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# Were there only merchants at Aššur and Kaneš? Overview of professions attested in the Old Assyrian Sources

Cécile Michel

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DİL VE TARİH-COĞRAFYA FAKÜLTESİ  
ESKİÇAĞ DİLLERİ VE KÜLTÜRLERİ BÖLÜMÜ  
SUMEROLOJİ ANABİLİM DALI  
Yayınları No: 417



CAHİT GÜNBAĞI'YA ARMAĞAN

# CAHİT GÜNBAĞI'YA ARMAĞAN

STUDIES IN HONOUR OF CAHİT GÜNBAĞI



**Editörler/Editors**  
İrfan ALBAYRAK  
Hakan EROL  
Murat ÇAYIR

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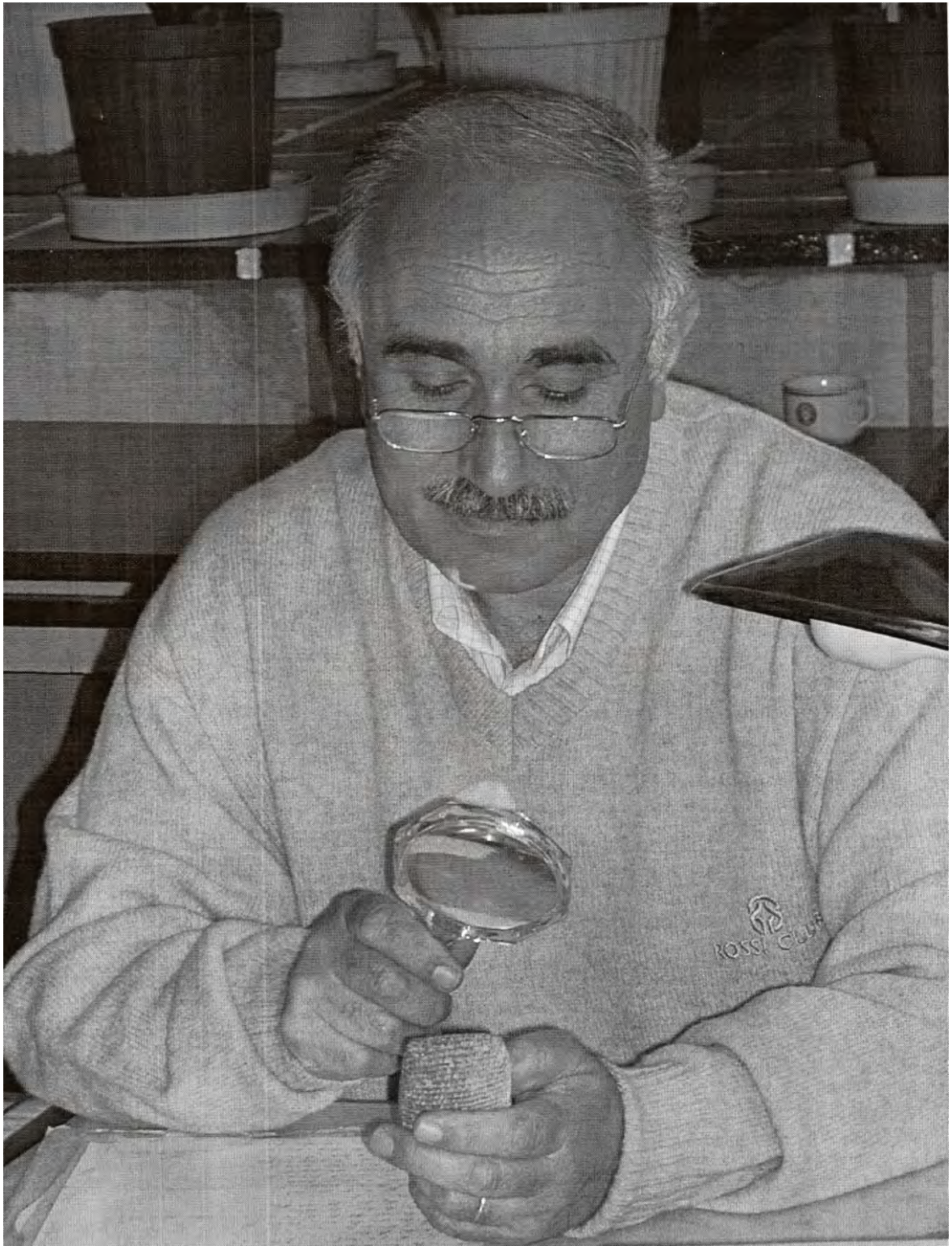
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## SUNUŞ

Türkiye’de Eskiçağ Dilleri ve Kùltürleri alanındaki çalıřmalar Avrupa merkezli arařtırmalarla karřılařtırıldıđında oldukça ge bařlamıřtır. Bu konudaki ilk kurumsal giriřim 1930’lu yıllarda Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Cođrafya Fakùltesi’nde Sumeroloji ve Hititoloji kürsülerinin açılması olmuřtur. Prof. Dr. Benno Landsberger’in kurduđu Sumeroloji kürsüsünde yetiřen ilk nesil Türk uzmanlar arasında Prof. Dr. Emin Bilgi, Prof. Dr. Kemal Balkan, Prof. Dr. Kadriye Yalva, Prof. Dr. Mebrure Tosun gibi, ok deđerli bilim insanları yer almaktadır. Burada isimleri zikredilen uzmanların her biri Türkiye’de Eskiađ Dilleri ve Kùltürleri konusunda ok önemli eserler vermiř ve bugün Türk Üniversite ve Müzelerinde alıřan birok deđerli arařtırmacıyı yetiřirmiřlerdir. Hocamız Prof. Dr. Cahit Günbattı ikinci kuřak Sumerolog olarak yetiřmiřtir. Kendisi hem müze arřivi ve kazı alıřmaları hem de akademik yařamda edindiđi meslekî birikim ve yazdıđı bilimsel eserleriyle, iviyazısı Arařtırmaları ve Eskiađ Tarihi konularında ùlkemizin en yetkin uzmanlardan birisi olmuřtur.

1980’li yıllarda Prof. Dr. Emin Bilgi Bařkanlıđında kurulan ve ierisinde Türk ve yabancı bilim insanlarının yer aldıđı “Kùltepe Tabletleri Yayın Heyeti”nin alıřmaları sayesinde Eski Anadolu tarihi hakkında bilgi veren iviyazılı materyaller daha sistemli ve hızlı bir řekilde yayınlanmaya bařlamıřtır. Bu Yayın Heyeti’nin bir üyesi olan Prof. Dr. Cahit Günbattı Türk Tarih Kurumunca basılan “Ankara Kùltepe Tabletleri” bařlıklı seride tekli veya oklu yazar isimleriyle kıymetli eserler yayınlamıřtır. Özellikle 2000’li yıllardan sonra Kùltepe’de ortaya ıkarılan iviyazılı metinleri, titiz bir alıřma ile arařtırmacıların istifadesine sunan Hocamızın eserleri, Türk ve yabancı meslektařlar tarafından heyecanla tâkip edilmektedir.

