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Old Assyrian Epistolography
Materiality, Form, Rhetoric, Mentalities, and Norms

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Conventions of transcription and typography

Word dividers/punctuation marks (for this choice of terminology, see the chapter below) are marked with colons ‘:’.

Line breaks are marked forward slashes ‘/’, only in those examples where line distribution is relevant to the discussion; see especially the chapter on word dividers/punctuation marks.

Double forward slashes ‘//’ indicate that signs belonging to the one line of text have been written underneath it, inbetween lines or towards the end of the next line on the tablet, due to lack of space.

Lost (but restored) signs are indicated by brackets ‘[]’. Partially damaged signs are indicated by half brackets ‘⌈ ⌋’.

Omitted (but restored) signs are indicated by chevrons/angle brackets ‘< >’.

In the hopes of making reading the Akkadian text (in transcription) syntactically more accessible, modern punctuation is used to indicate and qualify the end of sentences, e.g., ‘.’, ‘?’, ‘!’.

Omitted parts of a text that would belong to the same context as the quoted passage (but are not needed for the discussion) are indicated by ‘(...)’.

Accents on vowels, á, í, ú, indicate an additional vowel sign in the original cuneiform that we take as expressing emphasis or stress rather than simply writing vowel length. This is, for instance, often done in (rhetorical) questions.

Assur, without diacritic carons, means the city of Assur as a toponym, in the texts usually only referred to as *ālum*, the City, like, e.g., Roman *urbs*. In our transcriptions, we give it in capitalised form, *Ālum*, whenever the city of Assur is meant (according to our interpretation) as opposed to the generic term for town/city.

Aššur, with diacritic carons, means the patron deity of the Assyrians, referred to in the letters mostly in connection with votive offerings or in invocations.

PN as a placeholder stands for ‘personal name’.

DN as a placeholder stands for ‘divine name’.

Idiosyncrasies of translation

In the introduction, we profess the wish for the present work to also be a tool for aiding in the translation of Old Assyrian letters. For this ambitious claim, we acknowledge that translation is always also an act of translating culture. This does by no means mean that it is impossible to come to understand a very remote and ancient culture to a degree. Thus, we need to delineate what such a tool might be and give a sketch of how this affects the translations within the present work. An important facet of this tool is simple demonstration; the demonstration of how we approach the texts through their contextualisation in the multitudinous perspectives that inform any single act of language. The Old Assyrian documentation lends itself very well to such thick contextualisation due to its uniquely focussed wealth of documentation. In addition to the historical, social, and material contexts already amply described in previous works, this work shall discuss the rhetorical one.

For this purpose, we choose a mode of translation that attempts the precarious tightrope walk of being as idiomatic as possible in its English rendition at the expense of too strict a grammatical syntactical faithfulness. At the same time, we do not wish to stray so far from the Old Assyrian original that it might appear we are composing altogether new letters in an English-speaking context rather than translating letters from an altogether different, ancient culture. It is not to say that this approach is more valid than others, rather that we find it more apt for the discussion of rhetoric and gleaning socio-economic motivations behind it, which necessarily involves a lot of interpretation on our part in the first instance; already in order to decide what is even worthwhile to discuss under the rubric of rhetoric (for more on the topic of the definition of rhetoric, see its respective chapter).

The demonstration of this approach in the many original examples that we use to substantiate our conclusions with is also accompanied by express discussions of the (ranges of) meanings of specific terms¹ and rhetorical figures.

We would thus like to make the same claim about our translations of letters as A.L. Oppenheim did for his: “To make these letters ‘live,’ I have committed myself to a rendering of the Akkadian that

¹ Perhaps we can even hope to move along the lines of G.E.R. Lloyd’s (2002, 123–125) “semantic stretch” (translating for his purposes the similar conception of W. Porzig’s [1934] “wesenhafte Bedeutungsbeziehungen”), which disposes of claims about the one literal meaning of a word as opposed to metaphorical uses of it and in general shows the inadequacy of strictly dichotomous thinking for interpretation and translation (cf. Lloyd 2014).

should make it immediately understandable.”² Such loose translations affect both the syntactical and the lexical realm of individual terms. While we strive to limit the range of translations of any given term, we do not hesitate to deviate if a specific context warrants a different, perhaps more immediate English translation.

The original Akkadian, in our case in transcription – already fraught with interpretation –, must serve as a readily available corrective for any translation. Therefore, the reader may judge where we may have gone too far or perhaps not far enough from the Akkadian text, and in that alone already find directions for one’s own reading of a text.

Welcoming such fuzziness in understanding and consequently translation, we could probably not end this section better than with G.E.R. Lloyd in his important essay on the sheer limitless multifacetedness of translation: “The very open-endedness of translation may look to be a menace to mutual intelligibility; but that is only so if we hanker after definitive results. Abandoning that will of the wisp, we can rather welcome that open-endedness as a positive resource for increasing understanding.”³

² Oppenheim 1967, 66. Like A.L. Oppenheim, we too “frequently omitted the customary parentheses in which Assyriologists like to enclose words that are essential for the understanding of a too ‘narrow’ translation, and cannot be made to correspond to specific and overt features of the Akkadian text.” (*ibid.*) Yet we are unsure, as he also insinuates, if this fact is even worth mentioning since we are not convinced that such parentheses truly always indicate something missing in the text and do not rather correspond to a mere symptom of different grammar and its demands on syntax (for instance obligatory vs. optional pronoun substitutes for a direct object).

³ Lloyd 2014, 232.

Introduction

In the early 2nd millennium BC, private individuals from the city-state of Assur on the Tigris engaged in large-scale, long-distance trade with Anatolia. From Assur, tin and textiles were predominantly exported for the acquisition of silver and gold. Within Anatolia, the Assyrian merchants dominated the trade in copper, and to a minor degree also wool. Treaties between the local Anatolian rulers, the local Assyrian administrative institutions, and the administrative body of the city of Assur favoured the trade. In Anatolia, a *kārum* would be established in major cities and a *wabartum*, a trade outpost, in minor ones, denoting both institutions of trade and areas of settlement for the Assyrian merchants. During the heyday of Assyrian trade, the *kārum* in the central Anatolian city of Kaneš was the most important one, where virtually all extant textual evidence of the Old Assyrian period stems from.

State of research in Assyriology

In the late 19th century, the first Old Assyrian cuneiform tablets stemming from Cappadocia were published. Following these initial publications by T. Pinches⁴, many more were bought at the local bazaar in Kayseri.⁵ After the noteworthy struggles to read said tablets by T. Pinches, A.H. Sayce, and most importantly W. Golenischeff and F. Delitzsch,⁶ in 1925, B. Hrozný managed to determine their main place of origin as Kültepe/Kaneš, some 20km north-east of the modern city of Kayseri.⁷ Initially, there were doubts if these tablets were not really forgeries⁸ and if the language they were written in even was Akkadian.⁹ However, in parallel to the archaeological efforts, modern ability to read the tablets experienced significant progress through the works of G. Contenau,¹⁰ and especially of J. Lewy¹¹ and B. Landsberger¹². With better understanding of the texts and the archaeological setting, P. Garelli's synopsis of the Old Assyrian world could eventually set the foundation for a broader investigation of this society,¹³ and building on his results many aspects and pieces of terminology of the commercial system have been investigated since; e.g., in the context of the long-distance trade in

⁴ Pinches 1882.

⁵ Cf. Sayce 1908 and Pinches 1908.

⁶ Garelli 1963, 11ff.

⁷ Hrozný 1927. For an anecdotal retelling of the efforts to persuade the local villagers to surrender their secret, see Larsen 2015, 20–22.

⁸ One of the early scholars of cuneiform texts, J. Oppert, admitted to his suspicions about the forged Cappadocian tablets in a letter to a colleague, quoted and discussed in Michel 2020a, 44f.

⁹ T. Pinches found in his communication “that the writing though neat, was extremely difficult to read, and that, moreover, the language seemed to be neither Assyrian nor Akkadian [i.e. Babylonian (author's remark)].” (Pinches 1882, 11).

¹⁰ Contenau 1919.

¹¹ E.g. Lewy 1922 and Eißer and Lewy 1930, 1935.

¹² Landsberger 1925.

¹³ Garelli 1963.

tin and textiles from Assur for silver and gold from Anatolia, the copper (and wool) trade within Anatolia, and the types of financing methods through a variety of loans and credits.¹⁴

As both the decipherment of the script and excavations¹⁵ at Kültepe continually progressed, detailed archival studies could be undertaken that provide us with an even wider context for the trade activities. Especially in the (Ankara) Kültepe Tabletleri ([A]KT)¹⁶ series, we gain access to systematic editions of the excavated archives of ancient Kaneš. For the general purpose of finding any published Old Assyrian text, C. Michel has created and continues to update an invaluable *catalogue raisonné* with corresponding bibliography (*Old Assyrian Bibliography* = OAB).¹⁷

In the Old Assyrians' archives, private (mercantile) letters typically comprise around 30-40% (at times even more) of the total documentation. These letters, thus, not only constitute one of the most substantial sources on Old Assyrian society, indeed, in their sheer bulk, they are unique for all of ancient history. For the purpose of archival studies, letters have usually been treated in an ad-hoc manner to describe the real-world activities of the merchants.¹⁸ So far, K.R. Veenhof and in particular C. Michel have chiefly contributed to studies on these letters as a genre. A first focus had to be to clarify the terminology employed by the Assyrians themselves, resulting in contextualising lexicographical work. In addition K.R. Veenhof also discusses the logistic background of sending the letters over distances of c. 1,000km.¹⁹ C. Michel has worked on the archiving practices of the Assyrians with special focus on those of letters.²⁰ In this context she also elaborated on the main formal aspects of letters.²¹ Most recently the materiality of letters has garnered attention, again through contributions by C. Michel who, with the aid of experimental archaeology, has investigated, how clay envelopes were fashioned and used.²² With the present work, an in-depth formal and rhetorical analysis and synopsis of Old Assyrian epistolography now aims to add to our understanding of the epistolary material and its significance in the context of Old Assyrian society.

Letters have long been recognised as an important vehicle for understanding ancient Mesopotamian history. A.L. Oppenheim was the first to discuss letters in a broad Mesopotamian context, giving a

¹⁴ For some of the earliest but still valid ones see, e.g., Larsen 1967 and Veenhof 1972.

¹⁵ T. Özgüç led the excavations from 1948 until 2005, with the significant support of K. Emre in his later years, after which F. Kulakoğlu succeeded them; cf. Larsen 2015, 23–26.

¹⁶ Starting with the fourth volume the series was renamed to only Kültepe Tabletleri, hence the unifying abbreviation (A)KT adopted throughout the present work.

¹⁷ Michel 2003 with updates in Michel 2006, 2011a, 2015b, 2021.

¹⁸ A notable early contribution to epistolography is C. Michel's CMK, a thematic collection of letters. Most recently, she has added significantly to our understanding of gender roles and especially that of women heavily utilising letters written by and to women, see Michel 2020c.

¹⁹ Veenhof 2008a.

²⁰ Michel 2008b, 2015a.

²¹ Michel 2008b, 126f.

²² Michel 2020b.

general overview, with concern about the special textual nature of letters, and their potential for Assyriological analysis and the specific difficulties they pose for translation and understanding.²³ W. Sallaberger provided a ground-breaking study for Mesopotamian epistolography at large.²⁴ He explored Old Babylonian letters under their formal and rhetorical aspects and analysed the employed argumentative and politeness strategies. He built a formal template of Old Babylonian letters and investigated the significance of the individual formal parts, such as “Briefkopf und Gruß” with the address and greeting formulae and in which way this establishes the relation between addresser and addressee. For the main part of a letter, W. Sallaberger detects three parts “Informationsteil”, “Initiative” and “Aufforderungsteil” that structure the letter and how an argument is presented by first providing the necessary background information, and, by way of a formal transition, continuing to the request itself. From this basic structure, he then considers the various argumentative strategies set in their specific social background. D. Charpin is concerned with the same time period and raises the important questions of literacy, whether scribes needed to be employed and how that influences the content, and how letters were delivered to their destination, were received and read.²⁵

Usually building on W. Sallaberger’s work, efforts have been made to penetrate the epistolary material of other ancient Mesopotamian periods and places. The Neo-Babylonian period has been actively investigated, for which first-time editions were often needed.²⁶ For the most part, the long history of Assyrian epistolography is yet awaiting such comprehensive studies. Middle Assyrian letters have been discussed in regard to their typology.²⁷ Neo-Assyrian letters, being only official letters mostly concerning the king, have been investigated in disparate papers highlighting only specific details of epistolographic practice.²⁸ For the oldest well documented period, the Old Assyrian one, we hereby want to offer one such study. As long as we lack the evidence from Assur itself, the caveat, however, is that we view this society (really a section thereof) through the focussed lens of not even 100 of the c. 250 years (c. 1972-1718 BC) that it lasted according to their own chronology

²³ Oppenheim 1967.

²⁴ Sallaberger 1999.

²⁵ See Charpin 2008, 161–192.

²⁶ E.g. Hackl et al. 2014; Levavi 2018.

²⁷ See Llop 2012. For a discussion of letters in connection with bureaucracy, see already Postgate 1986.

²⁸ For general methodological reflections, see Fales 1987; for many of the recurring formulae, see Ponchia 1989; on the purpose of letters and mechanics of letter sending, see e.g. Radner 2014, 2015; for notes on rhetoric, see e.g. Pirngruber 2015.

based on eponyms (titular officials selected on a yearly basis).²⁹ The largest bulk of documents is even dated only between the 80th and the 110th eponym (REL 80-110, c. 1893-1863 BC).³⁰

Goals, theories, and methods

“Letters in Akkadian cannot be translated as an exercise in grammar; (...) One has to reconstruct from the data of the text its background and situation that dominates the relationship between sender and addressee, and the translator has to provide stress, contrast, mood, and all other unwritten elements that make the written text a real and personal communication, in the light of that same reconstruction.”³¹

The chief objective of this dissertation is to provide a tool for readers and translators and thereby to any person who wishes to grasp at the intentions of Old Assyrian letter communications and by its virtue this ancient society.³² Through all the documentation that Old Assyrian traders meticulously fashioned and archived in order to deal with the hardships of long-distance trade, we can glimpse into their long-gone world, observing what was important enough in the context of their trading activities not to be carelessly discarded. Letters are perhaps best suited to reconstruct how the Assyrians navigated their lives, since through them we can most directly discern which mentalities informed their day-to-day decisions. The intricate socio-economic setting of that part of the ancient world is the key concern of this work. We wish to compile information on Old Assyrian letters as multifaceted as possible. Initial considerations concern the practical points, formal characteristics, and pragmatic aspects of letter writing – that is the letter’s fashioning, writing, sending and eventually achieving the communicated goals to one degree or another. Especially pertaining to the goal of epistolary communication, we shall then consider the rhetorical means that were evidently suited and chosen for that purpose. Finally, this leads from the message of the letter back to the manifold considerations made by the Assyrians, consciously or not, to verbally attain the message’s goal – in virtually all cases this is soliciting aid from their addressees. Herein we shall review the social norms, modes of conduct, politeness strategies and overall mentality and value systems that conditioned the specific ways in which the specific kinds of support were requested in the letters.

²⁹ G. Kryszat (2004b) collected most of the dated material. With the discovery of a nearly complete list of 255 eponyms, the Revised Eponym List (REL) could be published in Barjamovic et al. 2012 and attributed fairly accurate, modern dates through the method of dendrochronology.

³⁰ For the quantitative rise and decline in documentation in these years, cf. Barjamovic et al. 2012, 55–80 M. Larsen (2015, 73–75) convincingly argues that the decline is to be linked to the inherent dynamics of the Assyrians’ economic system and a collapse thereof around REL 110, when many prominent traders died.

³¹ Oppenheim 1967, 65.

³² Maybe we can even add another general piece in the puzzle to make the wealth of information of the Old Assyrian texts more accessible and answer to papers such as E. Reiner’s (2001) comparison of Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian titled “Who is afraid of Old Assyrian?”

Succinctly this dissertation should help ease the process of a Geertzian “thick description” of Old Assyrian activities: “Understanding a people’s culture exposes their normalness without reducing their particularity. (...) It renders them accessible: setting them in the frame of their own banalities, it dissolves their opacity.”³³ Providing a layout of the ‘normalness’ and ‘particularity’ of Old Assyrian letters should also help in the scope of better understanding Old Assyrian society. Through engaging with Assyrian individuals and their language as *outillage mental*³⁴ we wish, more specifically, to provide a lens to look at the mentalities prevalent among the traders and how they related to each other.

Not least we shall highlight characteristics of Old Assyrian letters that make them unique, also when compared to their closest Old Babylonian counterparts, for example in their much less rigid, albeit not entirely lacking, formularisation. Thus, as a first step, we shall investigate the form of the letters. W. Sallaberger has already provided an excellent basis in the field of Assyriology for a linguistic analysis of Old Babylonian (private) letters. A large portion of this study focuses on the formal nature of a letter, its structure and function. His outlines for Old Babylonian letters, how the text is structured, to a lesser degree how they establish contact, are well suited for adaption to our corpus. His structuring via functions into “Information”, “Initiative” and “Aufforderung” that reflect the train of thought on what the letter author conveys to the addressee is a good starting point.³⁵ Coupled with this, also the classical European scheme of *salutatio*, *captatio benevolentiae*, *narratio*, *petitio*, and *peroratio*³⁶ helps with modelling an Old Assyrian letter. With this we can approach our evidence even if Old Assyrian letters certainly were much less standardised and formularised than the Old Babylonian ones,³⁷ not to mention the likes of classical antiquity or medieval Europe. We will without doubt be able to discern a base framework for Old Assyrian letters, how they establish the necessary background information and eventually reach the main point, the request that the respective background warrants.

The second and most substantial part of this thesis addresses the rhetoric embedded in the letter form which conveys one’s point convincingly. First, the rhetorical devices, stock phrases and figures of speech, that help to persuade the addressee will be collected, quantified, and discussed. Likewise, those linguistic elements that help to structure the letter and thereby the entire argument will be analysed. Setting these elements in a quantified context, we can reflect on the broader socio-cultural

³³ “Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture” in Geertz 2017, 16 (originally published in 1973). One of the best examples of an application is Geertz 1972 on cock fighting in Bali.

³⁴ See, e.g., Febvre 1942 in which he makes a synthesis of such ‘mental tools’ of 16th century individuals and explicates mentalities of the time.

³⁵ Sallaberger 1999, 144–148.

³⁶ Cf. Constable 1976, 16f.

³⁷ This fact in its own right makes the study of Old Assyrian letters worthwhile, since with this greater freedom in the epistolographic practice also come different (methodological) challenges to the modern researcher.

implications of especially the rhetorical devices, the underlying intentions, and ways they were meant and could be anticipated to be perceived.

