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Anatolian *amtum* in the Texts from Kaneš

In Old Assyrian documents from Cappadocia there often appears the term *amtum*. At first, it seems, the term referred to slave girls, presumably of Anatolian origin. But before bringing arguments for such an understanding of this term as well as describing activities of these women I would like to summarize shortly our knowledge on the status of women in the texts from Kaneš.

There existed two classes of women in Cappadocia: free women and slaves. To the group of free women belonged the rather rarely mentioned *rubātum* who were exclusively Anatolians and were women of merchant families. The second group — the slave girls — consisted mostly of Anatolians. One should however bear in mind that the texts from Kaneš referred mostly to economic matters so they give only few not direct data concerning other domains of activity. Much more is known about the social status of Assyrian women.¹ Since they were wives, mothers and daughters of merchants their social functions were manifold: not only did they attend to the household matters but they also took care of business and commerce; some worked in different crafts, and, of course, there were also priestesses.

As far as the Anatolian women are concerned the bulk of information is considerably lesser. Generally, little is known about the social life of the Anatolians at that period; hence not much can be said about the social status of Anatolian women. Our sources of information stem mainly from Old Assyrian texts devoted to the matters of the Assyrian merchants. There are — at least up to the present — no Hittite texts which would bring additional knowledge about Anatolian women and their activities. All we know is that the Anatolian women were even rulers (*rubātum*), free women were engaged in trade, and we also know that there were slave girls.

In Cappadocian texts female names are often of Anatolian origin; still the women were mostly wives of Assyrians or daughters from mixed marriages. That is why they were subjected to the rules of Assyrian law. In a number of documents,

¹ See K. Łyczkowska, *Pozycja społeczna kobiety w okresie staroasyryjskim na podstawie dokumentów z Kaneš w Azji Mniejszej*, Warszawa 1979.

however, appear persons with purely Anatolian names. In my opinion, they were connected with Anatolian merchants through trade relations. It should be stressed here, that the term "Anatolian" is to a large extent formal and does not reveal the enormous complexity of ethnic relationships in Anatolia at that time. Attempts to clarify the origin of people bearing such names were undertaken by P. Garelli.²

There are two terms to be considered here. First, there is the term *amtum* which refers to Anatolian women in the Cappadocian texts. Secondly, there is the term *ṣuḫartum* which defines adolescents, at any rate not adults, perhaps servants of Anatolian as well as of Assyrian origin.

In order to define the position and the activities of Anatolian women I have studied a number of Cappadocian documents³ paying special attention to the usage of the terms: *rubātum ṣuḫartum* and *amtum*. As far as the term *amtum* is concerned, only those documents which are really representative were taken into consideration.

First of all, I would like to present categories of Anatolian women other than *amtum*. In the period of Assyrian trade colonies, *rubātum* — 'queen' — as female counterpart of *rubā'um* — 'king' — is to be mentioned. Female rulers were at that time something extraordinary.⁴ It is not clear yet whether *rubātum* ruled only together with *rubā'um* (which is confirmed by texts) or whether they could rule alone. Actually there are texts where *rubātum* is mentioned as a ruler.⁵ But none of the female rulers is mentioned by name. Such rulers are said to have been in Waḫšušana, Luhusaddiya, Ankuwa Tilmikija and probably one in Kaneš. It seems that *rubātum* possessed extensive authority even over the Assyrians from Anatolia. One could cite the example of a merchant smuggling goods (without taxes?) for Pūšu-kēn. When he was caught and imprisoned, the *rubātum* informed several countries about this fact.⁶

Several documents mention the relationships between Anatolian women and Assyrian merchants, but almost nothing is known about the Anatolians themselves. Hence, the documents which concern mixed, Anatolian-Assyrian marriages are of particular importance, since they reveal certain features of Anatolian marital law. This is marred by the fact that not always persons with Anatolian names were actually Anatolians, especially when the person's father is not mentioned. In other words, a person bearing an Anatolian name could very well be an Assyrian. If an Assyrian married an Anatolian girl usually this was concubinate. No Anatolian wife is

² P. Garelli — *LAC*, p. 127.

