta-me-i[r]-ša ^mTe-hi-ip-
til-la [i-na]-di-iš-ši
ù EGIR-sú ša ¹Hā-ta-me-ir-ša[
ša ^mTe-hi-ip-ti[l-la]-ma šum-ma
¹[H]a-ta-[me-ir]-ša
pa-qí-ra-na i-r[a-aš]-ši ^mA-ri-
ih-ha
ú-za-ak-ka₄-ma a-[na ^mT]e-hi-ip-
til-la i-[na-a]n-din
15) ù ^mTe-hi-ip-til-[la . . . — —
SU] KÛ. BABBAR^{MEŠ}
a-na ^mA-ri-ih-[ha i-din-na-aš-šu
šum]-ma ^mA-r[i-ih]-ha KI.
BAL[^{at} aš-šum] DUMU. SAL-
šu i-ša-sí
I [MA.]NA [GUŠKIN]^{MEŠ} ù
I [MA.]NA KÛ. [BABBAR]
^mA-ri-ih-[ha] a-na ^mTe-hi-ip-
til-la [i-na]-an-din
- [Ari]hha son of Sinapu
gave (her) to Tehiptilla son of
Puhisenni.
And Tehiptilla Hatamersa
as [wife] to Irisapa his slave has
given.
If Irisapa dies, then to whom
he pleases
Tehiptilla shall give Hatamersa.
And after him the (property) of
Hatamersa
shall be of Tehiptilla. If (against)
Hatamersa
there is a claimant, Arihha
shall clear (her), [to T]ehiptilla
shall [gi]ve (her).
And Tehiptilla [— —] of silver
to Arihha [has given. If] Arihha
breaks the agreement [(and)
for] his daughter disputes,
one mina [of gold] and one mina
of silver
Arihha shall pay to Tehiptilla.

(19) IGI Ki-me-la-ta DUMU Sú-ú-mi (20) IGI Hu-i-te DUMU
Ma-li-ia (21) [IGI] A-ri-ip-pa-ap-ni DUMU Še-pi-ia (22) [IGI

9. Cf. N I 26: 11—13. In case of death a-na ša-ni-im-ma İR-šu i-na-din
ù a-di-i bal-tá-at ù i-na É la ú-[ši]. Cf. ašar ḥadū (here ḥadē ana aššūti inandin
(HSS V 17: 18 and N I 78: 7).

*H*a-na]-ak-ka₄ DUMU Še-ka₄-rù (23) IGI [.....] DUMU
*S*ú-ú-mi (24) IGI *H*u-lu-uk-[ka₄] DUMU *Im-pur-tum* (25) IGI *E-ni-
 iš-ta-e* DUMU *Ak-ka₄-pa* (26) IGI *Wu-un-nu-ki-ia* DUMU *Tar-
 mi-ia* (27) IGI *H*u-ti-ia DUMU *A-ri-ia* NANGAR (28) IGI *Ur-
 hi-ia* DUMU *Ki-li-ia tup-sar-rum* (29) IGI [.....]-*ta-e*
 (30) TĀGŠID *mHé-sal-la* DUMU *Sú-ú-mi* (31) TĀGŠID *mA-ri-ip-
 pa-ap-ni* DUMU *Še-pt-ia* (32) TĀGŠID [*mH*u-*i-te*] DUMU *Ma-
 li-ia* (33) TĀGŠID *mH*a-na-ak-ka₄ DUMU *Še-ka₄-rù* (34) [TĀGŠID
mUr]-*hi-ia tup-sar-rum*

L. 19—29, eleven witnesses, l. 28, Urhiya son of Kiliya, the scribe.

L. 30—34, five seals, l. 34 of Urhiya, the scribe.

20. N II 111. A handmaid sold to cover a debt
 (DATIO IN SOLUTUM).

um-ma m[— — —]-*ri-ma*
 DUMU *A-kip-ta-še-en-ni*
 VII ANŠU *A.ŠĀ-ia i-na*
A.GĀR ša [— — — —]-*wa*

a-na ti₄-te₄-en-nu-ti ki-i XXI
 [ANŠU ŠE^{MEŠ} ù XXII
 MA.NA] AN.NA ù II UDU
 <*a-na*>

5) *mGi-el-te-šup* DUMU *H*u-ti-ia
at-ta-din-mi ù a-na-ku
A.ŠĀ^{MEŠ} a-šar mGi-el-te-šup
ak-ta-la-mi ù DI.KUD^{MEŠ}

a-na XXI ANŠU ŠE^{MEŠ} a-na
XXI šá-hi-ir-ru IN.NU

10) *a-na mGi-el-te-šup it-ta-du-
 un-na-ši*

Thus says [— — —]ri
 son of Akiptasenni:
 seven homers of my field in the
 municipal land of [the city
 of — — — —]
 for security for 21 [homers of
 barley and 22 minas] of lead,
 two sheep <to>

Gieltesup son of Hutiya
 I have given and I
 the field from Gieltesup
 have been keeping. And the
 judges
 for 21 homers of barley, for 21
sahirru of straw
 to Gieltesup (to pay) have sen-
 tenced me

9. Cf. G. 37: 8; 59: 8 (*šaharratu*, »a vessel«).

10. $\sqrt{\text{nadū}}$, here »to give judgment«; *itadūnnāši* pro *itadūninni*) perhaps
 an attempt to combine *itadū* and *iāši*, cf. 2: 26.

<p>ù <i>i-na-an-na</i> ¹<i>Uš-ku-te GEME-ia</i> <i>ki-i XXI ANŠU ŠE^{MEŠ} ki-i</i> <i>XXI šá-ḫi-ir-ru IN.NU</i></p> <p>ù <i>ki-i XXII MA.NA</i> <i>AN.NA^{MEŠ}</i></p> <p>ù <i>II UDU a-na</i> ^m<i>Gi-el-te-šup</i> <i>at-ta-din A.ŠÀ-ia</i></p> <p>15) <i>e-liq-qè šum-ma</i> ¹<i>Uš-ku-te</i> <i>GEME-ia!</i></p> <p><i>pí-ir-qa ir-ta-ši</i> <i>a-na-ku ú-za-ak-ka₄-ma</i> <i>ma-an-nu ša KI.BAL^{kat-tu₄}</i></p> <p><i>I MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR I</i> <i>MA.NA GUŠKIN</i></p> <p>20) <i>ú-ma-al-la</i></p>	<p>And now Uskute, my handmaid in exchange for 21 homers of barley and for 21 <i>sahirru</i> of straw and for 22 minas of lead and two sheep to Gieltesup I gave, my field I (shall) take. If (against) Uskute my handmaid there exists a claim I shall clear (her). The one who breaks the agree- ment one mina of silver, one mina of gold he shall give as compensation.</p>
---	--

(21) *IGI* ^m*<Tar>-mi-te-šup DUMU Wa-qar-EN* (22) *IGI* ^m*Tup-ki-til-la DUMU Uḫ-li-te-šup* (23) *IGI* ^m*A-kap-tuk-ki <ma-šar> KÁ.GAL* (24) *IGI* ^m*Ú-a-te DUMU Pì-ri-at-ti* (25) *IGI* ^m*Ki-iš-te-[e] DUMU Ta-in-sí* (26) *IGI* ^m*Te-ḫi-ip-LUGAL DUMU Ši-li-ip-kur-na* (27) *IGI* ^m*Tup-ki-til-la tup-sar-rum*

(28) *TÀG* ^m*Ki-eš-te-e [TÀG* ^m*Tup-ki-til-la* (29) *TÀG* ^m*<Tar>-mi-te-šup TÀG* ^m*A-kap-tuk-[ki]* (30) *TÀG* ^m*Ú-a-te.*

L. 21—27, six witnesses and the scribe.

L. 28—30, three seals.

20. D (= the debtor) promised (»gave») a part of his field to C (= Gieltesup, the creditor) as security for a loan (i. e. in case D can not pay back the loan at the end of the period, then C is entitled to take the field). Thus D continued to keep his field until the fixed time for payment came. When now D could neither pay nor give the field C went to court. The judges sentenced D to pay the loan with a fine. D being unable to pay gave his handmaid to cover the obligation. Cf. KOSCHAKER, (RORH, p. 84): For the understanding of this procedure one must assume apparently that the creditor leases the field, which had been entrusted to him for *titennutu*, to the debtor — line 6 f. must refer to this — and the latter had not fulfilled his lease obligation.

21. N II 113. A document concerning the right
of pledging children.

um-ma mE-na-ma-ti-ma
!Pu-ku-li DUMU.SAL-ti mHu-
lu-uk-ka₄
a-na mHu-lu-uk-ka₄ a-bi-šá ù
a-na !Pu-hu-ia AMA-šá um-te-
eš-še-ir
 5) *ù mHa-ši-ip-til-la DUMU-šu*
ša mHu-lu-uk-ka₄ a-na mHu-lu-
uk-ka₄
ù a-na !Pu-hu-ia um-te-eš-še-ir
ù mHu-lu-uk-ka₄ ù !Pu-hu-ia
ki-ma pu-hi-i mHa-ši-ip-til-la
 10) *I šú-ha-ru ša II [MA.]NA*
[GUŠKIN] — — MA.NA
[KÛ.BABBAR]
[— — —] ú-ba-ni [— —] mE-na-
ma-ti
i-na-an-din-nu-ma ù šu-u[r]-ru-
um-[ma]
mHa-ši-ip^(a)-til-la DUMU-šu-nu
i-liq^(b)-qu-u
ù iš-tu UD^{mi} an-ni-i
 15) *mHu-lu-uk-ka₄ ù !Pu-hu-ia*
i-na EGIR mE-na-ma-ti aš-šum
mHa-na-tum
aš-šum !Ša-tù-mi-en-ni
ù aš-šum !Ya-ri-el-li aš-šum
!Pu-ku-li la i-šá-as-sú-ú

Thus says Enamati:

Pukuli, daughter of Hulukka

to her father Hulukka and
to her mother Puhuya I (here-
with) released (her).

And Hasiptilla son
of Hulukka to Hulukka

and to Puhuya I released.

In exchange for Hasiptilla
one boy-servant of (i.e. worth)
two [minas] of gold [— —]
minas of silver

and of [— —] finger measures
to Enamati

they shall give and immediately

they shall take (back) their son
Hasiptilla.

And from this day

Hulukka and Puhuya

behind the back of Enamati for
Hanatu

for Satumenni

and for Yarelli, for Pukuli shall
not dispute.

(a) *ur.* — (b) *ip.*

2. Here is presupposed a form *mārti*, instead of the usual st. cstr. *mārat*.

12. *šurru* + *umma*, note the *š* pro *s* (*šurru* = a moment), perhaps due to Assyrian influence.

šum-ma ^mḪa-na-tum šum-ma
 †Ša-tù-mi-ni

20) ù šum-ma †Ya-ri-el-li šum-
 ma †Pu-ku-li

pt-ir-qa ir-ta-šu-ú

^mḪu-lu-uk-ka₄ ù †Pu-ḫu-ia

ú-za-ak-ku-ma a-na ^mE-na-ma-ti
 i-na-an-din-nu ù ^mḪu-lu-uk-ka₄

25) ù †Pu-ḫu-ia ^mḪa-na-tum
 DUMU-šu-nu [DAM-sú] iš-tu

BIT-šu-nu-ma

ú-ša-ḫa-zu-uš ša i-na

bi-ri-šu-nu III LÚ^{MEŠ} an-nu-ti
 KI. BAL^{MEŠ-tu₄} V MA. NA

KÙ. BABBAR

30) V MA. NA GUŠKIN ú-ma-
 al-lu

If against Hanatu, if against
 Satumenni

and if against Yarelli and
 Pukuli

there is a claim,

Hulukka and Puhuya

shall clear (them), to Enamati

shall hand (them) over and

Hulukka

and Puhuya to Hanatu

their son [(his) wife] at their

own expense

shall cause him to take.

Whoever

among these three men

breaks the agreement, five mi-
 nas of silver

five minas of gold shall pay as
 compensation.

(31) IGI An-ni-šu LÚ^abu-ul-ta-nu (32) IGI Ḫa-na-ak-ka₄ DUMU
 Še-ka₄-ru (33) IGI Tar-mi-te-šup DUMU Št-gi (34) IGI Pá-i-it-ta
 DUMU IR^aU + DAR (35) IGI Ka₄-ar-si-ia DUMU Un-nu-ka₄-a-a
 (36) IGI Ar-ši-mi-ka₄ DUMU Ú-*nap-še* (37) IGI DUMU-U + DAR
 DUMU A-ta-a-a (38) IGI ^aUTU-da-am-mi-iq (39) DUMU It-ḫa-
 pt-ḫi tup-sar-rum (40) tup-pu an-nu-ú i-na EGIR šu-du-ti [i-na]
 KÁ. GAL ša-ḫi-ir

(42) TÀGŠID tup-sar-ri TÀG ^mḪa-na-ak-ka₄ (43) TÀG ^mDUMU-
 U + DAR TÀG ^mŠi-il-wa-te-šup (44) TÀG ^mTar-mi-te-šup TÀG
^mE-na-ma-ti (45) TÀG ^mAn-ni-šu

L. 31—38, eight witnesses, l. 31, Annisu, the gate-keeper, l. 39 the scribe.

L. 40 This tablet was written after the proclamation at the gate.

L. 42—45, seven seals.

26. *ištu* etc., lit. »from their house». See under Marriage of slaves.

32. *Še-ka₄-ru*, N II 118: 25.

36. *Unapše*, an abbreviation for *Unapšenni*, *senni* = brother in Subarean.

22. N II 115. Sale of a slave.

<p>EME-š<u>u</u>-nu ša ^mTù-ra-ar-[te]-šup ù ša ^mWu-ur-te-šup DUMU^{MEŠ} ^m[A]-kip-ta-še-en-ni a-na pa-ni LÚ^{MEŠ} ši-bu-ti an-nu-ti ki-am iq-ta-bu XXX SU KÙ. BABBAR^{MEŠ} 5) a-na ši-im I ÌR ^mMu-ša-li-en-ni ÌR-ni a-šar ^mTar-mi-til-la DUMU Sur-ki-til-la ni-il-te-qì-mi ù ni-i-nu ^mMu-ša-li-en-ni ÌR-ni a-na [ÌR]^{ti} a-na ^mTar-mi-til-la 10) ni-it-ta-din-mi šum-ma ^mMu-ša-li-en-ni pá-qí-ra-na TUG^{ši} nu-za-ak-ka₄-ma a-na ^mTar-mi-til-la ni-na-an-din-mi šum-ma ni-i-nu ni-ib-bá-la-ka₄-at ù ^mMu-ša-li-en-ni 15) a-šar ^mTar-mi-til-la ni-il-^(a) qì-ma ù II ÌR^{MEŠ} ša ^{KUR}Nu-ul-lu-a-i-ú-tum SIG₅-tum ana ^mTar-mi-til-la nu-ma-al-la-mi</p>	<p>The declaration of Turartesup and of Wurtesup sons of Akip-tasenni. In presence of these witnesses they spoke as follows: thirty shekels of silver for the sale of one slave, Musalenni our slave, from Tarmitilla son of Surkitilla we received and (as a result) our slave Musalenni to Tarmitilla into slavery we give. If Musalenni has a claimant we will clear him free, to Tarmitilla we will give (him). If we break the agreement and Musalenni from Tarmitilla we take (back), (then) two healthy slaves from the Nulluites to Tarmitilla we shall pay as compensation.</p>
--	--

(a) Written *li*.

22. *E-en-šuk-rù*. Note that *EN* as the first component in several personal names is not to be read *Bēl*. Contrast G 53: 16 according to which the same name is rendered *Bel-muk-rum*. The reading of *šuk* instead of *muk* is established by ^mŠu-uk-ri-ia (N III 303: 3) — ^mŠuk-ri-ia (l. 9, 11, 13, 15 etc). As to *rù* cf. N II 118: 25.

(18) IGI A-ka₄-wa-ti_l DUMU It-*hi*-ti_l-la (19) IGI *Ha-na-ka*₄
 DUMU Ša-ti_l-ni (20) IGI Na-i-še-ri DUMU A-ru-ma-ri (21) IGI
 A-ba-DINGIR IGI Ta-i-ti_l-la (22) DUMU^{MEŠ} *mE-en-šuk-rù* (23)
 IGI Ši-ma-an-ni DUB.SAR (24) DUMU ^dAG-DINGIR.RA (25)
 tup-pu ina ^{URU}Nu-si šá-ti-<ir>

(26) TĀG *mA-ba-DINGIR* TĀG Wu-ur-te-šup (27) TĀG *mNa-i-še-ri*
 TĀG *mTù-ra-ar-te-šup* (28) TĀG *mTa-i-ti_l-la* TĀG *mHa-na-ka*₄

L. 18—24, five witnesses and the scribe.

L. 25 The tablet was written in the city of Nusi.

L. 26—28, six seals.

23. N II 118. A sold slave restored to the first
 owner.

um-ma mTe-hi-ip-ti_l-la-ma
 DUMU *Ha-ni-ú-ia mi-nu-um-*
me-e
 KÙ.BABBAR^{MEŠ} GUŠKIN
ⁱ*Pu-ur-*hu*-un-ni*
 ša a-na *mEn-na-ma-ti*
 5) DUMU *Te-hi-ip-ti_l-la*
ad-di-nu ù aš-šum-mi-šu-nu
i-na EGIR^{hi} mEn-na-ma-ti
la a-ša-as-si
šum-ma mi-im-ma šu-um-šu
 10) ša a-na *mEn-na-ma-ti*
ad-di-nu la a-ša-si
 ù a-na-ku [—] VI ANŠU ŠE

 ša-ma ša KÙ.BABBAR ša
 GUŠKIN

Thus says Tehiptilla,
 son of Haniuya: All

the silver and gold (for)
 Purhunni

which to Ennamati
 son of Tehiptilla

I have given, for these
 behind the back of Ennamati
 I shall not dispute.

Verily (over) anything,
 which to Ennamati

I have given, I shall not dispute.

And I (shall also not dispute
 over the) [— —] 6 homers of
 barley

(instead of) the price in silver
 (and) in gold

12. Meanwhile Purhunni, the handmaid, must have been given back.
 Her price paid in silver and gold shall be returned in naturalia.

ša ^mPur-hu-un-ni

15) ša mi-im-ma šu-um-šu šá

a-šar ^mEn-na-ma-ti

el-te-qi ma-an-nu

ša i-na be-ri-šu-nu

it-ta-bal-ka-tu₄

20) III [MA.NA KÙ.]BAB-

BAR III MA.[NA] GUŠKIN

[ú-ma]-al-la

of Purhunni, (and)

over anything, which
from Ennamati

I have received. The one who
among them

breaks the agreement

3 [minas of sil]ver, 3 mi[nas] of
gold

shall pay as compensation.

(22) IGI Šuk-ri-ia DUMU Wa!^(a)-gar-EN (23) IGI Hu-ti-ia
DUMU Ku-uš-ši-i (24) IGI Ki-ir-ka₄ DUMU Gi-ni-ia (25) IGI
Ur-hi-ia DUMU Še-ka₄-ru (26) IGI E-na-pí DUMU Ar-wi-ia (27)
IGI Mu-uš-te-šup DUMU Šu-mu-li-ib^(b)-ši (28) IGI En-na-ma-ti
DUMU A-ri-ḫa (29) IGI Ki-in-ni-ia DUB.SAR

(30) TĀG ^mŠuk-ri-ia TĀG ^mKi-ir-ka₄ (31) TĀG ^mUr-hi-ia TĀG
^mE-na-pu (32) TĀG ^mMu-uš-te-šup. Left edge: *tup-pu an-ni-tu₄*
ina URUÚ-lam-me

L. 22—29, seven witnesses and the scribe.

L. 30—32, five seals.

Left edge: This tablet in the city of Ulamme (was written).

24. N II 119. A handmaid given to meet a debt
(DATIO IN SOLUTUM).

li-ša-an-šu ša

^mŠu-um-ka₄-ti-tum DUMU

A-kam-na-ni

i-na pa-ni LÚ ši-bu-ti an-nu-ti

ki-a-am iq-ta-bi

5) 36 en-zu^{ME} ša

^mHu-ti-ia DUMU Ku-uš-ši-ia

The declaration of

Sumkatitu son of Akamnani,

in presence of these witnesses

he spoke as follows:

36 goats to

Hutiya son of Kussiya

(a) The *w* and *m* sounds are not infrequently interchanged.

(b) Written *ur*.