For this purpose, in a third step, we proceed via the semantics to how the message is communicated, to how the addressee is made to understand it, in all its pragmatic ramifications. For such an outlook on texts and utterances such as ours, A. Jacobs and A. Jucker coined the term *pragmaphilology* which "(...) describes the contextual aspects of historical texts, including the addressers and addressees, their social and personal relationship, the physical and social setting of text production and text reception, and the goal(s) of the text."³⁸ Criticisms of subjectivity and too *ad-hoc* interpretations have been levelled against such an approach,³⁹ as is the case with the very similar field of "New Historicism".⁴⁰ We certainly acknowledge the ubiquity of "the scholar's perspective and subjectivity in shaping the meaning(s) of the text"⁴¹ and thereby also shaping the context we construe for the speech acts. On the one hand, we would argue that we make said subjectivity traceable and defensible by looking at our letters and their context from as many different perspectives as possible, so to give as thick a description as possible. On the other hand, we diversify the basis on which we draw our conclusions through a corpus-based approach and combine qualitative with quantitative analyses wherever expedient. With the archival context of our corpus, we have a good grasp on the relations between author and addressee⁴² and can compare specific instances of language usage against both similar and different backgrounds. For now, it is not our principal goal to trace an individual's or a family's idiosyncrasies but to give an overview of broader standards of language use in Old Assyrian society. Here might be added that, for the simple reason that the majority of evidence comes from an Assyrian male-centred milieu, general observations first pertain to this section of Old Assyrian (merchant) society, and, from case to case, may need to be differentiated by a gender and ethnically based outlook. While reflections on (possible) differences in epistolography between men and women will be presented herein, those pertaining to different ethnic groups are kept to a minimum. The complex multi-ethnic and multi-cultural situation in Anatolia is not understood in sufficient detail and the epistolary evidence coming from people whom we might

³⁸ Jacobs and Jucker 1995, 11.

³⁹ For critical voices that expand on the notions of *pragmaphilology*, see e.g. Taavitsainen and Fitzmaurice 2007 and (very similar to our corpus-based expansion) Archer and Culpeper 2009.

⁴⁰ For attempts and summaries on such to distinguish *pragmaphilology* or more generally pragmatics from discourse analysis and new historicisms, see al-Hindawi and Saffah 2017 and Scheiding 2012. Cf. also Koopman 2010 for (old) historicist thoughts perhaps present in pragmatics. If we must follow overly rigid definitions and differentiations of these respective fields, *pragmaphilology* would seem best suited as it is interested in broader social contexts of not only entire texts but also individual sentences and phrases in a historical perspective on written documentation.

⁴¹ Taavitsainen and Fitzmaurice 2007, 24.

⁴² For a discussion of our chosen terminology for the writer/sender/addresser/author of a letter and the recipient/addressee, see below *sub* Letter form.

clearly distinguish from the Assyrians⁴³ is too scarce for us to give well-informed outlines in this regard.⁴⁴

Concretely, we want to identify specific patterns of speech, structures of politeness, and social values and norms, meaning all the cultural paths the Old Assyrian traders treaded to achieve the objective of their letters. For this purpose, we base ourselves first on N. Roughley's tentative assertion that an important characteristic of human (social) life is the "subjection and sensitivity to formal deontic structures of prohibitions, prescriptions, and permissions internal to participation in the relevant practice, deontic structures expressed in relevant 'oughts.'" And perhaps the most pervasive structural feature of the human life form is the proclivity of human animals to live their lives in terms of 'oughts' grounding in such structures: perhaps humans are primarily deontic or 'normative' animals."⁴⁵ Also N. Elias has long since observed, with the example of feudal Europe – and which observations could extend to the entire discipline of history – that "Pläne und Handlungen, emotionale und rationale Regungen der einzelnen Menschen greifen beständig freundlich oder feindlich ineinander. *Diese fundamentale Verflechtung der einzelnen, menschlichen Pläne und Handlungen kann Wandlungen und Gestaltungen herbeiführen, die kein einzelner Mensch geplant oder geschaffen hat.*"⁴⁶ N. Elias describes the connections between interactions among individuals and the macroscopic social order in which they are embedded, and manages to trace their ever-changing forms over several centuries. In order to appraise Roughley's deontic structures or Elias' *Wandlungen und Gestaltungen* two vantage points prove useful: first, Brennan et al. 2013 attempt to provide a framework on how norms in general arise, linger and wear away.⁴⁷ Despite reservations about some of their inferences, their approach to norms is serviceable to see trends and reasons in human interactions whose functions can be acknowledged on the level of the individual but also on that of

⁴³ All the various people(s) in Anatolia at the time learnt the scribal practices from the Assyrians and wrote in Assyrian so that, for the most part, they are indistinguishable from the latter and after some time of intermingling surely also *vice versa*. Observations based purely on proper names do not seem sufficient to draw substantiated conclusions.

⁴⁴ Furthermore, letters – contrary to Assyrians' archives – pose the least common text group encountered in Non-Assyrian archives, cf. Michel 2011b, 103.

⁴⁵ Roughley 2019, 6.

⁴⁶ Elias 1994, 324.

⁴⁷ Owing to the fact that we always have singular pieces of evidence of ancient life and no long treatises of what an Assyrian person of the Middle Bronze Age may have thought about it, the individual person and individual report is what we must build our interpretations of larger structures of the ancient world on. Therefore, certain distinctions and definitions hold little value to our analysis. We do not for example believe that social and moral norms are necessarily different things or that such a distinction would be fruitful here. That "moral norms create an essentially individualistic form of accountability", but "social norms create an essentially social kind of accountability" does not seem salient to our discussion. Any form of norm prompts, in its initial effect on human life, an act of one individual person for whom the norm is valid. Similarly, we do not see the need to try to distinguish between social norms, on the one hand, and customs or conventions on the other. K. Mertens (2019, 108) tries to define this as follows: "Following a custom or a convention implies a social awareness of alternative possibilities which is part of the social praxis." Delineating often arbitrarily the degree of awareness of proper social conduct and thereby adhering to either customs or norms is not our aim.

the individual's society. Brennan et al. base one of their main approaches to norms on the assertion that they can be utilised profitably by rational agents. Considering norms in this view enables them to provide "rational reconstruction explanations" which "are purposive explanations that ideally are (...) cashed out in terms of the deliberate and intentional actions of identifiable agents."⁴⁸ For inferring and reviewing such norms, we can easily integrate into the pragmatological purview N.J. Enfield's Peircean approach to meaning which in pragmatics is usually referred to as "relationship thinking".⁴⁹ N.J. Enfield speaks of "composite utterances" which anyone faces when figuring out what another is trying to convey.⁵⁰ These are complexes of multiple different signs engaged in any minute social activity. For the purpose of pragmatics, they all rely on (social) norms, to strategically differing degrees of explicitness and implicature. The interpretant, in C.S. Peirce's words what is the understanding and action resulting from the connection or relationship between sign and object, is being anticipated by the primary agent. In a social effort, this is ultimately based on the manifold relation between the various interactants,⁵¹ and the social situation being constructed through the composite utterance; in our case chiefly letters, first as a whole and then down to smaller parts of speech, formal sections, phrases and phrasings.

A second vantage point comes from a specific facet of 'oughts', which in pragmatics has seen a lot of attention as politeness, and which we will distinctly integrate into the "relationship thinking" approach to norms. Therein, usually defined as the wish to save as much face for all those involved in an interaction (more specifically speech acts) as permits to achieve a certain personal goal; derived from Brown and Levinson 2016.⁵² Rather than adopting a top-down perspective, focusing on society and its norms that members subscribe to, they reflect on it from the perspective of the individual with specific wants. Their chief interest lies in the reasoning behind this social norm and its specific instances which they would see as *zweckrational* in the Weberian sense.⁵³ They provide a well-thought-out model of how members of society ponder on saving face, i.e. keeping one's image intact when engaging with each other. Politeness comes into play, when so-called "face-threatening acts"

⁴⁸ Brennan et al. 2013, 134f.

⁴⁹ See Enfield 2009, 2013. For the semiotic baseline cf. Peirce 1955, from where three essential relations between sign and represented object: iconic (sign and object share common qualities), indexical (sign and object are contiguous, in time, space or cause) and symbolic (sign and object are related to each other through common, normative signification).

⁵⁰ Enfield 2013.

⁵¹ The types of relationships are expanded to the social level between two interactants (next to the relationship between [multiple chainings] of sign and object through an interpretant) in Wilson and Price 2018.

⁵² They ultimately derive politeness as a form of facework according to E. Goffman (1955, reprint in 1967a) categories of an avoidance process (with Brown and Levinson avoiding face-threatening acts), a corrective process (redressive acts), and making points (acts aggressive against face which Brown and Levinson would see as a deviation from their rules). For an elaboration on the last category, see Goffman 1967b.

⁵³ So it is the individual who furthers their goal in correspondence to their expectations of the world surrounding them (Weber 1922, 12).

are to be evaluated in light of their worth against saving one's own face and that of the addressee. They discuss and categorise various verbal strategies for doing such acts. To give a relevant example, one prominent feature in Old Assyrian letters are rhetorical questions. Brown and Levinson count them among "off-record" strategies which are the least involved of the face-threatening actions. Thus, this might bear on how we might compare notions of politeness among the Old Assyrian traders with others. Since politeness as investigated through this method exclusively focusses on verbal expressions, we want to go beyond such limitations and suggest to view this aspect of social interactions under the term of civility, M. Horgan's (2021) "sacred civility" to be precise. He envisages with "sacred civility" an "opportunity to to revivify old and flesh out new connections between pragmatics and Durkheimian cultural sociology."⁵⁴ Through this we hope to move from mere descriptions of verbal interactions to better understanding what one choice of utterance over another might have meant to Old Assyrian society. This is especially useful where norms or standard rituals are being (deliberately) neglected or infringed. "(I)n reference to linguistically initiated face-threats, the assignation 'incivility' incorporates a broader cross-section of interactions, characterised by a negative evaluation (whether-in-the-moment, or retrospective) that speaks to the specificity of the infraction being evaluated, while simultaneously alluding to transcontextual norms of behaviours and culturally coded elements of successful social performance."⁵⁵ As civility can be called an expression of solidarity, it weighs in heavily on the concept of trust⁵⁶ which is all important for long-distance trade, as will become more and more evident below.

The corpus and its limitations

Until today we know of more than 23,000 tablets that survived the interred millennia in overwhelming numbers mostly at Kültepe, but also elsewhere in modern-day Turkey. Estimations range from one-third to two-fifths of these texts that (business) letters alone constitute.⁵⁷ However, only a few thousand of the Old Assyrian tablets have suffered a philologist's gaze and had their

⁵⁴ Horgan 2021, 9. He abstracts his conceptions especially from Durkheim 1912 (with the English translation Durkheim 1995), from the realm of religious life to collective life in general.

⁵⁵ Horgan 2021, 17.

⁵⁶ For very different but on the abstracted level very comparable examples throughout the past, see, e.g., for ancient Greece Gabrielsen 2007; Terpstra 2020, 168–173; Gabrielsen 2022. V. Gabrielsen demonstrates the importance and creation of trust in a variety of non-public associations in the ancient Greek world (see esp. Gabrielsen 2007, 196). Also the medieval Jewish traders known from the Cairo Geniza, discussed above (see Goldberg 2012), can be mentioned here. Adding just one very simple example for our topic, the Old Assyrian merchants expressed the importance of trust for their endeavours often in references to "trustworthy" (*kēnum*) trade partners, co-workers, acquaintances, of which some instances are quoted below (Innāya 108, 39; [A]KT 6 235, 25).

⁵⁷ For such estimations, cf. Michel 2008b, 131 and Michel 2018, 52. The tablets as collected in OAB 4 can be added to that number.

contents made publicly available.⁵⁸ From this number of texts, we carefully cull our even smaller corpus of 1035 letters (see table in Appendix) for broadest deliberations on the epistolographic practices of the Old Assyrian trading community. Virtually all the letters are private and mercantile in nature. We possess only a handful of institutional letters - by virtue of their authors – from the main administrative agencies, *i.e.* for the most part the *kārum*, the trade association, and the king, *waklum*.⁵⁹ In order to avoid the pitfalls of individual idiosyncrasies and unique practices that could skew considerations on a societal level,⁶⁰ archival contexts form the foundation of our corpus. This way, we can establish a good prosopographic and socio-economic background for the letters' protagonists and their motivations. This is the principal contextual consideration to inform our inferences on Old Assyrian epistolography. Note, however, that we take the term archive as a rather loose term.⁶¹ Although conscious of the difference, we include in our corpus letters that stem from both, ancient collections of documents that were stored by the traders themselves and discovered *in situ*, and modern reconstitutions of text assemblages that were compiled predominantly on the basis of prosopography and that lack (good) archaeological context.⁶²

Our somewhat eclectic approach should also demonstrate that it is not our goal to make a vain attempt at an exhaustive list of all stock phrases and similar rhetorical devices for the Old Assyrian evidence, of which only a fraction is available for study anyway, but seek to make it as representative as possible. We merely rely on the fact that our corpus is large enough to encompass and display the most common expressions adequately. Much more importantly, however, on their basis, we will be able to show ways in which any such expression might have been used and what considerations might have led to their use and the use of any other epistolographic practice among the Old Assyrian traders.

⁵⁸ To gain an overview of the available Old Assyrian texts, one can, most fortunately, consult the continuously updated catalogue in Michel 2003, 2006, 2011a, 2015b, 2021.

⁵⁹ The kings, in letters bearing the title of *waklum*, serve as a mouthpiece of the City assembly, *ālum*; see Veenhof 2019. They also appear, however, as private individuals writing letters for the purpose of their personal engagement in the long-distance trade; cf. Michel 2015a, 45; Erol 2018. For the attribution of letters to specific kings, see Kryszat 2004a.

⁶⁰ As will be elaborated at different points in this dissertation, we do not strictly distinguish between society in the sense to truly encompass all Assyrian persons that we may know of, however fleetingly, on the one hand, and the very large subsection of Old Assyrian society that consists of the traders, on the other. Whenever we make generalising remarks, they, first of all, only refer to the long-distance traders. Whether these might transfer to broader contexts is of secondary nature, and due to the lack of evidence from Assur speculative at best.

⁶¹ For a fruitful scientific discourse, it is certainly necessary that we define here what we mean by any specific term while at the same time acknowledging that we rarely need an overly exclusive and narrow definition; as N. Elias (1994, 43) said: "Allzu leicht werden diese Begriffe zu Wortfetischen, aus denen jede Anschaulichkeit verschwunden ist und damit im Grunde jede Klarheit."

⁶² For an account of the few thousands of early tablets from illicit excavations, found c. 1880-1947, and those from controlled excavations since then, cf. Michel 2008b, 117–119, and on a more anecdotal note, Larsen 2015, 17–26.

ancient archives	archival edition	letters	reconstituted archives ⁶³	archival edition	letters
Aššur-mūtappil	TPAK 1	18	Aššur-nāda	OAA 1	133
Elamma	(A)KT 8	105	Imdī-ilum	<i>Imdīlum</i>	144
Kuliya	(A)KT 5	35	Innaya, son of Amuraya	<i>Innāya</i>	42
Šalim-Aššur	(A)KT 6a-e	303	Innaya, son of Elāli	<i>Innāya</i>	116
Šumī-abīya	TPAK 1	11			
Šu-lštar	(A)KT 11a	132			

Table 1: Overview of the archives (named after the main or eldest archive holders), both ancient and modern, of which the corpus' letters are part of, plus their main publications and a tally of the letters considered in the present work.

Talking about archives, we must, moreover, consider the selection processes that already occurred in ancient times, and which immeasurably increased the tablets' chances of surviving until today.⁶⁴ Surely, not all letters that we can assume had been fashioned would also be stored for future use rather than discarded as every-day ephemerals.⁶⁵

It is, furthermore, instructive that this train of thought leads to a point of view in which the archival and archaeological context does need to be critically examined. This is the case for example, when we consider the purpose of letters beyond simply conveying a message over a long distance. This heavily plays into why (certain) letters would have been archived (over others). To give an example, the table below arranges tablets of a few big and small archives in relation to Kaneš, the location of all those archives,⁶⁶ a matter naturally only possible with those archives found *in situ*.

⁶³ Some of the texts belonging to the archives of Imdī-ilum, and the Innayas do come from controlled excavations. These excavations were, however, too inadequate to gain any semblance of archival context for the cuneiform tablets. See, for instance, Özgüç 1999, 73, where the later leader of the excavations T. Özgüç bluntly expresses his great dismay with any of the previous works by "scientist-explorers" at the *tepe*.

⁶⁴ The Assyrians' archival practices and the position of letters in those archives is discussed below.

⁶⁵ This situation, interestingly, is diametrically opposed to what we find in medieval Russia with, e.g., the Novgorod merchants who wrote on birch-bark. These strips of bark with short letters literally litter the road sides, and none had been stored, cf. Dekker 2018, 4.

⁶⁶ While compiling a database of the letters for our corpus, we also tried to guess at the directions they had originally been meant to be sent in, although the letters and their envelopes themselves never have an explicit address that points to any geographical places. In the full list of letters below (Appendix), we give such places of origin and of destination with varying degrees of certainty depending on how we came to attribute one place or another to the letter. On the one hand, the overall circumstances of the individuals, what we know about how they moved for the trade (e.g. some spent most of their days in Kaneš, others rather in Assur, which could also change throughout their lives), and, on the other hand, the contents of the individual letters (e.g. tin would typically be bought in Assur to be shipped to Anatolia, while silver would be acquired in Anatolia to be shipped to Assur) factor into these considerations.

		author	amount
Aššur-nāda archive	<i>from</i> Kaneš	anyone	19
		Aššur-nāda, son of Aššur-idī	11
	<i>to</i> Kaneš	anyone	95
		Aššur-nāda, son of Aššur-idī	14
Elamma archive⁶⁷	<i>from</i> Kaneš	anyone	18
		Elamma, son of Iddin-Suen	8
	<i>to</i> Kaneš	anyone	29
		Elamma, son of Iddin-Suen	2
Kuliya archive	<i>from</i> Kaneš	anyone	7
		Kuliya, son of Ali-abum	3
	<i>to</i> Kaneš	anyone	9
		Kuliya, son of Ali-abum	0
Šalim-Aššur archive	<i>from</i> Kaneš	anyone	28
		Šalim-Aššur, son of Issu-arik	5
		Ennam-Aššur, son of Šalim-Aššur	20
	<i>to</i> Kaneš	anyone	140
		Šalim-Aššur, son of Issu-arik	19
		Ennam-Aššur, son of Šalim-Aššur	14
		Aššur	

Table 2: Sample set of letters sent to and from Kaneš regarding the holders of archives in that town.