Prof. Dr. Cahit Günbattı, bugün Türkiye Müzelerinin tablet arřivlerinde alıřan filologların ve Üniversitelerimizin Eskiađ Tarihi bölümlerinde arařtırma yapan uzmanların önemli bir kısmının yetiřmesine dođrudan veya dolaylı katkı sađlamıř bir bilim insanıdır. Biz, önce lisans ve lisansüstü seviyelerde öđrencisi ve ardından meslektařı olduđumuz iin kendimizi řanslı addediyoruz. Hocamızın, meslekî ve yařamın diđer alanlarına iliřkin tecrübeleri her zaman yolumuzu aydınlatmıřtır. Hocamıza müteřekkirliliđimizi bir nebze olsun gösterebilmek iin “Cahit Günbattı’ya Armađan” bařlıklı bu kitabı hazırladık. 2012 yılında saha uzmanlarından makale talebiyle bařladıđımız yayın sürecinin her ařaması bizim iin ayrı bir heyecan ve tecrübe olmuřtur. Bu vesileyle, 15 řubat 2014’te emekli olan Hocamız Prof. Dr. Cahit Günbattı iin hazırladıđımız bu kitaba yazılılarıyla destek veren, Sumerolog, Hititolog ve Eskiađ Tarihisi meslektařlarımıza bizi yalnız bırakmadıkları iin ok teřekkür ediyoruz. Ayrıca, bu kitabın basılması konusunda verdikleri destek nedeniyle Dil ve Tarih-Cođrafya Fakùltesi Dekanlıđına ve Ankara Üniversitesi Rektörlüđüne teřekkürlerimizi sunuyoruz.

Hayatını müze arřivlerindeki yazılı belgeler bařta olmak üzere, kazılar, yüzey arařtırmaları ve diđer akademik faaliyetlerle geirmiş ve aynı heyecanla alıřmalarını sürdüren Deđerli Hocamız Prof. Dr. Cahit Günbattı’ya sađlık ve huzur dolu uzun bir ömür diliyoruz.

Eylül 2015

İrfan Albayrak  
Hakan Erol  
Murat ayır





## **PROF. DR. CAHİT GÜNBATTI'NİN ÖZGEÇMİŞİ**

Prof. Dr. Cahit Günbattı 15 Şubat 1947 yılında Kırşehir'de doğdu. İlk, orta ve lise öğrenimini bu ilde tamamladı. 1965'te A.Ü. Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Sumeroloji Kürsüsüne kaydoldu. 1970 yılının Şubat döneminde bu kürsüden mezun oldu. Mezuniyetinin ardından ilk görev yeri olan Tire Müzesine atandı ve iki yıla yakın burada çalıştı. 1972 yılı Nisan döneminde Yedek Subay Öğrencisi olarak Tuzla Piyade Okuluna katıldı. Kıta hizmetini Sarıkamış'ta tamamlayarak, Eylül 1973'te terhis oldu.

1973-1980 yılları arasında Kayseri ve Ankara Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzelerinde görev yaptı. Bu süreler içerisinde Adilcevaz-Kefkalesi, Hacıbektaş-Sulucakarahöyük ve Alaca-Eskiyapar kazılarında heyet üyesi veya Kültür Bakanlığı kazı temsilcisi olarak katıldı. 1980 yılında Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Sumeroloji Anabilim Dalına asistan olarak atandı. 1980'de "Eski Babil Devri'nde Mülkiyet" konulu yüksek lisans; 1984'te "Yazılı Belgelere Göre, Sumer III. Ur ve Sâmi Eski Babil Devletlerinde Şahsî Mülkiyet" konusundaki doktora çalışmalarını tamamladı. 1987'de Yardımcı Doçent, 1989'da Doçent, 1995'te Profesör oldu. 1994 yılı içerisinde altı ay süreyle Hollanda-Leiden Üniversitesinde, Prof. Dr. Klaas R. Veenhof rehberliğinde meslekî çalışmalar yaptı.

1989'dan itibaren 12 yıl süreyle Sumeroloji Anabilim Dalı Başkanlığı; 3 yıl Eskiçağ Dilleri ve Kültürleri Bölümü Başkanlığı ve 1 yıl Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dekan Yardımcılığı görevlerini yürüttü. 15 Şubat 2014'te emekli oldu.



## PROF. DR. CAHİT GÜNBATTI'NIN BİLİMSEL ESERLERİ

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## WERE THERE ONLY MERCHANTS AT AŠŠUR AND KANEŠ? OVERVIEW OF PROFESSIONS ATTESTED IN THE OLD ASSYRIAN SOURCES

Cécile MICHEL\*

One of the very first papers published by Cahit Günbattu, in 1987, concerned a join he had made between two tablet fragments discovered at Kültepe, on the citadel,<sup>1</sup> and dated to the 18<sup>th</sup> century BC (level Ib of the lower town). The biggest fragment, found in 1955 (Kt g/t 42), had already been published by E. Bilgiç,<sup>2</sup> while the second small fragment, found in 1972 (Kt z/t 11), was still unpublished. This reconstructed text gives a list of about one hundred Anatolian civil servants who are under the supervision of the local palace high officials identified by their titles; it ends with two slaves (*urdum*).<sup>3</sup> Among the officials, are several overseers or heads of various palace sectors, referred to as *rabi* (GAL)+substantive (gen.): *rabi sikkitim* (1.4), *rabi abullātīm* (1.8) “chief of the city gates”, *rabi rē'im* (l. 11, 26) “chief of herdsmen”, *rabi huršātīm* (l. 36) “chief of storehouses”, and *rabi šāqē* (l. 45) “chief cupbearer”.

In addition to the Assyrian titles beared by Anatolians, what do we know about professions carried out by the populations of Kaneš and Aššur? By profession or job, we mean an occupation or a position that is paid, independent of any training and qualification.<sup>4</sup> The archives found in Kaneš lower city, as well as in Hattuš and Amkuwa, are merchant’s archives and thus are mainly concerned by trade. Several professions connected to the international exchanges between Aššur and Anatolia are, indeed, well-described. Making an inventory of jobs which also deal with sectors other than trade seems then a rather difficult task. When a profession is attested in a tablet, the context is usually terse – they often appear in distribution lists – and does not give clues about the activities covered by this profession. Moreover, since, most of the time, professionals are anonymous, it is often impossible to distinguish between professions carried out either by Assyrians or by Anatolians. As well, the social status of the people associated to each profession remains unknown. Hence, this paper dedicated to my friend and colleague Cahit Günbattu intends to give an idea of the various occupations of the Assyrians and Anatolians documented by the Old Assyrian archives.