14. Contrast l. 3, according to which Purhunni is a woman.

hu-um-[ba]-la-ku-mi
ù i-na-an-na-ma
!Ta-a-pu-ù-ri-tum GEMEMES
 10) *ki-ma 36 en-zu*
a-na mHu-ti-ia i-din
šum-ma !Ta-a-pu-ù-ri-tum
pí-ir-qa ir-ta-ši
ù mŠu-um-ka₄-ti-tum
 15) *ú-za-ak-ka₄-ma*
a-na mHu-ti-a
ina-an-dì-in
ša i-bá-la-qa-tu₄ ina bi-ri-šu-nu

V GEME ú-ma-al-la

I am indebted
 and now
 my handmaid Tapuritu
 in exchange of the 36 goats
 to Hutiya I have given.
 If (against) Tapuritu
 there is a claim
 then Sumkatitu
 shall clear her
 to Hutiya
 shall give (her).
 (The one) who breaks the agree-
 ment between them
 shall pay five handmaids as
 compensation.

(20) *IGI mBe-lum-ni-ra-ri DUMU Ni-ki-a* (21) *IGI mIp!-šá-a-a*
DUMU El-hi-ip!-til-la (22) *IGI m[Še]-kâr-til-la DUMU Ki-pi-ia*
 (23) *IGI mHu-[up-til]-la DUMU Še-ir-ši-a* (24) *IGI mŠe-ri-šá-ri*
DUMU Ki-i-ri-[ip]-til-la (25) *IGI mIl-la-mi-ni-[pu]-uš DUMU*
Ma-la-hi-[ma- . . .] (26) *IGI mHu-[tar]-ma-ti DUMU dUTU-*
DINGIR AŠ.KUR (27) *IGI mTa-a-e*

(28) *TÀG mŠe-ri-šá-ri TÀG mHu-i-til-la* (29) *TÀG mIp-šá-a-a*
TÀG {Ta}-a-e (30) *TÀG m[Il-la]-mi-ni-pu-uš*

L. 20—27, eight witnesses.

L. 28—30, five seals.

7. *hubalakumi*, dissimilation (pro *hubbulakumi* N II 192: 3). This form is rare in the Kirkuk tablets. Cf. *hubullu*, very frequent; in some cases *hubultu* (HSS V 58: 12; N II 147: 8).

25. TALLQVIST has drawn my attention to *illammē* = »twins (youths)«, thus this personal name = »We have produced twins (two youths)«. Thus *illammē* is probably a dual (cf. $\sqrt{\text{עלם}}$, $\sqrt{\text{علا}}$). See TALLQVIST, Maqlû, p. 96 and other provenances given in *KAT*³ (1903) p. 363 and KB VI (2) p. 95, n. 8. [*dEl-la-mi-e* = Sin K 4559, 3 (CT 25, 42).]

25. N II 120. A mother provides a wife for a slave
of her son.

um-ma ^m*Hā-ši-ia-ma*

DUMU *A-ri-gi-mar*

um-ma ^m*En-na-pa-li* DUMU

^f*dU* + DAR-AMA

um-ma ^f*dU* + DAR-AMA-*ma*

DUMU.SAL *Sī-li-ia*

5) ^f*A-ka₄-pī-el-li* DUMU.SAL

^d*U* + DAR-AMA

a-na aš-šu-ti a-na ^mDUMU-

^d*U* + DAR

ĪR ša ^m*Ta-ak-ku* DUMU *En-*
na-ma-ti

it-ta-di-šu-nu-ti *ù*

^f*U*-*us-na* DAM^{at}

10) *ša* ^m*En-na-ma-ti* III ANŠU
ŠE^{MES}

ki-ma X UDUM^{ES} *a-na* ^m*Hā-*
ši-ia

a-na ^m*En-na-pa-li* *ù* *a-na*

^f*dU* + DAR-AMA SUM^{nu} *ù*

{*ù*} *r[i-i]h-tu₄* ^f*U*-*u[s-na]*

15) *i-na-an-[di]n šum-ma* ^f*A-ka₄-*
p[i-el-li]

pa-qi-ra-na TUG^{si}

^m*Hā-ši-ia* ^m*En-na-pa-li* *ù*

^f*dU* + DAR-AMA *ù-za-ak-ka₄-*

m[a]

a-na ^mDUMU-^d*U* + DAR *i-na-*
an-d[in-nu]

20) *um-ma* ^f*U*-*us-na-ma*

Thus says Hasiya

son of Arikimar,

thus Ennapali son of *Ištar-*
ummi,

thus says *Ištar-ummi*, daughter
of Siliya:

Akapielli daughter of *Ištar-*
ummi,

as wife to *Mār-Ištar*

slave of Takku son of Ennamati

we have given and

Usna, wife

of Ennamati, three homers of
barley

for the ten sheep to Hasiya,

to Ennapali and to

Ištar-ummi has given and

the rest Usna

shall give, If against Akap[ielli]

there is a claimant,

Hasiya, Ennapali and

Ištar-ummi shall free (her),

to *Mār-Ištar* they shall gi[ve
(her)].

Thus (says) Usna:

14. *r[i-i]h-tu₄*, cf. *kasap-šú ri-ih-tù* (HSS 80: 12), also HSS 21: 9; 68: 15; 71: 12, 38; 80: 12; HSS IX 96: 14.

<p>DUMU. SAL-sú ša mDUMU- ^aU + DAR . . [— pu^(a)-hi-za-ar-ru i-li-qi [— ša-a-šu um-te-eš-ir-mi mi-nu-um-me-e DUMU^{MEŠ} ù DUMU. SAL^{MEŠ} 25) ša fA-ka₄-pi-el-li ša ina lib-bi IR^{MEŠ} ù GEME^{MEŠ} a-na mTa- ak-[ku] ma-an-nu-um-me-e ina be-ri-šu-nu KI. BAL^{ka-tu₄} I MA. NA KÛ. BABBAR I [MA. NA GUŠKIN] SA₅ tup-pu ina EGIR [šu]-du-ti 30) i-na URUNu-si a-na p[a]-ni KÁ. GAL ša Ti-iš-šá ša₇-ti-ir</p>	<p>the daughter of Mār-Ištar in exchange I have taken [— himself I have released. All the sons and daughters of Akapielli, which (shall be) in the category of slaves and handmaids, to Tak[ku (shall belong)]. Whoever among them breaks the agreement, one mina of silver, one mina of gold shall pay as compensation. The tablet, after the proclamation in the city of Nusi, before the gate of Tissa, was written.</p>
--	--

(32) IGI Pal-te-e-a DUMU A-li-ip-[. . . (33) IGI It-ḥa-a-pu
 DUMU Nu-us-sà (34) IGI Ma-li-ik-na-kúr DUMU A-bu-DU(G).
 [GA] (35) IGI Ut-túl-ḥa-a-a DUMU Uḥ-li-te-šup (36) IGI Ḥu-ti-ia
 DUMU An-ni-šu (37) [IGI..]-li-ia DUMU Ḥa-na-ak-ka₄ (38)
 [IGI...]-tíl DUMU Mu-uš-te-šup (39) [IGI....]-te-šup tup-sar-rum
 (40) TÀG mḤu-ti-ia TÀG mMa-li-ia (41) TÀG mMa-li-ik-na-
 kúr-ru DAM. QAR (42) TÀG mIt-ḥa-a-pu TÀG mPal-te-e-a (43)
 TÀG mA-ka₄-wa-tíl TÀG mUt-túl-ḥa-a-a

L. 32—39, seven witnesses, among whom Malik-nakur son of Abu-ṭāb
 —] [— — —] tesup, the scribe. Seals of the seven witnesses.

L. 40—43, among whom Malik-nakurru, the merchant.

(a) Written GAL.

22. See above 8: 6 and KOSCHAKER, OLZ XXXV (1932) p. 404.

30. a-na p[a]-ni (also ina pa-ni (N III 317) a rare form instead of the
 usual i-na bá-ab (HSS 60: 22 etc.).

25. Cf. minummē šerrašu ša uštu libbi ša B ša uššū ana A lū amātu ū lū
 ardū (Ch. 5: 13—16) and minummē mārū ša ištu, etc. G. 12: 12.

26. N II 140. Declaration of a slave, who transfers
a field on the basis of an agreement.

[EME-šu ša m.....]

İR ša m[.....]-tu- [.....]

a-na pa-ni ši-bu-ti

an-nu-ti ki-na-an-na

5) iq-ta-bi aš-šum I ANŠU

A.ŠÀ

ša AN.ZA.QAR šu-ma-aš-ša-
wa-al-li

i-na šu-ta-na-nu ša AN.ZA.

QAR ša A-we-lu

i-na GAB^{MES} ti-la-li

it-ti mWa-an-ti-iš-še

10) DUMU Tù-ra-ri

at-ta-am-gàr ù A.ŠÀ ša-a-šu

a-na mWa-an-ti-iš-[še]

un-te-eš-ši-ir

ma-an-nu ša i-na

15) be-ri-šu-nu [KI.BAL^{kat}]

[—] MA.NA KÙ.[BABBAR

— MA.NA GUŠKIN]

ú-ma-al-[la]

[Declaration of m— — —]

slave of [— — —]

in presence of these witnesses

in the following way

he spoke: For the one homer of
field

of the estate *sumassawalli*,
(situated)

South of the estate of Awelu,

opposite the *tilali*

with Wantisse

son of Turari

I have come to an agreement
and that field

to Wantisse

I have released.

The one who

among them [breaks the agree-
ment]

[×] minas of silver [× minas of
gold]

he shall pay as compensation.

6. Note *dimtu* (id. AN.ZA.QAR) originally «a pillar, post», then «a boundary-mark» and at last a district bounded by the boundary-marks, GADD, p. 84. Cf. a parallel case in Hebrew, where *g^bbūl* originally means a boundary, then a district, SAARISALO, The Boundary betw. Issachar and Naphtali, p. 131—132.

7. *a-we-lu* is employed as a personal name, *A-wi-i-lu mār Nu-ri-ia*, HSS IX 34: 15.

8. *ti-la-li*, an unknown word, probably a Subarean topographical term, as also the *šu-ma-aš-ša-wa-al-li* above.

(18) IGI A-ri-il-lu DUMU Ĥa-li-[— — —] (19) IGI Kà-ti-ri
 DUMU Ĥa-ši-ia (20) IGI Ĥa-na-ak-ka DUMU [— — —] (21) IGI
 E-gi-gi DUMU Sà-nu-nu (22) IGI Ah-hi-ia DUMU E-ra-ti (23)
 IGI Ĥu-ti-ia DUB.SAR (24) DUMU ^dUTU-MA.AN.SUM
 (25) TĀĜŠID ^mĤu-ti-ia [DUB.SAR] (26) TĀĜŠID ^mE-gi-gi (27)
 TĀĜŠID ^mKa-ti-ri TĀĜ [...]

L. 18—24, five witnesses and the scribe.

L. 25—27, three seals.

27. N II 163. A declaration concerning a dispute
 over the inheriting of a slave.

um-ma ^mEn-na-ma-ti-ma

I LÚĪR ^mSī-ku-ia il-qī

šum-ma LÚĪR ša ^fSī-li-im-na-a-a

ù (^mSī!-ku-ú-ia)

5) LÚĪR šu-ú ^mSī-ku-ú-ia

a-šar ^fSī-li-im-na-a-a

ú-za-ak-ka₄-ma [ù i]-li-qī ù

šum-ma

LÚĪR ša um-mi-ia [DUMU.

SAL] Ĥi-in-sú-ri

im-ma-ti-me-e a-na-ku

10) a-šar ^mSī-ku-ia i-ri-šū-uš

Thus says Ennamati:

Sikuya borrowed (formerly) a
 slave.

If the slave belongs to Silim-
 naya

then

Sikuya that slave

in respect of Silimnaya

shall clear and take. And if

the slave belongs to my mother,
 daughter of Hinsuri,

then at any time I may

demand him from Sikuya,

1. All the document is a declaration of Ennamati (*ilqī* of l. 14 repeats the *ilqī* of the second line). Here it is a matter of dispute between two women concerning a slave to be inherited, Ennamati being the son of one of the women. According to the declaration of E. he agrees that the slave can remain with its present master. If we take the text as it stands, then Silimnaya and Sikuya must have been a married couple, but there are two difficulties: 1) the wife is mentioned before the husband, 2) the husband frees the slave from his wife, i.e. they have properties apart.

8. *Ĥi-in-sú-ri*, female name in HSS IX 145: 5.

ù ^mSí-ku-ia a-na
^mEn-na-ma-ti i-na-din

ù LÚ^{IR} a-na pa-ni
 LÚ^{MEŠ}1 ši-bu-ti il-qí

then Sikuya to
 Ennamati (myself) shall deliver
 (him).

And the slave in presence of the
 witnesses he borrowed.

(15) IGI [— — —]-ia DUMU Te-^{hi}-ia (16) IGI ŠU-^dIM DUMU
 Sú-me (17) IGI A-^{hu}-um-mi-ša DUMU Ti-iš-ši-mi-ka₄ (18) IGI
 Ip-ša-ha-lu DUMU Ku-sà-ri-ia (19) IGI Tar-mi-ia DUMU Pal-
 te-ia (20) IGI Te-^{hi}-še-en-ni DUMU Šu-ru-ia (21) IGI Pal-te-ia
 DUMU E-te-ia

(22) TĀG ^mTe-^{hi}-še-en-ni (23) TĀG ^mMu-uš-te-ia (24) TĀG
^mPal-te-ia (25) TĀG ^mA-^{hu}-um-mi-ša (26) TĀG ^mEn-na-ma-ti
 (27) TĀG ^m[— — —]

L. 15—21, seven witnesses.

L. 22—27, six seals.

28. N II 179. Sale of a handmaid taken as a booty.

um-ma ^mAš-tar-te-šup
 DUMU I-ri-ri-til-[la]
 t^Ha-lu-ia ša ^K[UR]Ar-ra-ap-^{he}
 —iš-tu
^{KUR}Ku-kap-š^u-^{he}-na a-na
 5) ú-a-an-ta a-na ^{GIŠ}GIGIR-ia
 el-te-qí ù a-na
 ši-mi a-na ^mHu-tar-ra-ap-^{he}
 DUMU Ti-šá-am-mu-uš-ni
 at-ta-din ù a-na-ku
 II GUD^{MEŠ} SIG₅^{qá-tù} I ANŠU.
 NITA SIG₅^{qá}

Thus says Astartesup,
 son of Iriritil[la]:
 Haluya of the [land of] Arraphe
 from
 the land of Kukapsuhena
 as a booty on my chariot I have
 taken and for
 a price to Hutarraphe
 son of Tisammusni
 I have sold, and I
 two sound oxen, one sound ass

(a) ŠU-^dIM = Qāt-^dAdad or Gimil-^dAdad, (HSS V 11: 31 = KDFL 31: 31).

5. ú-a-an-ta = »vielleicht als Beute«, Koschaker, OLZ, XXXV (1932)
 p. 404. [ú-a-il-ta = ú-²-il-ta?]

10) X UDUMESŠ ŠU.NIGIN

XL SU KÛ.BABBAR šī-mi

ša ḥa-lu-ia a-šar

^mHu-tar-ra-ap-h[é]

el-te-qì-mi [—

qa-an-na [—

15) a-na pa-ni [šī-bu-ti]

im ta š[ar]

šum-ma ḥa-lu-ia]

pí-ir-qa ir-ta-[šī]

ù ^mAš-tar-te-šup

20) ú-za-ak-ka₄-ma a-na ^mHu-

t[ar-ra-ap-hé]

i-na-an-din ma-an-nu-um-me-e

i-na be-ri-šu-nu KI.BAL^{kat}

II SAL^{MEŠ} ú-ma-al-la

ten sheep, total forty shekels
of silver, (as) the price

of Haluya from

Hutarraphe

I received,

with [his] hem

before [the witnesses]

he made the impression.

If (against) Haluya

there exists a claim,

Astartesup

shall clear (her) and to Hutar-
raphe

he shall give (her). Whoever

among them breaks the agree-
ment

shall compensate with two wo-
men.

(24) TĀG ^mAš-tar-te-šup TĀG ^mTar-mi-te-šup DUB.SAR (25)
TĀG ^mE-ri-ma DUMU Un-ku-pí-sí (26) TĀG ^mḤa-i-ra-an-nu
DUMU Ú-na-a-a (27) TĀG ^mŠu-ur-te-e-a DUMU Ta-i (28) TĀG
^mŠá-ta-am-mu-uš-ni DUMU Ú-na-a-a (29) TĀG ^mŠá-ar-te-šup
DUMU E-ḥi-el-te-šup

L. 24—29, six seals.

29. N II 192. A slave given as part payment of
a debt consisting of slaves.

um-ma ^mAm-ka₄ DUMU Am-pí-

sí-na

a-na ḥ[U]s-na

[— — —] II LÚ ḥu-ub-bu-la!

ku-mi

ù i-na-[a]n-na I LÚ ša ^{KUR}Nu-

ul-lu-i

Thus (says) Amka son of
Ampisina:

to Usna

[— —] two men I am indebted

and now one man of the Nullu
land

5) *a-na* ^f*Us-[na]* *a-n[a]* *a[r-?]*
du-šu at-ta-din

šum-ma LÚ ša-a-šu pi-ir-qa
TUG^{si}

^m*Am-ka₄ ú-za-ka₄-ma*
a-na ^f*Us-na i-na-an-din*
ù ša-na [LÚ] ^mAm-ka₄

10) *a-na* ^f*Us-na ki-ma ša-ni-i*
LÚ a-na ti-te-en-nu-ti
a-na ^f*Us-na it-ta-din*

ù ^mAm-ka₄ I LÚ SIG₅^{qá}
a-na ^f*Us-na i-na-an-din-ma*

15) *ù LÚ-šu i-liq-gì*
ù šum-ma LÚ ti-te-en-nu
ša-a-šu i-ma-at
ù i-ḫal-liq ù in-na-am-bi-it
a-na ^mAm-ka₄-ma

20) *mi-it ḫa-li-iq ù it-ta-bi-it*

to Usna as her slave I have
 given.

If (against) that man there is a
 claim

Amka shall clear him,
 and give (him) to Usna.

And another man Amka

to Usna for the second

man for a security

to Usna has given.

And Amka one sound man
 shall give to Usna

and take back his man.

And if that man of security
 should die

or get lost or flee away,

at (the expense of) Amka

he dies, gets lost or flees away.

(21) *IGI Te-ḫu-up-pí DUMU Še-ir-ši-ia* (22) *IGI Ši-ir-ra-
 mi-ni DUMU I-ri-šu* (23) *IGI Ši-li-pa-pu DUMU Sur-ku-ma-ri*
 (24) *IGI Ku-ú-pá-a-ti DUMU Ú-na-a-a* (25) *IGI E-ni-iš-ta-e DUMU*
An-ni-šu (26) *IGI Ši-gi DUMU E-na-ma-ti* (27) *IGI ^aUTU-da-
 am-mi-iq DUMU It-ḫa-pi-ḫi tup-sar-rum* (28) *IGI An-ni-šu DUMU*
Ḫa-ma-[an-n]a LÚ a-bu-ul-ta-nu

(29) *TÀG ^mAn-ni-šu LÚ a-bu-ul-ta-[a]-nu* (30) *TÀG ^mKu-sú-ti*
TÀG ^mE-ni-iš-ta-e (31) *TÀG ^mŠi-ir-ra-mi-ni TÀG ^mAm-ka₄* (32)
TÀG ^mPu-ḫu-up-pí (33) *TÀG ^mŠi-li-pa-a-pu*

L. 21—28, eight witnesses, among whom *Šamaš-dāmiq*, son of Ithapihi,
 the scribe (l. 27) and Annisu son of Hamanna, the gardener (l. 28).

L. 29—33, seven seals.

5. Note *ardušu* written without an ideogram.

18. *innambit* and *itabit* (l. 20) $\sqrt{\text{abātu}}$.

20. Note the two forms of permansivum followed with one of punctualis
 (*itabit*), i.e. the fugitive slave is not absolutely, permanently lost.

30. N II 195. A lawsuit concerning the price of a slave.

^m*Ip-šá-ḥa-lu* [— — — —] *šá*
 5) *iš-tu₄* ^{KUR}*Nu-ul-lu-[a-i]*
a-na ši-mi il-qì
ù a-na ia-ši il-te-qà-aš-šum-ma
ù iq-ta-bi
a-na šu-ši KÛ.BABBAR^{MEŠ}
 10) *li-qì-šu-mi*
um-ma a-na-ku-ma
LUGAL ul-te-dì-mi
ù iq-ta-bi-mi
šum-ma LÚ ša ^{KUR}*Ar-ra-ap-ḥe*
 15) *a-na ši-mi iš-tu₄* ^{KUR}*Nu-ul-*
lu-a-i
DAM.QAR a-na ši-mi
il-te-qi-šu-ma
ù i-na ^{KUR}*Ar-ra-ap-ḥe*
il-te-qà-aš-šu
 20) *ù XXX SU KÛ.BAB-*
BAR^{MEŠ} li-il-qì
um-ma šu-ú-ma
a-na šu-ši KÛ.BABBAR
[a-na-an]-din-mi
tup-pi [a]ḥ-si-il-ti

Ipsahalu [— — — —] whom
 from the land of the Nulluites
 he purchased,
 (indeed) for me he purchased him
 and said:
 »For sixty (shekels of) silver
 take him!»
 Thus I said:
 The king has proclaimed
 and spoken:
 If a man of the land of Arrapha
 from the land of the Nulluites
 (through) a merchant
 has purchased him (the slave)
 and to the land of Arrapha
 has brought him,
 then thirty shekels of silver he
 (the merchant) should receive.
 Thus he says:
 »For sixty (shekels of) silver
 I give (him).»
 Memorandum note.