As expected, the majority of tablets inside an archive in Kaneš were also sent *to* Kaneš. However, the amount of those sent *from* Kaneš must not be neglected. The picture is complicated even further, when we consider that a respectable amount of the letters was sent by the archive holders themselves. Why we would find many letters sent from Kaneš in the archives, is easily explained for the clear outlier in Kuliya with his profession as messenger of the *kārum* Kaneš, showing letters around but ultimately bringing them back with him to Kaneš. Explanations for the other instances

⁶⁷ Due to the nature of the excavations at Kültepe, it is not always straightforward to attribute tablets to a specific archaeological context, in our case a house or part thereof that might have constituted a closed storage area/archive. Our numbers include only those letters that have a high likelihood, e.g. because of prosopographical considerations, to really have belonged to an ancient archival context. In the case of the Elamma archive, K. Veenhof ([A]KT 8] 2017, XXVII+XXX) separates on basis of their excavation numbers and prosopography tablets not concerning Elamma's family that probably contaminate the assemblage. These texts are not considered here.

range from the letters being copies,⁶⁸ perhaps even drafts, to them having been sent as the archive holder was travelling from Kaneš and writing to family or colleagues residing there. The merchants could also have brought them back from one of their journeys because of some further relevance. Maybe such letters merely served as *aide-mémoires* and were eventually simply forgotten in storage, since letters also seem to feature heavily among to oldest pieces of documentation in an archive. In many cases, however, we can see that letters could possess farther-reaching qualities, namely legal relevancy. A somewhat comparable situation is found among the merchant letters of the Cairo Geniza, for which J. Goldberg observed that “(i)n many ways, the ephemeral character of letters reflects the fact that they both acted as and were treated as substitute speech. The writer spoke from a distance, but his words in a letter could often have the same force as his speech in the public market. (...) Business writers shared this understanding, thus letters had much of the authority that an individual commanded when he spoke in the market – equally, they did not carry the full weight of legal instruments”⁶⁹ The legal relevance of letters seems to be even stronger among the Old Assyrian traders. This specific point shall be further elaborated below, “Definition and purpose”. A brief example, here already, would be *Kayseri 51* in which a letter features as proof of a task fulfilled.

Kayseri 51,⁷⁰ 3-11: 13 *ṣub[ātī] ša Kuliya ana Alpīlī u Aššur-ṣulūlī mera Aššur-šad-ilī piqidma u našpertašunu leqēma šēbilam!* “Entrust the 13 tex[tiles] of Kuliya to Alpīlī and Aššur-ṣulūlī and obtain a letter (*acknowledging the reception of the textiles*) from them and send it to me!”

In any case, only some letters were archived, hence discovered today in a specific assemblage rather than as chance refuse. This observation strongly influences our discussion of the letter form as well since we take as ideal letter that which provides necessary background information first (*narration*) and then poses a specific request (*petitio*). Such letters were only needed in case of complications in the trading activities. What we find most, are Assyrian traders asking for help. We should, however, hesitate to claim that therefore they only wrote letters in times of dire need. Rather it is those letters that bore the most implications beyond the immediate conveyance of a message, and thereby were worth keeping.

⁶⁸ Cf. Michel 2018, 53 citing CCT 2 6, 14f.: *mimma ṭuppī ša uštenebbalakkunn[i] meḥrišunu ukaʾʾal* “I keep a copy of any letter I send you.” An interesting example could also be (A)KT 6 331, 23-26: *umma Damiq-pī-Aššur-m[a] ammā meḥrat našpertim [š]a našākkunni uzakkunu apte*. “Damiq-pī-Aššur said: ‘Look now, I have informed you of the copy of the letter that I am bringing to you.’” One might wonder whether there had always been a copy of the letter or if it is a new one because the owner/addressee wants to keep the original. This passage points, in any case, to certain legal implications of letters as important pieces of documentation, as shall be further demonstrated below.

⁶⁹ Goldberg 2012, 133.

⁷⁰ See Hecker 1999, 563 fn. 11, and for the specific interpretation of the content that we follow, see (A)KT 5, 191 “Addendum”.

That there could have existed also other kinds of letters, perhaps shorter, perhaps less rhetorically elaborate, can be demonstrated by occasional references to such letters.

(A)KT 6 739, 8-11: *tîrtî mala u 2-šinišu illikakkunūti attūnu : šulumkunu matīma lā illikam*¹ “I sent you instructions several times, but you, you have never sent me (even just) a message about your well-being.” Aššur-gimlī is writing to three persons bearing Anatolian names about matters of the household, such as a child’s dress, a *naḥluptum ša šuhrim* (l. 5f.).

We also occasionally find short letters that only give basic instructions without any further information or justification. These (rarely extant) letters may inform us of what would have been considered self-evident in the Assyrians’ day-to-day activities and not worthy of further explanation or justification.

As initially stated, the main reason for this specific corpus-based approach is that it enables us to contextualise the letters in many different ways. At times we can even infer certain psychological states of mind that could have affected an individual’s epistolographic practices in a certain stage of his or her life. A good example is Ennam-Aššur, son of Šalim-Aššur, who is one of the main actors in the so-called Šalim-Aššur archive. He fell into a severe depression after the prolonged strains his father’s death and the ensuing economic fallout had put him through.⁷¹ Several associates describe the situation in a letter to Ennam-Aššur, in an attempt to get him to become active again.

(A)KT 6 287, 4-18: *mīššu ša ammakam ašar lā abim u ummim nālātinima u muršam ana muršim turaddû? kīma annakam ana bēt ilim turruduma ište ilim ennanātīm tēta-na>rrišu u pani ilika tūtanannunu u aḥum u ebrum libbam iddanakkunni*¹, *attā ammakam kīma awīlim raqīm šanat tātašab ša tīrtam u ḥušaḥḥam lā tīšû*. “Why is it that you lie about there where there are neither father nor mother and aggravate the illness? Instead of descending to the temple here, to fervently ask for help from the god and continually pray before your god, and so colleague and friend could give you courage, you have sat there for a year like an empty man who has neither wishes nor needs.”

While not every situation encountered in Old Assyrian letters may be quite as dramatic, any such knowledge greatly helps us in evaluating the main forms of epistolary exchange. We want to tease out on a societal level the main modes of letter correspondence. Keeping in mind the situations of the individual letter authors and how this might affect their choices, helps distinguish the norm from the extraordinary.

⁷¹ The death of old, prominent merchants, heads of ‘family firms’ was always a messy affair. Prolonged legal conflicts ensued, debts in the complex interwoven trade networks needed to be sorted out. Until then, funds were mostly frozen. For a good synopsis, see Veenhof 2008b, 100f., and for how this might even have facilitated the decline of Old Assyrian trade in Kaneš altogether, see Larsen 2015, 73–75.

Nature of the letters

“Letters of thanks, letters from banks,
Letters of joy from girl and boy,
Receipted bills and invitations
To inspect new stock or to visit relations,
And applications for situations,
And timid lovers' declarations,
And gossip, gossip from all the nations,
News circumstantial, news financial,
Letters with holiday snaps to enlarge in,
Letters with faces scrawled on the margin,
Letters from uncles, cousins, and aunts,
Letters to Scotland from the South of France,
Letters of condolence to Highlands and Lowlands
Written on paper of every hue,
The pink, the violet, the white and the blue,
The chatty, the catty, the boring, the adoring,
The cold and official and the heart's outpouring,
Clever, stupid, short and long,
The typed and the printed and the spelt all wrong.”

– Excerpt from W.H. Auden “Night Mail”⁷²

Definition and purpose

“Da wir mit einer selbständigen, durch Bildung und Gesellschaft vorgezeichneten ‚Briefsituation‘ rechnen wollen, um herauszufinden, in welchen festen Gedanken zu Sinn, Form und Erlebnis des Briefwechsels sie im Laufe der Zeiten Gestalt gewonnen hat, sollen alle Quellen durchmustert werden.”⁷³

K. Thraede deals with the variegated approaches towards a definition of letters for Late Antiquity and has first to argue for a unifying perspective on the genre, so he can proceed with his work on rhetorical and argumentative strategies. Although, we do not need to consider differing degrees of

⁷² This part of W.H. Auden’s poem “Night Mail” fits so incredibly well that we unashamedly steal the idea to commence with it this section from Richter 2013, 37.

⁷³ Thraede 1970, 9.

literariness over everyday functionality of letters within the limited context of Old Assyrian mercantile society – they all were very much objects of utility for the trading activities –, ⁷⁴ we should still briefly ponder on a more exact nature of the textual sources we are dealing with.

We too reckon with established rules in Old Assyrian society about the general language and particularly argumentative strategies in letters, even if they appear less pronounced, “sind doch die antiken Vorschriften über Form und Inhalt des Briefes erst nach und nach aus der Praxis herausgewachsen.” ⁷⁵ At its most basic level we should start with considering what we might understand as letters today and what the Assyrians did, through ‘form’ and ‘content’ and ‘context’, and try to reconcile the views.

A first thought about letters probably anyone can agree on is that they are a written message from one party (a single person or even a group) to another. ⁷⁶ Barring any evaluations of literariness ⁷⁷ or properly (fictitious) literary letters, among the essential contextual characteristics is that the message needs to be conveyed through the space (and time) that separates the involved parties. Considering what morphs a sent message into a letter, we would point to the formularity of the address. Letter authors address their message to an audience by use of specific formulae within the overall form of the letter.

Then the content of the message needs to be appropriately embedded into the form. First of all, it comprises information that should in some way elicit a reaction or response from the addressed audience. ⁷⁸

For Classical Antiquity, J.L. White holds that “(t)he letter is a written message, which is sent because the corresponding parties are separated spatially. The letter is a written means of keeping oral conversation in motion. Regarding the essential purposes served by letter writing, the maintenance of contact between relatives and friends was sometimes sufficient motivation for writing. But, on

⁷⁴ For criticism on the notion of letters as literature and its interpretative implications, cf. Michalowski 2011, 17ff.

⁷⁵ Thraede 1970, 9.

⁷⁶ Cf., e.g., Constable 1976, 11ff.; Müller 1985, 67; Trapp 2003, 1.

⁷⁷ As R. Nickisch (1991, 1–9) has summarised, such evaluations can obfuscate any attempts at describing the nature of letters as a genre and limit them on a very particular subset, that are personal letters of friendship or love. This also involves the notion which Cicero aptly calls *conloquia absentium* that suggests a letter simply substitutes a direct conversation, see the discussion below and Thraede 1970, 39–47. T. Adorno gives this another twist: “Im Brief vermag man die Abgeschiedenheit zu verleugnen und gleichwohl der Ferne, Abgeschiedene zu bleiben.” (Adorno 1979, 128).

⁷⁸ M. Fales (1987, 462) phrases this so: “A letter is, in other words, a series of ‘facts’ (a case or a ‘story’ or merely an utterance), yes; but these ‘facts’ are normally subjected to a degree – however slight – of secondary conceptual (rhetorical/narrative/linguistic, etc.) elaboration, in order to achieve a specific effect upon the addressee.”

most occasions, the sender had a more specific reason for writing; desiring either to disclose/seek information or needing to request/command something of the recipient.”⁷⁹

In a historical perspective, letter writing as a bespoke means to foster relationships comes late and as a secondary development. One may see a main reason for the very practically oriented dimension of letters to pass factual information in the simple fact that letter writing (like all writing) has its origin in administrative institutions, even if letters are a comparatively late addition to scribal activity. They probably first appear around a millennium after the invention of writing. The earliest examples probably come from the 3rd millennium palace archives of Ebla/Tell Mardikh.⁸⁰ The earliest letters from Mesopotamia proper come from Ġirsu/Tello out of an administrative temple context⁸¹ and are to be dated to the early second half of the 3rd millennium.⁸² Outside this strictly institutional administrative world, we find the earliest private, mercantile letters in the Sargonic period with which also the Old Assyrian ones bear many similarities.⁸³ The idea of maintaining friendship as a literary technique and inherent function of private letters was truly developed only in Classical Antiquity.⁸⁴ As a *topos*, it is often expressed in Cicero’s correspondence with his erudite friends, as in one of the letters to Atticus.

Att. 12, 53: *ego etsi nihil habeo, quod ad te scribam, scribo tamen, quia tecum loqui videor.*

“Although I have nothing to write to you, I am writing all the same, because it seems to me like talking with you.”⁸⁵

As an aside, having been reared in the setting of ‘Western’ scholarship, notions as developed in Graeco-Roman antiquity and re-invigorated by humanist thinkers like Francesco Petrarca⁸⁶ are what informs our initial outlook on epistolography to the largest part. We may still stress that they are by no means unique in human history. A similar matter holds true, for instance, for the Chinese world where, “(s)ince not only pieces of information but also material objects are passed on (...), letters were often recognized and treasured beyond their sheer messages as tokens of the absent physical

⁷⁹ White 1981, 91.

⁸⁰ See Fronzaroli 2003.

⁸¹ See FAOS 19, 25-35.

⁸² Cf. Michalowski 2011, 14.

⁸³ Compare, e.g., the letter Ki 1 from Kiš/Tall al-Uhaymir (FAOS 19, 141f.): *enma Abbāya ana Dudu’a mīnum ulā abī attā? mā ana 10 kur še’am ulā taqippanni? bētum ‘eri? šumma kaspam ye’rišūka [a]na 20 kur [ša]ša šiḡil lusābil[a]kkum. šumma a[na] qaqqadim qaqqadam lusā[b]i<la>kkum. [a]ttā šūṣi’am u mer’aka šup[r]amma [...] lišme’!* “Abbāya says the following to Dudu’a: ‘Why are you not my father? Alas, you do not trust me with 10 kor of barley? Is the house empty? If they ask silver of you, I would send you a third shekel for 20 kor. If it is for the total, I shall send you the total. Now you, send me word! And send your son here so he hears [...]’

⁸⁴ For an in-depth discussion of these functions of letters with the example of Cicero but also others, see Thraede 1970, 30ff.

⁸⁵ The Latin is quoted after Bailey 1961.

⁸⁶ Cf. Sauer 2005, 199–207.

body of their writers; an idea that in China became especially powerful in the perception of handwriting.”⁸⁷

We certainly do find such notions also in ancient Mesopotamia, at least only a very short time after the main phase of the Old Assyrian trade.⁸⁸ Even then, however, it can hardly be called the main focus of the correspondence.

During Šamši-Addu’s reign, a letter author reassures her acquaintance that distances can be bridged via letter.

A. 1248, 29-38:⁸⁹ *inanna assurri Akatiya kī'am iqabbi ummamī ālum Mārī^{ki} rūq. mimma ul rūq. ālum Mārī^{ki} ana Aššur^{ki} kīma bābāt Aššur^{ki} u Ālum ana šapārim qerub. mera šipri ša Akatiya maḥriya lū kayyān u mera šipriya maḥar Akatiya lū kayyān!* “Now Akatiya might say so: ‘The city of Mari is far.’ It is not far at all. The city of Mari in relation to Assur is like a suburb of Assur. And for correspondence, the City (= Assur) is near. May Akatiya’s messenger be constantly with me and my messenger constantly with Akatiya!”

A letter from the Diyala region brings news about a legal dispute, but the author is held up due to war. In the opening, the author shows he is pleased with his correspondent’s previous message and that he feels close to him through that letter.

Eidem and Lessøe 2001, 139, no. 65, 5-12: *ʾBullattal [š]ulumka ublamma mādiš aḥdu. kīma [š]a anā<ku> u attā ninnamrūma ninnašqū, kī'am abbaši u anā[k]u annikī'am šalmāku. lū ḥadi attā!* “Bullattal brought me your greetings and I was very happy. I felt as if you and I had met and embraced. And here, I myself am well! May you too be happy!”

Conversely, the Assyrian merchants were much more concerned with the economy of letter writing for providing information and making requests out of the sheer necessity of spatial separation. For instance, Ḫududu writes to her brother, Adad-šulūlī that there is no need for much palaver, rather he should simply ask someone over there where he is staying for help with his problems.

Kt a/k 478, 33f.:⁹⁰ *mīnam mādātīm lulappitakkum* “Why should I write much to you?”

⁸⁷ Richter 2015, 3.

⁸⁸ D. Charpin (2008, 191) explains this also with the higher degree of general literacy of that time which certainly holds true in the sense that with more people reading and writing, letters could be fashioned also in more contexts, hence also more private ones. The socio-economic and socio-cultural context is, however, very important as we probably witness the highest literacy in all Mesopotamian history with the Old Assyrian merchants (cf. Larsen 1989, 132–135; Michel 2008a), but no comparable notions of letters for fostering friendship can be found in the many letters. Of course, their literacy is used in a very specific setting – that of trade.

⁸⁹ This unedited text is cited in Durand 1985, 410 fn. 155.

⁹⁰ Cited in Veenhof 2008a, 199 fn. 1.

Also Šumī-abīya indicates to Šalim-ahum and his *amtum*-wife⁹¹ at the end of his letter that everything has been said and they should simply act accordingly.

TPAK 1 36, 15-17: *mīnam awātīm mādātīm lulappitakkunūti* “Why should I write many words to you?”

Similarly, Innaya opens an urgent letter about a legal dispute to a group of associates with such words, before explaining why there is no need – or why there should not be any need – for much writing:⁹²

Innāya 99, 5-21: *mīnam mādātīm lulappitakkunūti?* ^dAššur u Amu[rrum] *ilā b[ēlīa] liṭṭu[lā ...] mamman ša ṭuppiya u kaspī ana awātīm lā iddiu šēṭūtī laqe! mīnam aqabbe? našperātīm kalašina ana šuḥārī dinšina^(sic)! ūmakal lā i[bittū]!* “Why should I write much to you? Aššur and Amurru, the gods of my lords, shall bear witness [that ...] Whoever did not deposit my tablets or my silver for the affair is reprehensible! What can I say? Give all the letters to the servants! They must not tarry even a single day!”

Always in the context of financial troubles, the next example refers to the desired collegiality among close associates and how spatial distance equates to emotional and social distance as well. There is, in any case, no hint that the author may have thought a letter could mitigate such distance.

TC 3/1 32, 25-37: *attā iāti appūtiyama ina ṭuppika tašappara<m> kīma awīlim ḥalpim ištu 1 meʿat bēri eqlim. šummamin mētāku naruqqimin tatbal! Aššur u ilī ummiāniya liṭṭulā ummiākka ša kaspam iddinakkunni kīma iāti annaruqqika u 1 šiqil kaspika lā maršū [u] lumun [libb]im iāti tašapparam!* “You write in your letters to me of all people⁹³ like a devious gentleman⁹⁴ from a distance of 100 double-hours away⁹⁵. If I were dead, you would even give

⁹¹ For the bigamous system with the *aššutum* as primary wife on the one hand, and *amtum* as secondary wife on the other, see Michel 2020c, 68–72.

⁹² We would, however, see the reasoning behind the reluctance to write a lot not so much in considerations of style and politeness that, e.g., Blaise Pascal would make in his *provinciales* in which “bombast and tedious rhetoric are replaced by variety, brevity, tautness, and precision of style” (Jerphagnon and Orcibal 2006): “Mes Reverends Peres, mes Lettres n’avoient pas accoustumé de se suivre de si prés, ny d’estre si estenduës. Le peu de temps que j’ay eu a esté cause de l’un et de l’autre. Je n’ay fait celle-cy plus longue que parce que je n’ay pas eu le loisir de la faire plus courte” (Pascal 1914, 292, “seizième provincial”; “Reverend fathers, my letters do not usually follow in such close succession, nor be this protracted. Want of time is the reason for both facts. This one turned out very long, simply because I did not have the leisure to make it shorter.” [our translation]). Rather in each case, it comes from a simple pragmatic self-interest wherefore the pertinent information has already been sufficiently provided, and from a certain indignance that there could be the need for further elaboration.