³ See the bibliography: Larsen *OACC*, *OACP*; B. Kienast, *Das Altassyrische Kaufvertragsrecht*, Stuttgart 1984; Veenhof, *OMT*.

⁴ See Larsen, *OACC*, 121.

⁵ See Larsen *OACC*, 121⁴⁴ where we read: "one could perhaps understand the situation on the basis of hypothesis that the Anatolian kingdom were ruled by royal couple in the sense that both king and queen had to die before a new couple took over."

⁶ *ATHE* 62:8.

ever called *aššatum*; the usual name for her in marriage contracts is *amtum*. In this particular case this term should not be translated as 'slave girl' but rather as 'a servant', 'a girl'. Children from such marriages bore names which could originate from both parents' traditions; e.g. Walwala (a Hattian name) had two brothers: Amur-Aššur and Nunu. The latter could be Assyrian as well as Hattian.⁷ Their mother was called šāt-Ištar. In the extant documents there is no mention of the father, which might indicate that he was from Anatolia. Walawala herself was probably the wife of the well-known merchant Pilaḥ-Ištar.⁸

Only a few documents refer to family law (marriage contracts, divorces, adoptions, hereditary matters) as applied to Assyrians and Anatolians. Therefore we can neither reject nor accept the possibility of the Anatolian law influencing the contents of such documents. The text *ICK I,3*⁹ contains a marriage contract between an Assyrian and an Anatolian girl: Laqīpum takes as his wife Ḫatala/Ḫutala, the daughter of Enišru.¹⁰ Laqīpum cannot marry another *amtum* in Cappadocia (in Aššur he can marry a *qadištum*). It is stated that if the wife would not bear him children in the next two years, he could sell her. If, however, Laqīpum leaves her or she leaves him, in either case the leaving party will have to pay 5 mines of silver.¹¹

In some documents only the husband has to pay the compensation, as, for example, the document *I 513* states.¹² Laliya, who is an Assyrian, leaves his wife Gapziašwe and the house of his parents in law where he lived. Moreover, he is obliged to pay to 1/2 silver shekels to his parents in law. It seems that nothing extraordinary was in the fact that the son in law lived with his Anatolian parents in law.

The divorce document *EL I,4* states that a certain Arawurḫina will give the children and property (probably together with debts) to his wife. Still, the contents of the lines 12,21 is surprising:

"She (i.e. Malawašḫina) will not return to Arawurḫina; if she claims (the property) she will pay mina of silver and they will kill her. If Arawurḫina claims, he will pay 1 mina of silver and he will be killed."¹³

Similar in conclusions is a text edited by Matouš.¹⁴ Here, the opponents are also persons with Anatolian names: Ḫarnašarna and Ḫanaḫana. Again, the person who claims the property and tries to return to the family is subjected to the same de-

⁷ See the names in *ICK I*, 32.

⁸ See *ICK I*, 32.

⁹ See Hrozný, *Symbolae Koschaker*, 108.

¹⁰ For Enišru see also: L. Matouš, M. Matoušová-Rajmová, *Kappadokische Keilschrifttafeln mit Siegel*. Praha 1984, No. 31.

¹¹ For Ḫatala, the wife of Laqīpum see *ICK I*, 3:1, 20; 67:2; 69:2.

¹² L. Matouš, *AROR XLI*, 309; for Laliya see *ICK II*, 246:x+6.

¹³ See also *EL I*, 5 and *TC III*, 214, which refer to the personal rights of Anatolians.

¹⁴ L. Matouš, M. Matoušová, *op. cit.* No. 36; *EL I*, 3; *EL I*, 5.

cision, although nothing is said about killing. *Matouš* does not see any sensible explanation for such a legal decision. Yet one should bear in mind that in both mentioned documents the persons are of Anatolian origin, or — to be exact — have Anatolian names. Perhaps we should look here for some traces of local laws or customs. On the other hand, however, if the document *EL* I,4 concerns property matters than one can surmise that it is a dishonesty which is punished by death.¹⁵ This is confirmed by both the Old Babylonian and Middle Assyrian law.