4. Three initial lines destroyed. This tablet is one example of the documents, marked at the end *tuppi taḥsisti* (with the confusion of *s* with *l* *taḥsilti*) »a tablet pro memoria». Because of the fact that these memorandum notes give the speeches of the parties and of the judges like stenographic reports, these tablets are especially vivid. [See KOSCHAKER, OLZ 1934, p. 225.]

12. *ultēdi*, cf. *šūdūtu*, »proclamation» (NKRA, p. 77 f. and KOSCHAKER, OLZ, XXXV (1932) p. 404.

20. RSGH, p. 85 f.

31. N III 280. E X C H A N G E o f s l a v e s .

[*tup-pí*] *š*u-pè-ul-ti
 ša ^mH*i-iš-me-ia* DUMU It-*hi-*
iš-ta

ù ša ^mE*n-na-ma-ti* DUMU [^mT*e-*
hi-ip-til-la]

i-na be-ri-šu-nu LÚ[^{MEŠ}šu-nu
uš-te-pé-i-lu]

5) ^mT*a-am-pu-še-en-[ni* ÌR-su]
^mH*i-iš-me-ia* a-na ^mE*n-na-ma-ti*
 SUM

ù ^mE*n-na-ma-ti*

^mE*l-hi-ip-til-la* ÌR a-na
^mH*i-iš-me-ia* SUM [ša] ma-an-
 ni-im-mi

10) LÚ-šu pa-qi-ra-na TUG^{si}
 ù ma-an-nu LÚ-šu-ma ú-za-
 ak-ka₄

ma-an-nu ša BAL^{kat-tu}
 II LÚ^{MEŠ} ÌR ša KURNu-ul-
 [lu]-ú ú-ma-al-la

Tablet of exchange
 of Hismeya son of Ithista

and of Ennamati son of Tehip-
 tilla

Between themselves their [men
 they have exchanged].

Tampusenni, his slave,
 Hismeya to Ennamati has given.

And Ennamati Elhiptilla, the
 slave, to

Hismeya has given. Whichever
 (bond-)man has a claimant

the (owner) shall clear his man.
 The one who breaks the agree-
 ment

two slaves of the land of Nullu
 shall give as compensation.

TÀG m[— — —]-pi-hé TÀG ^mH*i-iš-me-ia*

Seal of Hismeya, (other personal names destroyed).

4. [*uš-te-pé-i-lu*], cf. G. 21: 4; 38: 4; 39: 4; 40: 4; 41: 6. *šupeultu* (l. 4) pro
šupeltu (here *u* is a substitute for the original 'ayin), from $\sqrt{\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶}}$.

32. N III 290. A slave given for security for a definite period.

tup-pí ti₄-te-en-nu-<ti> ša

^mWu-ur-te-šup DUMU A-kip-ta-še-en-ni

ù *^mWu-ur-te-šup*

^mAr-ta-še-en-ni ÌR-šu LÚNANGAR

5) *a-na ti₄-te-en-nu-ti ki-mu-ú
XXX SU KÙ.BABBAR ha-šá-hu-še-en-nu II ANŠU
ŠE^{MEŠ}*

a-na X MUMÉŠ a-na ^mHu-tar-ra-ap-hé

DUMU Ti-šá-am-mu-uš-ni it-ta-din

ù *^mHu-tar-ra-ap-hé*

10) *XXX SU KÙ.BABBAR
ha-šá-hu-še-en-nu II ANŠU
ŠE^{MEŠ}*

a-na ^mWu-ur-te-šup it-ta-din

šum-ma ^mAr-ta-še-en-ni

ÌR-šu ša ^mWu-ur-te-šup

pa-qí-ra-an-na ir-ta-ši

15) ù *^mWu-ur-te-šup*

^mAr-ta-še-en-ni LÚNANGAR

*ú-za-ak-ka₄-ma a-na ^mHu-tar-
[ra-ap-hé]*

i-na-an-din im-ma-ti-me-[e

X MUMÉŠ ^mAr-ta-še-en-ni

20) *i-na É^{it} ša ^mHu-tar-ra-ap-hé
im-ta-lu-ú XXX SU KÙ.BAB-
BAR^{MEŠ}*

*ha-šá-hu-še-en-nu II ANŠU
ŠE^{MEŠ}*

Tablet of security of

Wurtesup son of Akiptasenni.

And Wurtesup

Artasenni his slave, a carpenter,

for security for

thirty shekels of *hasahusennu* silver, 2 homers of barley

for ten years to Hutarraphe

son of Tisammusni has given,

and Hutarraphe

thirty shekels of *hasahusennu* silver, two homers of barley

to Wurtesup has given.

If Artasenni,

slave of Wurtesup,

has a claimant,

then Wurtesup

Artasenni, the carpenter

shall clear, to Hutar[raphe]

he shall hand over (him). When

the ten years Artasenni

in the house of Hutarraphe

fulfills, thirty shekels

of *hasahusennu*, two homers of barley

t[u]p-pi an-ni-i mW[u]-ur-t[e-
 šup]
 [a-na m]Hu-tar-ra-ap-hé
 25) [ú]-ta-ar ú
 mA[r]-ta-še-en-ni
 iš-tu É^{it} [ša m]Hu-[tar-ra-ap-hé]
 ú-še-iš-šú-ú [š]um-ma
 mA[r]-ta-še-en-ni [ši-pi-ir-šu]
 30) ša mHu-tar-ra-ap-hé a-na
 I UD^{mi} i-[zi]-ib
 I MA.NA URUD^{MEŠ} ú-[ri-
 hu-ul-šu]
 a-na UD^{mi} ú a-na UD^(mi)
 mWu-ur-te-šup a-na
 35) mHu-tar-ra-ap-hé ú-[ma-
 al]-la
 ma-an-nu i-na be-ri-šu-nu i[š]-tu
 X MUMÉŠ KI.BAL^{kat} II
 LÚMÉŠ ĪRMÉŠ
 ú-ma-al-la tup-pi an-ni-i
 i-na EGIR šu-du-ti šum-ma
 40) mPa-i-til-la DUMU Ku-a-ri
 i-na {URU}Nu-si
 [q]a-ḥa-aš-ši-in-na a-na ḥa-[za-
 nu-ti]

(according to) this t[ab]let
 W[u]rt[esup]
 [to] Hutarraphe
 [shall] return and
 A[r]tasenni
 from the house [of] Hu[tarraphe]
 he shall lead away. [I]f
 Artasenni [the work]
 of Hutarraphe for
 one day neglects
 one mina of copper as his up-
 [keep]
 for each day
 Wurtesup
 Hutarraphe shall pay [as com-
 pensation.]
 He who between them within
 ten years breaks the contract,
 two slaves
 shall furnish. This tablet
 after the proclamation
 when Paitilla son of Kuari in
 the city of Nusi

29. [ši-pi-ir-šu] cf. N III 317: 17. For the expression *šipra ezēbu*, see further Ch. 40: 8; TCL IX 40: 15; HSS V 82: 28; 40: 15; N III 308: 18.

32. ú-[ri-ḥu-ul-šu] a-na UD^{mi} ú a-na UD^(mi) see HSS 40: 17; 82: 30. That the Subarean term ú-[ri-ḥu-ul] means rather »upkeep» than »fine» is established by GUD^{MEŠ} ga₃-dú ú-ri-ḥu-ul-ši-šu-nu (N III 273: 19). Cf. »the urīḥul of a slave (Ch. 10: 19). Further HSS IX 28: 19 N III 308: 49; 316: 18; 317: 18. See CHERA-SPEISER, JAOS (47) 47.

41. i-pū-uš-šu-nu-ti is possibly the latter part of a phrase starting with the Subarean [q]a-ḥa-aš-ši-in-na. Cf. this ending -inna with the -umma which is found in a number of Subarean terms combined with epēšu (see note to HSS V 43: 6). There occurs also an expression ḥazannūta epēšu in N I 46: 24;

ša i-pu-uš-šu-nu-ti i-na [KÁ. ———— in [the gate of]
 GAL ša] |
 URU Nu-si šá-ti-ir | the city of Nusi, was written.

(44) IGI Pu-i-ta-e DUMU En-na-ma-ti (45) IGI Tù-ul-tùk-ka₄
 DUMU Hu-[i-te] (46) IGI A-kip-ta-še-ni DUMU A-kip-til-la (47)
 ŠU m[———]-te-[šu]p DUB . SAR DUMU It-ti-LUGAL (48) IGI
 A-[———] -us-ia (49) IGI A-[ri-ih]-ha-[ma]-an-na DUMU
 Si-rip-pá-am-pá

(50) TĀG mWu-ur-te-šup TĀG mA-kip-ta-še-ni (51) TĀG mA-ri-
 ih-ha-ma-an-na TĀG DUB . SAR (52) TĀG mTù-ul-tùk-ka₄ TĀG
 mPu-i-ta-e

L. 44—49, five witnesses and signature of the scribe.

L. 50—52, six seals (Wurtesup and his father Akiptasenni, l. 50; the scribe,
 l. 51).

33. N III 309. Slaves borrowed on security.

tup-pi ti-te-en-nu-ti ša mE-ni-iš- ta-e	Tablet of security of Enistae
DUMU Ik-ki-i-ú II LÚ ù	son of Ikkiu. Two men and
SAL ^{MEŠ}	women
mTe-hi-ip-til-la a-na mE-ni-iš-ta-e	Tehiptilla to Enistae
a-na ti ₄ -te-en-nu-ti SUM ⁱⁿ	on security has given.
5) ù ki-mu II LÚ ^{MEŠ} ù II	And for the two men and two
SAL ^{MEŠ-ti}	women
mE-ni-iš-ta-e ina É mTe-hi-ip- til-la a-ši-ib	Enistae shall stay in the house of Tehiptilla.

N III 252: 45 *hazannu* (i. e.) »prefect, ruler of a city», cf. 2: 36, note) occurs in these texts in several other cases for fixing a date for a document (N I 13: 22; 31: 37; 46: 24; N III 231: 31; 257: 21 *ki-ma* × *h.ina* URU Nu-si). The most prominent of the *hazannu* officials is *Kussiharpe* (N I 13: 22; 31: 38; 46: 24; N III 231: 31; 257: 21) ultimately involved in difficult affairs. A *h.* official is often mentioned among the witnesses (HSS V 21: 12; 67: 58; 96: 28; N III 292: 37; CT II 21: 27). Note the spelling *ha-zi-ia-an-nu* (HSS V 67: 58), *ha-zi-a-an-nu* (N I 31: 38) and *ha-zi-in-ni* (N II 174: 10). Cf. KOSCHAKER, OLZ, 1932, p. 402.

[i-n]a UD^{mi} ša ^mE-ni-iš-ta-e
 II LÚ^{MEŠ} à II SAL^{MEŠ} a-na
^mTe-hi-ip-til-la
 it-ta-ad-nu à a-šar ha-du!-ú
 i-la-ak
 10) šum-ma ^mE-ni-iš-ta-e
 KI. BAL^{hat}
 IV LÚ^{MEŠ} à IV SAL^{MEŠ} a-na
^mTe-hi-ip-til-la SUMⁱⁿ

On the day that Enistae
 the two men and two women to
 Tehiptilla
 gives (back), then he shall go
 wherever he pleases.
 If Enistae breaks the agreement
 he shall pay to Tehiptilla four
 men and four women.

(12) IGI Ni-ih-ri-ia DUMU Ik-ku-ia (13) IGI Mu-uš-te-šup
 DUMU Ar-na-pu (14) IGI Pi-ru DUMU Na-iš-gi-el-pi (15) IGI
 ŠE-[———] DUMU Sur-ki!^(a)-til-la (16) IGI Ha-ma-an-na DUMU
 Ar-ša-an-ta (17) IGI Ur-ši DUMU SIN-na-din-ah-hi (18) IGI It-hi-
 iš-ta DUMU Ar-ta-e (19) IGI Mu-uš-te-ia DUMU A-[[i ————]
 (20) IGI Ta-a-a tup-sar-rum (21) IGI Tu-ra-ri DUMU Še-en-na-a-a
 (22) T^{AG}ŠID ^mE-ni-iš-ta-e DUMU Ik-ku-i-ú (23) T^{AG}ŠID ^mMu-
 uš-te-šup DUMU Ar-na-pu (24) T^{AG}ŠID ^mTa-a-a tup-sar-ri

L. 12—21, nine witnesses and the scribe.

L. 22—24, three seals.

34. N III 312. Debtor's own person pledged for a
 debt consisting of slaves.

[1 š]ú[ha-ru] 1 šú-ha-a[r]-tù
 ša ^mEn-na-ma-ti DUMU Te-hi-
 ip-til-la
 a-na ^mHa-na-tum DUMU Ar-
 te-ia il-te-qi
 à a-na ^mSi-i-ni i-din-šu-nu-ti
 5) um-ma ^mHa-na-tum-ma
 a-na-ku ga₅-du₄ DUMU^{MEŠ}-ia à
 ga₅-du ni-iš É-ia ina É^{it}

[A boy servant] and a girl
 servant,
 whom Ennamati son of Tehip-
 tilla
 on account of Hanatu son of
 Arteia has acquired
 and to Sini has given.
 Thus says Hanatu:
 I with my sons and with the
 people of my house to the house

(a) written ru.

<i>m[En-n]a-ma-ti uš-te-ri-bá-an- ni-mi</i>	(of) [Enna]mati have caused myself to enter
<i>[a-di m]Ha-na-tum ba-al-tu₄^(a)ina É^{it}</i>	[While] Hanatu is alive from the house
<i>ša mEn-na-ma-ti la ú-ši im-ma- ti-me-e</i>	of Ennamati he shall not go out. When
10) <i>mHa-na-tum im-tù-ut ù DUMUMEŠ-šu ša mHa-na-tum</i>	Hanatu dies the sons of Hanatu
<i>1 šu-ha-ra ša 2 am-ma-ti ù ma- lu-ti</i>	a boy servant of two full cubits
<i>1 šu-há-ar-tum ša ki-a!-ma a-na mEn-na-ma-ti i-na-an-di-in- šu-nu-ti</i>	a girl servant likewise to Ennamati shall give
<i>ù ra-ma-an-šu-nu-ú ú-uš-šú-ú</i>	and they themselves shall go out.
15) <i>[šum]-ma mHa-na-tum [i-na É]^{it} mEn-na-ma-ti ú-uš-ší</i>	[If] Hanatu [from the house] of Ennamati goes out
<i>[I MA].NA KÛ.BABBAR I MA.NA GUŠKIN</i>	[one mi]na of silver, one mina of gold
<i>[a-na] mEn-na-ma-ti SA₅^{MEŠ}</i>	to Ennamati he shall pay as compensation
<i>[šum-m]a mHa-na-tum a-na I UD^{mi} i-na [ši-i]p-ri</i>	[If] Hanatu for one day from the work
20) <i>ša mEn-na-ma-ti₄ i-ri-ig ù a[-na I UD^{mi}]</i>	[of] Ennamati is absent, then for the one day
<i>ša I ANŠU ú-ma-a[l]-la</i>	he shall compensate with one ass.

(22) *[IGI A]-ri-ha-ma-an-na DUMU Tù-ri-[- (23) [— —]-ri-ia
DUMU E-wi-en-na-[- (24) [— —]-pá-ri DUMU I-šá-pá-an-[- — —]
-rip-[- — — —]-e DUMU It-ha-a-pu (25) [— — —]-LUGAL*

(a) Cf. *TIL.LA* (313: 5).

11. Cf. 317: 10; *šuhāru 2 ammāti ardu*, HSS IX 13: 5.

19. For the expression *ina šipri rēqu* (HSS V 105: 18) cf. these parallel phrases: *ina šipri paṭāru* (N III 306: 12); *šipra ezēbu* (N III 290: 29); *ši-pi-ir-šu-nu la i-pu-šu ù ši-ip-ru ú-ta-na-ḫu* (HSS V 105: 22).

DUMU Kip-ta-e (26) [— — —]-kà-še-en-ni DUMU Sí-gi (27) [— —]-ši-ia DUMU Sar-ri-ia (28) [IGI] E-[ni]-iš-ta-e DUMU Ak-ka₄-pa (29) IGI Sú-un-sú DUMU In-ti-ia DUB.SAR

(30) TĀG ^mA-ri-ḥa-ma-an-na TĀG ^mÚ-pá-ri-ia (31) TĀG ^mTe-ḥi-ia TĀG ^mE-ni iš-ta-e (32) TĀG ^mKu-uš-ši-ia

L. 22—29, eight witnesses and the scribe.

L. 30—32, seals of five witnesses.

35. N III 317. Debtor's own person as pledge.
(PRENUMERANDO).

[tup-pi ti-te]-en-[nu-ti]

[ša ^m]En-na-ma-ti DUMU Te-
hi-ip-til-la

[— —] ŠĀM a-na I LÚ ĪR ša

[^mEn-ni]-gi DUMU Ta-e

<a-šar>

5) ^m[En-na]-ma-ti il-te-qi

[ù i-na-an-na ^m]En-ni-gi

ki-i-mu-[ú I LÚ] ĪR ša ^{KUR}Nu-
ul-lu-a-i

ina É^{it} ^mEn-na-ma-ti a-na ti-
te-en-nu-ti

a-ši-ib im-ma-ti-me-e

10) 1 šú-ḥa-ru ša 2 am-ma-ti ù
ma-lu-ti

SIG₅^{qá} ša ^{KUR}Nu-ul-lu-a-i

^mEn-ni-gi a-na ^mEn-na-ma-ti

i-na-an-din ù šu-ú

iš-tu É^{it} ^mEn-na-ma-ti ú-uš-ši

15) šum-ma ^mEn-ni-gi a-na I

UD^{mi}

ši-pi-ir-šu ša ^mEn-na-ma-ti

[Tablet of security]

[of] Ennamati son of Tehiptilla.

[— —] price for one slave, that
[Enni]gi, son of Tae <from>

[Enna]mati has received.

[And now] Ennigi (himself)

instead of a slave of the land of
Nullu

in the house of Ennamati for
security

lives. When

one boy servant of 2 full cubits

healthy and from the land of
the Nullu

Ennigi to Ennamati

shall give, then he (himself)

from the house of Ennamati
shall go out.

If Ennigi for one day

his work for Ennamati

i-zi-ib-šu I MA.NA URUD^{MEŠ}
ú-ri-hul ša a-na I UD^{mi}
a-na ^mEn-na-ma-ti
 20) *ú-ma-al-la ù i-na-an-na*
i-na-di-nu

neglects, one mina of copper,
 the upkeep for one day,
 to Ennamati
 he shall give as compensation
 and now he shall pay.

(21) *IGI Ka-ak-ki-še DUMU Ta-e* (22) *IGI A-ri-ḥa-ma-an-na*
DUMU Ši-im-] (23) *IGI Na-gi-pu DUMU Di-te-na-dIM* (24) *IGI*
Hé-sal-la DUMU Sú-ú-me (25) *IGI Wa-ak-ri-ia DUMU Ú-a-as-sí*
 (26) *IGI Ni-ih-ri-ia DUMU Na-ḥi-is-sal-mu* (27) *IGI Ta-e DUMU*
Hu-lu-uk-ka₄ (28) *IGI Wi-ir-ri-ku DUMU Uh-li-ia* (29) *IGI Sú-*
un-sú DUB.SAR (30) *ù KÙ.BABBAR an-nu-ú a-na pa-ni*
KÁ.GAL (31) *^mEn-ni-gi il-te-qi*

(32) *TÀG ^mAr-ḥa-ma-an-na TÀG ^mKa-ak-ki-še* (33) *TÀG ^mWa-*
ak-ri-ia TÀG ^mNi-ih-ri-ia (34) *TÀG ^mEn-ni-gi TÀG ^mNa-gi-pu*
 (35) *šum-ma ^mEn-ni-gi ša BAL^{kat-tu}* (36) *KÙ.BABBAR a-na*
^mEn-na-ma-ti ú-ta-ar (37) *II LÚÌR SA₅* Left edge: *tup-pi ina EGIR*
š-du-ti ina pa-ni KÁ.GAL ša-ti-ir

L. 21—29, eight witnesses and the scribe.

L. 30 And this silver in front of the gate Ennigi has received.

L. 32—34, six seals.

L. 35—37 If Ennigi breaks the agreement he shall return the silver back to Eñnamati (and) two slaves as compensation he shall pay.