⁹³ *Contra* AHW 61 *sub a(p)puttum* “schwierige Lage” and *Imdīlum*, 418, following W. von Soden to translate “dans un état difficile”. This reading would be difficult to reconcile with the orthography and morphology in the above example, (l. 26) *a-pu-ti-a-ma*. We would interpret it as crasis of *ana pūtim*. The noun *pūtim* “forehead, front” infrequently occurs only in this construction and often to indicate reflexivity, cf. Kouwenberg 2017, 453.

⁹⁴ For the important status as *awīlum* for the Old Assyrian merchants, see below *sub* Social values.

away my capital! Aššur and the gods of my creditors may bear witness – your creditor who gave you silver was not concerned about your capital, about even a single shekel of your silver, like I was. Yet, it is to me that you write grievances.”

This is, of course, not to deny the existence of any emotionality involved in letter correspondence. It is only very clearly never a main topic to be expressed, neither is it ever the main purpose of the letters – at least those that would typically have been archived. The strongest example of wishing for a letter for moral support comes from an incomparably more dire situation than the above examples. Zizizi is writing to her parents, Imdī-ilum and Ištar-bāštī, out of desperation over her sister’s death and her husband’s impending one. The city of Assur seems to be enraptured in an infectious illness.

Michel 2020c no. 230, from l. 4: Šiduna *aḫātī mētat u anni* : *Āl-ṭāb mariṣ. ulā ale²ema išti mamman ulā atawwu u mamman libbam ulā iddanam. abī attā bēlī attā ummī attī ina ūmim ša ṭuppī tašammeāni ṭuppam lappitāma ṭuppam* : *awātīm damqātīm lappitāma ištēn ina šuhārīka lublamma libbika⁹⁶ dinam. ennān šuhārīka lā talaqqe! ennānēya leqēma ṭuppaka lillikamma libbam dinam! šumma ēšiṣ ṭupp[aka] lā illikam amu²at!* “Šiduna, my sister, has died and now Āl-ṭāb is ill. I cannot talk with anyone anymore and no one gives me encouragement. You are my father, you are my lord, you are my mother, the day you^{Pl.} read my letter, write^{Pl.} a letter! Write^{Pl.} a letter with friendly words and one of your^{Sg.m.} servants should bring it to me, so you^{Sg.m.} give me your^{Sg.m.} encouragement. Do not accept your^{Sg.m.} servant’s plea (not to go)! (But) accept^{Sg.m.} my plea and send your^{Sg.m.} letter to give me encouragement. If your letter does not arrive soon, I will die!”

Probably, there also existed letters that were written only to keep in touch and share mundane news, as requested in the example below. They simply would not need to have been archived and so preserved for us today.

Michel 2020c no. 235, ll. 4-18+25-32: *mīnum* : *annītum ša ṭuppam 2 ubān šulumkunu lā tušebbalāninni? aššēr ana ešrēšu ḫalqākunima u libbī* : *nashu u attūnu šulumkunu lā tušebbalāninni! mīnum* : *annītum ša luqūt* : *aḫīkunu sappuḫatnima u kīma aḫūkunu āšeram* : *lā išū tētanappašāni? (...) annakam kīma aḫūkunu u abūkunu kaspam ana bēt Ālim ḫabbulū*

⁹⁵ For *bērum* as the distance to be walked in 1/12th of a day, i.e. 2 hours, and the construction with *eqlum* in apposition for the indication of overland distance, cf. Veenhof 1981-1982. As a measure of length, *bērum* would equate to c. 10.8km. However, it is questionable whether, outside of land surveying, people would not rather reckon with the approximate meaning of 2 hours walking distance – even in more literal contexts than the highly rhetorical one above.

⁹⁶ The word is indeed written *li-bi₄-kà* (l. 23) although we would expect the form *libba-* as *status constructus* of *libbum* in the accusative before pronominal suffixes. Since the suffix *-ka* excludes the possibility of vowel harmony (cf. Hecker 1968, 19–21; Kouwenberg 2017, 101f.) here, it must either be a simple mistake or the epenthetic vowel is not so clear and changeable in its quality.

lā tīdeā? : iṣṣēr ša Aššur kasap tamkārūtīm irtibīma : imaššuhūkunu u taštapuāma kāram lā tamaḥḥarā! “Why is this that you do not send me even a letter 2 fingers high about your well-being? Not only have I perished ten times over and so my heart is broken, but you do not even send me news about your well-being! Why is this that your brother’s merchandise has been squandered and you act as though your brother had no-one to help him? (...) Do you not know that, here, your brother and your father owe money to the City Hall⁹⁷? The silver owed to the creditors has now come to exceed that of Aššur, they are robbing you! Yet you remain silent and do not approach the *kārum!*”

However, even this wish of receiving a short message about their well-being, in the end, serves only to complain about the addressees’ reticence and absence under pressing circumstances. It is probably a woman in Assur writing to her brothers-in-law in Kaneš on behalf of her husband about the latter’s financial troubles.

The need to write a letter arises out of difficulties encountered practically always related to the trade. All Old Assyrian correspondence is strictly situated within the context of the long-distance trade. The trade, of course, strongly shaped social structures that had to accommodate a high degree of mobility, which had an impact on virtually every part of society – as far as we know it. The large number of letters that we possess is in multiple ways owed to this background. Not only is the exchange of information via mail vital for the trade, letters also gained an enhanced level of legal relevance. Letters are in this way a substitute for spoken language, specifically for verbal agreements of binding force. This legal weight⁹⁸ must be a reason why the textual distribution in the Assyrians’ archives favours letters to such a degree – constituting the most numerous type of document –, especially in relation to archives of other places and periods.⁹⁹ It is perhaps the most important distinguishing feature of the Old Assyrian mercantile correspondence in comparison to other Mesopotamian letter corpora.

See for example the letter Kayseri 51 above in which a letter is requested as binding confirmation of a done deed. Similarly, in Innāya 149, there is a dispute whether a dispatch of copper had been shipped as promised or not. As confirmation of the shipment, a corresponding letter is to be consulted.

⁹⁷ For this main administrative institution of the trade in Assur, see Dercksen 2004, 14–39; Larsen 2015, 128f.

⁹⁸ For another synopsis of the legal force of letters, see Hertel 2013, 143–151.

⁹⁹ Letters have a much more ephemeral character elsewhere. Their use in the Old Babylonian archives for “practically instantaneous long distance communication” (Charpin 2014, 27) shows this. For the Old Babylonian royal archives in Mari, letters constitute approximately one third of the documents, being overshadowed in number by ‘accounting documents’ (cf. Charpin 2014, 39). For the Late Babylonian period, letters comprise below 15% of the total documentation (Jursa 2021 personal communication).

Innāya 149, 13-16: *našpertam [ša] ʕuṣārim u iātim : ašša mimma werīʔa[šu ulā] uššeruni : našper[tam (...)] šitammēšima u ... [...]*! “Concerning the letter [of] ʕuṣārum and myself about the fact that he (= Ennam-Suen) did not release any copper, read [(that)] letter carefully and ... [...]!”

One of the obvious examples of letters with legal import are, what we call, caravan accounts:¹⁰⁰ texts detailing shipments of goods and how to deal with them upon their arrival. In the closing section of OAA 1 121, the letter author stresses the importance of the letter itself and that it needs to be resealed and sent on to another of his representatives in Anatolia.

OAA 1 121, 44: *ṭuppam šitammeāma kunkāma ašṣer lštar-pil[ah šēbilā]*! “Read the tablet carefully, (re)seal it and [send it on] to lštar-pilah!”

The nature of letters as substitute for the spoken word and its power is inherent in all the letters that are extant to us. We find many references of citing orders from letters and answers that traders have acted accordingly. They can rely on and refer back to those messages for the correctness of their acts and see their answering letters as valid confirmation of having fulfilled the requests. (A)KT 6 354 neatly illustrates how a representative of a trader asks for a letter written by his associate to use as evidence in case of a dispute.

(A)KT 6 354, 3'-9': *adi luqūtim ša ahika annakam Salliya nišbatma umma šūtma našpertam <ša> Ali-ahim¹⁰¹ bilānimma luqūtam luššerakkunūti*. “Concerning the merchandise of your brother, here, we seized Salliya, who said: ‘Bring me a letter of Ali-ahum and I shall release the merchandise to you.’”

In (A)KT 6 113, the addressee abroad is involved in a legal dispute and the content of a letter is verified by three witnesses. The mentioned letter thus serves as representation of the defendant, and three people are willing to vouch for the veracity of its content.

(A)KT 6 113, 2-8: *ṭuppaka annakam Šu-lštar Aššur-malik Šalim-Aššur išmeūma umma šunuma awātum annītum ammala ša ṭuppišu ša išpuranni kēna Issu-arik ina maḥrīni ētawu*. “Here, Šu-lštar, Aššur-malik, Šalim-Aššur read your letter and said: ‘Concerning this matter in accordance with his letter that he sent: Issu-arik declared ‘yes’ in our presence’.”

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Larsen 1967, 6f.

¹⁰¹ The tablet reads *ʔa-lá-ḥu-im* (l. 8'). M. Larsen ((A)KT 6b, 122) tentatively suggests to read *<ša> a-lá-ḥu-im*. Since the letter deals with the goods of Ennam-Aššur's brother, Ali-ahum, we would also confidently emend the brother's name here.

In (A)KT 6 167, two letters are requested to be sent back to the author because of complications in commercial activities. The author received a letter from Assur informing him that he cannot proceed as originally planned. He apparently needs those other letters as backing in this affair.

(A)KT 6 167, 23-35: *ṭuppēn šina ša aššēr Iliš-tikal u Pilaḥ-lštar lapp[utāni] ša šēp Zikiki išti kaspini : [...]šuni išti panēmma [šē]bilāniššunu! ina ṭuppēn ammiēn qātum [ša]kānum waddu. tīrti Ālim dannutum illikam. qātum šakānum lāšu. wēdāku. ṭuppēn ammiēn šēbilāniššunu!* “The two letters that have been written to Iliš-tikal and Pilaḥ-lštar and brought by Zikiki: send them as soon as possible together with our silver [and? ...]! In those letters laying claim is made known. Strong instructions of the City arrived. There is no laying claim (on any goods). I am alone. Those two tablets: send them!”

Although (A)KT 8 87 does not provide us with a reason for the importance of the letters that are requested to be brought back, it nonetheless shows that they must have borne significance beyond the immediate message they had once conveyed.

(A)KT 8 87, 3-9: *[ta]špuram umma [att]āma ṭuppē našperātīm ša ištu Ālim^{ki} tušēšianni [šēbil]am[?] : ṭuppē [na]šperātīm ša Dadiya [u] Ennam-Aššur [Šumī]-abiya naš[?]akkum.* “You wrote to me, saying: ‘[Send][?] me the letter tablets that you took out from the City!’ [Šumī]-abiya is bringing you the letter tablets of Dadiya [and] Ennam-Aššur.”

The significance of letters can also come to bear in a political context. Innāya 48 describes a situation concerning the leaders of the Anatolian town of Ḫaḫḫum and their refusal to even read the letters that would grant the delegation of the Assyrian *kārum* certain rights.

Innāya 48, 3-15: *našpertam ša kārim ša ana rubā[?]ē lapputatni šamā[?]am ulā imū[?]ū u na<š>pertam šaliṭam ša ana ešrātīm u iāti lapputatni ešrātam[?] ušaknikma u našpertam ša rubā[?]ū šamā[?]am lā imū[?]ūni ešrātum ulappitāma naš[?]āku.* “They refused to read the letter of the *kārum* that was written for the princes. Thus, I had the delegation of ten (re-)seal the letter of authorisation that had been written for the delegation of ten and myself, and the delegation of ten wrote a letter (explaining) that the princes refused to read it, so I am bringing it.”

An intriguing example where the value of a letter seems to even surpass the power of oral communication is kt 94/k 426. K.R. Veenhof quotes excerpts of this unpublished letter in translation: “In Kt 94/k 426 (courtesy Larsen), a deposition in a conflict about the question whether a particular message had been sent or not, one party asserts that he did send the message (*šapārum*), ‘I sent you a message just like a man ... uses to send a colleague or friend’ (lines 10-13). When the other party then asks him: ‘Did you give me a *našpertum*, yes or no?’, he answers: ‘When a man sends his

colleague (for that purpose) he sends him without a written message’.”¹⁰² Evidently, here, a letter is deemed more valuable than a mere messenger.

As has been stressed time and again, all this is to facilitate the Assyrians’ trade between Assur and Anatolia and within Anatolia itself. Understandably, the sheer amount of writing necessary could also lead to various feelings of frustration.

Aššur-idī, who is always very dissatisfied with his son, Aššur-nāda, vents his exasperation in the opening lines of one of his many letters.

OAA 1 113, 3f.: *ina tuppī šitappu[rim] attahdar!* “I am becoming increasingly frustrated with constantly writing letters!”

As a topos, we also hear a few times about the hyperbolic quantities of clay that were used up for the fashioning of letters, while at the same time reproaching their correspondents of not writing enough.

Kt 89/k 232, 6-10:¹⁰³ *mīššum ša (...) tiṭṭam ša ālim annīm ina tišappurim agdamrakkunnima u kaspam lā tušebbalanni u mimmašama lā ašammeu?* “Why is it that I have used up for you the clay of this town for constantly writing letters, while you do not send me the silver nor do I hear anything from you?”

(A)KT 4 30, 27-33: *anāku tiṭṭam ša Ālim ina šutebbulim¹⁰⁴ agdamar : attī : kīma libbim : tadānim matīma : našpertikima lā illakam! : aḫātī : attī elānukki : mimma⁽¹⁾ lā išu!* “I have used up the clay of the City for sending (letters). You, instead of giving me courage, never even send me a single letter! You are my sister, I do not have anyone¹ besides you!”

Writing but not acting can also be a source of complaint, as is expressed in the example below that polemicalises letters as mere clay that is being sent instead of the requested debt being paid.

Michel 2020c no. 281, 15-18: *kīma kaspam 10 mana šibūtīm gamālim : tiṭṭam [tezzi[?]]bam!* “Instead of obliging the elders with 10 minas of silver, [you only leave me with] clay!”

¹⁰² Veenhof 2008a, 199f. The word translated by ‘written message’ is *našpertum*, ll. 15-16: *našpertam taddina[m] lā taddinam* + ll. 19-22: *inūmišu ahum aham išappuru balum našpertim išappar* (Veenhof 2008a, 200 fn. 2).

¹⁰³ Veenhof 2008a, 201 fn. 8 cites this letter from the unpublished archive of Ikūn-pī-lštar, courtesy of Y. Kawasaki, as well as mentioning similar examples: Kt n/k 161, 37f.: *u tiṭṭam ša Kaneš nigdamrakkum* “And for you we used up the clay of Kaneš.”; a longer quote of (A)KT 4 30 is given below.

¹⁰⁴ The term *šutebbulum* is typically used to talk about sending trade goods, while expected *šitappurum/tišappurum* has gained a specific connotation connected to letters, see below *sub* “Terminology”. The present example must still refer to clay tablets.

In conclusion, in an Old Assyrian mercantile context, letters are a tool in aid of trading activities sent out of a need to converse over vast distances. They are indispensable pieces of documentation with functionality beyond the conveyance of the immediate message, from an *aide-mémoire* to legal evidence. They may not directly serve the purpose of fostering friendship, they are, however, a phenomenon of long-distance trade built on tightly-knit social networks oriented around trust and help maintaining that trust, as will be elaborated below.

Topics of correspondence

By virtue of the trade the main topics discussed in the letters pertain to these self-same circumstances. The Assyrians predominantly traded in tin (*annukum*)¹⁰⁵ and textiles¹⁰⁶ from Assur to Anatolia for silver (*kaspum*) and sometimes gold (*ḥuṣārum*).¹⁰⁷ The copper (*werī²um*)¹⁰⁸ trade which they also dominated was an entirely inner-Anatolian phenomenon.¹⁰⁹ The requests they make and debate in their letters virtually always have to do with acquiring and sending money and other goods, people or information about the trade. Letters touch upon individual incidents in a merchant's activities that may be connected to the more structural matters of contracts, debt notes, etc. Through the letters of those who stayed in Assur and were only occasionally directly involved in the trade – for the most part the Assyrian women –, we also glimpse matters of domestic every-day life, from the storage of grain for food production to child rearing and what a merchant could contribute to these matters, from money to his long-missed presence.

The typologically most coherent group of letters are those that were written in the context of the regular donkey caravans that moved between Anatolia and Assur. A letter would have accompanied the shipment of silver, *i.e.* money, to Assur on how to spend the silver, mostly by stating which quantities of tin should be acquired. Once these instructions had been followed, the tin and other goods needed to be shipped to Kaneš. A letter specifying the amount of goods and money spent on them and the logistics of transport, as well as potentially trading instructions would either be sent together with the caravan or slightly ahead of it. Finally, upon arrival of the merchandise, a letter is

¹⁰⁵ The tin probably found its way into the market of Assur from mines in Central Asia, cf. Weisgerber and Cierny 2002; Parzinger and Boroffka 2003; Helwing 2009.

¹⁰⁶ For more information on the various types of textiles, which are generically designated as *ṣubātum* and are probably most often woollen *kutānum*-fabrics, and their places of production and trade in Assur itself and in Babylonia, see Michel and Veenhof 2010.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Garelli 1963, 1994, 10–15; Michel 2008c, 75f.

¹⁰⁸ Since copper is virtually always referred to logographically as URUDU we are ill-informed about the exact Old Assyrian reading, see Kouwenberg 2017, 195 fn. 68.

¹⁰⁹ For the trade in copper that was localised within Anatolia, see Dercksen 1996.

sent yet again to Assur about the various expenses, fees, and taxes of the journey, the condition of the goods and the trading thereof.¹¹⁰

Aside from such letters that would have been archived as confirmation of the transported merchandise and as *aide-mémoire*, we also have all those many letters that inform us of the manifold ways in which the trade may not have flowed so smoothly. Whenever silver was running low and relations among traders went awry, the merchants were involved in legal disputes over whichever fraudulent practice, or external disruptions such as illness, weather or political turmoil occurred, and measures needed to be taken to ensure the least loss of money, letters were urgently set up. In the end, they would have been archived (and maybe forgotten there) because they retained important references to some such eventualities that could cost precious money.