---

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<sup>1</sup> Kt g/t 42 was excavated in the ruins of the northern wall of the western gate of the citadel (Özgiç 1986, 21); nothing is said for Kt z/t.

<sup>2</sup> Bilgiç 1964, 149-150, no. 2.

<sup>3</sup> 69 persons (*qaqqadātum*) can be counted; more were cited in the broken parts of the tablet.

<sup>4</sup> It is important to distinguish between an occupation and a legal or economic status. For example, the word *hapirum* refers to displaced persons; these persons could occasionally be affected to specific occupations.

## 1. Occupations and titles of Anatolian and Assyrian officials

Beside the titles of Anatolian officials with whom the Assyrian merchants were in contact, Kaneš tablets give those of the Assyrian rulers and officials from Aššur, and, more linked to our topic, some occupations of few Assyrian eponyms.

### 1.1. Anatolian officials working for the local palace

The Anatolian *rubā'um* “prince”<sup>5</sup> and occasionally *rubātum* “princess” were assisted by an important staff of officials in charge of different sectors, workers, and artisans. The archives excavated in merchants’ houses located in Kültepe lower town give about fifty such titles for Anatolian officials. This suggests a complex palace administration divided in different economical departments. K. R. Veenhof gave recently a detailed alphabetic inventory of these titles.<sup>6</sup> Even if we know very little about their activities, their hierarchy and the sectors in which they were involved may be guessed from their occupational names.

The most important official was the crown prince, *rabi simmiltim* “chief the stairs”. Below him were the *rabi sikkatim*, who had commercial and military responsibilities, and the *rabi huršātim*, “chief of warehouses,” who was in charge of the palace storage units. The *rabi sikkatim* supervised the “chief of the troops,” *rabi ummanātīm*, and the “chief of the market” *rabi mahīrim*. Important officials were also the “majordomo,” *rabi bētim*, who supervised the palace domain, and the “chief of the gates,” *rabi abullātīm*, who oversaw the palace entrances, along with the “chief of the porters,” *rabi ūtu'ē*, and assisted by the “chief of the guards,” *rabi mašsarātīm*. There were other high officials whose responsibilities remain unclear, as the “second in command,” *šinahilum*, or the “steward” (*alahhinnum*).

The prince personal staff was composed of the “chief scepter-bearer,” *rabi haṭṭim*, the “chief cup-bearer,” *rabi šāqē*, and the “chief of the tables” *rabi paššūrē*, the “chief vizier,” *rabi šukkallim*, the “chief of the heralds,” *rabi nāgirē*, the “chief of the messengers,” *rabi lāsimē*, and the “chief of the interpreters,” *rabi targumannē*.

The titles of three high officials were referred to the persons under their orders: the “chief of the men” *rabi awīlē*, the “chief of the workers” *rabi šābē/šābim*, and the “chief of the slaves” *rabi urdē*. The *rabi šābē* supervised the various heads of the different crafts (*rabi nappāhē*, “chief the metalworkers”, *rabi kakkē* “chief of the arms, *rabi kittātīm* “chief of the linens”, *rabi ašlākē* “chief of washers”). Each of the agricultural task had also its own chief: *rabi še'ē* “chief of the barley”, *rabi adrim* “chief of the threshing floor”, *rabi kiriātīm* “chief of the gardens”, *rabi nuk(i)ribbē* “chief of the gardeners”, *rabi ūrqē* “chief of the vegetables”, *rabi kirānim* “chief of the wine”, *rabi sisē* “chief of the horses”, *rabi perdim* “chief of the mules”, *rabi kalbātīm* “chief of the dogs”, *rabi alpātīm* “chief of the oxen”, *rabi rē'ē/rē'im* “chief of the shepherds”, *rabi šamnim* “chief of the oil”, *rabi ešše* “chief of the wood”, *rabi ṭābātīm* “chief of the salts”. Religious matters were under the supervision of the *rabi šarīqē* “chief of the oblates” and the *rabi niqē* “chief of offerings”.

<sup>5</sup> The Akkadian term *šarrum* “king” was used in the plural as *šarrānum* during the level Ib to refer to “petty kings”, vassals of the princes of Mamma and Kaniš; Balkan 1957. The Sumerian word *lugal* was used as an equivalent of the Akkadian term *rubā'um* in the expression *lugal gal*, meaning “Great Prince” (*rubā'um rabi'um*).

<sup>6</sup> Veenhof 2008a, 220-233. This author considers that the *kaššum* is “a general designation that substitutes for a specific title or function”, thus it is not included in the list presented here. See also Michel 2014.



Other functions of Anatolian officials are mentioned in the texts, but we have no clue about their respective roles and powers: *šakkanakkum* “governor”, *šāpirum* “administrator”, *bēl mātim* “lord of the land”, *bēl ālim* “town prefect” (who could have a *bēl(at) bētim* “majordomo” under his orders), *nāšir ālim* “protector of the city”, and *barullum rabium* “chief”.

### 1.2. Aššur officials and occupations of the *līmum*

In Aššur, the ruler was referred to by several titles: *rubā’um* “the big one”, *waklum* “overseer” and *iššiak* <sup>d</sup>Aššur, the “divinely appointed governor of the city-god Aššur.”<sup>7</sup> In legal and administrative matters, the king shared his power with the assembly (*ālum* “the City”) who could send orders or rules to the Assyrian authorities at Kaneš by the *šiprum ša ālim* “messenger/envoy of the City (assembly)”. The City Hall, well studied by J. G. Dercksen, was headed by the current *līmum* “eponym”.<sup>8</sup> Several other officials were attached to this institution as the *laputtā’um* (nu-bānda) “steward”, a high-ranking official, the *līmum ša še’im* “*līmum* of barley”, responsible of the distribution of barley in Aššur, the *līmum ša kaspim* “*līmum* of silver”,<sup>9</sup> the *nibum* official, involved in the financial affairs of the Assyrian institutions in Anatolia, the *mūši’um*, who levied the export tax, the *birum* functionaries, who could also work for the *bēt kārim*, managed goods of the City Hall, and the *tuṣšarrum* “secretary”.