Left edge: The tablet after the proclamation, in front of the gate, was written. (Note *tup-pi*, i. e. a genitive pro nominative, perhaps influenced by the following genitive forms).

Introductory.

According to the material that has been preserved in the Kirkuk tablets Silwatesup was one of the most prominent citizens of Nusi.¹ Not only could he boast of being the son of a king but also his business ability was something to be proud of. The number of persons in his employment was considerable including domestic servants, scribes, labourers, shepherds and a small bodyguard (HSS IX 37). We would probably not be far wrong in assuming that the majority of these were virtually slaves, though not actually so designated. That some of his employees had the right on occasion to transact business on his behalf shows that he carried on business on an extensive scale. His wealth consisted of flocks, cattle, farming land

¹ The most important source for our information on slavery in Nusi is found in the selection of documents published by PFEIFFER: »The archives of Shilwateshub son of the king«, Harvard Semitic Series IX (Cambridge, U.S.A. 1932). The documents published were selected from the 1500 tablets excavated by the Harvard-Baghdad School Expedition under the direction of Chiera (1927—28).

With two exceptions all the tablets in this publication were found in the same house. By far the greater number of these documents were stored in two rooms of this house, which were probably the depositories of the business records of Silwatesup. For instance a group of these tablets gives full particulars of flocks and the shepherds in charge of them (HSS IX 49—65; 137—138). One of the two rooms was the main depository, here numerous records of transactions in grain as well as mortgages and records of lawsuits were found.

Unfortunately in the introduction of the volume there are several obscure passages, e. g. the statements leave one in doubt as to which tablets were found in rooms 26 and 34. The contents of the tablets (pp. VII—XI) are not all accurate, e. g. concerning numbers 13, 17, 34, 36.

and plantations, from which fruit and timber were obtained. He busied himself especially with the cultivation of his fields, sheep and cattle rearing and, last but not least, in the profitable business of lending in return for grain, building materials and horses. He cultivated grain in such quantities that after the needs of his household were met, the surplus was profitably used for business purposes.¹

One result of the excavations in Nusi was the laying bare of two private houses owned by near relatives.² From the material discovered we are able to follow the rise and fall of these two families through a period of five generations. At the beginning of this period they were in a prosperous condition. This is evident from the elaborate construction of the houses and from the records. The houses had almost every imaginable accommodation including running water and bathrooms. To Puhisenni probably is due the credit of bringing the family into a state of prosperity, though his ability to accumulate wealth was eclipsed by that of his son Tehiptilla. We marvel most of all at this son's astuteness in evading the law prohibiting the sale of real estate.

This law was intended to safeguard the rights of small farmers against the greed of the rich landowners and to enable them to preserve family independence. These landlords were sticklers for the letter of the law and they were careful not to transgress as far as appearances went, and the judges were wary enough not to go against the wishes of such a powerful citizen. The landlord got round the law prohibiting the sale of real estate by becoming an «adopted» son of the family whose property he wished to acquire. In return for his adoption he handed over to his «parents» a pre-arranged «gift». This way of obtaining properties had many advantages from the landlord's point of view over the uncertain one of acquiring them by means of a forfeited mortgage. Everything was done legally and in order. Tehiptilla preserved carefully the adoption

¹ HSS IX 68—91 (loans of grain until after the harvest); also 121—136.

² Cf. CHERA-SPEISER, *A new factor in the history of the ancient East*, AASOR, p. 85—90, and the reports of the excavations given in the *Bulletins of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (1926—1930).

contracts, i.e. deeds of transfer signed and sealed in each case by a safe number of witnesses. These records were stored methodically so that they could be produced at short notice in case of any complaint. There were instances, however, in which no written record was kept of the agreement, and should a lawsuit arise the testimony of the small farmer was contradicted by that of the landlord. The result was that the judges subjected the small farmer to a trial by ordeal, which the victim usually was afraid to face. As a consequence a heavy fine was imposed, and if this could not be paid the »guilty» party was compelled to become a slave. Actions arose also in which the rich landowner himself appeared as the injured party. The defendant was accused for instance of stealing beams etc., (HSS IX 7). The peasant escaped the enslavement in such instances no better than in those where he himself was the prosecutor.

It has been often noticed that in a given period the freedom granted to women is comparable with that of the slaves. The standing of the women in Nusi does not seem to have been greatly inferior to that of the men. Those who had the necessary wealth to purchase real estate, employed the stratagem of the »adopted child» of the seller. Other rights that they enjoyed were that their testimony was valid in a court of law and several contracts are furnished with the seals of women (HSS V 4: 22; 12: 28; 79: 34; 95: 24; N III 301: 13). In the marriage contracts we have evidence of the fact that they by no means were treated as chattle. This applied unfortunately only to women of wealth.¹ The fate of the poor women was often that of slavery or concubinage. It might be interesting to know from which classes the twenty four wives of Tehiptilla were drawn. It is probable that the majority belonged to the poor classes forming the personel of the house, the minority being from the richer classes and thus able at the marriage agreement to bargain for a position in his household.

¹ The unpublished records of Tulpunnaya are interesting. It would seem that she, like her mother before her, conducted the business of the family. To judge from the tablets, Tulpunnaya's business transactions consisted largely in the buying and selling of slaves. Five tablets

Habiru and N(L)ullu.

I

In all the Kirkuk material that was published up to a few months ago the word Habiru, used to denote a class, was found in only two tablets.¹ If we had only these tablets, we should conclude that the Habiru voluntarily subjected themselves to a form of slavery. But now CHIERA in his new article² refers to a number of other tablets, all of them slave contracts, throwing light on the Habiru problem.³ Unfortunately we have not yet been favoured with the publication of the texts of this new material. From the information derived from these tablets Chiera concludes that it was not the whole truth to say that the Habiru subjected them-

deal with the purchasing of real estate by the «adoption» method. In one case we read that she adopted a young woman in order to marry her to one of her slaves, or to sell her as wife to a free man.

In another tablet, Hanate, a handmaid of Tulpunnaya, adopts Halpapaša. Later Halpapaša's parents try to get their daughter back, but lose the case. Even where the wife of one of her slaves was a free woman, Tulpunnaya claimed the offspring, and in one instance a judge supported her. Tulpunnaya seized delinquent debtors and held them as slaves until the loan in question was repaid; and again in this matter she had the decisions of judges in her favour. In one case a man tried to obtain his freedom, but the verdict was that he should remain as slave. BASOR (34, 1929), p. 6—7.

¹ Ch. 7 and 8 (JAOS 47). In the form *mHa-bi-ra* it is also used as a personal name in nine published tablets: Habira, son of Nuli (Nullu), N I 6: 16; further see the list of Habiru names, p. 84—86.

² CHIERA, Habiru and Hebrews, AJSL, 2 (1933).

³ Hitherto we find the Habiru in the Mitanni period (i.e. roughly 1500—1400 B.C.) appearing as an important element all over Babylonia as far as Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine. They are found always in bands, some as robbers; some as soldiers receiving their upkeep from the state. They roam at pleasure in the lands lacking stable conditions, and on the other hand, where the state is organized they enter as mercenaries under the state control. In the new material provided by the Kirkuk documents we have the first instance of a *LÚ ha-bi-ru* and *SAL ha-bi-ru* referred to as individuals.

selves voluntarily to slavery, unless we interpret the word voluntarily in a rather wide sense. It was a choice of the lesser evil. The Ḫabiru was faced with the alternatives: either to become a slave in a private family or under the government. They had, however, no say in the matter of choosing a master.

The cause of enslavement was probably an economic one arising out of the difficulty in finding employment as an itinerant labourer. The enslavement applied not only to the man in question but also to his whole family. The position of slaves in private families was a more enviable one than that of official slaves, who in the majority of cases were employed as soldiers. A slave in private life in addition to food and clothing (and probably he fared better in these matters than the slave in government service) might expect to be given a wife (JENu 23), who, however, automatically became a slave. The joys of family life must have been overshadowed by the fact that the children were born into slavery. The mother, however, seems to have had some right in the matter of shaping the destiny of her children (JENu, 180).¹

It is clear from the information available in this new material that the Ḫabiru were connected with the institution of slavery.² The Ḫabiru had certainly some things in common with the ordinary slaves, e.g. the name of their father is not mentioned. There was, however, no price to be paid for them in the first instance as in the case of other slaves. On the other hand the Ḫabiru slave enjoyed the right of refusing to be sold to another owner as long as he did

¹ Chiera states (p. 122) that he has learned from Dr. GELB (director of a Chicago expedition to Asia Minor) of another reference to the Ḫabiru in a still unpublished tablet, which shows that the position of the Ḫabiru in Asia Minor had much in common with the one they held in Arrapha.

² The tablets from which the personal names (see p. 84—86) have been taken are all of them slave contracts from the Tehiptilla archives. On the other hand the word Ḫabiru occurs also in three lists according to which the Ḫabiru is not bound to be understood as a slave. In SMN 3199 an amount of barley is given to Ḫabiru men; in SMN 3191 also barley for the horses of the Ḫabiru (people) of the land of Akkad and in SMN 3208 *a-na LÚMEŠ ha-bi-ra-du*.

not break his part of the agreement (Ch. 8). But from JENu 1023 it is clear that in some cases the Ḫabiru slaves had not this privilege and they could be sold without any reason being given. They might also be used as a security in the case of debt. Emancipation was not impossible, but it could be obtained only by getting another to take the place (JENu 386). In JENu 358 the substitute must be *ša ki-ma ša-a-šu ib-šu* or a man from the country of Lullu (JENu 540) or a good man (*LÚ itla*, JENu 157). A woman could be freed if she payed one mina of silver (JENu 1023).

The legal procedure of the enslavement was very simple. Following the entrance formula (A *ana ardūti pīšu ū lišānšu ana bīt B ušēribšu*, Ch. 8; *ramaššuma ana amtūti ušēribšu*, Ch. 8; *ra-ma-an-šu-nu-ma a-na a-mu-ti*, JENu 1023)¹ the Ḫabiru is threatened with the most extreme punishment for disloyalty. In case the slave should break the agreement (*šumma ibbalkat*) by going to another house² the owner is entitled to sell her and also to pluck out her eyes before selling her. Perhaps considering the value of the plucked one in JENu 172 the owner is entitled to do with the slave «according to his heart».

Chiera gives also a list of the personal names of the Ḫabiru with some general remarks.³ The forms of the names indicate a variety of origin. Three lands are specified by name: Ashur,

¹ An exceptional formula of the transfer of Ḫabiru slaves is found in JENu 1023. After the usual entrance formula we read «And A is the owner (?) of the women (*šu-ur-šu-nu ša a-wi-la-ti*). Should the women have a claim against them, A shall clear them and give them to B. And B 40 shekel's of silver for his right to succession (*ki-ma e-wi-ru-ti-šu*) has given. If A backs out and wants them for himself (*i-ni-ri-iš*) then he will have to pay to B ten minas of gold», CHIERA, AJSL, 2 (1933).

² Ch. 8. Other ways of disloyalty: if they back out and say «we are not slaves» (JENu 394); if the Ḫabiru says: «I am not a handmaid and my children are not slaves» (JENu 1023). Cf. an Old Babylonian slave contract with the clause: If at any time A says to her mistress B: «you are not my mistress», then she shall cut her forelock and sell her for money. VAB V, p. 121.

³ See p. 84—86.

Akkad, *In-za-al-ti*. We conclude that there are also names the etymology of which points to a Subarean or an Amurru origin. A further attempt of a detailed study of the names is rendered difficult on account of the imperfect spelling of the Subarean scribes. But this is clear that the personal names in the list are in the main non-Subarean in contrast with the rest of the Kirkuk names. We therefore look upon the Ḫabiru as a social class, not as an ethnical unity.¹

Although the Ḫabiru are represented here as a social class it

¹ From his study of the Kirkuk material concerning Ḫabiru CHIERA arrives at the conclusion, that they were not simply foreigners but foreign enemies, who had been taken as prisoners in war and distributed for government service or handed over to leading citizens. Since special vocations are mentioned he refuses to accept the suggestion that the Ḫabiru represented a special trade. Neither does he accept the view that the Ḫabiru were nomads. He thinks that this is substantiated by the fact that their names show that they were of different nationalities. In short his final conclusion is that the Ḫabiru had little in common beyond a social status, and thus formed merely a social class. CHIERA, *AJSL*, 2 (1933).

LANDSBERGER without having this new Kirkuk material at his disposal arrives at a similar conclusion (Ḫabiru und Lulahu, *Kleinasiatische Forschungen* I, 1930). He sees no objection to Ḫabiru being looked upon as an Akkadian word, for the root *hbr* exists in Akkadian, and preserved in the form *hubāru* meaning probably »Getriebe, böses Treiben«. He admits, however, that it could be a Canaanitic loan-word in the Akkadian according to the generally accepted theory, and puts forward two explanations, the second of which he looks upon as very improbable, namely that it is derived from *br* as held by those who would like to identify it with the Biblical *בְּרִי*. In Landsberger's opinion it is far more probable that Ḫabiru is derived from *hābēr*, meaning companion. This would suit better Landsberger's theory that the Ḫabiru were roaming bands.

The discussion of the old identification has been revived in recent years. The theories of Zimmern (*LÚ ha-bi-ru* = *בְּרִי* of the O.T.) and of Winckler (*LÚ ha-bi-ru* = *SA-GAZ* of the Amarna letters), have lately been put forward in a popular form by JIRKU (*Die Wanderungen der Hebräer* im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr., *Der Alte Orient*, Bd. 24, 2) and criticized by LEWY (*Ḫabiru und Hebräer*, *OLZ* 1927, p. 738 f., 835 f.) and LANDSBERGER (*op. cit.* p. 321—334).

is, however, not impossible that the origin of the name was a racial one. This was the case with the Nullu and most probably with the Amurru, first a tribal name, then a social one.¹ A member of the Habiru tribe became e. g. a soldier, then as a soldier he was taken a captive and thus reduced to slavery, or while yet a free man he became a slave of his own accord. In the same way the word »Schweitzer» came to mean milkman in German and a bodyguard in the Vatican in Rome.

II

Another source from which the land of Arrapha drew slaves was the land of Lullu. The numerous instances of Lullu-names in the Kirkuk tablets show that they were an important element in Arrapha. The land Lullu is often referred to in the inscriptions of Ashurnasirpal.² It has been identified with the land Lullu-bu (Lullu-mu, Lullu-wu) occurring in the inscriptions of Naram-Sin.³ The geographical position of Lullu has been fixed with comparative certainty. We learn from Sargon of Agade that it lay adjacent to Arrapha.⁴ From the existing evidence it is impossible to give the boundaries

¹ A kingdom of Amurru did not exist in the third millennium West of Babylonia, but there was (*KUR*) *MAR.TU*^(KI), a mountain district NW of Babylonia. The *MAR.TU* = *amurrū* derived their name from this land and very soon *amurrū* came to mean a certain type of worker without ethnic value. BAUER, *Die Ostkananäer*, p. 87—88. — *MAR.TU* = *amurrū* as a personal name or as a component of a personal name occurs in the Kirkuk tablets: G 5: 48; 14: 3; HSS IX 88: 3; 96: 26; 119: 20.

² SPEISER, *AASOR VIII* (1928) p. 1—42. Cf. the reports of Adad-nirari I (*KAH I* 5: 3—5).

³ A relief, a prototype of Naram-Sin's famous stele, discovered in Qaradagh, South of Sulaimania, represents Naram-Sin as victorious over the Lullubi, GADD, p. 69, fnote; SPEISER, *Mesop. Origins*, p. 88; *Geographical Journal* LXV 63—64; SMITH, *Early History of Assyria*, p. 97. According to LANDSBERGER (op. cit., p. 330—334) there is no necessity to assume that the longer form of the name is to be explained as an Elamic plural suffix; it could be derived from the Lulluw-form. Cf. *Nu-ul-[lu]-ū* (N III 280: 13).

⁴ Cf. ALBRIGHT, *JAOS* (45), p. 193 f.

of Lullu with any degree of certainty. It is, however, highly probable that Lullu lay in the district now called Sulaimania.¹ In the inscriptions of the Assyrian kings the land is designated by one of the longer forms while the language of the country is referred to as Lullu. This would lead to the supposition that the language was no longer confined to the land of Lullu.² More convincing proof of this is found in the fact that to the Babylonians Lullu was an ethnic conception, something of a barbarian or a savage.³

In the Kirkuk tablets we find a great variety of forms of Lullu. The first radical is in most cases changed into *n*.⁴ There are comparatively few short forms: *Nu-ul-lu* (HSS IX 63: 11; G 50: 41; TCL IX 46: 27). The most feasible explanation of the following longer forms is that they are *nisbe* forms.⁵ It is interesting to find a form like *Nu-la-a-hi* (N I 53: 23).⁶ Other longer forms are: *Nu-ul-i* — — (HSS V 67: 20); *Nu-ul-li-ia* (N I 53: 23) [*Lu*]-*ul-lu-a-a* (N I 53: 5); *Lu-ul-[lu]-a-e* (N I 32: 6); *Nu-ul-lu-a-i* (N II 195: 2, 15, N III 317: 11); *Nu-ul-lu-a-i-ú* (HSS V 8: 9; *Nu-ul-lu-a-i-ú-tum*; N II 115: 16); *Nu-ul-lu-a-ú* (N III 297: 37); *Lu-ul-lu-e* (N I 7: 6); *Nu-ul-lu-i* (N II 192: 4; G 61: 6); *Nu-ul-[lu]-ú* (N III 280 13).

The sign *KUR* is fixed before the name in the following instances: HSS V 8: 9; 67: 20; HSS IX 2: 6; 63: 11; N II 115: 16; 192: 4; 195: 2, 15; N III 280: 13; 297: 37; 317: 7, 11; TCL IX 7: 24; 46: 27; Cont.

¹ SPEISER identified several Lullu cities in the district of Sulaimania, AASOR VIII.

² LANDSBERGER, op. cit. p. 325.

³ LANDSBERGER, loc. cit. — In Hittite there occurs a form *L(N)ulahhu* (HROZNÝ, Bogh. St. 5, 38).

⁴ The change of the liquid *l* to the nasal *n* is to be found also in other instances, e. g. Haligalbat, Hanigalbat, see the note to HSS V 35: 5.

⁵ In addition there are some instances in a fragmentary condition: *Nu-ul-lu* — — — (HSS IX 2: 6) *Lu-lu* — — — (Cont. 7: 24; TCL IX 7: 24); *KUR*[*Nu-ul-lu*] (HSS IX 119: 13).

⁶ Cf. the Hittite form *L(N)ulahhu*. According to HROZNÝ (Bogh. St. 5, 38) this *hh* is an ending, which LANDSBERGER (op. cit.) interprets as meaning origin. This *hh* can frequently be seen in the names of the Kirkuk tablets (*Til-la-hi*, N I 76: 31; cf. p. 87—92; GADD, p. 71—83).

7: 24. The ideogram *AN.ZA.QAR*¹ with the possessive *ša* occurs before the name in N I 7: 6; 32: 6; 53: 5. Twice *Nu-ul-tu* is employed as a personal name (HSS IX 63; G 50: 41). Naturally the longer forms occur among the personal names: *^mNu-ul-li-ia DUMU Nu-la-a-hi* (N I 53: 23); *Nu-la-za-hi*, probably a scribal error for *Nu-la-a-hi* (G 47: 36).

In the Kirkuk documents there are numerous instances where slaves are purchased from Nullu, in fact the word Nullu was not infrequently employed as a term of first class quality, since it occurs as a synonym for »healthy, sound» (*damqu*) in the penal clauses (*mannu ša ibbalkatu arda (amta) ša ^{mā}Nullu umallā*).² Naturally both of these synonyms occur also outside the penal clause.³ In the case of qualified slaves the number of slaves never exceeds two in the penal clause, but in case of non-qualified slaves it amounts to three (*SAL^{MES}*, HSS IX 17: 17), four (*LŪ^{MES} SAL^{MES}*, N III 309: 11), five (*GEME*, N II 119: 19).