Herein, letters touch upon not only the economic but also the myriad of cultural, social, and institutional aspects surrounding the trade. Debts had to be collected, contractual obligations and favours upheld, goods sold on long-term credit or for immediate cash. Since a merchant was often away, suitable substitutes had to be chosen in his stead, ranging from servants, and employees, to equal trade partners, or dedicated representatives with the highest authority. The *kārums*, the local palaces in Anatolia, and the City of Assur all had fees and taxes in place to receive their share of the private trade. Adventurous sorts could also try to circumvent some of these via smuggling which could entail not only legal but also social repercussions if a trader's integrity was publically questioned. One's social image, especially as an *awīlum*, a gentleman or full-fledged member of the trading community, needed to be upheld and defended. There were also religious duties one had to meet. While the so-called *ikribum*, funds of a votive offering,¹¹¹ could be very prestigious and important in a trader's portfolio, cultic service in the temple in Assur was often staved off for as long as possible, much to the irritation of the family back in Assur. Emotional investment, which should normally be moderated and not let shine through the words of a letter, could be discussed, mostly if negative emotions may be the result of certain circumstances. Although official legal disputes would be avoided as best as possible, sometimes they could not, and merchants could demand the swearing of oaths from one another, call upon witnesses and have to provide evidence in hearings. Lastly, an official attorney, a *rābišum*, may have had to get involved to settle especially complex

¹¹⁰ For these procedures and their respective documents, see Larsen 1976. For a similar outline as here with a focus on the correspondence, cf. Michel 2008b, 132–134.

¹¹¹ There are two strands of interpretation about the exact nature of these offerings. On the one hand – the notion going back to H. Hirsch (1972, 59–61) –, they are thought to be offerings the merchants dedicate to a god and can dispose of. This is followed, e.g., in Garelli 1963, 252–257; Larsen 2015, 264f. On the other – going back to J. Lewy (1957, 19 fn. 2) –, they are thought to be loans provided by the temple. This idea is followed, e.g., in Dercksen 1997; Veenhof 2010, 64f.

disputes. There could even take place public denouncements and the seizing of assets (*purūʾum*, see below) where a merchant had to fear for their career.

The letters for such purposes could not simply follow a standard form and procedure as the ones immediately surrounding the caravan traffic. They required the highest degree of rhetorical effort and are thus of paramount importance for the present work. Addressees needed to be convinced to act in a satisfactory manner to resolve or mitigate whatever problems arose. One factor was always time; urgency is the most pervasive characteristic of the argumentative strategies as socially validated modes of rhetoric (see below).

OAA 1 134, 38-41: *arḥiṣ ē lā tūṣîma elîm! mimma ē tuḥalliḳîni! ippanêmma tibʾêma atalkîm!*
“Quickly, do not fail to leave, but come up here! You must absolutely not bring me ruin! Set out and come here as soon as possible!” This is but the closing section that sums up the urgency for the author’s wife to travel from Assur to Kaneš. It pervades the entire letter.

Certainly, anyone would want their problems resolved as soon as possible, not least the Assyrians, even if such urgent speed of travel needs to be seen in a relative sense. A distance of some 1,000km separates Kaneš from Assur. It would take the large caravans that regularly transported goods about 5-6 weeks of travel. There were faster means available for sending letters as well, see below *sub* Sending and receiving –, yet there remains a delay of weeks if not months between a letter arriving at its destination, the orders being carried out and a potential reply letter being sent back. The above example has been found in Kaneš still in its envelope, meaning it was never sent. If it was not simply a copy, something must have changed in the situation between writing the letter and the next opportunity to send it to Assur, although we do not know if this meant a timespan of hours or days. Maybe the matter was simply reconsidered too urgent, or a different solution was found.¹¹² Before we investigate the rhetoric of the Old Assyrian letters in more detail, we shall first study their material, logistical, terminological, and formal aspects.

Materiality

The recognisable tangible shape of a letter rests on manifold conventionalised practices. From the procurement and preparation of the raw material, clay, to its sealing in an envelope, and eventual

¹¹² We are not so cynical as to claim for the Old Assyrian correspondence the same calculated seasonality with which the Levantine polities sent hyperbolic messages of calamity to the Egyptian pharaohs during the Amarna period, as has been identified in Liverani 1990. However, the Assyrians, like the pharaonic administrative offices, were aware *quali cum grano salis* they needed to take their colleagues’ and perhaps also their own injunctions in the face of the distances in space and time they needed to traverse.

sending, many aspects surround the transmitted message. Understanding the composition and reception of letters is predicated on considerations about these facets.

The average dimensions of an Old Assyrian tablet are 5×4cm¹¹³ so that it would neatly fit into the palm of one's hand.¹¹⁴ A rectangular slab of clay in portrait format is used for a letter. The necessary size needs to be estimated in consideration of the length of the message. The mean line count runs at around 30 lines, with the shortest letters reading only about 10 and the longest ones more than 70 lines. Writing is aided by rulings for each line – differently from envelopes where rulings usually lack. Texts are written in *scriptio continua*, respecting word boundaries at line ends. There exists an optional punctuation mark, often called 'word divider', that can be used to break up a line, but serves much more than simple spacing (see below).

If the author misjudged the required tablet size by too large a margin, an additional smaller, usually more oval tablet could be used to continue writing one's letter. These supplements were called *šibat ṭuppim*.¹¹⁵ The only entity connecting such a bipartite letter is the envelope which would cover and contain the two tablets. Whenever space on the main letter ran out, the text would immediately be continued on these small supplements, without any formal indication. This makes attributing these two 'pages' of a letter difficult, if not impossible, when found separately. The *šibat ṭuppim* would be placed on top of the main letter and then encased in an envelope. On rare occasions, the usually uninscribed reverse of a *šibat ṭuppim* retracted into the wedges of the main letter tablet, if placed on top of it while not having fully dried, creating a negative imprint. The imprint on the reverse of the *šibat ṭuppim* can sometimes still be read and thereby its larger companion tablet rediscovered; see more below on this phenomenon that is also important for dealing with envelopes. Figure shows a letter with a *šibat ṭuppim* on top and parts of the envelope, which C. Michel could join together thanks to the parts of envelope.

Ideally a last sentence would be finished on one tablet before continuing the message on the next one, like in the examples below.

Michel 2020c no. 235 (the main letter is the tablet ICK 1 17b) 34-37: *u šumma aḥurāti : Ikūn-pīya ṭurdam! mamman ša ešī u še'am iša''amanni lāšu. "And if you are late, send Ikūn-pīya! There is no-one to buy wood or barley for me."* The letter continues on the supplement ICK 1 17c for 7 more lines: *še'um šaqil u takšitum lāšuma : akalum ina qātātīm ettanaṭṭir. šīm šubātī šēbilānim! ēnēya : peteā!* "Barley is scarce and there is no profit to be had. Bread is

¹¹³ See Teissier 1994, 9.

¹¹⁴ Note the above quoted letter Michel 2020c no. 235 which hyperbolically speaks of the two fingers high tablet that the author would content herself with as a message from her relations.

¹¹⁵ For a succinct description of the *šibat ṭuppim*, see Veenhof 2003, 91 A first discussion of this phenomenon, which had, nonetheless, been observed by editors a few times beforehand, is probably Lewy 1945, 181.

being snatched out of one's hands. Send the proceeds from the textiles! Bring me back to life!¹¹⁶

(A)KT 6 364, 24f.: [...] *ul šalaš naruq še'im*. "[...] or three sacks of barley." The letter continues on the less damaged *šibat tuppim* (A)KT 6 365 for 6 more lines: *mala uṭṭatam ana awīltim taddunu tīrtaka lillikamma išti šīm raqqātīm lušēbilakk[um]* "Send me your report as to how much grain you will give to the lady, so I can send it to you with the proceeds from the thin textiles!"

Sometimes we find long tablets whose content betrays them as letters, e.g. because they are grammatically directed at a 2nd person, but which lack a heading with address (see more below, "Letter form") which we would take as a defining characteristic of a letter. In the editions such tablets are sometimes taken as *šibat tuppim*. It is, however, questionable if such tablets that run for a substantial number of lines would really have fit into an envelope together with another tablet. Judging from the archaeological evidence, the bulges of those envelopes which demonstrably bore a tablet supplement are typically not large enough to accommodate tablets that read much more than 10 lines. It is also questionable if the clay envelopes would have been sturdy enough to bear two full-sized tablets.¹¹⁷ Perhaps we should see in them rather drafts of letters. One might expect there to be some indication that these tablets belonged together, maybe a mark on the envelopes or perhaps by being bound together in some form of wrapping, but nothing of the like has ever been identified. Examples of such long headless letters are (A)KT 6 242 (17 lines) or (A)KT 8 181 (33 lines). A curious example is (A)KT 6 215 (26 lines) which is in its content very closely related to (A)KT 6 214 (45 lines). It is a very thin tablet that is oriented in landscape format, for which we can offer no good explanation in either direction. If indeed these tablets contained the continuation of another tablet's text, they may even have been sent in separate envelopes.

Envelopes

Envelopes serve both to protect tablet as physical object and the content of the written document, additionally serving as a form of authentication. An important factor, especially, for letters is obviously their protection during transport. As C. Michel observed, envelopes are "made of a thin layer of clay folded around the tablet and over itself so that both its ends overlapped."¹¹⁸ During the

¹¹⁶ As C. Michel (2020c, 354) observes, the phrase, literally "to open one's eyes", is a metaphor for reviving someone (also BIN 4 72, 23 and Michel 2020c no. 281, 12).

¹¹⁷ Cf. Michel 2023a, 104.

¹¹⁸ Michel 2020b, 198. For a study in experimental archaeology on how envelopes could be fashioned, see Michel 2020b, 199f.

drying process, clay shrinks depending on its composition by as little as 4% to as much as 15%.¹¹⁹ For us this has the useful side-effect that, on the inside of the envelopes, negative imprints of the encased text are sometimes generated, when the envelope retracts into the underlying, dried cuneiform wedges. The two-fold benefit of this is that it can allow us to match opened envelopes with their tablets,¹²⁰ and potentially reconstruct damaged text on a tablet.¹²¹ If, additionally, a thin textile wrapped the tablet, the legibility of such imprints is limited, of course. This practice is evidenced by textile imprints both on tablets and envelopes. In our eyes, such wrappings can most plausibly be explained as protection of tablets that had not yet completely dried when they were to be encased.¹²² Hurried as the Assyrians often appear, it is easy to imagine that they did not want to wait at least 2 days for their letters to completely dry¹²³ but would rather see them shipped as soon as possible (see more on shipping below).

Additionally, envelopes serve to protect the integrity of the textual content. They are always sealed by rolling the cylinder seals of the main parties over them. In the case of legal documents, the entire text is often repeated on the envelope so that it has to be broken only when it is truly necessary to verify the content. Whenever the Assyrians talk about a *tuppum ḥarmum*, lit. “an encased tablet”, or talk about putting a tablet in such an envelope, *ḥarāmum*, lit. “to cover”, these kinds of legal documents are meant. That is why we often translate *tuppum ḥarmum* as “certified tablet”, because the term *ḥarmum* has these overt legal implications. The translator must decide according to context if the legal aspect alone suffices or in how far the physical act of encasing and sealing should be addressed as well.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Hamer and Hamer 2015, 117f. sub Drying.

¹²⁰ 22% of envelope fragments could be matched with their tablets of the archive of Ali-aḫum excavated in 1993, see Michel 2020b, 196.

¹²¹ Cf., for example, the tablet supplement (A)KT 6 365 to (A)KT 6 364 with their envelope (A)KT 6 363.

¹²² For this suggestion, see Andersson Strand et al. 2017, 98f. Explanations that discount such imprints as incidental due to resting the tablet on a piece of cloth (cf. Cartwright and Taylor 2011, 68) cannot account for imprints on the inside of envelopes as well.

¹²³ Clay tablets would either be left out in the sun or placed next to the indoor hearth (cf. Özgüç 2001, 370) to facilitate the drying process.

Innāya 158, 14-21: *ṭuppam ša šībī ḥirmā u anāku annakam ṭuppam ša Irma-Aššur u Dadaya áḥrim ša 16 bilat werī'am* Puzur-Anna *ana Aḥu-waqar ípqidú*¹²⁴? “Put the tablet of witnesses in a sealed envelope, since, here, did I put in a sealed envelope the tablet of Irma-Aššur and Dadaya about the fact that Puzur-Anna entrusted 16 talents of copper to Aḥu-waqar?”

Innāya 251,¹²⁵ 71: *u ṭuppum ḥarmum ša Amur-Ištar ina libbi ṭuppīyam[a šuknāš]u* “And concerning the certified tablet of Amur-Ištar, [place i]t among *my* tablets!” This is one item in a very long letter otherwise listing various debts owed to Imdī-ilum.

Letters are never found in connection with *ḥarāmum* since they are not legal documents *sensu stricto*. Rather when the act of fashioning an envelope for a letter is implied, the verb *kanākum*, “to seal with a cylinder seal”, is used. In both of the following examples, the mentioned letters have already been read, thus their original envelopes opened. For their re-authentication, in order to use the letters again at a later date, they are being resealed in agreement with the original letter author. We would argue that this is the only reason why this process is even mentioned, since fashioning an envelope for the purpose of sending a letter in the first place would have been considered self-evident. The first example comes from an institutional context, where Elālī is writing to Innaya, perhaps his son, in official mission concerning the political situation in the Anatolian town of Ḥaḥḥum. The second example has to do with trade agreements between Šu-kūbum and Pūšu-kēn in relation to documents concerning Innaya, probably also son of Elālī.

Innāya 48, 3-10: *našpertam ša kārīm ša ana rubā'ē lapputatni šamā'am ulā imū'ū u na<š>pertam šalīṭam ša ana ešrātīm u iāti lapputatni ešrātam' ušaknikma* (...) “They refused to read the letter of the *kārum* that was written for the princes. Thus, I had the delegation of ten (re-)seal the letter of authorisation that had been written for the delegation of ten and myself and (...)”

¹²⁴ We would suggest as explanation for the untypical orthography of *a-aḥ-ri-im* “I sealed” (l. 18), and *i-ip-qí-du-ú* “he entrusted?” (l. 21) that the author makes explicit in the script a rhetorical question, in the second instance, and a phonetically emphasised contrast between what he did and what his addressee should do, in the second. Vowel lengths (and geminate consonants) are hardly ever indicated according to the Old Assyrian writing conventions, so we would hazard to take the peculiar orthography here seriously. Contrary, however, M.P. Streck (1997/1998, 311f.) posits such writings with initial vowel as purely orthographic means to write the glottal fricative /ʔ/ in word-initial syllables [ʔVC] (for a collection of relevant Old Assyrian examples, see also Hecker 1966, 31f., 1968, 36f. §22d). We would still consider that, while the author, Šū-Suen, cannot be precisely identified, no other letters in Innaya’s archive that are authored by someone named Šū-Suen show any such writings (or of any vowel lengths for that matter, except for the consistent writing of *a-ḥu-ú-a* : *a-tù-nu* in Innāya 168), apart from a single instance in Innāya 23, l. 27: *e i-iz-ku-ur*, which is clearly owed to the vetitive particle that needs to be delimited from the main verbal form.

¹²⁵ The text probably belongs in the archive of Imdī-ilum and it has also been edited there (*Imdīlum*, 219-224) as CCT 2 8+9+10.

Innāya 108, 32-40: *našperātim ša aššumi ša Innaya iššēpika tublu*¹²⁶ *ammala unahhiduka attā u Innaya šitammeāšinama kīma tašmeāni attā u Innaya kunkāšinama ana mera ummiānim kēnim piqidma lušašširma lublam!* “Concerning the letters about Innaya’s affairs that you brought on your trip, as far as I have instructed you^{Sg.}, you and Innaya, read^{Pl.} them carefully and once you have^{Pl.}, you and Innaya, (re-)seal^{Pl.} them, then entrust^{Sg.} them to a trustworthy affiliated trader, so he may safeguard and bring them to me!”

This also demonstrates the important dimension that seals have on letter envelopes. A letter author would seal an envelope up to eight times, once on all edges, and once or twice on the obverse and the reverse.¹²⁷ For an example of a letter and its envelope with address and sealings, see Figure 2.

Apart from sealings, letter envelopes always feature an address naming author(s) and addressee(s). As can be gleaned from cuneiform wedges sometimes overlapping the seal impressions, seals were applied before the text.¹²⁸ The author is introduced as the one who sealed the envelope, KIŠIB PN “seal of/sealed by PN”.¹²⁹ The recipient is introduced by the simple preposition, *ana* PN “to PN”. In contrast to the address on letters themselves, patronymics are often provided. This shows a clear difference between the address on envelopes and that on letters (see more below). On envelopes, the principal purpose of the address is the exact identification of the correspondents for the purpose of delivering the letter to the right recipient. On letters, the involved persons would have been known to everyone involved and the address only needed to ascertain whom the content of the letter principally concerned. As is the case with the heading on letters themselves, the order in which the names are given is dictated by the social hierarchy of the respective groups. The highest-ranking individual conditions whether authors or addressees are listed first.

TPAK 1 18 (unopened envelope): *ana Nab-Suen mera Abī-ilī Šumī-abīya mera Puzur-Ištar Aššur-imittī mera Kurub-Ištar u Aššur-mūtappil mera Iddin-abim KIŠIB Šu-Ištar* “To Nab-Suen, son of Abī-ilī, Šumī-abīya, son of Puzur-Ištar, Aššur-imittī, son of Kurub-Ištar, and Aššur-mūtappil, son of Iddin-abum, sealed by Šu-Ištara.”

(A)KT 6 234: KIŠIB Šu-Tammuzi Elāya Ennam-Aššur *mera Elamma u Lamassī ana Ennam-Aššur* “Sealed by Šu-Tammuzi, Elāya, Ennam-Aššur, son of Elamma, and Lamassī, to Ennam-Aššur”

¹²⁶ An additional, required relative particle *ša* is probably omitted due to the coordination of the two clauses *ša aššumi ša Innaya* “which is about Innaya’s affairs” and (*ša*) *iššēpika tublu* “which you brought on your trip”, cf. Kouwenberg 2017, 784f.

¹²⁷ See Teissier 1994, 38. For example, the letters ICK 1 28 and TPAK 1 62 are sealed eight times.

¹²⁸ See Michel 2020b, 195.

¹²⁹ The reading of the logogram KIŠIB is tentative in these cases, as we are not aware of any examples of syllabic spellings on envelopes. Within the texts, however, *kunukkum* is usually used in a plural form that would indicate the multiple sealings applied with it, cf. Teissier 1994, 45; Kouwenberg 2017, 245f. Thus we might read *kunukkū* PN.

The first Ennam-Aššur is probably only referred to with patronymic to differentiate him from the addressee, Ennam-Aššur, son of Šalim-Aššur, the main holder of the archive where this envelope is from.

The address on the corresponding letter ([A]KT 6 235) of the latter envelope ([A]KT 6 234) shows a significant difference in that it features one additional addressee.