The Kültepe Eponym List (or Revised Eponym List),<sup>10</sup> which gives the succession of the eponyms during levels II and Ib, shows that these individuals were not systematically investors or traders,<sup>11</sup> but could be referred to by other functions or occupations. Thus, we find in this list officials in charge of several commodities or objects for the palace as the *ša i-nun* (*ša himāṭim*, REL 25, Puzur-Aššur) who had to provide the palace with ghee, and the *ša kakkē* (REL 66, Amāya), in charge of the arms or the armoury. Others are linked to rare professions in Aššur as *malāhum* “boatman” (REL 106, Aššur-imitti, son of Ili-bāni), or religious ones as *kumrum* “priest” (*kumrum ša Suen* “priest of the Moon God” REL 107, Enna-Sîn son of Šū-Aššur), and *sangûm* “chief administrator of a temple” (REL 92, Elālī, son of Ikūnum).

### 1.3. Assyrian officials in Kaneš

In Kaneš, the assembly worked as a mirror of Aššur assembly and was subordinated to it; it was composed of tur gal (*šahher rabi*) “small and big (men)”. The institution had also its *līmū* who usually had been before *hamuštum* “week-eponym”, a function yet not well understood.<sup>12</sup> It also had a *tuṣšarrum* “secretary”, and *šiprū ša kārim* “envoys/messengers of the *kārum*”. The messengers of the *kārum* could travel with an escort, *muqarribum*, usually of composed of two persons.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Larsen 1976, 109-159.

<sup>8</sup> Dercksen 2004, 52-75.

<sup>9</sup> The word *līmum* is usually understood as ‘the one who gives his name to something’; in these two cases, he had a specific function and thus cannot be simply translated as ‘eponym’.

<sup>10</sup> KEL: Veenhof 2003a, esp. 25-27, Günbattu 2008a and 2008b; REL: Barjamovic, Hertel & Larsen 2012, esp. 92-97.

<sup>11</sup> As for example Abu-šalim, son of Ili-ālum (REL 129), dam-gār, and Ahu-waqar (REL 208), son of the dam-gār.

<sup>12</sup> Larsen 1976, 354-365; Veenhof 1996.

<sup>13</sup> TC 3, 165:46; AKT 5, 75:15-16; TPAK 1, 43a:8-9; AKT 6a 273:16’; Kt c/k 441:26 (courtesy J. G. Dercksen). For a pair of escorts, BIN 6, 120:11, 2 *mu-kà-ri-be-[en<sub>6</sub>]*; AKT 5, 4:7-8, 2<sup>št-na</sup>, *mu-qá-ri-bé*. For all these references see Veenhof 2008b, 228-229. See also Kt m/k 133:10 (courtesy K. Hecker), mentioned below note 23.

#### 1.4. Interpreters

In Anatolia, *targumannum* “professional interpreter” worked mainly for the institutions and officials, helping the relations between the two communities.<sup>14</sup> We know the names of several Assyrians paid as interpreters: Aššur-malik (AKT 3, 30:19-20; Kt m/k 153:18, courtesy K. Hecker), Ištar-pilah (AKT 5, 6:39-40), and Šumma-libbi-Aššur (CCT 4, 29b:6-7; Kt m/k 2:8-9, courtesy K. Hecker). The staff of the Anatolian palace had a *rabi targummanē* “chief of the interpreters”, suggesting thus that there were also Anatolians interpreters. These might have been able to speak the Old Assyrian dialect and other languages spoken by foreign traders, as Eblaites.<sup>15</sup>

#### 2. Trade professionals and occupations linked with the international trade

Since the Old Assyrian archives are written by and for merchants, they mention many occupations linked to trade. They have already been described in details.<sup>16</sup> Among these are, for example: *ummeānum*, “investor”, *tamkārum* “(Assyrian) merchant, creditor, agent”, *kaššarum* “harnesser, packer”, *sāridum* “donkey driver”. Some terms are less documented as the *šamallā'um*, a kind of agent who could administer the *naruqqum*-bag of a partnership,<sup>17</sup> or the *muštaqqitum* and the *muštēbbilum* who were also engaged in trade.<sup>18</sup> To this list, we may add the smuggler, *mupazzirum*, sometimes considered as a kind of “professional”, who could be paid to transport merchandise avoiding the custom posts.<sup>19</sup> Others are not specifically linked to the trade but often found in such context, as the *ša biltim*, local porter who could carry a “talent” (30 kg) of merchandise,<sup>20</sup> the *rādium*, guide or escort, paid by the merchant in certain difficult or dangerous areas,<sup>21</sup> special type of courier or messenger as the *g/qārišum*, etc.<sup>22</sup> Caravans could also be in contact with guards, *maššartum*, posted on the way.<sup>23</sup>

More general terms may also be used within the context of trade, as for example the *šuhārum* “servant” who can often be considered as an “employee”.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Ulshöfer 2000; Michel 2010, 5.

<sup>15</sup> For the presence of people from Ebla in Kaneš, see Bilgiç 1992.

<sup>16</sup> Garelli 1963, 233-263, 299-317; Larsen 1967, 15-18; Larsen 1977; Garelli 1997; Dercksen 1999; Dercksen 2000; Michel 2001, chapter 3; Veenhof 2008a, 79-82, 90-93.

<sup>17</sup> Larsen 1977, 126-127.

<sup>18</sup> *Muštaqqitum*: CCT 1 19a:9; TPAK 116:5-7, *ha-mu-uš-tim*, *ša Kur-ub-Ištar*, *mu-uš-ta-qi-tim* (participle of *šaqašum* II/2). *Muštēbbilum*: VS 26, 10:21; Kt 01/k 325a:20 (participle of *wabālum* III/2). See also KTP 3: 6'-7', *ra-dī-am*, *mu-uš-tē-bi-lam* ‘an active escort’. Other words following similar construction are not yet translated, as the *mušāridum*, whose role in the trade remains unsure. We know the names of several of them: ATHE 14:13-14, *A-šur-i-dī*, *mu-ša<sup>1</sup>(TA)-ri-dum*; TC 3, 264:B2 *Zu-pá : mu-ša-ri-dim*; TTC 3:7-8, *A-zu*, *mu-ša-ri-dum*; ICK 2, 304:9, *[X-x]-i-lí mu-ša-ri-dim*; Kt 91/k 133 :3 (courtesy K. R. Veenhof), (seal impression A), *kišib Iš-me-dingir dumu A-šur-ma-lik*, *mu-ša-ri-dim*; Kt 94/k 788:15-17 (courtesy M. T. Larsen), *En-na-nim*, *mu-ša-ri-dim*; Kt 94/k 1622 :6' (courtesy M. T. Larsen), *En-na-nim mu-ša-ri-/dim*. See Larsen 1976, 155-156; Veenhof 1972, 318, n. 439.

<sup>19</sup> KTS 1, 16:22; OIP 27, 10:8; TC 1, 81:17.

<sup>20</sup> Dercksen 1996, 61.

<sup>21</sup> Michel 2008; Barjamovic 2011, 38-41.