From the instances, where Lullu occurs outside the Kirkuk material we are led to understand that Lullu lay East of Arrapha, i. e. on the neighbouring mountain ranges. It is a well-known fact that the climate and general conditions on the mountains strengthen its uncultured inhabitants in contrast to the cultured people of the cultivated plains of Mesopotamia, the enervating and debilitating heat of which discourages both bodily and mental energy. Therefore among the citizens of the plains the Nulluites were in great demand as slaves for heavy labour, as also now the porters of modern Baghdad are recruited from among the inhabitants of Sulaimania and other mountaineers.⁴ As a further

¹ *AN.ZA.QAR* (*dintu*), a term of frequent occurrence in these tablets, see GADD, p. 84; and the footnote to N II 140: 6.

² Slaves qualified with Nullu: HSS IX 149: 13; N III 280: 13; TCL IX 7: 24. Cf. N II 115: 16, here both synonyms are used parallel. Cf. *damqu* (HSS V 37: 16) and the synonymous *namru*, SPEISER, Mesop. O., p. 102—108.

³ With the verb *nadānu*: N II 192: 4; N III 317: 7, 11; TCL IX 46: 27. Cf. *damiqtu* and *nasiqtu* (HSS IX 17).

⁴ Cf. MEISSNER, Beiträge zum altbabyl. Privatrecht, Nr. 2, acc. to which Gutium, a mountain country (and a neighbour to Lullu) produced slaves for sale.

proof of their good constitution may be added the fact that a Lullu woman was employed as a reserve wife in case the proper wife was not able to bear children (HSS V 67: 20).

We have already seen in connection with the Habiru that the slaves were not all of native stock. Further, because of the fact that the slaves of Nullu were generally known as a kind of money to be paid by order or as a fine, it means that there was an extensive import trade of slaves carried on from the land of Nullu to Arrapha. There is an instance to be found in the letter of a king, according to which money was entrusted to a man who took a journey to the land of Nullu for business purposes.¹ Owing to the fact that in the Kirkuk tablets Nullu is hardly ever mentioned except in connection with slaves² we may conclude that the purpose of this trip was mainly to trade with slaves.³

Slave sales and other transfers.

It has been affirmed that deeds of sale are not to be found among the Kirkuk tablets.⁴ This was due to the fact that the deeds dealing with the sale of real estate were drawn up in the form of adoption agreements, probably in order to evade the law prohibiting the sale of immovables. In the case of movables⁵ we have, however, several contracts of the sales of slaves.

The items of a slave contract are rather few in the Kirkuk tablets:

1) The object sold, the name of the *ardu* or *amtu* and its owner, i.e. the seller.

¹ ——— KÙ.BABBARMĒŠ ša mHi-iš-mi-te-šup il-qi ù i-na KURNu-ul-lu-[a-na ta-am-ka-ru-ut-[ti] ù-li-ik ù it — — [tu-ra?] (HSS IX 2: 5—8).

² In N II 195 there is mentioned a man (not a professional slave) who was redeemed by a merchant from the land of Nullu back to his native country.

³ Cf. GADD (p. 69), a merchant travelling up the Euphrates is commissioned to purchase a Subarean slave, PEISER, K B. IV, p. 44, no. III.

⁴ CUC, Journal des Savants (1927), p. 341.

⁵ Cf. Ch. 12, a receipt for a sold horse.

- 2) The name of the buyer.
- 3) The purchase price (*ana šīmi nadānu, ina šīmi leqū*).
- 4) The guarantee against legitimate claims (*šumma ardu (eqlu) paqirāna (pirqa) irāšši A uzakkama ana B inandin*).¹
- 5) The penal clause (*mannummē ša ina bērišunu ibbalkatu (manū kaspu - - - umallā)*).²

Out of the real sales, which number only six, three are in the form of a declaration (*lišānu*, TCL IX 46, N II 115, and G 52)³ and two begin simply with *umma*, i.e. «thus says» (N II 179, HSS

¹ This is the same as in the case of fields. The formula of the slave sale in the Middle Assyrian documents is almost an exact duplicate of that for the sale of fields with the exception of one clause in which it is stated that the responsibility of clearing the slave in the event of a claim arising lies with the seller, NKRA, p. 30. The guarantee against the possibility of claims arising occurs frequently in these Middle and New Assyrian slave contracts.

² This is instead of the oaths of the contracting parties. — The clause of the Middle and New Assyrian deeds in which the seller renounces his rights does not occur in the Kirkuk texts. The handing over of a kind of staff (*bukannu*) as a symbol of the completion of the sale (VAB V, p. 111) can be compared in the Kirkuk tablets with the symbolic act of making an impression with the hem of one's garment see note to HSS IX 20: 36; G 52). Also such clauses as *šibtu bennu* etc. (which are common in the Middle and New Assyrian slave contracts) are missing in our tablets, NKRA, p. 27—36.

³ The formula in TCL IX 46 contains the explanation of the sale and the transfer. L. 5, f.: «We (two sellers) have given the handmaid for the price to the buyer», the receipt l. 10, f.: «these objects of value (cattle, grain, garments, metal), the price of our handmaid N (we have) received (from the) buyer.» The remainder is unfortunately badly defaced. Still one is able to make out that the seller must have been bound by a stipulation formula, for it states that the seller shall give the buyer a slave from the land of Nullu, that is to say, apparently, as substitute for the handmaid forfeited to a legitimate claimant. It can not refer to a fine for breach of agreement, as this (l. 30, f.) is fixed at two handmaids. Similarly it is laid down in TCL IX 7, 22 f., that the one who vindicates the adopted girl, shall give a slave from the land of Lullu, NKRA, p. 166—167 (transliterated and transcribed) and p. 53.

IX 25). The latter two have a form, which practically is identical with the *lišānu*-formula. The sixth one (HSS V 100) also belongs to the category of a declaration although there are no introductory words of *lišānu* or *umma*. All of these sale agreements are provided with about five seals to each tablet and on four of the tablets the names of a number of witnesses are given. In all of them in the penal clause the fine is given in slaves (except G 52, where a free person is sold into slavery), in four cases an *amtu* is sold and the fine of the penal clause is laid out in *amtu* or *sinništu*. In N II 115, where an *ardu* is sold, the fine of the penal clause is laid out correspondingly in *ardu*. It is interesting that in the case of a slave contract recorded in N II 195 a law laid down by the king (*šarru ultēdi*) is referred to. This law affected merchants who purchased slaves, natives of Arrapha from the land of Nullu and brought them back to Arrapha. According to this law merchants were not permitted to charge more than 30 SU.¹ The grievance in this case is that the seller demanded double the price fixed by the king (60 SU). The reason for asking this price may have been stated in the beginning of the tablet, which is not preserved.

In another case, N II 179, where the redeemed one is not a person who has been sold into slavery, the price is permitted to exceed 30 SU. This tablet concerns a woman of Arrapha who has been brought by the seller on his chariot »as a booty» from abroad. Here is more freedom with regard to the price, the seller demands 40 SU and is paid the full amount.²

The price is 30 SU of silver in N II 115, 25 SU of silver in HSS V 100. In HSS IX 25, the price for a handmaid sold is 20 SU of silver³ of special quality, the buyer being wife of Silwatesup the prince. Probably on account of the special quality of the silver the amount in shekels is smaller.

Light on the price of slaves can be had also from other tablets

¹ Cf. § 281 in Codex Hammurapi and § 22 in the Hittite law (Hrozy).

² The price 40 SU of silver is paid in naturalia: 2 good oxen, one good ass and ten sheep.

³ The amount is again paid in naturalia, see above.

which do not record actual sale agreements. In HSS IX 17 we learn that a person who owes one good selected woman is permitted to liquidate his debt with ten SU of good gold. In N II 113, the value of a *ṣuhāru* (boy servant) is estimated in two minas of gold and (apparently) two minas of silver. In other cases the value of slaves is reckoned in naturalia without stating the equivalent in silver or gold.¹ In some cases a person who is unable to settle a debt of money or naturalia is compelled to deliver his slave to cover the debt.² In N II 119 another handmaid is utilized to pay the debt of 36 goats. In HSS IX 111 a person selling his sister without any specification receives five sheep and six minas of lead.³

There are further many other tablets which deal more or less with slave sales and transfers. In N II 280 two owners exchange their slaves between themselves. The formula contains both the guarantee against legitimate claims as well as the penal clause. In HSS V 8 a seller declares to have received the remaining part (*ri-ih-tu*) of the price for the sold handmaid. After his promise of not making further claims, *ina arki lā išassī*, there is added the penal clause and a list of witnesses with their seals. According to another tablet (HSS V 101 = KDFL 24) a wife purchased a hand-

¹ TCL IX 46, see NKRA, p. 166—167; G 52.

² Thus in N II 111 a handmaid is given to meet an obligation of 20 homers of barley, 21 *šahirru* measures of straw and 22 minas of lead.

³ In a difficult tablet (G 54) the debtor receives a handmaid from the creditor «as a loan». At the end of a set period the debtor is to give the creditor a good handmaid, let her be capable of giving birth or not, otherwise 40 shekels of silver for a slave. Koschaker would be inclined rather to consider it as a sale, to be exact, a sale «prenumerando», that is to say, the seller pledges himself to hand over a certain kind of handmaid, otherwise to pay back the price received in advance, and possibly with a fine in addition thereto. Also the clause 1. 7, f. is explained: the seller declines to be responsible should the handmaid prove sterile; in that case of course, she would be of less value. If this interpretation is correct, then the loan must be a fictitious one. One notices too, that to denote the act of the debtor, *turru* «to give back» is not used, as is usual in the case of real loans, but *nadānu* «to give». The formula of the fictitious loan in the case of goods remains peculiar. See NKRA, p. 53.

maid from her father's house, the husband giving to his wife full title to the girl in a special deed in order to prevent the would-be heirs from claiming the handmaid together with the rest of the property.¹ In HSS V 37 (KDFL 38) a girl servant is given to cover a debt consisting of a girl servant. HSS V 23 (KDFL 40) records a transfer of a handmaid given as a gift to two women. G 61 presents a lawsuit according to which a slave is claimed for with certain valuables. Further HSS IX 17 is a record of a part-payment for handmaids, N II 118 of a sold slave restored to his former owner.

The transfer of slaves could also take place as the result of a *titennutu*, (cf. HSS IX 13) i. e. a slave given as security for a definite period, until a loan is paid back. These *titennutu* are of several kinds, e. g. in N III 290² a slave is given for ten years as security for a sum of money; in N II 192 a slave is given on security as part payment of a debt. In TCL IX 10 a slave is given for the time of harvest to perform the work, thereby paying back a loan of money. In HSS IX 82³ a slave is given as pledge for a debt consisting of barley — his work shall be for the interest of the loan. The slave shall be given back on repayment of the loan. In this tablet the term *titennutu* is not given.⁴

¹ KDFL, p. 20.

² Cf. N III 298 (*titennutu* of a field), (1) *mUn-ki-ia* — (2) *I GEME ša Ha-ši-ia* (3) *ša Wa-ar-sà-pi il-qi-e* (4) *ki-mu-ù I GEME VIII GISAPIN A. ŠĀ* (5) *a-na Ha-ši-ia a-na ti-te-nu-ti* (6) *i-di-in X MUMESŠ ū-ka-al-ma* (7) *i-na X MU I GEME a-na Ha-ši-ia* (8) *i-na-di-im-ma ù* (9) *A. ŠĀMESŠ-ti-šu i-li-iq-qi*.

³ (5) *a-na ia-ši iq-ta-bu-ù!* (6) *ŠEMESŠ a-na HAR.RA (hubulli) li-qi ù ĩR^{d(i)}-ia* (pro -ka) *i-din*.

⁴ The term *titennutu* is also missing in N II 113, which concerns the right of pledging children. In lines 16—17 there is the clause against illegitimate claims *ina arki A lā išassū*, lit. «they shall not shout behind the back of A», i. e. «they shall not raise claims». For *šassū* in Old Babylonian contracts, LANDSBERGER, ZDMG (69), p. 509. Also in the following three documents dealing with pledging the term *titennutu* is not employed: HSS IX 96; 152; N III 312. In the last mentioned document a father with his sons and his household enters a house as slaves in order to pay a debt. As long as he lives, he shall stay there, but after his death his children have the

In HSS IX 13 a father gives his two sons as security in return for a slave that is borrowed — they shall be free as soon as a boy servant is paid back. In another tablet (N III 309) two men and two women have been given and as long as these slaves are not returned to the owner the debtor shall stay as security until he discharges his obligation; again in another tablet (N III 317) the price of a slave has been received, but until the slave is delivered, he who received the money shall stay as security, instead of a slave, in the house of the creditor. If the pledged person neglects his work for one day then he shall compensate with an amount which corresponds to the upkeep of a slave for one day.

Adoption and marriage.

It is hard to classify these tablets. A tablet can be formally a contract of adoption, but it contains a sale into slavery and at the same time for marriage. Another tablet is formally an adoption agreement but it contains a sale deed of real estate. Here in the classifying we follow the form because the contents are so complicated for grouping as one tablet (as to its contents) can belong to three different groups.

With regard to real adoption the slaves hardly have any part in them. There is, however, one case (G 9) where a »palace handmaid» (*amat ēkallim*) adopts a free man making him an heir of her possessions including a handmaid, servants etc. On the other hand there is a tablet (HSS IX 22)¹, according to which a slave is adopted by a free man, but the slave in question belongs to the higher classes, as well as the before-mentioned palace handmaid. He seems to be one of the highest officials of the palace of Silwatesup, being his chief clerk. The formula of a real adoption of a slave does not differ

right to obtain their freedom by giving a boy servant and a girl servant to the creditor. There is, too, a fine of one ass a day fixed if the father leaves the work of his master.

¹ Here the adopted slave seems to be only a usufructuary until the death of the adopter.

essentially from that of a free person.¹ In HSS V 66 (KDFL 5) a slave adopts the wife of his master. The form of adoption is here borrowed to serve a settlement of property, otherwise there would be no meaning for a real adoption here. The wife of the master is not the only beneficiary, there is also another woman to inherit.

According to the current practice among the rich people also some higher officials among the slaves of Silwatesup, the prince, did not neglect to have themselves adopted in order to acquire real estate. In two tablets (HSS IX 19 and 20) Paitesup the chief clerk of Silwatesup transacts business for himself by purchasing an orchard and a field under the cover of a sale-adoption. In HSS IX 21 another slave of Silwatesup the prince, by name Kupasa, purchases city houses together with their building grounds. The formula of these three tablets does not differ from that of the sale-adoptions of free people.² Further a handmaid is mentioned as part of an inheritance portion in tablets of sale-adoption (HSS IX 59: 17 and 66: 35).

There is further a group of adoption agreements in the Kirkuk tablets, which are similar to the sale agreements, and which are designated as *martūtu* (daughterhood) and *kallatūtu* (daughterhood-in-law) or as both. The subjects of these contracts are girls and the contract consists in a father giving his daughter to another person for adoption on the condition that the adopter acquires the right to give the girl in marriage usually to one of his slaves. In a few tablets (N I 26: 9 f.; N I 50: 9 f.) the adopter reserves the right in the case of the death of the girl's husband to give her to another of his slaves. And so she becomes a permanent member of the household and obliged to spend all her days as a wife of someone (N I 26: 12 f.; Ch. 4). In one case (Ch. 5: 9) the adopter reserves for himself the right of marrying the girl himself.

The girl is looked upon, therefore, in her position as wife of one of the adopters' slaves, as his daughter-in-law. It does not

¹ KDFL, p. 7—8. In connection with real adoptions female slaves are mentioned as part of the inheritance portion of the adopted child (HSS V 59 = KDFL 3 and HSS V 67 = KDFL 2).

² NKRA p. 52—66, KDFL p. 13—16.

seem to have made much difference whether the contract was called a *martūtu* or *kallatūtu* or both together. In the contracts labelled *martūtu* it does not always state expressly that the girl should be married to one of the adopter's subordinates. On the other hand the conditions make it clear that the girl must spend the rest of her days in the adopter's house and that her fortune belongs to the house (N I 50; 11; Ch. 4: 8; 5: 17) as we find in the case of the *kallatūtu*.¹ These contracts close with a mention of the fine to be expected in case of breach of agreement.

With regard to these matrimonial adoptions the slaves as adopters hardly have more part in them than in the case of real adoptions. There is only one case where a handmaid of Silwatesup the prince purchases a daughter »into daughtership and daughter-in-law-ship» in order to give the girl in marriage to a son of hers or to a free man (HSS IX 145).

In these tablets the marriage of the adopted girl whether to a slave or to a son of the adopter or to a stranger or even to the adopter himself was not a proper marriage but only marriage in a lesser sense.² In the case of a marriage between free persons the

¹ In TCL IX 6, which records an arrangement for the execution of pecuniary clauses of a marriage contract, a brother gives his sister for adoption in exchange for a girl given to him by the adopter for a wife.

² The fact that a *tirhatu* is mentioned in these documents (HSS IX 145: 16; Ch. 4: 24; 5: 43) seems to indicate that they were records of sale marriages. One objection to this conclusion is the fact that the girl becomes a slave. KOSCHAKER, NKRA, p. 83). The contract is in the form of a slave sale and in favour of this view is the stipulation guarantee which in many cases (N I 50: 12; Ch. 5: 22; TCL IX 6: 16; 7: 15) the purchaser of the girl demanded. It is strange, however, to find this adoption formula employed since in the collection of legal formulae in Arrapha one for this purpose already existed. According to this the father gave his daughter into slavery — *ana amtūti* (G 52), what he receives in return is called *šīmu* (price) and not *tirhatu* (bridal price).

From this Koschaker (loc. cit.) draws the conclusion, that the *martūtu kallatūtu* can neither be a marriage contract nor a sale but what he describes as »adoptio in matrimonium servile». It deals with a special kind of adoption, which brings the adopted as a member of the family under the power of the

rights of the woman were guarded by numerous conditions laid down in the contract.¹

In the available Kirkuk material there are only two contracts recording the marriage of a slave. In Ch. 6 (JENu 475) a brother gives his sister as wife to a slave for a bridal price consisting of forty shekels to be paid by five shekels each year.² More complicated is the subject-matter in N II 120, where a mother provides a bride for a slave of her son. The bridal price consisting of ten sheep is to be paid to three persons: the mother and brother of the bride, and a third party, who is not related to the bride and, therefore, must be a near relative (e.g. of a deceased husband of the mother of the bride). In connection with this the slave gains his freedom by giving his anonymous daughter (of a previous marriage) into servitude to the mother of his master. In addition³ the prospective

adopter. The adopted, however, has not the right to any part of the inheritance. As only girls are mentioned in the Arrapha contracts in connection with this kind of adoption formulas, and as in accordance with the custom that women could hardly participate in the inheritance, it meant that the adopted was excluded from inheriting property.

¹ For instance the children were to be the heirs and the husband had not the right to disinherit or to enslave them; the husband might take to himself a second wife only in the event of the marriage proving childless (HSS V 67 = KDFL 2). The phrase *ana aššūti ana ardi lā nadānu* »not to give to a slave as wife» occurs in a marriage contract whereby a sister is sold for marriage (HSS V 80: 39). Such conditions constitute the difference between proper marriage and that of partially free persons or slaves.

² A brother sells his sister for marriage and at the same time indirectly into slavery in HSS V 80 since he does not particularize as to whom she is to marry. See also the near parallels in HSS V 79 and TCL IX 6 and HSS IX 111 (a brother sells his sister without specified purpose). Contrast MEISSNER, *Bab. u. Assyrien I*, p. 181.

³ The children born of slaves were often called *šerru* (*šēru*, Ch. 11: 9, 26; HSS V 67: 22) to be distinguished from *māru*, i. e. child born of free parents (G 12: 12); Note the phrases in HSS IX 96: 9—10, 14; *šerrašu ša ištu libbi A. usšū* (Ch. 5: 13); *gādu šerrišu* (Ch. 11: 9; 20: 53; HSS V 57: 9, 13; 73: 33. The word *šerru* also designates an offspring of a second wife, »a woman of the Lullu» (practically synonymous with a bondmaid, HSS V 67: 20).

children in this new marriage are to become the slaves of the former master.

HSS V 27 (KDFL 36) records an interesting case of marriage grievances. A girl had been purchased for a slave. Her guardian, however refused to deliver her as wife to the slave. In another lawsuit «the wife of my slave» (*aššat ardiya*, HSS V 43: 31) is mentioned.

In N II 113: 25—27 there is a special clause which charges the parents to provide a wife for their son, who is pledged as a slave. In this case the prospective children became the property of the parents, not of the owner. It seems that the master of a slave was pleased to let the parents purchase the bride for their son working in servitude, the purchase price being comparatively high.

The bridal price is on an average 40 shekels in marriage contracts between free persons. The same amount is also paid for a free daughter, sold as wife for a slave (or as wife for the master, Ch. 5 = JENu 751). With regard to the prospective offspring it is expressly said that the children shall become slaves of the owner.¹ The bridal price is still higher (45 shekels) in the above-mentioned N I 26. The bride for a slave is evaluated only at 20 shekels in Ch 4 (JENu 308). According to these tablets a female slave was never provided with a bridegroom owing to the fact that the handmaids were mostly concubines of their masters.²

Lawsuits and miscellaneous records.