(A)KT 6 235: *umma* Šu-Tammuzi Elāya Ennam-Aššur *u* Lamassīma *ana* Ennam-Aššur *u* Ali-ahim *qibīma* “Šu-Tammuzi, Elāya, Ennam-Aššur and Lamassī say the following, speak to Ennam-Aššur and Ali-ahum!”

We see that the content of the letter concerns both Ennam-Aššur and Ali-ahum, whereas the envelope evidences that it was to be principally sent to Ennam-Aššur. There is a clear difference between recipient, the one to whom the letter is to be delivered, and addressee(s), the one(s) whom the letter affects more or less directly (see more below, “Letter form”). This particular example comes from the context of the two brothers’ father’s death. Ennam-Aššur, being the elder sibling, has to take over as the new head of the household, however what is to be done to settle the financial matters following this incident concerns the entire family. Thus, the letter is sent to Ennam-Aššur but concerns and is therefore addressed to both Ennam-Aššur and Ali-ahum.

It is, in any case, still remarkable that this short form of address on the envelopes sufficed for successful delivery. Toponyms, let alone more specific, localising pointers, are never used for this purpose. Rare cases in point may be addresses on letters, usually by the *kārum* Kaneš, that summon traders who are on the move and send the letters to “wherever these traders are”. Mind these examples are not envelopes, although the address thereof would probably have looked very similar *mutatis mutandis*.

(A)KT 5 5, 1-7: *umma kārum* Kanešma : *ana* Kuliya šāqil dā[tim] *kārim* Tegarama *u* ali Iddin-Aššur *mera* Kukulānim *wašbuni qibīma*! “The *kārum* Kaneš says the following, speak to Kuliya, the *dātum* payers¹³⁰, *kārum* Tegarama and wherever Iddin-Aššur, son of Kukulānum, resides!”

BIN 6 8, 1-6: *u[mma kār]u[m]* Kanešma *ana kār kārma* ali Ikūn-pāša *takaššadāni qibīma*! “The [*kārum*] Kaneš says [the following], speak to every *kārum* and wherever you reach Ikūn-pāša!”

¹³⁰ For social standing and logistical advantages, wealthy merchants could contribute the *dātum* payment which the *kārum*s used for collective enterprises and which granted the *dātum* payers certain privileges, like exemption from the *šaddu’atum* tax, the transport tariff on goods, or a voice in *kārum* affairs. For an extensive discussion on this practice, see Dercksen 2004, 119–147.

Probably such phrasing is owed to the difference between an institution and private people. Where the private merchants would be informed where their correspondents reside or trust that it could be found out, an institution would delegate such a task with a shorthand, to, say, their envoy, such as Kuliya in (A)KT 5 5.

Besides the address and sealings, letter envelopes can also feature remarks of emphasis or short summaries of the most important matter of the letter. Sometimes the letter is also continued on the envelope in lieu of a separate letter supplement.

Often, the authors demonstrate the importance of their letter by imploring the addressees already on the envelope to read it carefully.

(A)KT 6 751, 5f. (envelope of (A)KT 6 752): *šumma aḥḥūa [attū]nu iḥdā* “If you are my brothers, pay heed¹³¹ (to my letter)!”

(A)KT 6 783, 2-4 (unopened envelope): *apputtum ana awāt ṭuppim iḥdā* “Urgent, pay heed to the message of the letter!”

In the following example, the author combines the general wish for his letter to be paid attention to with emphasising one of the requests he makes in the letter by paraphrasing it on the envelope.

(A)KT 6 791, 5-9 (envelope of (A)KT 6 792): *aḥī attā. [a]na awāt ṭuppim iḥidma : išti Azū tīrtaka lēzibam!* “You are my brother. Pay heed to the message of the letter! Your instructions shall leave with Azū!” The corresponding request in the letter reads, (A)KT 6 792, 12-19: *aḥī attā : šumma aḥātī<<ya>> ina Ālim aplam : talqe’am tīrtaka : zakūtum išti : Azū wābil ṭuppim lillikamma libbī : liḥdu!* “You are my brother. If my sister has acquired an heir in the City, send me your clear instructions with Azū, the letter carrier, so I may rejoice!”

In accordance with OAA 1 134 the emotional letter concerning personal and financial matters, quoted above, Aššur-taklāku adds a fitting line on the envelope as well.

OAA 1 134, envelope l. 4: *apputtum apputtum lā tasaḥḥī!* “Urgent, urgent, do not cause trouble!”

Sometimes it also seems plausible that the text of the letter had been continued on the envelope. In the following example, Ennam-Aššur has already used up the upper edge to continue the letter and then squeezes one final line onto the left edge. Since the text breaks off in the middle of the sentence for lack of writing space, he would have either had to fashion a *šibat ṭuppim* or – maybe

¹³¹ We take the use of the verb *naḥādum*, here, like in the closing sections of the letters, as an abbreviation of a construction like *ana tīrtiya iḥid* “Pay heed to my instructions!” or similar; cf. the next example and see below *sub naḥādum*.

this is the case here – finished it on the envelope. Unfortunately, the envelope is too broken to be certain whether this truly is the case.

(A)KT 6 399, 26-30 (main letter of the envelope (A)KT 6 398): 10 *mana werī'am ana Ḫanu aššiamātim addin. annakam werī'am lā akšudam*.¹³² *umma šūtma iDDurḫumit laddin. 10 mana werī'am masiam* <...> “I gave Ḫanu 10 minas of copper for purchases. Here, I did not acquire any (more) copper. He said: ‘I shall sell it in Durḫumit. 10 minas of washed copper <...>’”

(A)KT 6 398, 3f. (envelope to (A)KT 6 399 with continuation of the text): <...> 3 *mana werī'am u 2 šiqil kas[pam] a[...]*. “<...>, 3 minas of copper and 2 shekels of silver [...].”

Sending and receiving

TC 3/1 1,¹³³ 12-15: *ina ellat ellat tuppūni illikūnikkumma matīma tīrtaka ulā illikam!* “Regular caravan after regular caravan we send you letters, yet never have you sent instructions back!”

The main caravans, called *ellatum*, that transported goods mostly between Assur and Kaneš¹³⁴ would also take along letters. For now, we propose to translate the word simply as “regular caravan”.

Such caravans of heavily loaded donkeys,¹³⁵ however, travelled at a slower speed than what many letters suggest would have been expedient, being estimated to take 5-6 weeks to cover the approximate distance of 1,000km.¹³⁶ There existed also different and faster ways to send letters along the trade routes not only within Anatolia but also to and from Assur. E. Stratford has recently suggested a letter could have easily travelled that latter distance in two weeks if not faster,¹³⁷ which

¹³² The verb in (l. 28) *lā ak-šu-dam* could also be read as a precative, *lakšudam* “I shall acquire (copper here)”.

¹³³ The entire letter is translated in Oppenheim 1967, 74-77, no. 6; CMK, 310f., no. 211; Hecker 2006, 98, no. 5.17.

¹³⁴ These caravans were highly organised undertakings, sharing fees and expenses, and holding accounts, cf. Dercksen 2004, 164–180.

¹³⁵ Estimations suggest that each donkey would carry loads of 70-75kg, some 130 minas (~65kg) of merchandise plus personal belongings, money for expenses and, of course, letters, cf. Dercksen 2004, 255ff.; Barjamovic 2011, 16.

¹³⁶ The first to suggest that it was possible for two caravans a year to make the round-trip between Assur and Kaneš was probably K.R. Veenhof (1988, 249). Cf. also, e.g., Barjamovic 2011, 15–17.

¹³⁷ E. Stratford (2017, 163–174) provides a thorough historical survey of the possibilities of mounted travel for the purpose of communication and suggests that the two weeks he would want for the chronology of the historical narrative of his work are feasible. For this, he compares travel speed on horse-back from Alexander the Great’s cavalry, Roman couriers and Islamic *barīd*, after having reviewed at length the evidence for various equids, viz. donkeys, horses, and mules; see more, and certain reservations about this and the expendability of the pack-animals below.

as a general proposition might be exaggerated but could be the case under special circumstances (see more below).

Even while travelling it was possible to keep up correspondence. Messages sent ahead of or after a caravan apparently moved with great agility. Moving individually, the letter carriers would probably have been able to use the extensive network of inns, *bēt wabrim*,¹³⁸ in connection with different groups of travellers/caravans that constantly roamed the trading paths.

Due to unforeseen circumstances, additional funds, for instance, may have been necessary for the caravaneers to request, as in the following example. A letter is sent ahead of the caravan. It is expected to arrive soon enough, for the requested money to be sent back in time.

BIN 4 84, 4-17: *aššumi [ar]nika uškaʔʔimma uškaʔʔin. arrutum [ša]knatma [paš]āram¹³⁹ [lā] imūʔʔū. [...]ka ušaddinū. kaspam aštaqal. ana 10 ūmē ellutum errabam. ammā uzakka lū paṭeat! iḥidma kaspam [ina ma]qātim¹⁴⁰ [ša]kšidam!* “Concerning your condemnation, I pleaded and pleaded, but the misfortune is set, and they refuse to relent. They had given your [...], so I paid the silver. The regular caravan will arrive within 10 days. Now, listen closely! Do send me the silver [immed]iately!”

An incident that happened to one of the better-known traders, Šalim-Aššur, illustrates what relative haste was possible in travelling and sending letters over long-distance. A shipment of lapis lazuli, meant to be used as *ikribum*, a votive offering, of Aššur, had been stolen. The City assembly dispatched an attorney, *rābišum*, to help him retrieve the stolen goods. Letters are now being sent ahead of the attorney to inform the caravans and other travellers *en route* as well as Šalim-Aššur’s representatives of the circumstances. Thus, the letters were moving faster than the attorney who in his turn was moving faster than a regular caravan.

(A)KT 6 134, 1-22: *a[na] šiprī ša Ālim u ālikī qibīma umma Kurub-lštar u ellussuma ḥusārū ša Šalim-Aššur mera Issu-arik [i]na Ālim ihliqūma [ṭupp]am ša Ālim [Adi]da : ubla[nniāti]. [...] ammala [ṭuppim] ša Ālim lunaddid u lutammu^(sic). šumma husāram tuštēliā ḥusāram u lāqeānam an[a e]llatim¹⁴¹ [dināma] ana Ālim šēriā[...]!* “Speak to the messengers of the City

¹³⁸ For such way stations and a lack of references to other conceivable travel equipment, such as tents, see Barjamovic 2011, 34–37.

¹³⁹ H. Hirsch (1972, 70) suggests to reconstruct *pašārum*, while I. Ichisar (Imdīlūm, 208) opts for *paṭārum*. Both would be used quite synonymously in the context of *arnum* and *arratum* (cf. e.g. CAD A, 297, s.v. *arnu* 1c, and CAD P, 238, s.v. *pašāru* 2b).

¹⁴⁰ This reconstruction is suggested by K.R. Veenhof in CMK, 290, no. 200, seeing as *maqātum* is often used with the sudden coming into goods.

¹⁴¹ M. Larsen’s reading of *a-n[a e]-lā-ti-im* seems very likely. Especially in nouns with the feminine marker *-t-*, vowel assimilation is not always followed, resulting in forms like this instead of *ana ellitim* (cf. Kouwenberg 2017, 105f.).

and the (other) travellers, Kurub-Ištar and his caravan say the following: ‘The lapis lazuli of Šalim-Aššur, son of Issu-arik, disappeared in the City, and Adida brought us a letter of the City. [...] In accordance with [the letter] of the City, he (= the dispatched attorney) shall thoroughly search¹⁴² (everyone) and impose an oath. If you discover the lapis lazuli, [hand over] the lapis lazuli and the one who took it to the regular caravan and have them lead them to the City [...]’.”

Several terms for travelling entities, besides *ellutum*, appear in this letter already: *šiprum* (ša Ālim) and *ālikum*. The general terms *ālikum* (lit. “the one who goes”), and similar *wāšium* (lit. “the one who leaves”) can also be used for requesting the dispatchment of letters, not only merchandise.¹⁴³ The question in what way they constitute yet another means of travel and if we should put this distinction in relation to the pace of travel remains open. The usage of *ālikū* in the above example of (A)KT 6 134, shows *ālikum* as a generic term for anyone travelling on the roads, as also the etymology might suggest. In the context of mail, the most common references are urgent requests of letters to be sent *ina/išti ālikim panēmma* “with the very next travellers”.¹⁴⁴

(A)KT 6 430, 19-23: *ṭuppam ʾTAʾ-ḪU-ma*¹⁴⁵ *u ša annakam ibaššiu išti āliki panēmma tirtaka lillikamm[ma ...]* (...) “... the tablet and also send me your report with the very next travellers about what there is here!”

(A)KT 4 36, 12-18: *aḫī attā. kīma našpertī tašmeanni išti ālikim panēmma tirtaka aššēriya u aššēr ubrika lillikamma 2 emārī liddinamma* (...) “You are my brother! As soon as you have read my letter, send your instructions with the very next travellers to me and to your colleague, so he may hand over to me 2 donkeys (...)!”

OAA 1 132,17-29: *ammakam 3 merʾē ummeāni : ana Kudātim šabtāma umma attūnuma 24 bilat 10 mana werīʾam masiam ša Adad-šulūlī iḫḫiblakunni : šuḫārūšu ša Adad-šulūlī ina*

¹⁴² M. Larsen (1976, 305 fn. 48) suggests the existence of a verb *nadādum* (only documented in the D-stem, see CAD n2, 309f., s.v. *nuddudu*), meaning “to search”. Outside the Old Assyrian context, there exists a verb *nadādum* mostly associated with horse care, for which CAD n1, 41f. s.v. *nadādu* suggests “to curry, to comb” and AHW, 700f., s.v. *nadādu(m)* has an entry “(Pferde) zusammentreiben?”. Following CAD for the base meaning of *nadādum*, could we have here a similar metaphor as, for instance, in modern English where combing can stand for searching thoroughly and systematically?

¹⁴³ K.R. Veenhof 2008a, 207–214 has shown that these terms could be used both for individual travellers but also collectively for groups of such and by extension we could also talk about them as a type of caravan.

¹⁴⁴ This is one of the longer forms where probably the much more frequent phrase to send something *ina/išti panēmma* “as soon as possible” (lit. “with the very next [possibility]”) originates from. In OAA 1 39, 17f., we find a unique variant using the proper ordinal number of 1, *ina ištēn ālikim kaspam šēbilam* “Send me the silver with the first travellers!”, however the author of this letter, Aššur-idī, tends to write in rather idiosyncratic ways, cf. OAA 1, XL.

¹⁴⁵ M.T. Larsen, reading *ṭá-ḫu-ma*, translates “Check(?)”. We cannot offer a better solution. The orthography for an imperative form, which, however, must be here, is in any case problematic, no matter if the *-ma* is to be considered as part of the root or as enclitic conjunction.

werišu ša Adad-šulūlī išqulūnikkumma ušabbiūka? : šībī šuknāšumma u nāpaltušu išti ālikī panîmma tîrtakunu : lillikam “Seize, there, 3 affiliated traders against Kudātum, asking: ‘Did Adad-šulūlī’s servants pay you the 24 talents 10 minas of washed copper that Adad-šulūlī became indebted to you for out of Adad-šulūlī’s copper and satisfy you?’ Set witnesses against him and send your report with his answer with the very next travellers!”

In general, the traders appear to reckon with a certain frequency of people roaming about who would transport both goods and letters at short notice. Of course, it makes a difference whether things are being sent between Assur and Anatolia or within Anatolia. In the latter case, there are also differences in moving along the main routes of trade or the lesser travelled ones, as would correspond to circumstances described in the following example. Here, uncertainty about the possibility of letter correspondence is expressed.

Prag I 749, 10-15: *šumma ālikum ibašši : ṭuppam lappitaššum : umma attāma kaspam u weriam ša libbika : ana Ikūn-pī-Aššur din!* “If there are travellers available, write him (= the debtor, who is the ruler of Ninašā) a letter, saying: ‘Give the silver and copper that is against you to Ikūn-pī-Aššur!’”

The author, Ikūn-pī-Aššur, is uncertain whether there would be a means available to send the requested letter in time, since the destination of said letter is the town of Ninašā that does not feature as one of the main ports of trade.¹⁴⁶ Ikūn-pī-Assur was to levy debts from the local ruler but thinks it easier with additional legitimation from the original creditor.

Correspondence within Anatolia was just as important as the longer-distance one to Assur, and different speeds of communication could be achieved. The following message informs the addressee about a delivery already underway.

Innāya 252, 3-7: *šuḥārē : ana N[iḥ]riya aštapar. adi 5 umē imaqqutūnimma emārē 2 ul 3 ana šēriki ušēr?ūnikkim.* “I have just sent servants to Niḥriya. They will drop by in 5 days and are leading 2 or 3 donkeys to you for your disposal.”

In any case, the references as also collected by K.R. Veenhof,¹⁴⁷ point in the direction that *ālikum* – as a collective singular – serves as a blanket term for any group of travellers. Examples like the one below about sending something *išti ālikī* “with travellers”, could, however, also be interpreted to the contrary: either a certain type of caravan is being specified (as opposed to another one, like an

¹⁴⁶ For the attestations and the conclusion that the town “does not appear very frequently in direct ‘itineraries’,” (p. 327), see Barjamovic 2011, 327–331.

¹⁴⁷ See Veenhof 2008a, 207–212.

ellutum) or, as K.R. Veenhof suggests,¹⁴⁸ this is a set phrase meaning “by caravan”. For now, we would follow K.R. Veenhof and see in the *ālikum* any sort of individual or group of travellers to the point of forming a proper caravan.

OAA 1 33, 27-32: 11 *mana annakam ša* Ali-aḥim *immaṣṣartim tamšīma tēzib. išti ālikī nušebbalaššu*. “You forgot 11 minas of Ali-aḥum’s tin in the strongroom as you left. We will send it with travellers.”

The less frequent *wāṣium* is mostly associated with the journey from Assur to Anatolia, as is the case with merchandise in connection with *waṣā’um* “to leave” and *šēṣu’um* “to export” from Assur.¹⁴⁹ Due to the specificity of the term, references to letters sent via *wāṣium* – maybe we can awkwardly translate it as “Assur travellers” for now – are rare but take the same form as any other of the described methods of shipping.

Prag I 433, 23-27: *šumma kaspam talteq’ānim ina wāṣīm panīmma tīrtaknu lillikamma kaspam lušēbilakkunūti!* “If you borrow silver for me, send me your report with the very next Assur travellers so I can send you back the silver!”¹⁵⁰

To complete the picture of travel some more, we also need to mention the *bātiqum*, a specific type of caravan. They appear to be less rigidly organised and thereby more easily dispatched than the regular caravans, perhaps by being chartered for specific purposes. Travelling in groups offers more safety on the road, and judging from the example below, the *bātiqum* clearly travelled faster than a regular caravan.¹⁵¹ We shall translate *bātiqum* as express caravan.