An Assyrian, divorcing a wife who was an Anatolian *amtum*, had to take into consideration some of the rights such a wife had. According to the document *ICK* I, 32, *Pilaḥ-Ištar*, when he was leaving *Kaneš*, had to secure minimal financial support for his Anatolian wife. It should be remembered that Anatolian parents, and even mothers alone — as well their brothers — exercised certain power over the children, especially girls: they could be given away as security of a debt.¹⁶ This can be inferred from a document in which it is stated that if a girl given as a security behaves improperly the creditor has the right to sell her.¹⁷

Among the texts from *Kaneš* only few concern adoption of Anatolians and Assyrians. It seems that — as far as adoption was concerned — both parents had equal rights.¹⁸ There are no documents devoted solely to hereditary matters of Anatolian women.¹⁹ At *Kaneš*, usually the children from mixed marriages were brought up together.²⁰ But a certain *Aššur-nādā* after marrying *Sišahšušar* sent his son and his daughters to the grandparents in *Aššur* (cf. *CCT* III, 3 b).

It has already been mentioned that the economic and business activities of Assyrian women are well studied.²¹ Women took part in a large variety of activities; much is known about business relationships between Anatolian women and the Assyrians. This is attested by a number of letters addressed to women from Anatolia (no genealogy given). In the letter *KTH* 6 *Aššur-muttabbil* mentions to *Kunnania* a transaction concerning a slave from *Walawala*. In the letter *TCC* 26 *Kunnania* together with *Šāt-Aššur* (an Assyrian woman) sends a number of orders to two Anatolian women: *Asuelka*²² and *Addue* (both are Anatolian names). This letter is interesting for another reason: it indicates that there was some sort of cooperation between Assyrian women and the local ones. *Kunnania* wrote a number of letters to Anatolians, e.g. *CCT* VI,7b — a letter to *Kubinaḥšu*; she received letters as co-addressee together with other Anatolians, e.g. *BIN* VI, 84 — a letter written by *Aššur-*

¹⁵ Cf. Gelb, *OIP* XXVII, 190.

¹⁶ See also *EL* I, 15.

¹⁷ Cf. *ICK* I, 27 b where we read: “the mother *Hana* gives to *Aḥaḥa* her daughter”, and *ICK* I, 35: “*Šaluata* has bought from *Šupianika* her daughter *Suli*”.

¹⁸ *EL* I, 7.

¹⁹ Cf. W. v. Soden, *WdO* VIII₂, 211.

²⁰ See also L. Matouš, M. Matoušová, *op. cit.* No. 57.

²¹ See K. Łyczkowska, *op. cit.* 77.

²² *Asuelka/Asuwilka*, wife of *Išpunuman*, see *TC* 245:5.

muttabbil to Karunuwa and Kunnania. Her many activities are confirmed by the fact that she had appeared as a witness.²³ Addue is the addressee of a letter written by Walawala (*TC* III, 106).

The text *CCT* V, 48b refers to another Anatolian woman by the name Mawašhi who owed Aššur-nādā one mina and 7 1/2 shekels of silver. This amount of silver suggests that Mawašhi took part in some business. Hapuaḥšušar, the wife of Karuwa, was in similar situation.²⁴ There is a document²⁵ concerning payment in silver for hematite sealed by Perwa and his wife Mula. According to the legal protocol *CCT* V, 17a²⁶ a certain Zuška, the wife of Uzua, was either free to act independently or was joined by another woman named Zuškana, the wife of Aššur-nādā.