It is interesting to note that comparatively few actions are brought against slaves. (HSS IX 94 and in some sense V 43; IX 9). This may be due to the fact that the slaves were often subjected to extrajudicial punishment. There is, however, clear evidence to show that they were not always unprotected by the law. According

¹ Contrast KH, § 175.

² Cf. MEYER, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 183.

to **HSS IX 10** a beaten slave is permitted to apply personally to the judges for an official inspection of his wounds.¹

The only actual lawsuit against slaves is recorded in these tablets in **HSS IX 94**. Two slaves of Hismitesup, son of the king are accused of having stolen an ox. The action is not a prolonged one, for the slaves admit their guilt. The tablet being a memorandum note does not state the sentence. In **HSS V 43** the wife of a slave is accused of having taken part in a street fight between two men with the result that blood flowed from the injuries inflicted by her. Her guilt was confirmed by four witnesses and also by the fact that the accused one »did shrink from the gods», i. e. refused to undergo trial by ordeal. The fine imposed was to be paid by the owner of her husband, who raised the question as to the possibility of acquittal.

In **HSS IX 9** Silwatesup, son of the king, in person accuses in court a man who had harboured a fugitive handmaid of his. The defendant had to admit the validity of the accusation and to deliver her back to the owner. **HSS V 27** (KDFL 36) records the case of another fugitive woman, whose guardian refuses to deliver her to her husband, a slave. The judges send a constable to support the slave in this difficult task, but the constable can not do more than witness that the guardian struck the slave. From **HSS V 35** we do not learn much more than that the slave was stolen and sold to someone in another country.²

That the slaves had some rights of citizenship is evident from the fact that a slave can appear as witness in court. In **HSS V 68**

¹ In **CHIERA-SPEISER'S** opinion the position of the slaves in Nusi was a deplorable one, they were unprotected by law and could be slain with impunity. The maltreatment of slaves was not considered as disgrace. (**AASOR VI**, p. 88).

² In connection with lawsuits slaves are mentioned in the following tablets: **G 61** (a wife gives evidence against her husband concerning a debt consisting of certain valuables and a slave); **G 22** (the accused is fined five slaves. The cause of the fine is unknown due to the tablet being partially defaced); **HSS V 45; 50**, both record a fine of two slaves (*a-na II ÌR^{MEŠ} a-na mu-ul-li-e ù-ta-du-uš*).

(KDFL 16) among the witnesses who surveyed the purchased houses there is a palace handmaid (l. 32) and a slave, scribe of a certain woman, who also wrote the contract. In HSS V 70: 26 (KDFL 22) there is among the witnesses another slave (»the servant of the palace») who is also a scribe.¹ Further in N I 78: 33 one of the witnesses is a »servant of the palace». Slaves were entrusted with even more important business. In HSS IX 7 a slave deputizes in a lawsuit for his master Silwatesup son of the king. The slave accuses a certain man for having cut timber in the orchard of the prince. Because the accused one denied the statement they were both sent to be tried by water ordeal. The result is left for the king to decide. In another tablet (HSS IX 14) a slave of the same Silwatesup transacts business (sale of barley) for his master. In N II 140 another slave gives a declaration of the transfer of a field on behalf of his master or for himself. In HSS IX 34 a slave getting old is given five men for assistance in supervising certain fields of Silwatesup, for which fields these men are to be held responsible in the future.

In connection with legacies, wills, testaments the slaves are often mentioned as items of the property to be inherited: *GEME-ia* (HSS V 70: 8, 9 KDFL 22); *I GEME* (HSS V 71: 15 = KDFL 19); (HSS V 72: 37, 38 = KDFL 21) »of the handmaids (*i-na GEME^{MEŠ}*) each according to his share shall take»; *GEME* (HSS V 73: 33 = KDFL 20); *I GEME-ia* (HSS V 74: 17, 18 = KDFL 23); *GEME* (TCL IX 41: 25).² On the other hand in HSS IX 29 a slave is appointed as guardian over certain valuables, of which the legatee is already named. During the life-time the testator is entitled to

¹ In JENu, 270 there is a case of a scribe (not called Habiru or slave) obligated to serve Tehiptilla as long as his master lives. After his masters death he may leave the service of his son and heir if he can provide as a substitute another man who is also a scribe. CHIERA, AJSL, p. 122.

² TCL IX 41 is a lengthy record of the settlement of property. At the end of the specified divisions the testator adds an interesting clause concerning some old documents, now annulled; in the future no new deeds shall be written (l. 31—37).

use these valuables. HSS IX 30 is a declaration, according to which Paitesup, the clerk of Silwatesup is given a field.¹

In the declaration given in N II 163 two persons dispute over a slave who was borrowed by a third person. HSS IX 6 is an official letter, according to which a handmaid has been bought, but afterwards the buyer brings an action against the seller, who is a son of the king. The king orders the man to be sent to him as quickly as possible. In HSS V 73 (KDFL 20) a husband gives all his possessions to his wife. His sons shall serve her in everything, if one does not obey, she has the right to punish him by making him as a servant by placing the slave-mark on his foot, but may not disinherit him. — In G 42 is mentioned that a palace handmaid brought up a free girl until the marriage of the girl. N II 139 speaks of a handmaid giving a receipt over a certain quantity of valuables which she has received probably as a reward for having nursed a small child.² In G 50 among the items of inheritance a cloak for a slave is mentioned. In HSS IX 89 three persons each give a receipt for a certain amount of victuals. One of them is a slave, who also fixes his seal with the two others.³

¹ *a-na ma-ka₄-an-na*, »as a present» (*ma-ka₄-an-na* is probably a Subarean word). Cf. KDFL, p. 64. For the slaves of Silwatesup who transact business see further: HSS IX 150 (Paitesup loans bricks belonging to his master) and 152 (Siliperwa receives the payment of a debt).

² Unfortunately the document is badly defaced in its vital point: (1) *EME-šu ša tE-du-pa-ša* (2) *GEME ša* — — — (5) *2 ší-a-na-tu₄ I TAL IÁ IV UDU^{MEŠ}* (6) *a-šar mEn-na-ma-ti ki-ma* (7) *te?-ha-GAB* [— —] *hu* — — — *šu-ha-ru* (8) *el-te-qi ù ap-la-ku-mi*, cf. VAB V,* p. 122.

³ The receipts are given to Silwatesup for an amount of barley; (6) *mUk-ka₄-a-a IR^{du₄}* (7) *ša mIp-ha-tar-me il-qi*. Cf. »Seal of H. slave of P.» (HSS IX 34: 36) and the cases, where Habiru slaves are used as witnesses, see p. 86.

Names of slaves in the Kirkuk documents.

- 1) *A-kaḫ-ur-ḫi* HSS V 66: 2, 7, 25
- 2) *A-kiḫ-LUGAL* (of *Te-ḫi-ip-til-la*) N I 26: 8, 9
- 3) *Ar-ta-še-en-ni* ^{LU}NANGAR, carpenter (of *Wu-ur-te-šup*) N III 290: 15
- 4) *At-ti-ia* HSS IX 10: 1, 7
- 5) *!A-wa-šu-ḫur* (of *Ak-ku-ia*) HSS V 71: 15
- 6) *DUMU-!U+DAR* (of *Ta-ak-ku*) N II 120: 6, 19, 21
- 7) *!E-du-pa-ša* (of *I-ri-ri-til-la*) N II 139: 1
- 8) *El-ḫi-ip-til-la* (of *Ḫi-iš-me-ia*) N III 280: 7

1. Also G 47: 40. The first element is the Subarean *akap*, see G, no. 23. Cf. the many names with *akap* as the first component. For the second element cf. the numerous Kirkuk names starting with *urḫi* (see G, no. 28) and ending with *urḫe*. See also APN, p. 271. When the list does not give the owner of the slave, Silwatesup, the prince is to be understood: 1, 4, 12, 18, 19, 21, 23, 27.

2. The first element is the Sub. verb *ak*, «to offer», with an ending *-ip*, cf. *elḫ+ip.*, no. 8. The second component is not necessarily to be read *šarru* (king), but rather as a Sub. word (see GUSTAVS, OLZ, 1911, col. 343; APN p. 19). Cf. *Akiḫ-tilla* (2: 41) and *E-en-ša-ru* (HSS V 61: 15 = KDFL 41) and *Rimi-šar-ma*, king of Ḫalap, WEIDNER, *Boghazköi-Studien*, 8 (1923), p. 81. For the component *šar* see further APN, p. 309.

3. *Arta+šenni* (brother). This Sub. name occurs very frequently in the Kirkuk documents.

4. The ending *-ia* is a hypocoristic element, to be found below in many other names in this list.

6. Cf. the two similar names in the list of Ḫabiru slaves (15, 16).

7. Perhaps Akkadian, «Her mouth is unique».

8. *Elḫ* represents a Sub. verb with the ending *ip*; *tilla* in Subarean means «lord», cf. *Elḫip-šarru* (G, no. 145) *Elḫip-tilla* (G. no. 146).

- 9) *Ḫa-lu-ia* (of *Hu-tar-ra-ap-he*) N II 179: 3, 11, 17
 10) *Ḫa-na-a-a* (of *Pè-en-ti*) HSS IX 34: 2, 6, 19, 25, 27, 31, 36
 11) *Ḫa-ni-ú-ia* (of *Ḫi-iš-mi-te-šup* son of the king) HSS IX 94: 3, 10, 11
 12) *Ḫi-in-sú-ra-a-a* HSS IX 145: 5, 6, 17, 22, 27
 13) *Ip-ša-ḫa-lu* (of ?) N II 195: 1
 14) *I-ri-ša-pa* (of *Te-ḫi-ip-til-la*) N I 50: 8, 9
 15) *Ir-ra-sí* (scribe, servant of the palace) HSS V 70: 26
 16) *Ir-wi-ḫu-ta* (servant of the palace) N I 78: 33
 17) *Ḫu-uk-ku-ú-ra-aš-še* (of *Pa-e*) HSS IX 25: 2, 14
 18) *Ku-ú-pá-a-sa* HSS IX 21: 3, 9, 20, 28 (*Ku-pá-a-sa*) 1, 15
 19) *Ku-up-pá-ti-ia* HSS IX 7: 1, (*Ku-up-pa-ti-ia*) 16
 20) *Mi-ni-i-ku* (of *A-ka-p-še-en-ni* son of *Sí-gi*) HSS V 74: 18; 101: 1, 7
 21) *Pa-i-te-šup* HSS IX 19: 3, 13, 14, 23, 28; 22: 2, 5, 13, 17, 21, 25; 29: 15, 22. (*Pá-i-te-šup*) HSS IX 20: 3, 11, 12, 18, 27, 29, 34, 35; 22: 10
 22) *Pu-ur-ḫu-un-ni* (of *Te-ḫi-ip-til-la*) N II 118: 3, 14
 23) *Sí-ḫi-pè-ir-wa* HSS IX 152: 9, 12, 17, 20, 23
 24) *Ši-ta-gi* (of *Sí-gi* son of *Ak-ku-ia*) HSS V 73: 33

9. Cf. *Ipša+ḫalu*, no. 13, *Ḫalu+ya* (hypocor.). This female slave originates from Arrapha.

10. *Ḫana+ya* (hypocor.), cf. also G, no. 185. For *Penti* cf. APN, p. 302. For a land called *Ḫana* see HOMMEL, *Ethnologie u. Geographie*, p. 393.

11. *Ḫaniu+ya* (hardly a *nisbe* ending for the land *Ḫani*), also G, no. 193. See HOMMEL, p. 479.

12. Cf. *Ḫi-in-sú-ri* (27: 8) a male name.

13. *Ipša+ḫalu*, cf. no. 9 and 7: 29; 27: 18.

14. *Iri+šapa*, cf. the numerous names with *ari* as their first component, also G, no. 52—69.

16. *Irwi+ḫuta*, cf. the Sub. *irwa* »kings».

17. Cf. 14: 2.

18. Cf. 12: 3 etc.

19. *Kuppati+ya* (hypocor.), cf. *Ku-ú-pá-a-ti*, 29: 24.

20. Cf. *Šilli-kūbi* (*MI.NI-ku-bi*) a male Ḫabiru name.

21. Cf. *Pá-i-ú-ia* (21: 34), *Pa-i-til-la* (5: 23 etc.), *Pa-i-šarru* (G, no. 352).

- 25) *Ši-ta-na-aš-te* (of *Ah-li-te*) TCL IX 46: 4, 16, 41
 26) *Šur-qu-[ma-a-ri]* (of *Hi-in-ba*) TCL IX 41: 24
 27) *Šu-ši-ib-^dUTU* HSS IX 14: 5, 12, 16, 18
 28) *Ta-am-pu-še-en-[ni]* (of *En-na-ma-ti*) N III 280: 5
 29) *Tù-ul-tu-uk-kà* (of *Hi-iš-mi-te-šup*, son of the king) HSS IX 94: 2, 9, 12
 30) *Uk-ka₄* (of *Ip-ħa-tar-me*) HSS IX 89: 6, 16
 31) *U-la-ma-aš-ši* (of *U-na-ap-te-šup*) HSS V 100: 1, 7, 10
 32) *U-nu-mu-šá-lim* (of *Sú-ħar-ti-ia*) HSS V 68: 32
 33) *Uš-ku-te* (of — — — *-ri*) N II 111: 11, 15
 34) *Ya-la-am-pá* (of *Še-en-ni-ma*) HSS V 59: 21, 23; *Ya-la-am-pa* 23: 3

25. The second half of the name *aš-te* may represent the Sub. word for woman, cf. *Aš-te* (G, no. 90).

26. Cf. *Sur-qu-ma-a-ri* (TCL IX 44: 25), *Sur-ku-ma-ri* (TCL IX 14: 22; 29: 23) and *Sur-ki-til-la* (22: 6; 33: 15). The first component (*surku*, *surki*) is safely Subarean, the second part may originate from the name of the land of *Mari*, (cf. LANDSBERGER, ZA (35), p. 235). This *Hiinba* and *Suħar-tiya* (no. 32) are the only female owners of slaves in the list of slave names. Cf. *Tulpunnaya*, p. 60—61.

27. »Set, O Šamaš», a rare Akk. name. This Semitic slave is owned by a Subarean.

28. *Tampu+senni* (brother in Sub.).

29. *Tult+ukka*; cf. *Ukka* (no. 30), In ADD, 812, L. E.₁ there is *Uk-ka*, f. of *Bēl-mušallim*.

31. *Ul-amašši* »I do not forget». Cf. *I-maš-ši*, *Ilu-ul-am-ši* and other names with the verb *בָּשַׁח*, APN, p. 295.

32. The first part preceding the Akk. *mušallim* may be an ideogram. (In the Kirkuk documents the *u* is written *ú* or *ù*). Also the owner seems to have an Akk. name: *Sú-ħar-ti-ia*, a fem. form of *suħāru* + the ending-*ia*.

Names of Ḫabiru slaves.

- 1) *A-at-ka₄-la-^dŠamaš*
- 2) *A-pil-ku-bi*, son of *Sin-e-ri-iš*
- 3) *^dAdad-rābi**
- 4) *^dAdad-mi-i-lu**
- 5) *^fA-[ha]-ti-ia*
- 6) *Arad-ku-bi*
- 7) *Arad-^dTaš-me-tum**
- 8) *A-ri-te-šup*
- 9) *At-ti-ila-mu awēl tupsarru**
- 10) *At-ti-la-am-mu awēl aš-šu-ra-a-a-ú*
- 11) *E-ri-ib-lu* son of *^dAdad-ma-ilu*

1. These 35 numbers are from unpublished tablets (see p. 61, 63). *Atkala-^dŠamaš*, «I had confidence in *Šamaš*»; PSBA IX 292, Muss-Arnolt p. 240. *Šamaš-taklāk*, APN, p. 311.

2. «Son of *Kūbu*» (God of foetus, birth-giving); cf. APN, p. 257 and below no. 6, 26; *Sin-e-ri-iš*, «Sin has planted».

3. Cf. no. 11, 27. The names marked with an asterisk (*) are not actually described as *Ḫabiru*, but internal evidence proves that they were regarded as such.

4. «Adad is abundance», cf. no. 11.

5. «My sister» or a hypocoristicon, cf. 13.

6. «Servant of *Kūbu*». (*Arad-^dKu-be*, APN, p. 314.) DEIMEL, Pantheon, 1691.

7. «Servant of *Tašmet*», (an Akkadian divinity), APN, p. 28.

8. Ari + *Tešup*, «*Tešup* has given». For the Subarean verb *ar* see BORK, op. cit.

9. This and the following variation (no. 10) is hard to be analyzed. With regard to 9. see p. 79, note 1.

11. Abbr. from *Eriiba-ilu* «God has rewarded», APN p. 76.

- 12) *Hu-lu-ki*
- 13) *ī^d Ištar-a-ḥa-at*
- 14) *I-li-ú-tum*
- 15) *Māri-^dIštar**
- 16) *Māri-^dIštar*
- 17) *Ma-ri-i-ti-ig-la-at*
- 18) *Na-an-tešup*
- 19) *Nu-ur-pí-a*
- 20) *Par-ku-ul-lu*
- 21) *Qī-iš-a-mu-ur-ri* son of *Ta-te-ni*
- 22) *Sin-iddina^{na}*
- 23) *īSin-bá-al*
- 24) *īSin-bá-al-ṭi*
- 25) *^dŠamaš-qar-ra-ad* son of *A-šar-mu-ša-li-im*
- 26) *Šilli-ku-bi*
- 27) *Ta-ri-bá-tum*

13. This woman is from Akkad.

14. *-utum*, a hypocoristic element.

15. This *Māri-^dIštar* («Son of *Ištar*») comes from the land of *In-za-al-ti*.

16. This *Habiru* is from the land of Akkad.

17. «Son of Tigris», also from Ashur.

18. The same form occurs: G. 50: 42. *Na-an-Tešup*, BE XV. For the element *nana*, see APN, p. 297, APN, p. 314. Cf. *Na-ni-ia*, G 10: 37; *Na-an-te-e-a*, G 66: 8; *Na-ni-ip-til-la*, G 28: 32.

19. Perhaps Akkadian «Light of my mouth».

20. «Stonemason», originally a professional name.

21. Abbr. from «*Qīštu-Amurri*, «Present of Amurru», cf. *Qīšti-Adad* etc. APN p. 304.

22. Cf. APN p. 199.

23. Probably [?] an abbreviation from *Sin-bá-al-ṭi*.

24. Cf. *Sin-uballit*, «Sin has called into life», APN p. 274. [*Sin-balti*]

25. «*Šamaš* is a warrior».

26. «*Kūbu* is my protection».

27. *Ta-ri-bá-tum*, from the land of Akkad (*ak-ka₄-di*). Note the masc. sex of the owner of this name in a fem. form. See *Taribu*, «Reward», APN p. 306, 230—31.

- 28) *!Tu-un-tu-ku*
 29) *U- . . ma?-pu-ur*
 30) *Wa-aš-qa-bi-ia**
 31) *Ur-ti-i-i-ti-ig-la-at* son of *Ša-tu-ia*
 32) *Wa-hu-lu-ki**
 33) *!Wa-ti-ia*
 34) [*f*] *Wa-ti-e*
 35) — — — *ha-a-a-* son of *Še-en-na-a-a*
 — — — *ha-a-a*
 — — — *ri* son of *Māri-ešri*

The form *Ḫabira* occurs as a personal name in the following cases:

mḪa-bi-ra DUMU Ti — (G 14: 3, 5) Seal of *Ḫa-bi-ra*, l. 17;
mḪa-bi-ra DUMU Šu-ri-ḫi-lu (G 53: 15) *IGI Ḫa-bi-ra DUMU Nu-li*
 (N I 6: 16) *IGI Ḫa-bi-ra DUMU Šum-mi-ia* (N I 13: 35) *mI-la-a-a*
DUMU Ḫa-bi-ra (HSS V 4: 2) *IGI An-ni-šu DUMU Ḫa-bi-ra*
 (HSS V 18: 14) *IGI Šigi DUMU Ḫa-bi-ra* (HSS V 70: 24) *IGI*
Ḫa-bi-ra DUMU EN^{lu} (N III 299: 17) *Ḫa-bi-ra*, father of *El-ḫi-ip-*
LUGAL (TCL IX 8)

28. Perhaps *Tuntu + kū[bi]*.

30. The owner of this name also belongs to Ashur.

31. *Arad-Itiglat*, «Servant of Tigris». For *Ša-tu-ia* (pro *Ša-du-ia*) cf. *Sin-šadū-ni*, «Sin is our mountain» (refuge), 13: 39; *Ša-tū-ni*, 22: 19; *Ša-tū-mi(-en)-ni*, 21: 17, 19; *Ša-at-tū-* — —, 18: 30. Cf. *Ša-du-ia* as a female name, G 82: 5, *Šadāya* and *Šadūa* (hypocor.) APN p. 207.