(A)KT 6 895¹⁵², 15-19: [... *k]unkā[ma] an[a] Eništārim dināma išti : bātiqim ša ana pani : ellit[im] illakanni lā isaḥḥur ṭurdāniššu!* “Seal [the tin?] and give it to Eništārum and send him here – he must not tarry! – with the express caravan that arrives before the regular caravan!”

Again from the correspondence about the affair concerning Šalim-Aššur’s stolen lapis lazuli, we hear that one could nevertheless catch up with an express caravan.

¹⁴⁸ See Veenhof 2008a, 210. The examples, Kt b/k 1689, 14, and CCT 3 27, 31f., of sending something “by caravan” in this sense which he gives are erroneous, we can, however, add to BIN 6 73, 25’-27’ also ICK 1 135, 16, and Kt n/k 1689, 17 (Sever 1995, 129).

¹⁴⁹ For this association with many examples, see Veenhof 2008a, 212f.

¹⁵⁰ K.R. Veenhof (2008a, 212) knows of only one more such reference in Garelli 1966, 114-115, no. 44 (= MAH 19605), ll. 27f.: [*ippanīmma*] *wāṣīm tīrtakunu [ann]itum lā annitum lillikam* “Send me your report [with the very next] Assur travellers whether yes or no!”.

¹⁵¹ K.R. Veenhof (2008a, 214–216) agrees that express caravans departed differently from regular caravans. By virtue of the etymology of *bātiqum* as derived from *batāqum* “to cut off”, to him sending something via *bātiqum* gives in essence the meaning of sending it ‘separately’ or ‘by special delivery’. He collected many more examples that point to the speediness of express caravans, of which we give only an impression here.

¹⁵² This tablet will be edited by M.T. Larsen in the forthcoming volume (A)KT 6e. It bears the excavation number Kt 94/k 923.

(A)KT 6 135, 26-32: *u šumma bātiqum mamman ētiq rābišum lētiqma unūtam ša bātiqim lunaddid!* “Also, if any express caravan leaves, the attorney shall leave (for it) to search the goods of the express caravan!”

The specific contexts in which things are to be sent *ina/išti bātiqim panîmma* seem to further underline the characteristic of speed associated with express caravans. There is always a heightened sense of urgency to them.

OAA 1 104, 13-26: *apputtum iḥidma kaspam u šibassu šēbilamma tamkāram lū nušabbi u mala šuhurka lā ibarriūni kaspam šēbilam! ippanîmma bātiqim iḥidma kaspam mala šēbulim šēbilam!* “Urgently do send the silver and its interest, so we may satisfy the merchant, and also send silver, so your children do not starve! With the very next express caravan do send whatever silver there is to send!”

Also tablets, letters, and other sorts of documents sometimes needed to be sent post haste to which the express caravan lent itself. When the above mentioned Šalim-Aššur passed away, his son, Ennam-Aššur, had to settle the commercial consequences of his father’s death, a situation which is always a matter of perceived urgency and stress. Ennam-Aššur eagerly awaits a copy of his father’s will and other letters, and has given instructions to send said will as fast as possible via express caravan.

(A)KT 6 231, 5-23: *inūmi lā libbi ilimma abī : imūtu išti Kudātim ašpurakkunūti umma anākuma ina ūmim ša abī ūṣanni šimtušu ina maḥrikunu išimma iṣurātum uṣṣirniāti. abba?ūa bēlūa : attūnu. mala abī išimuniātini meḥrat šimātīm ša abiya šubalkitānimma ṭuppam šuāti zakūssa : ana Aluwa dināma išti bātiqim panēmma ṭurdāniššu! ṭuppīkunu uqa?a. našperātikunu laštammēma lallikamma ēn Aššur u ēnikunu lāmurma bēt abiya lubbib!* “When unfortunately my father died, I sent you a letter with Kudātum, saying: ‘When my father left, he set his will before you and drew up *iṣurtum*-documents for us. You are my fathers, my lords. With as much as my father set for us, make a copy of his will and give that tablet with great detail to Aluwa and send him with the very next express caravan!’ I am awaiting your tablets. I want to read your letters and come see the eyes of Aššur and your eyes and clear my father’s house of claims!”

There seems to also have been a relatively high degree of trust put into express caravans. This might come from the merchants purposely chartering such caravans and thereby knowing better about the people involved. The same Ennam-Aššur as above regards sending goods via express caravan and via one of his servants with similar reliability.

(A)KT 6 383, 21-28: *kaspam 1 mana tiri ina kasap abīni leqeāma išti bātiqim ulā išti šuhāriya šēbilānimma luqūt abīni ašar šulmim liššiliḥ! bēlūa attūnu. iḥdāma šuhāriya ṭurdā!* “Take every single mina of *tiri*-silver from our father’s silver and send it with an express caravan or with my servant(s), so our father’s goods may be dispatched safely¹⁵³! You are my lords. Do send my servant(s)!”

Although he leaves the choice of sending the silver either by caravan or by a specific servant to the addressee, with the final statement it seems clear a personal servant would be considered most expedient. As one might expect, the same goes for messages of a more personal nature.

BIN 4 32,¹⁵⁴ 34-38: *bēlūa attūnu. šumma libbikunu mala niṣḥātum bēt ummiāniya innassaḥāni milkāma ša 3 šanat maškattī illukuma kaspam lā iṣabbutu taḥsistam ḥirmāma awātku[nu] damiqtam išti šuhāriya lappitānimma kaspam 1 šiqil būlātiya ana ḥarpī lupahḥirma [...]*¹⁵⁵ “You are my lords. If you please, consider how much import duty can be levied at the house of my affiliations, and put in a sealed envelope a memorandum that my claimed investment¹⁵⁶ runs for 3 years and no one must take it, and write me a positive word with my servant(s), so I can collect every single shekel of silver of my working capital¹⁵⁷ before harvest season, and [...].”

Also for letters of urgency, a servant, *ṣuhārum*, is favourable. For example, Innaya, when pressed over financial losses, had chosen a servant to send his request for aid with. When Innaya, after his request was left unanswered, is now stressing the urgency of the matter, we are even given the servant’s name, so he would give more legitimacy to the claims as a witness to that previous letter.

Innāya 94, 4-9: *aḥḥūa : bēlūa : attūnu! išti Azu : ṣuhārikunu tīrti illikakkunūti. attūnu : tīrtam lā tuta²erānim. ibissā²ē lā tīdeā u ūmam : ibissā²ē mādūtīm ātamar!* “You are my brothers, my lords! I sent you instructions with Azu, your servant. You did not report back! Do you not know about my losses, today alone I experienced grave losses!”

For even greater emphasis, hyperbole like the one below may be warranted.

¹⁵³ For idiomatic expressions with *ašar*, cf. Kouwenberg 2017, 376f. Ennam-Aššur’s follow-up letter, (A)KT 6 384, 4f., uses a similar construction for the same matter as here: *aššumi luqūtīm ša abīni ašar šalāmiša* “concerning the goods of our father, how to safely deal with them” (also in II. 12f. and 28, here, again in connection with *išti bātiqim*, although in broken context).

¹⁵⁴ Edited in Garelli 1963, 233–235; translated in Dercksen 1999, 85f.; CMK 309f., no. 210.

¹⁵⁵ The final word of the tablet ends on the enclitic *-ma* which would indicate that the message continued on a now missing tablet supplement.

¹⁵⁶ For *maškattum* as goods or money someone has laid claim to, see Dercksen 1999, 90–92.

¹⁵⁷ For *būlātum* = *bē²ulātum* as assets someone is given temporary disposal over for making profit, see Dercksen 1999, 87f.

Günbattı 1996, 30–35, no. 2, 36f.: *tîrtaknu šuhāram ištēn lā tabeʾelā* [...]! “For your report, do not spare¹⁵⁸ a single servant [...]!”

Likewise, close colleagues could carry letters with them, maybe because they were addressed to themselves and to their respective colleagues, maybe because it was simply opportune due to their travel routes to pass along a letter this way. They too would have provided a high degree of reliability and retraceability of the shipments like private servants.

(A)KT 6 328, 19-23: *kīma [hī]mṭātīm ša tamkārim [ašm]eu¹⁵⁹ : aššiāti : našperātīm [ša] tamkārim : ša Ālim : ša našʾakkunūtinī [Pu]zur-lštar : našʾakkunūti*. “When I read the heated words¹⁶⁰ of the merchant, because of that, Puzur-lštar is (now) bringing you the letters of the merchant of the City that I was (originally) bringing you.”

Damiq-pī-Aššur, the author of this letter, who appears as agent of a never named merchant/*tamkārum*, often acted alongside Ennam-Aššur in the inner-Anatolian trade in wool and textiles.¹⁶¹ Here, he had been carrying letters that must have concerned both himself and Ennam-Aššur, and the latter’s brother Ali-aḥum. Because of his boss’s urging and being himself unable to proceed due to heavy snowfall, Damiq-pī-Aššur sent someone else ahead with the letters so the unnamed merchant’s instructions could be carried out faster. In Ennam-Aššur’s reply, we see that, although letters could evidently still be sent, conditions were too harsh for the still relatively light pack of goods from the merchant.

(A)KT 6 329, 19-27: *kīma kuppāʾum māduni ana luqūt tamkārim ša kīma qaqqidiya ulā aštapram. ina napṭir : kunūti¹⁶² u anāku ulā ša kīma qaqqidiya : aṭarradamma milik luqūtim ša tamkārim amallik*. “Because there is a lot of snow, I did not send any of my

¹⁵⁸ For the special meanings of the verb *beʾalum* in Old Assyrian – here: “to have disposition over sth.” with the connotation to be unwilling to give up said disposition –, see Veenhof 1972, 407–412.

¹⁵⁹ The reconstructions are backed by comparison with the reply letter (A)KT 6 329, esp. ll. 27-29: *mīššu ša tašpuranni umma attāma tîrti tamkārim : ḥimiṭṭum : illikam* “Why is it that you wrote me, saying: ‘Heated instructions from the merchant came to me’”. For the significance of the controversial term *ḥimiṭṭum*, see below.

¹⁶⁰ For the term *himṭum* and the issue of rising emotions and proper conduct, see below.

¹⁶¹ For a short portrait on Damiq-pī-Aššur, see (A)KT 6b, 14f.

¹⁶² The entire sentence is highly elliptical and that an independent personal pronoun could properly function as *nomen rectus* with the *status constructus* of an N-stem derived noun *napṭirum* would be unique in all of Akkadian. Semantically it seems clear that it needs to be connected with a set phrase as in (A)KT 6 1112, 1ʿf.: [...] *ana napṭar kuppāʾim išaqqulū* “They will pay at snowmelt.” Looking ahead at the pronoun *anāku*, which clearly serves as emphasis, maybe it is owed to the uncertainty of the situation and indicates that as soon as any action is possible it will be done, be that with them, the 2nd person reference (*kunūti*), be that with himself, the 1st person reference (*anāku*), or with a third party. This is perhaps both the case with the melting of the snow that concerns them and him, and also with whoever will travel to them, either him or the third party. It would be difficult to emend it as a simple mistake for something like *ina napṭirikunu* or even *ina napṭir kuppāʾim*, if only for the word divider that makes it clear that the author fully intended to write as he did.

representatives for the merchant's goods. Once you (or I) are freed, then I will in person – or I will send one of my representatives – take a decision about the goods of the merchant.”

The level of trust and etiquette that made sending messages through other traders possible, can also be seen in more general remarks, when it is stated that something is sent with a (trustworthy) affiliated trader, *išti mera ummiānim (kēnim)*. For the commercial settlement of their father's death, the two brothers Ennam-Aššur and Ali-ahum are implored to send any pertinent tablets in this way.

(A)KT 6 235, 22-30: *šumma tadaggalāma tuṣpū ḥarrumūtum u bābātum rūqātum ibašši<ū> tuṣpī kunkāma ana mera ummiānim kēnim ša kīma kunū<ti> piqdāma ūmēkunu balum mimma lā tureqqāma lā tasaḥḥurā!* “If you find that there are still certified tablets or long-term credits, seal the tablets and entrust them to trustworthy affiliated traders of yours, and you must not extend your terms under any circumstances¹⁶³ and delay!”

These are all private individuals who stood in more or less close relation to the letter authors. Now we ought to look at evidence for people part of whose profession may have been the transmission of messages. Such a search we would begin with the profession of *šiprum* that could, at first glance, be translated as messenger. In most contexts, however, a *šiprum* appears as envoy of official institutions of both Anatolian and Assyrian origin with many more tasks than just delivering a message. For instance, Kuliya, son of Ali-abum, whose archive ([A]KT 5) is part of our main corpus, is known as envoy of the *kārum* Kaneš. In his archive, there is also a clear example of how such a *šiprum* may have moved in his line of work.

(A)KT 5 4, 1-13: *umma kārum Kanešma ana kārma u wabarrātīm^(sic!) adi Tuḥpiya qibīma Kuliya šiparni : ana taʾʾitim šapir. šina muqarribē dināšumma kārum ana kārim lipqissu! lā tušasharāšu!* “The *kārum* Kaneš says the following, speak to every *kārum* and outpost until Tuḥpiya¹⁶⁴: ‘Kuliya, our envoy, is sent for (transmission of) our orders. Give him two escorts, thus every *kārum* is to convey him to the next! Do not cause him delay!’”

K.R. Veenhof interprets some of the evidence he has collected in favour of the existence of also private messengers whose services any trader could have bought.¹⁶⁵ On the other hand, G. Barjamovic and E. Stratford would reserve the title of *šiprum* for official institutions, especially in the

¹⁶³ For the expression *balum mimma(ma)*, cf. Kouwenberg 2017, 427.

¹⁶⁴ Tuḥpiya lay on a western frontier of Assyrian trade near the Kızılırmak that had always been a defining river in Central Anatolia (Hittite Maraššantiya, Greek Halys), cf. Barjamovic 2011, 305–312. For the Hittite identification, see Garstang and Gurney 1959, 4, and for the crossing of the river during military conflict, Garstang and Gurney 1959, 22–26.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Veenhof 2008a, 219–224.

context of diplomatic relations between Assur and various Anatolian polities.¹⁶⁶ In many cases, it is doubtful if the references to a *šiprum* truly refer to the persons in their function of messenger or if it serves only as identification through their (important) title. There are, however, also clear examples where a private merchant would hire such envoys, always in intricate legal matters. In the following example, they carry a message from the City of Assur. It is indicated that in case the envoys cannot fulfil their task, which goes beyond only delivering a message, the author would send another letter (by different means) with further instructions to his colleagues.

TC 3/2 129, 23'-30': *aššumišu Ālam ana ta''urišu amḥurma ṭuppam ša dīn Ālim alqēma 2 šiprēn agurma aštapar. šumma annišam lā uta''erūniššu šiprū it[urr]ūnimma u tīrti illa[kakk]um.* "Concerning him, I approached the City in order to bring him back, and I obtained a tablet with the verdict of the City and hired 2 envoys and sent them. If they cannot bring him back here, the envoys will return here, and I will send you (further) instructions."

It also seems likely in the following example that the envoy's dispatcher is a private person. He is referred to as *šāpirum*, meaning the one who sent the envoy or, short, the envoy's employer:

(A)KT 3 92, 6-10: *annakam Aššur-taklāku šiprum illikamma ṭuppam ša Ālim Adada ušašmēma umma Adadama ammala ūmīya allak. u ištu ṭuppam išmeu u alpī allētātīm uštazziz. ana šiprim nipnūma umma nēnuma ammala ṭuppim ša Ālim Adada ša'alma u tibīma aššēr šāpirika atlak! (...)* "Here, Aššur-taklāku, the envoy, came and had Adada read a tablet of the City, and Adada said: 'I will go according to my term.' Then after he had read the tablet, he also put the cattle to his funds¹⁶⁷. We turned to the envoy, saying: 'Ask Adada according to the tablet of the City, then set out and go back to your employer!' (...)"

A *šiprum* never appears simply as someone to carry a message, rather in legal contexts and with further duties that seem similar to what also a *rābišum*, attorney, would do.¹⁶⁸

Regarding other designations of letter carriers, we sometimes find mention of a *wābil ṭuppim*, a tablet bearer, someone who would in fact transport a letter against remuneration.¹⁶⁹ This, however,

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Barjamovic 2011, 17f.; Stratford 2017, 175. For the main study of these envoys, with especial regard of their diplomatic and legal functions, be they of the City, one of the Assyrian offices in Anatolia or of the Anatolian polities themselves, see Larsen 1976, 246–282

¹⁶⁷ For *lētum* meaning the fund at someone's disposal, see (A)KT 3 30 ad l. 24.

¹⁶⁸ They, e.g., served diplomatic uses, relayed administrative decisions, collected taxes, see Veenhof 2008a, 223f. Similarly to attorneys, they also acted in private legal affairs; e.g., to inspect archives and storage or to summon witnesses. T. Hertel (2013, 63-73 and 113f.) observes that they were mostly involved whenever institutional stakes were at play as well, unlike attorneys who, after an appeal to the *kārum*, were hired to solve (complicated) legal cases between private merchants (see Hertel 2013, 92–98). Cf., in any case, (A)KT 6 272 which talks about matters of a *rābišum* who in one direct quote (l. 20) is synonymously called a *šiprum*. So we could perhaps posit that in the eyes of the traders they held similar authority.

appears rather as a *de facto* designation because of the particular task this person is doing as opposed to practising a specialised profession, as in the following example.

(A)KT 6 126, 27-36: *šumma tuppam : šuāti Aššur-ṭāb : lā naši : ana ša kīma šuāti lišpurma tuppam : ali ibaššiu maḥar kārīm : lišširū! kārūm ana mera ummeāni : lipqissu u Aluwa išti : wābil tuppim lillikam!* “If Aššur-ṭāb will not be bringing said tablet, he should write to his representatives for them to release the tablet, wherever it may be, before the *kārūm*! The *kārūm* should entrust it to an affiliated trader, then Aluwa should come together with the tablet bearer!”

There is also a unique reference to someone designated as *lākidum*, runner, in the debt record, (A)KT 6 945.¹⁷⁰

(A)KT 6 945, 13-16: *9 mana werī²um išti Iziziya. 2/3 mana annukum išti Ennamāya aškāpim. 2 šiqil kaspum išti Šu-Kūbim lākidim.* “9 minas of copper owed by Iziziya. 2/3 mina of tin owed by Ennamāya, the leatherworker. 2 shekels of silver owed by Šu-Kūbum, the runner.”

In the following letter, someone is probably hired to forward a letter to one of the addressees who is absent from the place the letter was sent to. This is, however, phrased somewhat elliptically and the messenger is not given any designation.

Innāya 15, 5-13: *annišam našpertaka ublūnimma Šu-Enlil lāšu : ana Kuburnat ittalak. nīgurma aššērišu ništapar.* “They brought us your letter here, but Šu-Enlil is absent. He has gone to Kuburnat. We have hired (someone) and sent it on to him.”