The Cappadocian texts provide ample evidence of activities of Anatolian women. Our last example comes from *ICK* I, 115.²⁷ There, several Anatolian couples owing Aššur-malik 5 minae of silver are mentioned. This silver was destined for a festival of the god An(n)a in Kaneš.²⁸

In the Cappadocian texts no mention is made of Anatolian priestesses. It seems quite evident considering the fact that these texts deal with Assyrians who did not have much in common with the Anatolian cult.

Let me now examine a group of women who were subordinate either because of their age or social status. The Cappadocian texts often mention the term *ṣuḥartum* which denotes a person which is not adult, usually a young girl or a working woman. As far as I know, only Assyrian were referred to by it. *Ṣuḥartum* in the meaning of an adolescent is found in letters and documents; Lamassī, the wife of Pūšu-kēn often writes from Aššur to her husband at Kaneš about a *ṣuḥartum*:²⁹ “when the girl grew up I had to make a pair of heavy textiles for the wagon”. In another letter we read: “*ṣuḥartum* is already a grown up girl; come quickly and put her on the lap of Aššur”. The words refer to Aḥaḥa, the daughter of Pūšu-kēn and Lamassī, who was an *ugbabtum* priestess. The request is probably directed to the father who is expected to sacrifice his daughter to the god’s service. Here, by *ṣuḥartum* is meant a young girl, probably a servant. This is described similarly in Old Babylonian texts where the same term defines Anatolian girls — especially in marriage contracts.

The second class of women is represented by *amtum* — ‘a slave girl’, ‘a servant’. It is my deep conviction that in the documents from Kaneš *amtum* denotes local Anatolian women. This is clear from the frequency with which this term appears. On the other hand, the activities and functions of *amtum* and their relationships with

²³ Cf. *EL* I, 158:16.

²⁴ *CCT* V, 49d:4.

²⁵ *CCT* V, 26a:4,6,11,14.

²⁶ See also *EL* II, 292.

²⁷ See Matouš, *AS* XVI, 176.

²⁸ For ^dAN(N)a see Larsen *OACC*, 46⁷⁴.

²⁹ See *BIN* IV, 9:20–23; *CCT* III, 20:38–40; Garell, *RA* 59, No. 25:9–12.

Anatolians indicate that they were of local origin. Moreover, in the documents there is no evidence that Assyrian slaves were transported from Aššur to Kaneš. It is hardly probable that an Assyrian woman residing temporarily in Kaneš, or who was born there and lived there, could become a slave girl. Of course, there were instances of merchants bringing with them slave girls from Aššur or Assyrian women from Kaneš finding for themselves a group of slaves. But such instances were extremely rare. One should remember that in Kaneš Assyrian women belonged to a higher social class. I also doubt whether the *amtum* mentioned in marriage contracts really meant slave-girls, rather servants were meant by this term. If, however, the term *amtum* appeared in texts from Aššur it referred to *amtum* from Assyria. In some letters³⁰ there are mentioned *amtum* who are sent from Kaneš to Aššur. They were probably Anatolians who were sent in order to work in Assyrian households or in textile manufactures. They could become object of further transactions. They might even belong to the *niši bitim* mentioned by Lamassī in a letter to Pūšu-kēn.³¹

Generally, then, the Anatolian *amtum* appears to be a woman who fulfilled different activities and who could be subjected to a number of trade transactions. Still, the *amtum* mentioned in these documents were protected by law and therefore should not be treated as slaves *sensu stricto*. Unfortunately, there are no marriage contracts of Anatolians who were wives of Assyrians and who engaged in business activities. We cannot therefore tell if they were also regarded to be *amtum*. Rather, in my opinion, they should be called *ṣuḫartu*, but there is no indication of this in the documents. Women of this class originated from local families of merchants and after marriage attained higher position in social hierarchy than the ordinary *amtum*.

Although the Cappadocian documents are monothematic, there is some evidence showing the different activities of the *amtum*. As it already has been mentioned, *amtum*, as wives of Assyrians, fulfilled all the duties arising from their position. One might even suppose that their status was similar to that of free women with some limitations, of course. An *amtum* who did not belong to a merchant's family must have had a very hard life: her food could be rationed, she herself could be beaten, sold or bought as any object, even given as a security for debts; she could be forced to perform any work. There are indications that an *amtum* was also taught certain professions which she later had to exercise.