32. *Wa+hu-lu-ki* — —, cf. no. 12 and *Ḫu-lu-uk-ka₄*, 21: 6 f., APN, p. 89.

35. Cf. *Še-en-na-a-a*, 33: 21. Note the *-aya* hypocoristica in both names; *DUMU-UD-XX-[KAM]*, «Son of the twentieth day».

Names in the 35 documents.

a) Personal names.

(In this list the few names which are partly defaced are distinguished with numbers in different type. Cf. GADD's personal names with remarks, RA XXIII, p. 71—83.)

A

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p><i>A-ba-DINGIR</i> 22: 21, 26 (<i>A-bi-DIN-GIR</i>) 10: 45, 47; 16: 12</p> <p><i>A-bu-DUG</i>. GA 9: 11; 10: 37; 25: 34</p> <p><i>AG-DINGIR-RA</i> 11: 47; 22: 24</p> <p><i>Ah-hi-ia</i> 26: 22</p> <p><i>Ah-li-pa-pu</i> 12: 37, 47</p> <p><i>A-hu-um-mi-ša</i> 27: 17, 25</p> <p><i>A-ka₄-a-a</i> 14: 28, 34</p> <p><i>A-kam-na-ni</i> 24: 2</p> <p><i>A-ka₄-pi-el-li</i> 25: 5, 15, 25</p> <p><i>A-kap-še-en-ni</i> 2: 1, 4, 7, 8, 13, 16, 21, 22, 26</p> <p><i>A-kap-tùk-ki</i> 2: 40; 20: 23, 29</p> <p><i>A-ka₄-wa-til</i> 15: 2; 22: 18; 25: 43</p> <p><i>A-ki-ia</i> 4: 29; 5: 21; 11: 15, 19, 20; 13: 35, 46; 16: 14; 18: 25, 33</p> <p><i>A-kip-še-en-ni</i> 10: 38, 51</p> <p><i>A-kip-ta-še-en-ni</i> 20: 3; 22: 2; 32: 2, 46, 50 (<i>A-kip-ta-še-ni</i>) 5: 24</p> <p><i>A-kip-til-la</i> 2: 11</p> <p><i>Ak-ka₄-pa</i> 19: 25; 34: 28</p> <p><i>Ak-ku-ia</i> 1: 2</p> <p><i>A-li-ip</i> — — — 25: 32</p> <p><i>Al-ki-til-la</i> 7: 1, 14</p> <p><i>Al-pu-ia</i> 7: 29</p> | <p><i>Am-ka₄</i> 29: 7, 9, 13, 19, 31</p> <p><i>Am-pi-si-na</i> 29: 1</p> <p><i>A-mur-LUGAL</i> 13: 39</p> <p><i>A-mu-ur-ra-bi</i> 18: 26</p> <p><i>A-ni-na-pi</i> 2: 27</p> <p><i>An-ni-šu</i> 10: 43, 55, 21: 31, 45; 25: 36; 29: 25, 28</p> <p><i>A-pi-pi-tù</i> 7: 24</p> <p><i>A-pu-uš-ka</i> 16: 3, 37</p> <p><i>A-ri-gi-el-pi</i> 10: 41</p> <p><i>A-ri-gi-mar</i> 25: 2</p> <p><i>A-ri-ḥa-a-a</i> 2: 5, 11, 13, 39</p> <p><i>A-ri-ia</i> 19: 27</p> <p><i>A-ri-iḥ-ḥa</i> 19: 3, 5, 13, 16, 18, (<i>A-ri-ḥa</i>) 23: 28</p> <p><i>A-ri-iḥ-ḥa-ma-an-na</i> 32: 49, 51 (<i>A-ri-ḥa-ma-an-na</i>) 34: 22, 30; 35: 22; <i>Ar-ḥa-ma-an-na</i> 35: 32</p> <p><i>A-ri-il-lu</i> 26: 18</p> <p><i>A-ri-ip-pa-ap-ni</i> 19: 31</p> <p><i>A-ri-ip-še-ri-iš</i> 10: 9, 11; 11: 9</p> <p><i>A-ri-wa-al-ti-ú</i> 12: 21</p> <p><i>Ar-na-pu</i> 33: 13, 23</p> <p><i>Ar-ráp-ḥa-ri</i> 9: 18</p> <p><i>Ar-ru-um-ti</i> 11: 2</p> <p><i>Ar-ša-an-ta</i> 2: 27 (<i>Ar-ša-an-ta</i>) 33: 16</p> |
|--|---|

Ar-ša-a-pu 11: 44, 55
Ar-ša-tù-ia 2: 9
Ar-še-ih-li 2: 33
Ar-ši-mi-ka₄ (*Ar-Simika*) 10: 35; 21:
 36
Ar-ta-e 33: 18
Ar-ta-še-en-ni 5: 27; 32: 4, 12, 16, 19,
 26, 29, 50.
Ar-te-ia 2: 33; 34: 3
Ar-te-še 11: 39
Ar-tù-ra 14: 26
A-ru-ma-ri 22: 20
Ar-wi-ia 23: 26
Aš-ta-ri 7: 26
Aš-tar-te-šup 28: 1, 19, 24
A-ta-a-a 21: 37
At-ti-ia 6: 1, 7
A-wi-i-lu 16: 15

B

Be-lum-ni-ra-ri 24: 20

D

DINGIR-SUM 4: 31
DINGIR-TUG^{šu} 13: 37, 42
Di-te-na-^dIM 35: 23
DUMU-^dU + DAR 25: 7, 19, 21
 (*DUMU-U + DAR*) 21: 37, 43

E

E-en-na-ma-ti 4: 3, 12; 5: 2, 6, 7, 12;
 10: 2; 21: 1, 11, 16, 23, 44; 23, 4, 7,
 10, 16, 28; 25: 7, 10; 27: 1, 12; 26;
 29: 26; 31: 3, 6, 7. (*En-na-ma-ti*);
 32: 44; 34: 2, 7, 9, 13, 16, 18, 20;
 35: 2, 5, 8, 12, 14, 19, 36
E-en-šuk-rù 22: 22
E-gi-gi 26: 21, 26
E-ḫi-el-te-šup 28: 29
El-ḫi-ip!-til-la 24: 21; 31: 8

El-[li] 14: 28
E-na-pi 23: 26
E-na-pu 23: 31
E-ni-iš-ta-e 19: 25; 29: 25, 30; 33: 1, 3,
 6, 7, 10, 22; 34: 28, 31.
En-na-pa-li 25: 3, 12, 17
En-ni-gi 35: 4, 6, 12, 15, 31, 34, 35
En-ŠEŠ-šu 16: 12
E-ra-ti 26: 22
E-ri-ma 28: 25
E-te-ia 27: 21
E-wi-en-na- — — 34: 23

G

Gi-el-gi 7: 22
Gi-e-li-ia 11: 16
Gi-el-te-šup 20: 5, 7, 10, 14; 28: 14
Gi-eš-ḫa-a-a 2: 10
Gi-li-ip-til-la 18: 30, 34
Gi-ni-ia 23: 24

H

Ḫa-i-ra-an-nu 28: 26
Ḫa-iš-te-šup 2: 29, 30; 9: 2
Ḫa-li- — — 26: 18
Ḫa-lu-ia 28: 11, 17
Ḫa-ma-an-na 10: 43; 13: 37; 29: 28;
 33: 16.
Ḫa-na-a-a 9: 21, 22, 31; 11: 45; 12:
 39, 45; 16: 1, 6, 19, 25, 27, 31, 36
Ḫa-na-ak-ka₄ 19: 22, 33; 21: 32, 42;
 25: 37; 26: 20 (*Ḫa-na-ka₄*) 22: 19, 28
Ḫa-na-tum 21: 16, 19, 25; 34: 3, 5, 8,
 10, 15, 19
Ḫa-ni-ú 7: 28
Ḫa-ni-ú-ia 23: 2
Ḫap-tu₄ 11: 41
Ḫa-ši-ia 25: 1, 11, 17; 26: 19
Ḫa-ši-ip-til-la 3: 3, 19; 10: 35, 49; 21:
 5, 9, 13

Ĥa-ši-pa-pu 12: 34
Ĥa-ta-me-ir-sa 19: 2, 7, 10, 11, 12
Ĥé-ir-ši 14: 32, 39
Ĥé-sal-la 19: 30; 35: 24
Ĥi-in-sú-ri 27: 8
Ĥi-iš-me-ia 31: 2, 6, 9, 14
Ĥi-iš-mi-te-šup 18: 5, 8, 11, 18
Ĥu-i-te 19: 20, 32; 32: 45
Ĥu-i-til-la 24: 28
Ĥu-lu-uk-ka₄ 19: 24; 21: 6, 8, 15, 22,
 24; 35: 27
Ĥu-pi-ta 14: 25
Ĥu-[tar]-ma-ti 24: 26
Ĥu-tar-ra-ap-ḥe 28: 6; (*Ĥu-tar-ra-ap-ḥé*)
 28: 12, 20; 32: 7, 9, 17, 20, 24,
 27, 30, 35
Ĥu-ti-ia 2: 28; 5: 28; 9: 19, 26; 18: 26;
 19: 27; 23: 23; 24: 6, 11, 16; 25: 36,
 40; 26: 23, 25.
Ĥu-ti-ip-a-pu 9: 20, 29
Ĥu-ti-ip-LUGAL 5: 25
Ĥu-ti-ip-til-la 7: 27, 30
Ĥu-[up-til]-la 24: 23
Ĥu-ut-te-šup 9: 18, 25

I

Ik-ki-ia 2: 11
Ik-ku-ia 33: 12
Ik-ku-i-ú 33: 22
Ĭ-la-mi-ni-pu-uš 24: 25, 30
Im-pur-tum 19: 24
Im-še-en-na-a-a 2: 2, 6, 15, 20, 21,
 24, 30, 37
I-na-ap-še 12: 38
In-ti-ia 34: 29
Ip-ša-a-a 9: 23; 11: 44; 24: 21
Ip-ša-ḥa-lu 7: 29, 36; 27: 18; 30: 1
IR^dU + DAR 21: 34
I-ri-ri-til-[la] 12: 7; 28: 2
I-ri-ša-pa 19: 8, 9

I-ri-šu 29: 22
I-ru-ia 18: 28, 40
I-ša-pá-an- - - 34: 24
It-ḥa-a-pu 9: 22; 25: 33, 42; 34: 24
It-ḥa-pi-ḥi 22: 39; 29: 27
It-ḥi-ip-LUGAL 18: 29, 36
It-ḥi-iš-ta 31: 2; 33: 18
It-ḥi-til-la 5: 22; 22: 18
It-ti-LUGAL 32: 47

K

Ka-ak-ki-še 35: 21, 32
Ka₄-ar-si-ia 21: 35
Ka₄-in-nu-ia 7: 3, 6
Ka₄-na-a-a 8: 25
Kār-ra-te 12: 35, 42
Ka₄-ru-as-sà 18: 29
Kà/ka-ti-ri 26: 19, 27
Ki-in-ni-ia 23: 29
Ki-ip-ta-li-li 11: 40, 51
Ki-i-ri-[ip]-til-la 24: 24
Ki-ir-ka₄ 23: 24, 30
Ki-eš-te-e 20: 28 (*Ki-iš-te-[e]* 20: 25)
Ki-li-ia 19: 28
Ki-me-la-ta 19: 19
Ki-pi-ia 24: 22
Kip-ta-e 34: 25
Ku-a-ri 32: 40
Kur-ku-tar 2: 41
Ku-sú-ti 29: 30
Ku-uk-ku-ú-ra-aš-še 14: 2
Ku-un-nu-un-na-a-a 9: 23, 28
Ku-ú-pá-a-sa 12: 3, 9, 10, 15, 23, 28
Ku-ú-pá-a-ti 29: 24
Ku-up-pá-ti-ia 4: 1, 16
Ku-us-sà-ri-ia 1:1 (*Ku-sà-ri-ia*) 27:18
Ku-uš-ši-i 23: 23
Ku-uš-ši-ia 9: 19; 11: 45, 50; 24: 6;
 34: 32
Ku-us-sú 10: 41, 48

M

- Ma-aš-ka₄-an-ta-ar* 1: 3
Ma-la-ħi-[ma- -] 24: 25
Ma-li-ia 19: 20, 32; 25: 40
Ma-li-ik-na-kúr 25: 34 (*Ma-li-ik-na-kúr-ru*) 25: 41
MAR. TU-ia 18: 32, 39
Ma-si-ia 9: 11
Mu-ša-li-en-ni 22: 5, 8, 10, 14
Mu-ša-pu 1: 1, 7
Mu-uš-te-ia 27: 23; 33: 19
Mu-uš-te-šup 1: 12; 23: 27, 32; 25: 38; 32: 13, 23

N

- Na-an-na-taħ* 2: 42
Na-gi-pu 35: 23, 34
Na-ħi-is-sal-mu 35: 26
Na-i-še-ri 22: 20, 27
Na-iš-gi-el-pi 33: 14
Na-i-[te-šup] 4: 28; 18: 25
Na-ni-[ia] 14: 29
Ne-maš-še 1: 10
Ni-ih-ri-ia 18: 27, 38; 33: 12; 35: 26, 33
Ni-ik-ri-ia 7: 25, 37
Ni-ki-a 24: 20
Ni-nu-a-ri 10: 38
Ni-ra-ri 15: 23
Nu-la-sà-ħi 11: 7
Nu-ri-ia 16: 15
Nu-ul-te-šup 7: 21, 33
Nu-us-sà 25: 33

P

- Pa-e* 14: 1, 12, 16, 23
Pá-i-ù-ta 21: 34
Pa-i-te-šup 10: 3, 13, 14, 21, 23, 27, 28; 11: 3, 11, 12, 18, 27, 29, 32, 33; 13: 2, 5, 10, 12, 17, 21, 25; 15: 15, 22

- Pa-i-til-la* 5: 23; 12: 2; 32: 40
Pal-te-e-a 25: 32, 42; 27: 19, 21, 24
Pa-pa-an-te 7: 26
Pè-en-ti 16: 2, 36
Pi-ri-a-sà-na 12: 2, 8, 12, 14, 18, 22, 25, 43
Pi-ri-at-ti 20: 24
Pi-ru 33: 14
Pu-ħi-ia 10: 40; 13: 32
Pu-ħi-še-en-ni 1: 12; 16: 11; 18: 31; 19: 6
!Pu-ħu-ia 21: 4, 7, 8, 15, 22, 25
Pu-ħu-up-pi 29: 32
Pu-i-ta-e 3: 1; 32: 44, 52
!Pu-ku-li 21: 2, 7, 8, 18, 20
Pur-na-aš-šu-ka₄ 5: 2
Pu-ù-ia 16: 13 (cf. *!Pu-ħu-ia*)
!Pu-ur-ħu-un-ni 23: 3, 14

S

- Ša-an-šá-pu* 7: 22, 31
Ša-ar-te 16: 14
Ša-ar-te-šup 5: 23; 28: 29
Ša-ar-tù-la 4: 31
Ša-at-tù-ia 16: 11
Ša-li-pè-li 10: 44
Šal-li-ia 16: 13
Sà-nu-nu 26: 21
Sa-ri-ik-[ki] 14: 1
Sar-ri-ia 34: 27
Ša-šu-ri 14: 4, 6, 13, 17
Šá-ta-am-mu-uš-ni 28: 28
Šá-tù-gi-wi 8: 24 (*Ša-at-tù-[gi-wi]*) 18: 30
!Ša-tù-mi-ni 21: 19 (*!Ša-tù-mi-en-ni*) 21: 17
Ša-tù-ni 22: 19
Ša-wa-a-a-ma 15: 1, 19, 20
Še-en-na-a-a 33: 21
Še-ħal-te-šup 8: 26; 14: 27

Še-ir-pa-taš-ši 5: 22
Še-ir-ši-a 24: 23; 29: 21
Še-ka₄-a-a 8: 1, 9, 14, 17, 19, 23.
 [Še]-kār-til-la 24: 22
Še-ka₄-rù 19: 22, 23; 21: 32; 23: 25
Še-pi-ia 19: 21, 31
Še-ri-šá-ri 24: 24, 28
Ši-gi 2: 1; 12: 36, 46; 18: 31; 29: 26;
 34: 26
Ši-ik-ni-ia 11: 52
Ši-il-wa-a-a 11: 41, 56
Ši-il-wa-te-šup 3: 12; 4: 2, 4, 14;
 5: 1, 4, 10, 14, 18; 6: 2; 7: 7, 10,
 13, 16; 8: 6, 22; 9: 1, 5, 10, 16; 10: 3;
 11: 4, 10; 12: 3; 13: 3; 14: 5; 15: 16;
 16: 5, 23, 35; 21: 43
Ši-im- — 35: 22
Ši-i-ni 34: 4
Ši-ir-ra-mi-ni 29: 22, 31
Ši-ir-wi-ia 12: 36
Ši-ka₄-a-a 7: 20; 18: 28
Ši-ku(-ú)-ia 27: 2, 4, 5, 10, 11
Ši-ku-ra 14: 25
Ši-li-ia 25: 4
Ši-li-im-ḥa-ma-an-na 13: 36, 43
Ši-li-im-na-a-a 27: 3, 6
Ši-li-ip-kur-na 20: 26
Ši-li-pa-a-pu 29: 33 (*Ši-li-pa-pu*) 4: 29;
 29: 23
Ši-ma-an-ni 22: 23
Ši-ma^dIš-tar 11: 47
Ši-mi-ia 2: 35
Ši-mi-ka-ri 18: 7 (*Ši-mi-ka₄-ri*) 18:
 10, 15
Ši-na-pu 19: 5
^dSIN-KUR-ni 13: 39
SIN-na-din-aḥ-ḥi 33: 17
Ši-rip-pá-am-pa 32: 49
Šu^dIM 27: 16
Šuk-ri-ia 4: 27; 23: 22, 30

Šuk-ri-te-šup 11: 1, 13, 14, 53
Sú-me 27: 16 (*Sú-ú-me*) 35: 24
Su-mu-li-ib-ši 23: 27
Šu-ri-ka₄-a-a 2: 11
Sur-ki-til-la 22: 6; 33: 15
Sur-ku-ma-ri 29: 23
Šu-ru-ia 27: 20
Šu-ru-uk-ka 11: 40
Šu-ši-ib^dUTU 8: 5, 12, 16, 18
Sú-ú-mi 19: 19, 23, 30
Su-um-ka₄-ti-tum 24: 2, 14
Sú-un-na-a-a 7: 2, 14, 18
Sú-un-sú 34: 29; 35: 29
Šu-ur-te-e-a 28: 27
Šu-ur-til-la 4: 3, 10, 12

T

Ta-a-a 4: 30; 7: 20; 9: 24; 15: 23;
 33: 20, 24
Ta-a-a-ni 12: 39
Ta-a-e 24: 27, 29 (*Ta-e*) 7: 24, 32;
 35: 4, 21, 27 (*Ta-i*) 28: 27
Ta-ak-ku 25: 7, 26
Ta-am-pu-še-en-[ni] 31: 5
Ta-an-te-a 13: 33
Ṭa-a-pu-ú-ri-tum 24: 9, 12
Ta-ḥi-ri-iš-ti 10: 36; 12: 34; 13: 34
Ta-i-ka₄ 9: 21, 30; 12: 38, 44
Ta-in-si 20: 25
Ta-i-te-a 13: 33, 40
Ta-i-til-la 22: 21, 28
Ta-mar-ta-e 15: 7, 11, 13, 17
Tar-mi-ia 7: 28, 35; 19: 26; 27: 19
Tar-mi-te-šup 5: 20; 10: 2, 12, 15, 20,
 23, 24, 54; 21: 33, 44; 28: 24
Tar-mi-til-la 22: 9, 12, 15, 17
Tar-mu 7: 25
Ta-ú-ka₄ 7: 27
Te-ḥi-ia 2: 34; 27: 15; 34: 31

Te-ḥi-ip-til-la 19: 6, 7, 10, 14, 15, 18;
 23: 1, 5; 31: 3; 33: 3, 6, 8, 11;
 34: 2; 35: 2 (*Te-ḥi-ip-LUGAL*) 20:26
Te-ḥi-še-en-ni 27: 20, 22
Te-ḥu-up-pi 29: 21
Te-šu-ia 1: 11; 4: 28
Ti-e-eš-wa-nu-uh-ni 11: 8
Ti-iš-ši-mi-ka₄ 27: 17, 20, 22
Ti-ri-ku 13: 35
Ti-šá-am-mu-uš-ni 28: 7; 32: 8
Tu-li-ia 12: 18
Tup-ki-ia 1: 3; 13: 1, 5, 11, 20, 22
Tup-ki-til-la 20: 22, 27, 28; 28: 22,
 27, 28
Tup-pi-ia 6: 4
Tù-ra-a-a 10: 44, 56
Tù-ra-ar-te-šup 10: 10, 37, 50; 14: 30;
 22: 1, 27
Tù-ra-ri 9: 24, 27; 10: 40, 57; 13: 32,
 41; 18: 24, 35; 26: 10; 33: 21
Tù-ri- - - 34: 22
Tù-ul-tùk-ka₄ 32: 45, 52

U

Ú-a-as-si 35: 25
Ú-a-ma 9: 2, 4, 7, 12, 13, 15, 32
Ú-a-te 20: 24
úU + DAR-AMA 25: 3, 4, 5, 13, 18
Uḥ-li-ia 35: 28
Uḥ-li-pa-pu 7: 23, 34
Uḥ-li-te-šup 20: 22; 25: 35; 28: 22
Ú-ku-ia 2: 10
Ú-na-a-a 28: 26, 28; 29: 24
Ú-nap-še 21: 36
Ú-nap-ta-e 4: 27

Un-ku-pi-si 28: 25
Un-nu-ka₄-a-a 21: 35
Ú-pá-ri-ia 34: 30
Ur-ḥi-ia 8: 1, 10, 23; 19: 28, 34; 23:
 25, 31
Ur-ḥi-te 8: 25
Ur-ḥi-te-šup 5: 28; 7: 23; 9: 20; 12: 37
Ur-ḥi-til-la 10: 36, 52; 13: 34, 44
Ur-ši 33: 17
úUš-ku-te 20: 11, 15
úUs-na 29: 2, 5, 8, 10, 12, 14 (*úUs-*
na) 25: 9, 14, 20
Ú-ta-a-a 2: 28, 34
Ut-ḥap-ta-e 2: 41; 7: 21; 14: 26, 31;
 18: 23
Ut-pu-ia 14: 27, 33
Ut-tùl-ḥa-a-a 25: 35, 43
úUTU-da-am-mi-iq 21: 38; 29: 27
úUTU-DINGIR-AS₄. KUR 24: 26
úUTU-MA. AN. SUM 18: 32; 26: 24
úUTU-ri-šú-ia 14: 30, 35

W

Wa-ak-ri-ia 35: 25, 33
Wa-an-ti-iš-še 26: 9, 12
Wa-qar-EN 4: 30; 20: 21; 23: 22; 28: 21
Wi-ir-ri-ka₄ 10: 42
Wi-ir-ri-ku 35: 28
Wu-un-nu-ki-ia 19: 26
Wu-ur-te-šup 22: 2, 26; 32: 2, 3, 11,
 13, 15, 23, 34, 50

Y

Ya-ri-el-li 21: 18, 20

b) Topographical names.