<sup>22</sup> Veenhof 2008b, 216

<sup>23</sup> Kt m/k 133:4-11 (courtesy K. Hecker), 1/3 gín 15 še *a-na*, 5 [š]a *ma-ša-ra-tim-ma ša a-na*, [t]í-tù-ri-im i-li-ku, [1] 1/2 gín kù-babbar 3 gín an-na, [a-n]a *ša tí-tù-ri-im*, [4 1/4 g]ín an-na *a-na*, [mu-qā]-ri-bi<sub>4</sub>-ni, [ša tí-t]ù-ri-im. Barjamovic 2011, 48-51.

<sup>24</sup> The partner *tappā'um* does not correspond to a profession.

### 3. Professions linked to material culture

Beside officials and trade professionals, several occupations are attested for Assyrians and for Anatolians; some sectors are absent from the texts. Activities linked to daily life are often not written down. However, since we are dealing with private archives, professions connected to material culture are occasionally mentioned.

#### 3.1. Food

The Old Assyrian archives do not often quote professions linked to food production, because meals were prepared at home by women. However, several such occupations are mentioned, dealing with the production, the preparation or the sale of ingredients.

An Anatolian “cook”, *nuh(i)timnum*, named Perua, is attested in a distribution list involving other Anatolians.<sup>25</sup> Another cook, presumably an Akkadian living in the time of Sargon of Akkad, is mentioned in one of the very rare Old Assyrian literary texts, the Tale of Sargon, published by C. Günbattu: “My cook let the shank burn and as punishment he slaughtered a hundred oxen and two hundred sheep, and served (them) to my servants.”<sup>26</sup> Two documents refer to a “confectioner” – *i.e.* cook specialized in pastries, *kakardinnum*. An Assyrian named Urdum appears as such together with other Assyrians, among whom a scribe.<sup>27</sup> Another Assyrian, also confectioner, received silver for his *taqribtum*-offerings.<sup>28</sup> No butcher is attested as a person, but in a letter, a merchant asks for a good butcher’s knife, which suggests the existence of such a profession.<sup>29</sup> In the house of Aššurnādā in Kaneš, two female millers, *tē’ittum*, were employed to grind cereals into flour.<sup>30</sup> This task was usually performed by specialized slave girls, either in Aššur<sup>31</sup> or in Anatolia.<sup>32</sup>

In Anatolia, merchants could buy beer to innkeepers. Both male and female innkeepers are attested. An Assyrian “inn-keeper”, *sabium*, named Ennānum, witnessed in Kaneš different transactions.<sup>33</sup> In Hattuš, an Amorite “female inn-keeper”, *sabītum*, borrowed some silver to a woman, Tariša, wife of Dāya.<sup>34</sup>

There were also merchants specialized in the trade of specific food products. The oil peddler, *pāširum ša šamnīm*, received a small amount of silver in a distribution list.<sup>35</sup> The *ša šamnīm* the one who (deals with) oil” could also be an oil dealer, or an oil producer; at least two Anatolians are identified as such, Ilialiašū<sup>36</sup> and Tarikuda.<sup>37</sup> However, this last person is also known as working

<sup>25</sup> Kt 00/k 18: 6-7, 1 *a-pá-zu-ha, a-na Pè-ru-a nu-ùh-tí-mì*.

<sup>26</sup> Günbattu 1997, for further literature on this text see Michel 2003, 135; 2006b, 445; 2011, 431. Text Kt j/k 97:36-40, *nu-hi-tí-mì, ku-ur-<ší>-na-am : ú-ri-ir-ma, a-na ar-ni-šu : 1 me-et gu<sub>4</sub>/hi-a, 2 me-et udu-hi-a : iṭ-bu-ùh-/ma, ur-dí-a : ú-ša-ki-il<sub>5</sub>*.

<sup>27</sup> Prag I 496:17, *Ur-dum kà-kà-ar-dí-nu-um*.

<sup>28</sup> Kt 87/k 178:5-8 (courtesy K. Hecker), [x] *gín kù-babbar, ta-aq-ri-ba-TÁM<sup>1</sup>, ša kà-kà-ar-dí-nim, áš-qúl*.

<sup>29</sup> TC 1, 19:20-21, 1 *pá-at-ra-am na-aṭ-ba-ha-am*, sig<sub>5</sub>.

<sup>30</sup> TC 3, 88:12-15, é<sup>ti</sup> 2 *géme<sup>hi-tí</sup>-kà, ki-lá-al-tí-ma, ù tē-i-té-en<sub>6</sub> ki-la-a[l]-tí-m[a], a-na [ší-mì-im dí-ma]*.

<sup>31</sup> Kt c/k 266:33 (courtesy J. G. Dercksen).

<sup>32</sup> Kt 89/k 225:23-24 (courtesy Y. Kawasaki, quoted in Michel 1997a, 99 and note 37).

<sup>33</sup> ATHE 35:38-39, *igi En-na-nim, sà-be-e-em*; ICK 1 187:4, [igi] *En-na-nim sà-bi<sub>4</sub>-im*; TPAK 172:14'-16', *igi Sú-[en<sub>6</sub>-sipa], dumu En-na-nim, sà-be-e-em*.

<sup>34</sup> KBo 9, 10:3-4, *A-mu-ri-tim, sá-bi<sub>4</sub>-tim*.

<sup>35</sup> ATHE 14:21-22, 1 1/3 *gín kù-babbar pá-ší-ru-um, ša ì-giš*.

<sup>36</sup> KTH 37:13-14, *I-lá-li-ah-šu, ša ì-giš*.

<sup>37</sup> Kt m/k 24: 41, *Ta-ri-ku-da ša ì-giš*; Kt m/k 35 :40-41, *Ta-ri-ku-da, [ša ì-giš]* (both texts courtesy K. Hecker).

under the orders of a *rabi paššūrē*; he could thus be responsible for providing oil to the royal table.<sup>38</sup> A salt dealer, *ša tābtim*, sealed an unpublished document;<sup>39</sup> he was perhaps under the supervision of the *rabi tābātīm*, himself dependent of the *rabi sikkitim*.<sup>40</sup>

At last, Anatolian gardeners, *nukiribbum*, producing vegetables and fruits, appear several times in the Old Assyrian archives; they received small amounts of silver.<sup>41</sup> These professionals could have worked under the supervision of the *rabi nukiribbē*.<sup>42</sup> In Amkuwa, a gardener has been invited to drink beer with merchants as recorded by a list of expenses.<sup>43</sup> There were also several “shepherds”, *rē'um*, and other Anatolians in charge of animal breeding.<sup>44</sup>