Nothing is known about the qualifications of slave girls. In Babylonian texts they are precisely defined as, for example *amat ekallim*, *amat šarrim*, *amat šarrutum* etc. In Cappadocian texts no such differentiation appears. Only in a few documents there are closer definitions, as in CCT III, 14 where *amtum kilaritum* 'a Kiliarian (?) slave girl' appears, or in CCT III, 25: *amtum šubaritum* 'a Subarian slave girl'. Yet, these examples are exceptional and therefore it is impossible to tell something more about them.

³⁰ Cf. CCT II, 36a; CCT IV, 40b.; TC III, 88.

³¹ CCT II, 20:20.

A number of letters and other texts describe the way in which an *amtum* was treated in the houses of Assyrian merchants in Kaneš or Aššur. From the letter *ATHE* 44³² we learn of acts of violence inferred upon a slave girl. Aḥaḥa, the daughter of Pūšu-kēn writes: "Today, I do not please you more than a slave girl hit on the head". Šāt-Aššur³³ in a letter to Pūšu-kēn complains that the food rations given to slave girls are insufficient: "If slave girls get (a monthly ration of) twenty silas, should I also get only twenty silas?" Abu-šalim in a letter to Pūšu-kēn writes: "I hear that *maḥḥa'um* has freed our father's slave girl. He should not let her in, and he should not let her quarell in our father's house. You are my father. He should not let her into our father's house. He may let her dwell wherever he likes,"³⁴ This fragment can be interpreted in two ways: either the sender is afraid that the quarrelsome slave girl might cause trouble in the "father's house" or — which seems more probable — when a slave entered the "father's house" other persons could claim the property.

A slave girl could be sent elsewhere, e.g. to Aššur. In a letter to Lamassi Pūšu-kēn writes about sending different goods: "among other things one *šuiartum* and one slave girl Dan-Aššur are sent to you to Aššur".³⁵ Lamassatum in a letter from Aššur to Pūšu-kēn writes: "In accordance with the tablet of the City: check the house at Kaneš, check the goods and check whether there are slave girls or tablets; if you find even one shekel of silver, seal it and send it to me."³⁶ It looks as though Lamassatum needed as much silver as possible (bankruptcy?) and was therefore compelled to close down her business in Kaneš.

Similar in contents is a letter from Aššur-idi to Aššur-nada: "On the very day you hear the letter, sell the houses, both slave girls, both grinding girls (?) and send me the silver."³⁷ Aḥaḥa who was responsible for business matters of her brothers at Aššur, wrote to them to Kaneš: "The eponym threatens me and takes my slave girls as security."³⁸ The letter is written in Aššur, so the slaves mentioned can be either from there or sent from Kaneš. It is possible that *limu* performing his official duties could take the property including the slaves for unpaid taxes. It seems that at Kaneš slaves were very often given away as security for debts. J. Lewy translates a fragment published in *EL* I, 92 as follows: "1 1/2 Minen Silber hat auf dem Rücken des Palanašwe Tamuria gut. Für dieses Silber wird er das Haus, den Kulumaja, *šuiartum* und die Sklavinnen ansehen."³⁹ It should be stressed that both the creditor and the debtor bear Anatolian names. Therefore, the Anatolian slave girl is a security for the

³² *ATHE* 44:25–28.

³³ *BIN* IV, 22:21–22.

³⁴ *BIN* IV, 11:3–8.

³⁵ *CCT* II, 36:20–22.

³⁶ *CCT* IV, 40b:9–14.

³⁷ *TC* III, 88:12–14.

³⁸ *TC* II, 46:7–10.

³⁹ *BIN* IV, 190:6–8; cf. *EL* I, 92.

debt of an Anatolian. There are also other documents in which the actors are Assyrians, e.g. CCT IV, 37b where we read: "...that you can hold claim on the houses, the slave girl and the slave."⁴⁰

A male slave could also be given away as security for debts. Yet, I think, this happened rarely, since slaves were usually more useful than slave-girls.