URU *A-ka₄-a-a-še* 16: 1 (URU *A-ka-a-a-še*^{MEŠ}) 16: 4.

URU *An-zu-gal-lim* 3: 6, 7.

KUR *Ar-ra-ap-ḥe* 28: 3; 30: 14, 18; (*Ar-ráp-ḥa-ri* 9: 18; *Hu-tar-ra-ap-ḥé* 32: 7),

URU *DINGIRMEŠ* (*āl ilāni*, «city of the gods», probably the temple area of the city of Arrapha, cf. GADD, p. 52, 64, NKRA, p. 10) 10: 8.

KUR *Ḥa-lì* 16:3.

KUR *Ḥa-ni-gal-bat* 1: 5; 9: 2.

KUR *Kip-ri* 8: 11, 15.

KUR *Ku-kap-šu-ḥé-na* 28: 4.

URU *Nu-sì* 10: 5; 10: 34; 11: 6; 11: 49; 12: 5, 32; 13: 30; 14: 21; 18: 22; 22: 16, 25, 30.

URU *Pa-ḥa-ra-aš-wa* 8: 7; 8: 20; 16: 17, 33.

Terms and phrases concerning slaves and related subjects.

abbuttu (slave-mark).

abbutta ana A. nadānu, HSS IX 12: 13; *abbutta muššuru* (HSS V 73: 22).

amtu (female slave).

amat ēkallim (handmaid of the palace) G 9: 2; 42: 3; HSS V 68: 32; *ana amtūti nadānu* (to sell into slavery) G 52: 7; HSS V 67: 35; *ana amtūti šūrubu* (to cause to enter into slavery) Ch. 8: 3; *ana amūti (a-mu-ti) šūrubu*, AJSL (1933), p. 119; *lū amtūtu lū ardūtu*, Ch. 5: 16.

ardu (male slave).

ana ardūti nadānu (to sell into slavery) G 12: 32; HSS IX 24: 21; *ana ardūti šūrubu* (to cause to enter into slavery) Ch. 7: 2; *ana aššūti ana ardi nadānu* (to give as wife for a slave) HSS V 80: 39; *arad ēkallim* (servant of the palace) Ch. 20: 17, 47, 66; HSS V 70: 26; NI 78: 33 (Contrast *mār ēkallim*, HSS IX 95: 2); *ardū ša āA* (slaves of the city of A) RA XXVIII, p. 8 (1: 12—13); *naḥlap ardi* (cloak of a slave) G 50: 16.

igru (wages of an hireling) *ig-ra u ma-ka₄-la* (food) HSS V 98: 5.

re²ū (shepherd, virtually a slave) HSS IX 11: 5, 28; 26: 3; G 77: 10; Sp. 80; Ch. 20: 19; RA 78: 4, 14; further lists of the shepherds of Silwatesup in HSS IX 49—65; *re²u ša ēkallim*, Ch. 20: 34.

ṣuḥāru (boy servant).

ṣú-ḥa-ru (N II 139: 7); I LÚ *ṣú-ḥa-ar qa-ti-ka₄* (HSS V 106: 12), *ṣuḥāru 2 am-māti ardu* (HSS IX 13: 5); *ṣuḥāru ša 2 ammāti u ṣmalūti* (N III 312: 11).

ṣuḥartu (girl servant).

ṣuḥartu G 82: 24, 26, 29; HSS V 37: 10, 17; 68: 35; *ṣu-ḥa-ar-tù ki-i li-iq-ti* (HSS IX 96: 11); *ṣuḥartu amtu* (HSS V 37: 2, 5).

šipru (Id. QI or written phonetically), »work».

šipru, HSS IX 88: 19; *šipirtu*, HSS V 1: 19. The following verbs are employed with *šipru*:

1) *anāḥu*, »to desert» (*ú-ta-na-ḥu*, HSS V 105: 22); Cf *anāḥu*, »to take pains, to work» (*ma-na-ḥa-tu*, »produce of the work», HSS V 60: 6; 67: 6; 71: 26; 74: 8; 73: 6; N I 8: 13).

2) *epēšu* (HSS V 40: 10, 105: 17, 21; HSS IX 4: 16; N III 314: 26); *šipru i-ti-šu-du* (Sub.term, or $\sqrt{ešēdu}$?) *epēšu*, N II 123: 5, 8:

3) *ḥalāqu*, »to perish» (*ina šipri ḥ.*, N I 293: 11).

4) *paṭāru* (*ina šipri p.*, »to set oneself free from the work». N III 306: 12.

5) *rēqu* (*ina šipri r.* »to be absent from the work», N III 312: 20).

6) *warādu*, »to descend» (*ina šipri la ūridū*, HSS V 105: 6).

7) *ezēbu* »to desert», N III 302: 11; 317: 16; note to 32: 29.

Index.

- $\sqrt{abātu}$ (to flee away) 29: 18
abbuttu (slave-mark) 1: 7
Adoption, real, p. 73—75; sale-adoption, p. 59—60
aššat ardi 2: 31
aššum awāti annāti, 4: 23
amurrū, p. 32, p. 65.
aweharu (Sub. measure) 11: 5
awēlū u sinnišāti (male and female servants) 33: 2
 $\sqrt{balkatu}$ IV_{1, 2} (to break the agreement) 9: 17
Bridal price, p. 75—77
Children, born free or born of slaves, p. 76, born into slavery, p. 77, pledged
into servitude, p. 36, 73
Cloak of a slave, p. 80
Concubine, p. 77
Creditor, p. 71—73
damqu (healthy) 9: 6, 8
Debtor, p. 60—61, 71—73
dimtu (area, estate) 26: 6, p. 67, n. 1
elteqī u aplākūmi (I received and am paid) 10: 28; 14: 24
 $\sqrt{elū}$, »to appear» (in a lawsuit) 5: 4
Enslavement for economical conditions, p. 58—60; in case of Ḫabiru, p. 61—63
ēntu (high priestess) 6: 4
epra u lubušta (food and clothing) 13: 12
 $\sqrt{erēbu}$, »to enter» (under one's authority) 7: 10
 $\sqrt{erēšu}$ (to demand) 2: 8
Female slaves, see slave names, p. 81 ff.
Fine, paid in slaves, p. 70, 78
Fugitive slave, p. 78
Guarantee, against legitimate claims, 9: 14; p. 69, 71 — against illegitimate
claims, *ina arki lā išassī*, 21: 16—18; p. 71, 72, n. 4
 $\sqrt{habālu}$ (to be indebted) 24: 7
 $\sqrt{halāqu}$ (to run away) 5: 5, (to get lost) 29: 18

- ḥašahušennu* (quality of silver) 14: 3, 12
ḥazannūta epēšu 32: 41
Hurili (a month) 10: 34
 (River of) *huršān*, (of the water ordeal) 4: 24
huzzuru (examination) 1: 9
ilku (feudal tasks) 10: 22
ilmū (= *mušelwū*) 10: 39
ina bābi ašābu 13: 24
ina qitrī (as a gift) 15: 6
inassaq u iliqqī (shall choose and take) 18: 13
 Inheritance, p. 45, 74, 76
ištu bīšunu (at their own expense) 21: 26
kallatūtu, p. 74—75, 19: 1
 $\sqrt{la'ābu}$, (to become excited) 2: 15
 $\sqrt{lapātu}$ (to lay hold of) 1: 7
 $\sqrt{le'ū}$ (to prevail) 2: 23
lišānu-formula p. 69—70
māḥiṣ pūti (guaranter) 9: 12
martūtu, p. 74—75, 19: 1
massatuḥlu (constable) 2: 36
 Merchant, p. 68, 70
mullū (to pay as compensation, fine) 9: 17 etc.; *ana mullī*, 2: 26
nadinānu 10: 46
 $\sqrt{nadū}$ (to fine) 2: 26
nagū (building ground) 12: 6
nasqu (selected) 9: 6, 8
 Nursing a child, p. 80
 Offspring of slaves, p. 76—77
 Ordeal, p. 78—79.
pāni kašādu (to obtain pardon) 4: 31
paqirānu (claimant) 9: 14; p. 69, 71
 Penal clause p. 67, 69, 70—71
pirqu (claim) 10: 19; 21: 24; p. 69
 Pledge, see *titennūtu*
 Price of slaves, p. 70—74; a law laid down by the king, 30: 12—20.
puḥizarru (barter?) 8: 6
 Punishment, judicial, p. 78—79; extrajudicial, p. 77
 Purification oath, by 1) river ordeal, 1: 1; 4: 24; p. 60
 2) place of the gods, 3: 22, 37
 Points of the compass, p. 18.
qanna mašāru 11: 36, p. 69, n. 2

- qāsuma epēšu* (to strike) 2: 6, 17
qīštu »reward« (in sale-adoption) 10: 15
rēša kullu 15: 19
 Rights of slaves, p. 78—79; slave married with a free woman, p. 33, 76—77
rīhtu, (rest of payment), p. 42, 71
ruqqu (cauldron) 15: 3
 Sales of slaves, p. 68—69
šamallūtu (assistance) 16: 18
šaššuku (a tree) 4: 6
šasū (to dispute, to raise claims) 2: 21; 21: 19; p. 71, 72, n. 4
šatāru »to write« (a document) 2: 38; 10: 34 etc.
 Seal of a slave, p. 80
 Security, see *titennūtu*
šellūānu (plenipotentiary) 15: 15
šerru, see slave
 Settlement of property, p. 79
sianātum (headdress) 12: 11
 Slave-mark, p. 1, 80
 Slaves as officials, scribes, witnesses, guardians, deputies, p. 78—79
 Stolen slave, 1: 4
SU (synonymous to shekel) 14: 3, 9, 11, 12, 24 etc.
šūdūtu (proclamation) 30: 12
šuhāru (boy servant) 7: 5, 9, 12; 21: 10; 34: 1, 11; 35: 10
šumma (in oaths) 4: 6
šupeultu (exchange) 31: 1, 4
sūqu (street) 2: 17
šurrunna (immediately) 21: 12
taḥsiltu (memorandum note) 30: 24
tamkar 30: 16; *tamkarūtu*, p. 68
 Temporary servitude, p. 31
tidūkamma epēšu (to fight) 2: 5, 14
tirhatu, p. 75—77
titennūtu, 7: 10; p. 72—73
 Trade with slaves, p. 68
untu (*ultu*, *ištu*) 4: 38
 Upkeep of a slave, p. 73
uriḫul (upkeep) 32: 32
 Usufruct, 7: 10; usufructuary, p. 73, n. 1, see *titennūtu*
 Women, as owners of slaves, p. 60—61
zittu (inheritance portion) 10: 13
zukkū (to declare free) 9: 15; 14: 16 p. 69,
 Studia Orientalia V 3

Bibliographical abbreviations and notes.

- AASOR = The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, New Haven: Yale University Press.
- ADD = JOHNS, Assyrian Deeds and Documents, I—IV, Cambridge 1898—1923.
- AJSL = The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, Chicago.
- AO = Der alte Orient. Gemeinverständliche Darstellungen, herausgegeben von der vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig.
- APN = TALQVIST, Assyrian Personal Names. Acta Soc. Scient. Fennicae, XLIII, Helsingfors, 1918.
- BABR = KOSCHAKER, Babylonisch-Assyrisches Bürgerschaftsrecht, Leipzig 1911.
- BE = The Bab. Exped. of the Univ. of Pennsylvania. Ser. A: Cuneiform texts, Philadelphia, 1893 ff.
- Ch. = CHERA-SPEISER, Selected »Kirkuk« documents in JAOS 47, p. 36—60, 1927.
- CT = Cuneiform texts from Babylonian tablets in the British Museum, London.
- G. GADD = GADD, Tablets from Kerkuk (Ra XXIII, p. 49—461), 1926.
- HSS V = CHERA, Excavations at Nuzi I. Tablets of varied contents (Harvard Semitic Series V) Cambridge U.S.A., 1929.
- HSS IX = Excavations at Nuzi, Volume [II. The archives of Shilwateshubson of the king. Selected and copied by Robert H. PFEIFFER. — Harvard Semitic Series, Cambridge U.S.A., 1932.
- JAOS. = Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven.
- JENu = Joint Expedition at Nuzi (American Schools of Oriental Research with the Iraq Museum).
- KAH = MESSERSCHMIDT, SCHROEDER, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts. Berlin.
- KAT = SCHRADER, Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament. 3. Aufl. von WINCKLER u. ZIMMERN.
- KB = Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek. Berlin.
- KDFL = SPEISER, New Kirkuk Documents relating to Family Laws. AASOR, X (1928—1929).
- KDST = SPEISER, New Kirkuk documents relating to security transactions, AJSL, Dec. 1932, March 1933.
- KH = Kodex Hammurapi, in Délégation en Perse, DE MORGAN.
- MVAG = Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig.

- N I = CHIERA, Joint expedition with the Iraq Museum at Nuzi. Inheritance texts. American Schools of Oriental research. Publications of the Baghdad School. Vol. I, Paris 1927.
 N II = Declarations in court. Vol. II, Paris 1930.
 N III = Exchange and security Documents. Vol. III, Paris 1931.
 NKRA = KOSCHAKER, Neue Keilschriftliche Rechtsurkunden aus der el-Amarna-Zeit. Abh. der Philol.-Hist. Klasse der Sächs. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Band XXXIX, no. 5. Leipzig 1928.
 OLZ = Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, Leipzig.
 PSBA = Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.
 RA = Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale, Paris.
 RORH = KOSCHAKER, Über einige Griechische Rechtsurkunden aus den Östlichen Randgebieten des Hellenismus. Abh. der Philol.-Hist. Klasse der Sächs. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Band XLII, no. 1. Leipzig, 1931.
 RSGH = KOSCHAKER, Rechtsvergleichende Studien zur Gesetzgebung Hammurapis, Leipzig 1917.
 SMN = Harvard Semitic Museum: Nuzi (catalogue number).
 TCL IX = CONTENAU, Contrats et lettres d'Assyrie et de Babylonie, 1926.
 VAB = Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, Leipzig.
 VAB V = SCHORR, Urkunden des altbabylonischen Zivil- und Prozessrechts, 1913.
 VAB VI = UNGNAD, Babylonische Briefe aus der Zeit der Hammurapi-Dynastie, 1914.
 ZA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete, Berlin—Leipzig.
 ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig.
 ŠL II = DEIMEL, Šumerisches Lexicon, Roma, 1. Aufl., II Teil.

BORK, Die Mitannisprache, MVAG XIV 1/2.

DAVID, Die Adoption im altbabylonischen Recht. Leipziger Rechtswissenschaftliche Studien von Leipziger Juristen-Fakultät, Heft 23, Leipzig 1927.

JIRKU, Die Wanderungen der Hebräer im 3. u. 2. Jahrtausend v. Ch. AO.

KRAUS, Altbabylonische Briefe.

LANDSBERGER, Habiru u. Lulajhu. Kleinasiatische Forschungen, Leipzig.

MEISSNER, Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht. Leipzig, 1893.

MESSERSCHMIDT, Mitanni-Studien, MVAG IV 4.

MEYER, Die Sklaverei im Altertum, Kleine Schriften, Halle, 1910.

SAN NICOLÒ-UNGNAD, Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden, Leipzig.

SPEISER, Mesopotamian Origins, Philadelphia, 1930.

Excursion: A family of scribes.

Out of the 318 published tablets which are furnished with a scribal name, I have counted 231 documents written by 70 different scribes bearing Subarean names and 87 documents written by scribes with Akkadian names. The most important scribe is Taya, son of *Apil-SIN*, represented by 60 tablets, next to him his son Ithapihi, by 49 tablets. Greatest of the Akkadian names is *Rēš-dIrsitim* (*SAG-dKI*) represented by 13 tablets (HSS V 3, 12, 14, 16, 18, 39, 56, 88, 89, 91, 95, 98, 100; in nine cases written *SAG-KI*).

Below we find for each member of the family of Taya one provenance, selected so as to give both the scribal profession as well as the name of the father. (Ennasukru and Kiannipu are not mentioned as scribes, but as witnesses, Taya being the scribe; Cf. NKRA, p. 13, note 2).

A-ki-ia TCL IX 12: 33

Al-ki-te-šup HSS V 58: 25

A-pil-SIN N III 222: 36 (not mentioned as a scribe)

Ar-ta-še-en-ni N I 77: 33

E-mu-ka₄ N II 126: 40

En-na-šuk-rù N I 94: 27

Hu-ti₄-ia N III 306: 19; *Hu-ti-ia* N II 140: 23; N III 314: 45

It-ḥa-pi-ḥé HSS V 61: 18 *It-ḥa-pi-ḥi* N I 54, 55, 57, 63, 80 etc.

Ki-an-ni-pu (*Iti-ili-ni-bu?*) N III 274: 20

Ni-ra-ri HSS V 40: 28

Ša-ar-te-šup HSS V 41: 35

dŠamaš(UTU)-da-am-mi-iq N II 192: 27

dŠamaš-šulūli (*dUTU-AN . SAG*) HSS V 90: 22; N III 265: 47

dŠamaš-nāšir (*dUTU-PAP*) HSS V 15: 50

Šarru(LUGAL)-muš-ta-al N III 270: 27

Si-ni CT II 21: 29

dSIN-na-din-šumu (*MU*) N III 256: 39

Šum-libšūšī (*MU-GÁL^{šī}*) N II 155: 30; (NKRA Mukallim = *Mu-līb-šī*)

Ta-a-a N III 222: 36

Ti-la-kur (*TI . LA-KUR*) N III 235, 240, 244, 263, 275; *Ti-la-ḥi* N I 76: 31

(probably a scribal error).

Tù-ra-ar-te-šup HSS V 22: 23

Tu-ra-ri HSS IX 17: 24

^mWa-qar-Bēl (*EN*) N II 215: 26.

Apil-Sin