### 3.2. Textile and leather

In Aššur, women bought the wool they needed to the nomads from the Suhûm who brought their herds nearby the city in order to pluck them.<sup>45</sup> In Anatolia, the sale of wool could be performed by the Assyrians or by specialized wool traders, *ša šaptim* “the one who (deals with) wool”.<sup>46</sup> The mention of weavers is exceptional because textile production was done at home, by women, in a private context; there is no attested institutional production of textiles. An Assyrian male weaver, *ušpārum*, named Šū-Bēlum, is attested as a recipient of a small amount of silver.<sup>47</sup> Both in Aššur and Anatolia, women would bring the textiles they weaved to a specialized male textile worker in charge of finishing and washing the textiles, the *ašlākum*, “washerman, cleaner”.<sup>48</sup>

Leather was worked by men. In Aššur, the leatherworkers, *aškāpum*, produced, among other things, straps for donkeys.<sup>49</sup> Both in Aššur and Anatolia, they also had to make leatherbags and sandals; these professionals are well attested in the Old Assyrian texts.<sup>50</sup>

### 3.3. Metal

The Assyrians exported tin in Anatolia. The tin was added to the local copper to produce bronze. Bronze was not traded but produced locally according to the needs. This explains why

<sup>38</sup> TPAK 1, 205:6-7, *Ta-ri-ku-« ku »-da'*, *ša ra-bi<sub>4</sub> pá-šu-ri* ; Veenhof 2003a, 25, note 39.

<sup>39</sup> Kt 86/k 153a:2-3, kišib *A-ta-[li]*, *ša tá-áb-tim*. Veenhof 2003a, 25; Marro & Michel 2013.

<sup>40</sup> Kt 97/k 149:1-3, kišib *Du-ma-na dumu Kà-ma-li-a*, (seal A), gal *tá-ba-tim ša gal sí-ki-tim*; Çayır 2013.

<sup>41</sup> Prag I 625:4, *i-na kù-babbar, pá-ni-im, ša nu-ki-ri-bi<sub>4</sub>*; Kt 73/k 14:27, 2 *nu-ki-ri-bu*; Kt 94/k 632:12-13, 5 1/4 gín kù-babbar *iš-tí, nu-ki-ri-bi-im* (courtesy M. T. Larsen).

<sup>42</sup> ICK 1, 111:10, 4 *ma-na kù<sup>1</sup>-babbar ša*, gal *nu-ki-ri-be*; Prag I 610:10, 2/3 *ma-na* 5 gín, *a-šu-mì*, gal *nu-ki-ri-be*; Kt 89/k 367:25 (courtesy Y. Kawasaki), *Ha-dí-a-ni*, gal *nu-ki-ri-ib-bu*.

<sup>43</sup> OIP 27, 10:24-27, 1/4 <gín> kù-babbar *a-na, ki-ri-im i-nu-mì, Bu-x-x nu-[ki]-ri-b[á]-a[m]*, *ni-sí-ú, a-dí-in*.

<sup>44</sup> ICK 1, 13:5-6 (Michel 2001, no. 102) mentions for example Hapuala, sheperd of the princess ; for Peruwa, the chief shepherd, see Dercksen 2008a. For Anatolian agricultural activities and trade in cereals, see Dercksen 2008b.

<sup>45</sup> Michel 2006a; Michel & Veenhof 2010; Michel *in press*.

<sup>46</sup> Kt 91/k 348:32 cited by Veenhof 2003a, 25.

<sup>47</sup> Prag I 436:15, [x] gín *Šu-Be-lúm [uš]-pá-ru-um*.

<sup>48</sup> K. Rendell:12, lines 5-13 of which are cited by Michel & Veenhof 2010, p. 249; Kt 73/k 14:28; CCT 5, 35c:5; OIP 27, 5 :3, 25; OIP 27, 6, 23. References to the washerman Hanūa: TC 1, 84:22-23; TC 1, 87:9, 21-22. Note also the reference of a washerman working for the prince: AKT 6a, 151:33, *aš-lá-ki-im ša ru-ba-im*.

<sup>49</sup> For the equipment of donkeys see Dercksen 2004, 270-285; but leather happens to be almost inexistant in the description.

<sup>50</sup> CCT 3 7b-8a :21-23, *maš-ki ša ba-ri, A-lá-hi-im ù i-a-tí, ki aš-kà-pi-im*; OIP 27, 34:7-8, *I-[na]-ar, aš-kà-pi-im*; TC 1 84:9, l. 16-18, *Ta-ar-ga-ša-an aš-kà-pi-im, ... Ha-pu-a-šu, aš-lá-ki-im*; TC 1, 87:18, *Ta-ar-ga-ša-an aš-kà-pi-im*, l.22-23, *Ha-pu-a-šu, aš-lá-ki-im*; CCT 5 35c:6.

there are so many “smiths”, *nappāhum*, mentioned in the Old Assyrian archives from Kaneš.<sup>51</sup> Several workshops have been excavated in the lower city of Kaneš. Workshops dated to level II were unearthed, in 1982, in the south-eastern part of the lower city, and a workshop found in 1995 produced a small archive.<sup>52</sup> For level Ib, workshops were excavated in the northern central part of the lower city.<sup>53</sup>

Texts document smiths, established in Kaneš, bearing Anatolian and Assyrian names:

Anatolians: Adua,<sup>54</sup> Hapuašu,<sup>55</sup> Ilališkan,<sup>56</sup> Kadudu,<sup>57</sup> Mal[a...],<sup>58</sup> Šuharpia,<sup>59</sup>

Assyrians: Aššur-malik,<sup>60</sup> Ennānum,<sup>61</sup> Kukuwa,<sup>62</sup> Puzur-Annā,<sup>63</sup> Šalim-bēlī.<sup>64</sup>

A merchant is identified as son of the smith.<sup>65</sup> We do not know much about the activities of the smiths in Kaneš; however, several smiths appear as recipient of copper, tin or iron.<sup>66</sup> In a personal account, Aššur-taklāku mentioned a payment to a smith who forged iron in the palace.<sup>67</sup>

### 3.4. Clay and stone

Compared to the enormous amount of vessels found at Kültepe, the potter is almost inexistent in the texts; this observation is valid for most of the cuneiform sources, except lexical lists and Ur III administrative texts.<sup>68</sup> There is a unique mention of a “potter”, *pahhārum*, as recipient of a small amount of silver in a private notice.<sup>69</sup> As well, the “mason” or “bricklayer”; *itinum*, who worked mainly with clay bricks but was also able to built houses with foundations in stones at Kaneš, is exceptionally attested: “In the presence of Peruwa, the mason”.<sup>70</sup>

Stone workers are not much attested and there is a unique reference to a “stone carver”, *parkullum*, usually in charge of engraving miniature scenes on cylinder seals; he is attested in a tablet dated to the level Ib and presumably coming from Northern Syria: “In the presence of Šušuku, the stone carver”.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Smiths are mentioned in ATHE 28: 8; CCT 1, 21a:6; CCT 1, 26b:9; Kt c/k 441:22; Kt g/t 36:27 2; Kt k/k 100:2 (courtesy K. Hecker); Kt t/k 9:13; Kt 91/k 466 (courtesy K. R. Veenhof); Kt 94/k 484:15 and 674:2 (courtesy M. T. Larsen); Prag I 429:48; RA 60, 99:4; among other texts.