In a letter to Inna Taram-Kubi complains: "He has caused much trouble in the house and took the slave girls as security."⁴¹ The author of the document studied by P. Garelli⁴² mentions that a slave girl could be also given as security for debts: "Le prix de la *amtum* de Kaneš de Šāt-Adad servira pour la dette envers Sin".

An *amtum* could be a part of a heritage given to the successors.⁴³ Aššur-imitti with the other senders of the letter⁴⁴ tries to calm Silli-ili assuring that the debt will be paid. The letter ends with a request: "You had better look after our slave girls and your children". In other words he requests him to mind his own business.

In a letter from Enna-Balim to Aššur-imitti Ichisar⁴⁵ found the following text: "Depuis que son entreprise est séparée, lui et sa servante ont maltraité les dames et il se tient prêt à acquérir la succession des dames". According to CAD "A" it should be read "he...warned" (u-ša-am-du). Whatever the interpretation is, it seems unequivocal that the slave girl rose against her mistress.

A different request appears in a letter from Suejja to Puzur-Aššur and other addressees;⁴⁶ here Suejja asks them not to take his slave girl for debts.

A number of texts describes different domains of activities of *amtum*. Amur-ištar in a letter to Imdi-ilim writes that a slave girl together with a certain Uzua has to enter some business operations: "Before my departure the wool should be converted into copper, and the slave girl and Uzua should turn [this] copper again into copper of good quality."⁴⁷ In the document EL I, 155⁴⁸, according to J. Lewy's translation, there is a list of transferred silver which is to be taken to a slave girl. Enlil-bani gives orders to Aššur-rabi Alahum and others: "Give a list of everything you have left behind (te-zi-ba-ni) to the slave girl and leave another list in the *ekal-lum*. The slave girl should be sent with Alahum and the Kilarian [?] girl sold."⁴⁹

A slave girl could be used as an agent for arranging or transferring different

⁴⁰ CCT IV, 37b:18–21.

⁴¹ CCT III, 24:41–42.

⁴² Garelli, *RA* 60 (1966), No. 6: 49–50, (p. 135).

⁴³ Garelli, *RA* 59 (1965), No. 23:59.

⁴⁴ ICK I, 65:16–18.

⁴⁵ TC II, 40, cf. translation Metin Ichisar, *Les Archives Cappadociennes du marchand Imdilum*. Paris 1981, 416.

⁴⁶ BIN VI, 119:28–29.

⁴⁷ BIN VI, 76:10–12; cf. Ichisar, *op. cit.* 299.

⁴⁸ EL I, 155–VAT 13480:17–19.

⁴⁹ CCT III, 14:16–19.

goods. This is confirmed by a letter from Su-Ištar to Pūšu-kēn: "Give the tablet to the slave girl; give also to the slave girl 10 shekels of silver; do not withhold it."⁵⁰

A letter from Puzur-Aššur to Aššur-muttabbil tells about sending 6 minae of tin from Kaneš to Zalpa: "Here [is] the silver, the price of it. Seal it and give it to the slave girl."⁵¹ In a letter from Pūšu-kēn to Sallim-aḫum about transporting some goods it is said: "Aššur-malik has given to your *amtum* one linen garment thereof in accordance with your order."⁵²

It seems that an *amtum* could also perform financial operations on behalf of her master or just follow his orders. This can be inferred from a letter by Imdi-ilum to several merchant as it is quoted by Ichisar:⁵³ "Quant à tes *amtum*, intimidez-les pour qu'elles n'empruntent plus d'argent en mon nom — ne serait-ce qu'un sicle".

In a number of documents information is given about the seals of *amtum*: an *amtum* could even have the seal of her master and was allowed to use it. When she send or received goods she sealed the document with her own or her master's seal. Perhaps only privileged slave girls had such a right. The fact that slave girls possessed seals is confirmed by the texts; where the following formulae appear: "One shekel of silver with seal of the slave girl" or "two shekels of silver for Aḫaḫa with seal of the *amtum*".

As already mentioned, slave girls performed different duties connected with household work. Some were specializing in different crafts, as it was the case in Babylonia. We know of slave girls from Kaneš who ground grain. Information about this is contained in a letter from Aḫaḫa to Aššur-taklaku: "Instruct the slave girl to grind the old wheat for food."⁵⁴

Cappadocian documents show that the local population was employed by the Assyrians. Some of these employees were bought as slaves.⁵⁵ J. Lewy has shown that among the Anatolians there were instances of buying and selling slaves of both sexes.⁵⁶ According to the documents this custom was introduced by the Assyrians. But, although there are many purchase/sale documents it is impossible to conclude, how many slave girls there were usually in a merchant's household. Often in the documents the word *amtum* is used in plural, usually, however, only two or just one slave girl is mentioned. Such evidence does not suffice to define the number of slave girls in a typical Assyrian household, since only women were employed in the production of textiles.⁵⁷

⁵⁰ CCT IV, 16b:20–23.

⁵¹ TC III, 18:24–26.

⁵² TC III, 24:13–15.

⁵³ Ichisar, *op. cit.* 194, text see ICK I, 192.

⁵⁴ CCT III, 8a:29–32.

⁵⁵ See Garelli, *LAC*, 166¹.

⁵⁶ TC III, 253: see L. Lewy, *AHDO* I (1937), 102–106.

⁵⁷ Cf. H. Waetzold, *Untersuchungen zur neusumerische Textilindustrie*. Roma 1972.

In the cited below representative texts a great variety of prices for slave girls is mentioned — from five shekels up to 37 1/2 shekels, i.e. 1 mina and 2 1/2 shekels. It seems that the amount of silver paid depended on the slave's qualities such as strength, age, skills and also beauty. The prevailing number of documents mentioning *amtum* refer to their sale or purchase. Below only some examples of such documents are cited, since quoting all the documents would be useless — their form is very stereotype. Generally, one can divide these documents into two groups. First, there are documents which give the price in silver. Secondly, there are texts which inform only about the sale or purchase, but contain no indication of price.

In the document translated by K. Hecker⁵⁸ belonging to the first group, the price is mentioned: "2 Minen Silber betrug der Preis der Sklavinnen und des Sklaven". Since it is not said, how many slave girls there were, their price is also unclear. Another document studied by Lewy concerns the purchase of a slave girl by Aḫatum: "1 1/3 Mine 2 1/2 Seqel Silber, Kaufpreis der Šamnanika wog Aḫatum der Nakkišduar dar".⁵⁹ If the parents took Šamnanika back, they would have to pay 3 minae and 5 shekels of silver. The interpretation of the end part of the text is unclear.

The document pertaining to the sale of the girl Šupianika, the wife of Ḫapuala states: "1/3 of a mina and 1/4 shekel of *liti*-silver the price of Šupianika Walawala has given to her husband Ḫapuala. The slave girl is her slave girl, no one shall rise a claim against her concerning the slave girl. Talḫama and Ḫištahšu guarantee for the *amtum*. If somebody claims the slave girl from Walawala Talḫama and Ḫištahšu, he will give [the rights to] the slave girl for Walawala. If they do not give her the rights, they will pay to Walawala one mina of *liti* silver."⁶⁰

The texts EL I, 213 inform also about selling a slave girl for 1/3 of a mina of silver. A little less, about 17 shekels of silver was paid for a slave girl according to a text studied by Hecker:⁶¹ "1/2 Mine 3 1/2 Seqel zahlte ich für zwei Sklavinnen". We learn from the letter Lamassī sent to Pūšu-kēn that she paid 14 shekels of silver for a slave girl belonging to the sister of Pūšu-kēn.⁶² Since the letter was written in Aššur where the transaction took place, one can assume that the price of slave girls in Aššur was similar to that in Kaneš.