<sup>52</sup> This archive will be studied by T. Hertel.

<sup>53</sup> Özgüç 1896, 39-51; Dercksen 1996, 71-76; Dercksen 2010, 110-114.

<sup>54</sup> Kt 94/k 518:19 (courtesy M. T. Larsen).

<sup>55</sup> CCT 5, 20a:3.

<sup>56</sup> Kt 94/k 788:23 (courtesy M. T. Larsen).

<sup>57</sup> TC 1, 84:18; TC 1, 87:19.

<sup>58</sup> Kt 94/k 978:9 (courtesy M. T. Larsen).

<sup>59</sup> Kt m/k 35:39-40 (courtesy K. Hecker).

<sup>60</sup> ATHE 14:12; BIN 6 190:8.

<sup>61</sup> Kt 94/k 292:2 (courtesy M. T. Larsen).

<sup>62</sup> Kt 94/k 689:15; Kt 94/k 978:7-8 (courtesy M. T. Larsen).

<sup>63</sup> Kt n/k 85:7-9 (courtesy S. Bayram) and Sturm 2001, 475-501.

<sup>64</sup> Kt 94/k 438:17 (courtesy M. T. Larsen).

<sup>65</sup> KTK 86: 11-12; Kt j/k 665:19; AKT 6a 197:20-21(dumu gal *nappāhum*). Kuraya is *rabi nappāhim* in Kt 94/k 158: 18-19 (text deciphered in 1995) and TC 3, 254:1.

<sup>66</sup> Copper: AKT 2 26:9; tin: CCT 1, 37b:13; KTS 1 57c:10; RA 59, 47:10; iron: Kt n/k 1686:4.

<sup>67</sup> Kt 94/k 208:26-29, 12 gín kù-babbar *a-na, na-pá-hi-im ša i-na, é-gal<sup>lim</sup> a-mu-tám, im-hu-šú*. This text belongs to the archives of Aššur-taklāku excavated in 1993 and beginning of 1994

<sup>68</sup> Sallaberger 1996; Steinkeller 1996.

<sup>69</sup> BIN 4, 169:10-11. Note that this reference is contested by the CAD P 23a which suggests, without clear reason, to correct it into *šú<sup>u</sup>-ha-ri-im*.

<sup>70</sup> Kt a/k 801b:4<sup>u</sup>-5<sup>u</sup>, *igi Pè-ru-wa, i-tí-nim*.

<sup>71</sup> Kt k/k 4:10, *igi Šu-šu-ku pá-ar-ku-li*.

### 3.5. Wood

There are several occurrences to “carpenters”, *naggārum*, either in Aššur or Kaneš, but once more, there is no indication about their activities. Tarām-Kūbi writes to her husband about the purchase of the carpenter’s house in Aššur.<sup>72</sup> A carpenter named Hapuašu is mentioned in a list of Anatolian professionals working for the crown prince,<sup>73</sup> and another carpenter appears in a broken context in a tablet from Amkuwa.<sup>74</sup>

Objects made of wood are occasionally attested in the Kaneš archives, but there is no indication about who manufactured them, except a unique mention of an Anatolian “bow maker”, *šasinnum*, called Wašibaša.<sup>75</sup>

## 4. Social and legal life

Several occupations deal with the daily lives of families and individuals. Others are linked to juridical matters. All these jobs are scarcely mentioned in the Old Assyrian sources.

### 4.1. Daily occupations

Because family was at the centre of the Assyrian society of Aššur and Kaneš, special attention was given to children, especially sons, who assured their parents the transmission of the family inheritance. Giving birth and raising children could be done with the help of some female professionals; these are however very rarely mentioned. The “midwife”, *šabsūtum*, appears as the mother’s name of a week eponym.<sup>76</sup> The “nurse”, *emiqtum*, could be paid with small amounts of silver.<sup>77</sup> This is also the case for the “wet nurse”, *mušēniqtum*.<sup>78</sup>

Men use to regularly go to “barbers”, *gallābum*, to shave their beard and cut their hairs. These appear as recipients of small amounts of silver; they could also be slaves, and thus sold.<sup>79</sup>

### 4.2. Legal professionals

Legal procedures involved some juridical occupations, most of which are not perfectly understood, and may even not correspond to a regular job.<sup>80</sup> “Judges”, *dayyānum*, for example, are often mentioned in relation to lawsuits.<sup>81</sup> They could render verdicts and execute final procedures or administer oaths. Collegially, they could also appear as arbitrating a case. According to T.

<sup>72</sup> CCT 3, 25= Michel 2001, no. 345:40-43, *bé-tám ša té-hi é<sup>ti</sup>-ni : qá-ra-be-e Puzúr-A-šùr, iš-a-ma-kum ša é na-ga-ri-im ká<sup>1</sup>(IK)-lá-šu, i-lá-qé<sup>1</sup>-ma : iš-tí pá-nim-ma : ú-šé-ba<sup>1</sup>-lá-kum*, “As to the carpenter’s house he will take the whole complex and will send you by the next (caravan news about it).”

<sup>73</sup> Kt g/t 36:14-15, *Ha-pu-a-šu na-ga-ru-um, i-na A-lim<sup>ki</sup> Ku-lu-na*.

<sup>74</sup> OIP 27, 32:7-8, [x x] gín kù-babbar, [š<sup>1</sup>-im] na-ga-ri-[im].

<sup>75</sup> Kt 94/k 518:18 (courtesy M. T. Larsen).

<sup>76</sup> TC 3 219:7-9, *iš-tù ha-mu-uš-tí-im, ša Šu-Ištar, dumu ša-ap-sú-tim*.

<sup>77</sup> Prag I 542:5, [x g]ín kù-babbar a-na e-mì-iq-tí-ša; TPAK 1, 32:8-9, *i-na š<sup>1</sup>-im túg 3 gín kù-babbar, a-na e-mì-iq-tim*.

<sup>78</sup> TC 3 207 :24, 1 1/2 gín mu-šé-ni-iq-tum

<sup>79</sup> Kt 94/k 1724:7-8 (courtesy M. T. Larsen), 1/6 gín a-na, ga-lá-bi<sub>4</sub>-im; UF 7 2 :5-6, *šú-ha-ra-am za-áb-ra-am, ga-lá-ba-am a-na 1/2 ma-na kù-babbar*; Kt k/k 29 :22, ir, *ga-lá-bu-tám, lá-mì-da-šu* and Kt k/k 47:6-7, 2<sup>šé-na</sup> *šú-ha-ri, ga-lá-bi<sub>4</sub>-im* (both texts courtesy K. Hecker).