According to the document ICK I, 17 shekels of silver were paid for slave girls, their number is however not mentioned. "17 shekels of silver, the price of the slave girls Niwalka were given to Nakilwišwe, the wife of Aššur-muttabbil."⁶³

Slave girls were also sold for very low prices, as is the case of slave from a text studied by Hecker: "Hahḫua gab die Sklavin Kattida zum Verkauf. Für 5 Seqel Silber kaufte sie Qaqqaria."⁶⁴

⁵⁸ Hecker, *KUG*, No. 25.

⁵⁹ *EI* I, 214, texts *BIN* IV, 183.

⁶⁰ *ICK* I, 19b, see also Hrozný, *ADHO* I (1937), 87.

⁶¹ Hecker, *KUG*, No. 26:14–15.

⁶² Garelli, *RA* 59 (1960), Nom 25.

⁶³ *ICK* I, 123:1–7.

⁶⁴ Hecker, *KUG*, No. 3:1–6, former translation see *EL* I, 105.

It is worth of notice that here the slave girl's name is mentioned (cf. also the text *ICK* I, 196) which occurs rather rarely.

I would like to quote here two legal protocols concerning litigations concerning the *amtum*. First, the document *ICK* I, 61⁶⁵ were we read: "...ainsi [a dit] Šallim-Aššur: «rends-moi l'esclave!» Ainsi [a répondu Šarnika:] «Šamaš-taklaku l'esclave il m'a donné disant: Jusqu'à ce que je te rends ton argent garde l'esclave!» L'esclave vient de la maison de Aššur-bēl-awātim fils de Issu-arik. 23 sicles d'argent Šallim-Aššur cause [?] de l'esclave [a pris] 2 1/2 sicles d'argent [pour l'entretien?] de l'esclave a payé".

The other protocol which I would like to cite⁶⁶ concerns sale of a slave girl. It was translated by Lewy as follows: "Folgendermassen sprach Anāma-ilima: Das Silber, der Kaufpreis der Sklavin, das des *tamkarum* ist in deinem Herzen vorhanden? Ištar-tulissu antwortete: Jawohl, das Silber, der Kaufpreis der Sklavin das des *tamkarum* ist in meinem Herzen vorhanden".

Both documents concern depositing silver as a security.

In a letter from Ḥatāni to Silli-Adad it is stated: "Ennamā brought you one slave girl and her son. You are our brother, [let us know] for what price you sold the slave girl and her son."⁶⁷

Only rarely do the documents mention sale of a slave together with a child. In this case it seems that they were sent to Aššur, perhaps in hope of obtaining there a better price.

The document *BIN* VI, 225⁶⁸ does not only mention the names of the selling and buying party but also the name of a slave girl and her mother (of course, both did profit from the transaction): "Tirikuta and his wife Ḥašahšušar have sold a slave girl — Abiduri, the daughter of Šalini. Tuḥušipḥa has bought her". However, no price is given.

At the end I would like to quote the letter *ICK* I, 69⁶⁹ concerning the sale of a slave. There is nothing extraordinary in this document; what makes it interesting is the mention of the term *nū'um*, *nuā'um* 'rude, uneducated, brutal, stupid', used to designate the Anatolians. This very expression (noted in many documents) is no doubt pejorative and it shows the negative attitude of the Assyrians towards the native population:

"Here are the nine shekels of silver which the wife of Abuqar owes. Make her pay [them back] and thus satisfy [the demand of] the *nuā'um* and make an agreement [with him]. The slave girl on your credit is of no good: sell her".

(NB. The article has been submitted in 1986)

⁶⁵ K. Łyczkowska, *Études et Travaux*, IV (1970), 15.

⁶⁶ *EL* I, 255, text *CCT* I, 46a.

⁶⁷ *BIN* IV, 230:15–19.

⁶⁸ *BIN* VI, 225:1–5.

⁶⁹ *ICK* I, 69.