<sup>80</sup> Michel 2000; Veenhof 2003b; Hertel 2007.

<sup>81</sup> AKT 3 60:1; AKT 5, 70:1; AKT 6a 68: 14-15; AKT 6a 75:17; AKT 6a, 76:19, etc.

Hertel, *dayyānum* is a “general term used to denote people who possessed adjudicative powers”.<sup>82</sup> But nothing is said about the status of the judge.

The “attorney or solicitor”, *rābiṣum*, appointed by decision of the City assembly, was employed by the complainant to conduct investigations and to defend his interests. He was paid between 2/3 mina and 1 mina of silver for a case.<sup>83</sup> “Scribes”, *ṭupšarrum*, were also working for the court of law in Aššur and Kaneš.<sup>84</sup>

## 5. Religion

There were temples in Aššur and shrines dedicated to the god Aššur in most of the *kārums* in Central Anatolia.<sup>85</sup> The Aššur “temple administrator”, *sangûm*, in Aššur, was Elālī, son of Ikūnum (REL 92).<sup>86</sup> There are about fifty references to “priests”, *kumrum* (*gudu*<sub>4</sub>), in the Old Assyrian sources, but these mainly appear involved in trade or finance operations. The priests of the great deity revered in Aššur, as Manuba and Ištar-pilah, priests of Aššur, played a role in the trade;<sup>87</sup> there was also a priest keeper of merchandise in the temple of Aššur,<sup>88</sup> and merchandise could be bought in the temple of Suen.<sup>89</sup> However, most of the mentioned priests are Anatolians attached to local deities as Anna, Higiša, Kubabat, Nipas, etc.<sup>90</sup> They often appear as witnesses in legal transactions, more rarely as creditors; thus there is no indication about their religious duties.

In Aššur, several occupations linked to religion are feminine: “dream interpreters”, *šā’iltum*, “female diviner”, *bārītum*, and various types of “consecrated women”, *gubabtum* and *qadištum*.<sup>91</sup> Their existence is known thanks to the women’s letters sent from Aššur to their relatives in Anatolia. Thus, two women wrote: “Here (in Aššur) we consulted the women who interpret dreams, the women diviner, and the spirits of the dead, and (divine) Aššur keeps on warning you: You love (too much) money; you hate your life!”<sup>92</sup> These female professions are rare in the Old Assyrian sources, but they are here mentioned in the plural form. Such female professionals were consulted by women in order to receive gods’ advices, who spoke through dreams or other signs deciphered by diviners.

The first motivation of a merchant who consecrated his oldest daughter to the god Aššur was religious; she was certainly praying and making sacrifices for her family. However, in the Old Assyrian sources, they are documented mainly in a context of trade, or in last wills.<sup>93</sup> The “consecrated woman”, *gubabtum*, remained single and received an inheritance share, as her brothers. The *qadištum* consecrated woman could be married, but did not seem allowed to bear children.<sup>94</sup> The consecrated women did not belong to the temple personal, but lived in their own houses.

<sup>82</sup> Hertel 2007, 405. As well, the status of the *pāšer awātīm* “arbiter” is unclear; this legal agent communicated or certified a verdict.

<sup>83</sup> Michel 2000, 128-135.

<sup>84</sup> Larsen 1976, 304-307

<sup>85</sup> Old Assyrian religion has been studied by Hirsch 1972; *ikrību* votive offerings by Dercksen 1997; consecrated women by Michel 2009. See also Veenhof 2008a, 102-104.

<sup>86</sup> *sā-an-gi<sub>5</sub>-im* BIN 6, 241:9; KTS 2, 50:8; TC 1, 81:52-53, etc.

<sup>87</sup> Manuba: CCT 6, 27b:4’, TC 3, 203:6; Ištar-pilah: CCT 6, 20b:12’.

<sup>88</sup> TC 3 68:24; Dercksen 1997, 86-88.

<sup>89</sup> TC 3, 129:9’-11’, *ù šī-ma-am, ša li-bi<sub>4</sub>-šu-ma : i-na é ku-um-ri-im, ša Sú-en<sub>6</sub> : iš-ta-a-am-ma*.

<sup>90</sup> See the liste given by Veenhof 2008a, 230-231.

<sup>91</sup> Michel 2009.

<sup>92</sup> TC 1, 5, see Michel 2001, no. 348 ; see also texts no. 323 and 325.

<sup>93</sup> Michel 2009.

<sup>94</sup> Michel *to appear*.

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This overview of professions attested in the Old Assyrian private archives belonging to merchants, unsurprisingly, highlight the economic and administrative sectors. However, even if they are very poorly attested, many professions linked to daily life activities and material culture are cited, most of the time in anonymous distribution lists of small payments, or as qualification of witnesses.<sup>95</sup> Because of the context in which they appear, we unfortunately know nearly nothing about the real activities of these professionals. Other occupations, also dealing with daily life, may be suggested by some specific types of texts. For example, the numerous distribution lists of bread, often around hundreds of pieces for each person, indicate that there were bakers able to produce large quantities of bread.<sup>96</sup> In Aššur, the caravan trade might have stimulated the breeding of donkeys, and an intensive production of leather straps, bags, and ropes. Some individuals, acting as professionals, are not always referred to as holding a salaried job. For example, the Aššur women, who spent part of their lifetime producing textiles for the exports to Anatolia and who were paid in return, are not designated as weavers in the texts, even if they did perform a part time salaried job.<sup>97</sup>

This study also emphasizes the gender of professions. Except the Anatolian princesses, all the high official and administrative functions are held by men, both in Aššur and Anatolia. This is also the case for occupations dealing with the trade. Women are involved in the textile production, but a male weaver is attested and the finishing of textiles is always done by men (*ašlākum*). In the sphere of food production, slave women work as millers, while men have specialized tasks as cooks and confectioners. Only the profession of innkeeper could be held either by a man or a woman. Jobs dealing with the birth and raising of children are, as expected, female professions. Finally, it is interesting to note that, in Aššur, the attestations of women in the public life are concentrated in the religious sphere (consecrated women and female diviners).

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<sup>95</sup> See for example ATHE 14 or Kt m/k 35 (courtesy K. Hecker).

<sup>96</sup> BIN 6 155; CCT 1 26a; ICK 1 134; ICK 1 181; I 592; etc.

<sup>97</sup> Michel 2006a ; Michel 2013 ; Thomason 2013.



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