For the express purpose of delivering letters, we have, in any case, seen how they could be sent via trusted individuals and larger organisational structures, i.e. caravans. Whether there always was such a trusted person within the caravans as well or whether, say, the caravan leader is trusted to vouch in some way for the transport and perhaps even delivery of a letter remains unclear. Although any conclusion would rest on an *argumentum ex silentio*, we should still think about how the Assyrians finally received their letters, despite their complete silence on this topic.

How did the letters, after having been brought into the general locale of their destination, get into the hands of the addressees? When we read about specific individuals having brought a letter, it is easy to imagine that they may even have known the addressees personally.

OAA 1 124, 10-21: *tīrti : Ali-aḥim Elamma : ublam umma šūtma aššēr : Amur-Ištar u Aššur-nādā lišpurma ina kaspiya liddinūšum. ina kaspišu 5 mana leqēma : tīrtaka lillikam* “Elamma

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Veenhof 2008a, 218.

¹⁷⁰ This yet unpublished tablet, Kt 94/k 1132, is referenced in Barjamovic 2011, 18f. fn. 91.

brought instructions of Ali-ahum, saying: ‘He should write to Amur-lštar and Aššur-nādā, so they give it to him out of my silver.’ Take 5 minas of silver out of his silver and send me your report!”

An intricate example of letters being delivered is told in the letter (A)KT 6 167. Šalim-Aššur, another colleague, and an unnamed merchant write the letter addressed to one of the principal traders mentioned in the letter itself, Pilaḥ-lštar, and evidently the carrier of the letter himself, Zikiki.¹⁷¹ Zikiki is transporting silver to Assur and is himself instructed to entrust said silver to Pilaḥ-lštar. This letter must have been sent in tandem with the silver. We also hear that Zikiki had already carried two other letters on a previous occasion. The final message relates to yet another letter with purchase instructions by the merchant. It appears it was sent with another messenger either after Zikiki to add to the letters he is carrying, or to Assur where Zikiki is asked to deliver it with the other letter. In either case it must have been more convenient to have Zikiki hand over the letters to the addressed persons, maybe because he knew better where to find them within the city.

(A)KT 6 167, 23-42: *ṭuppēn šina ša aššēr Iliš-tikal u Pilaḥ-lštar lapp[utāni] ša šēp Zikiki išti kasapni: [...ba]-šu-ni išti panīmma [šē]bilāniššunu. ina ṭuppēn ammēn qātum šakānum waddu. tī[r]ti Ālim dannutum illikam. qātum šakānum lāšu. wēdāku. ṭuppēn ammēn šēbilāniššunu. ṭuppum ša šēp mera Maši-ilī ša aššēr Iliš-tikal u Pilaḥ-lštar lapp[ut]u ina Ālim Iliš-tika[l u] Pilaḥ-lštar lišmeūšuma ammala tīrti tamkārim šīmam li[š’umū].* “Send the two tablets that were written to Iliš-tikal and Pilaḥ-lštar and transported by Zikiki as soon as possible together with our silver [and ...]. In those two tablets it was made known to lay claim. Strong instructions of the City arrived. There is no laying claim. I am alone. Send those tablets. Concerning the letter brought by Maši-ilī’s son that has been written to Iliš-tikal and Pilaḥ-lštar, Iliš-tikal and Pilaḥ-lštar should read it in the City and make purchases according to the merchant’s instructions!”

We would also assume that through the offices in the various towns or simply through places where the Assyrian merchants gathered, the messengers would have been able to locate the addressees more or less easily. How did this work when the letters had been entrusted to groups of travellers? Should we assume that every time among those travelling there would have been someone affiliated closely enough to the addressees that they would be willing to go out of their way to deliver a letter? There must have been some system in place that informed the traders when a caravan that concerned them had arrived. Since toponyms as destinations never feature on the letter envelopes,

¹⁷¹ Zikiki is also mentioned in (A)KT 6 109 in a long list of addressees whom we should see as Šalim-Aššur’s representatives. He is the last member in the list, showing his inferior social standing, from which we might conclude that he was one of the more trusted servants in Šalim-Aššur’s employ.

very clear oral indications as to where the letters needed to be brought and clear agreements of where a caravan headed must have been provided, so as not to confuse the letter shipments. There are, of course, many letters informing the merchants of impending deliveries, but again how did these letters reach their addressees?

Innāya 75, 5-13: *našperti : Iddin-Kūbim aššērikunu : u aššēr ša kīma : šuwāti naš'ūnikkunūti. ammala tîrtišu lū annakam lū šubātē ša kīma : šuwāti lipqidūnikkunūtima* Ibni-Adad *luqūtam išti panīmma lublam*. “They are carrying to you Iddin-Kūbum’s letter addressed to you and to his representatives. According to his instructions, his representatives shall entrust you with either tin or textiles, Ibni-Adad shall then bring the goods as soon as possible.”

The following example would point even more clearly in the direction that one member of a caravan – here one of the caravan leaders – would be made responsible to deliver the letter or at least see to it that the letter is delivered.

BIN 6 76, 3-8: Aššur-taklāku *kaššār* Ḫurašānim *ṭuppī ublakkum. ina ṭuppiya ana šapātim ulā aṭaḥḥi. ina tuāriya šapātka addamma kaspam 1 mana ušēla’akkum*. “Aššur-taklāku, Ḫurašānum’s harnesser, brought you my tablet. In my tablet (I wrote), I would not come near the wool. On my return, I will sell your wool and send every single mina of silver up to you.”

In addition to the organisational means of sending a letter, we should also take a brief look into the real-world means of transport and travel, that is people on foot, pack animals and mounts, and also wagons.

Especially for the transport within Anatolia, of copper, wood, straw etc., wagons, *eriqqum*, are frequently mentioned. It can be assumed that the Anatolian polities were interested in developing roads for the support of wagon traffic for taxes on the trade. Requiring adequate roads, wagons would be mostly associated with Anatolia rather than the very long-distance transport of goods to Assur.¹⁷² In caravans, they would surely have meant a gain in speed as well, if only because wagons do not need to be unloaded during rest like donkeys.

A ubiquitous sight next to the merchants everywhere from Assur in the south and Purušhaddum in the west must have been donkeys, *emārum*.

In (A)KT 6 166, Šalim-Aššur seems to feel the rush of gold over gaining some of exceptionally high quality and which thereby promises an investment in tin for great profit. For this reason, he is eager

¹⁷² For a synopsis on wagon transport in Anatolia and many examples, cf. Barjamovic 2011, 19–23 and 44–48 Appendix 1.4.

to receive the goods and gives more detail than usual over the procedures of dispatching them and the pack animals to be used.

(A)KT 6 166, 8-21: *ḥurāšum damiq watar. annakamma 10 šiqlī ubbal. 4 bilat annakam uturrāʾēšu u liwīssu liwītum lū šūbātū kutānū lū šakšū u aššītti kaspim kutānī šaʾamma išti ālikim panēmma abkamma ana nabrītīm likšudamma ana tamkārika libbam dīn! kaspum 1 šiqil līlīma lā kasapka! emārū lū damqū! (...) iḥidma luqūtam ippanēmma ālikim abkam! emārū šinnam lū šaḥḥurū lānamma eliū!* “The gold is of very good quality. Even here, it fetches 10 shekels (of silver per 1 shekel of gold). Buy 4 talents of tin, its excess, and its wrapping – the wrapping can be *kutānum* textiles or *basic* ones –¹⁷³, as well as *kutānum* textiles for the remainder of the silver, and dispatch it with the very next travellers, so it reaches me for inspection, and so give your merchant encouragement! Every shekel of silver should be realised since it is not your silver! The donkeys should be good! (...) Do send the goods with the very next travellers! The donkeys should be of short teeth but tall of height!¹⁷⁴”

Apart from such a description of a young and strong donkey, most references that qualify donkeys speak of donkeys of a ‘black breed’, *emārum šallāmum*.¹⁷⁵ It is unclear what other breeds existed and in what way this one may have been preferable, as this is the only attribute we ever find for donkeys.¹⁷⁶

(A)KT 6 378, 20-30: 2 *emārēn šallāmēn u unūssunu Lulu liddinakkum u 1 emārim Arši-aḥ liddinakkum. Ennam-Suʾen šaʾalma šumma kasap qātī ilqe eriššuma : malliaššunu! šumma lāšu emārī ana ½ mana (x)!* “Lulu shall give you 2 black-breed donkeys and their harness, and Arši-aḥ shall give you 1 donkey. Ask Ennam-Suʾen and if he took silver for expenses, demand it from him and load it onto them. If he is not there, (sell) the donkeys for ½ mina (of silver) each!”

¹⁷³ The woolen *kutānum* textiles were the most frequently traded and sought-after textiles, cf. Michel and Veenhof 2010, 234. If we follow the suggestion for the adjective *šakšum* in CAD š₁, 193 *sub šakšu* as “wild”, it might be used here as contrast to *kutānum*. Maybe indifference as to the wrapping material, as long as the shipment is hastened, is to be expressed here, in the sense that both elaborate and basic textiles would be okay, if only the merchandise is sent.

¹⁷⁴ The very same desirable qualities in donkeys are also listed, e.g., in VS 26 74, 28-30 and kt j/k 623, 8-11 (see Dercksen 2003).

¹⁷⁵ *šallāmum* is evidently used as a noun attribute in apposition, as it takes the nominal plural ending -ū/ī rather than the adjectival -ūtum/ūtīm, see, e.g., (A)KT 8 28, 17-19: 1 *meʾat 60 kutānū 7 emārū šallāmū araddeakkum*. “I will lead it to you 160 *kutānu*-textiles, 7 black-breed donkeys.” Cf. also Kouwenberg 2017, 252f.

¹⁷⁶ For an exhaustive discussion on donkeys in the Old Assyrian period, cf. Dercksen 2004, 255–285.

There are very few references to horses per se, *sīsā’um*, outside of Anatolian administrative titles. The example below, unfortunately with little context and broken letter address, shows, however, that they were valued for their speed.

TTC 28, 7-19: *annukum mādum ana Purušhaddim ērubū^(sic)177. ammakam kaspam 1 šiqil gumurma lū ina sīsā’im annakam ittašši^(sic), ulā emārē serdamma¹⁷⁸ ippanîmma aPPurušḫa[ddim] erub.* “Much tin entered into Purušhaddum. Spend every single shekel of silver there, and it is on horseback that *it should be carried here*, do not pack it on donkeys, and so enter into Purušḫaddum as soon as possible!”

More often than horses, *perdum*, most likely a mule,¹⁷⁹ is mentioned. They were much more valuable than normal donkeys, about four-times as expensive.¹⁸⁰ Practically all references to these animals refer, however, to the trade in *perdum* as opposed to their use as mounts or pack animals. The references collected by C. Michel show a ridden *perdum* only in connection with special occasions among the local Anatolians.¹⁸¹

Among the typical equipment donkeys carried, the *zurzum* sack is regularly mentioned.¹⁸² In the protocol document Innāya 199, also tablets are stored in such a sack, next to many *tamalakkum*-boxes holding tablets.

Innāya 199, 1-6+9-15: Šu-Suen u Nazi ša kīma Aššur-malik ana bēt Atata ušēribūniātima 13 tamalakkū ša ṭuppē 1 zurzum ša ṭuppē (...) mimma annium kunukkušu ša Aššur-malik mera Innaya Šu-Suen u Nazi ana Atata ṭupšarrim ana nabšim ezibū. “Šu-Suen and Nazi, Aššur-malik’s representatives, have let us enter into Atata’s house and (now) 13 boxes of tablets and 1 sack of tablets (...): all this is left under seal of Aššur-malik, son of Innaya, Šu-Suen, and Nazi, for Atata, the secretary, as deposit.”

¹⁷⁷ The long -ū is clearly spelt out, *e-ru-bu-ú* (l. 10). Maybe the writer is thinking of “much tin” as obviously a plural amount of pieces of tin, or of multiple people who would have brought the tin into town, which would, of course, have required a form of *šērubum*.

¹⁷⁸ The syntax is askew, though the attempt for a contrastive construction between the precative particle *lū* and the negation *ulā* regarding the pack animal of choice is clear. The verbal form of the first sentence, Gt present or maybe N perfect indicative rather than a simple precative form, makes it fall apart slightly. At the very least, if it is a Gt present with a separative(?) meaning, the request could seem a bit forceful for a request, rather like an outright command (for the use of the indicative present over the precative, see below Petition section). Furthermore, the choice of *annakam* “here (locative)” over (perhaps grammatically preferable) *annišam* “here (allative)” is clearly influenced by rhetorically contrastive considerations with *ammakam* “there” in the previous sentence (for the frequent use of *annakam* – *ammakam*, see below).

¹⁷⁹ For a review mostly about the lexical situation of *perdum*, see Veenhof 1989, 520f. with further contextualisation in Michel 2004.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Veenhof 1989, 521.

¹⁸¹ Cf. Michel 2004, 193.

¹⁸² The standard equipment of a donkey consisted of a packsaddle (*matliḫšum*), a saddlecloth (*ukāpum* or *masradum*), a strap (*eblum* or *ebal sikkitim*), and a sack (*zurzum*); cf. Dercksen 2004, 271.

Maybe we can imagine that letters would also have been put into such a sack for transport. Although judging from its very general usage in transportation, the *zurzum* probably was not reserved just for clay tablets. For additional protection a tablet could be wrapped in textile, leather or straw.¹⁸³

To conclude, the traders could avail themselves of a wide array of different modes of sending a letter. Whether the letters were sent within Anatolia, maybe to neighbouring towns only tens of kilometres apart, or between Anatolia and Assur clearly makes a difference. Nevertheless, if necessary, delivery of mail could be sped up significantly, e.g. via express caravan. Donkeys evidently were the most common beast of burden used to the maximum extent possible that also required some care and planning for them to reliably cover the long stretch from Assur to Kaneš.¹⁸⁴

Archiving

καλόν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καλόν ἡ τῶν δημοσίων γραμμάτων φυλακή: ἀκίνητον γάρ ἐστι, καὶ οὐ συμμεταπίπτει τοῖς αὐτομολοῦσιν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, ἀλλ' ἀπέδωκε τῷ δήμῳ, ὅποτε βούληται, συνιδεῖν τοὺς πάλαι μὲν πονηροὺς, ἐκ μεταβολῆς δ' ἀξιοῦντας εἶναι χρηστούς.

“Beautiful, you men of Athens, beautiful is the keeping of the public records: for the record is unmoving, and does not waver with political turncoats, but it gives to the people, whenever they desire, opportunity to discern who, all along, have been scoundrels, but have now transformed and claim to be honourable men.”

– Aeschines, *Κατὰ Κτησιφωντος* “Against Ctesiphon”, section 75¹⁸⁵

Typically, letters comprise the largest portion of an Old Assyrian archive.¹⁸⁶ Here, we wish to give an overview of the overall archival setting in special regard to letters, always bearing in mind the important factor of the letters’ inherent legal weight. As has been elaborated above, long-distance communication had become so crucial for the trade that letters themselves could serve as legal evidence. We have to assume that virtually all the Old Assyrian documentation that is available to us today has at one point been put into storage in the merchants’ houses in Kaneš and subsequently

¹⁸³ For the mention of leather, see (A)KT 3 84, 16-18.

¹⁸⁴ Often enough we read of donkeys dying *en route* for one reason or another. We would, however, not think that this was indifferently shrugged off, but evidently deemed worthy and necessary of mention; cf. Dercksen 2004, 263; Stratford 2017, 172.

¹⁸⁵ See for the Greek score (and an English translation), Darwin Adams 1919, 366–368.

¹⁸⁶ In the case of the Šalim-Aššur archive excavated mostly in 1994, letters account for almost half (48%) of all texts; see Larsen 2008, 80

never removed from there.¹⁸⁷ The archives predominantly served the Assyrians' needs in an immediate commercial nature. They needed to be able to sift through their documents to have a material grasp on their invested assets. When many of the houses in Kaneš were abandoned, only documentation that must have been considered devoid of immediate relevance remained in them for us to be discovered. These texts had either been important enough not to have been discarded earlier, or forgotten to time due to their indefinite 'expiration date' (like letters).¹⁸⁸ The rest had been removed elsewhere, perhaps back to their family household in Assur.¹⁸⁹ Thus, the diachronic developments of 'ups and downs' of the documentation in Kaneš¹⁹⁰ – touched upon briefly above "State of research in Assyriology" – play an important role in our understanding of these assemblages of texts as archives.¹⁹¹ We see a significant drop in dated texts from around the year REL 110 and can perhaps imagine that many of the archives had been abandoned during that period.¹⁹² Although they never reach the astounding heights that set in around REL 80 and continued for a period of c. thirty years, there is a brief resurgence in texts after around REL 130 for some ten years, after which the numbers peter out and eventually come to a complete stop during a span of another 100 years.¹⁹³ The destruction of the palace on the mound of Kültepe and of the lower town with the Assyrians' *kārum* district in a fire around REL 139 appears largely unrelated to the stark decline in texts. Kuliya's archive ([A]KT 5) is one of the few larger text groups that run until this late date – the last dated text attests year REL 136. Also here, we would assume that if a disaster associated with a great fire – probably of a military nature – was responsible for the abandonment of some of the houses, said

¹⁸⁷ Unlike above "The corpus and its limitations", here, we are talking about primary archives constituted as such by the Assyrians themselves and archaeologically rediscovered today. An important caveat is that the exact archaeological context is often unclear (and unclearly documented), and variegated influences in the course of the millennia certainly do not allow us to claim the archives were recovered exactly as they had been left by the Assyrians. For a very good illustration of the changes to such an archive during its oblivion, in a reconstructed Neo-Babylonian context, see Baker 2004, 5f. This is the case, even without considering the above claim that all the tablets we know of – even those that surfaced prior to controlled excavations – had at one point been kept in such an archive.

¹⁸⁸ For the archival situation of letters and their storage over a few generations, cf. already Michel 2008b, 131f.

¹⁸⁹ Here we would like to stress again that, while we tend to talk about family firms, these firms served only as loose networks of contacts for the traders to operate in. In reality, each individual was responsible for their own fortunes and acted individually; see Larsen 2007. Thus, the archives discovered in Anatolia were tailored to each individual merchant, who might act as representative of the paternal household. They, however, never served as a place to record the economic history as it pertains to the paternal family. If such a main strand of the family has true material, economic relevance rather than only socially, we might expect to find its archive in Assur.

¹⁹⁰ For the main synthesis on Old Assyrian chronology and its "ups and downs", see Barjamovic et al. 2012.

¹⁹¹ For a synopsis on the definitions of archives in our context, see Michel 2018, 44–47, and in a wider context of the ancient world still valid Posner 1972, 12–69.

¹⁹² Cf. the graph that maps over 1000 dated events according to c. 1150 texts and matches them with the Assyrian chronological system of year eponyms in Barjamovic et al. 2012, 56.

¹⁹³ In the period of about REL 80 to REL 110 there are 30–60 dated events each year, whereas the following thirty years rarely see more than 10 such events; for these data and possible explanations, see Barjamovic et al. 2012, 55–73. The years until this final stark decline in texts and a fire around REL 139 correspond to the archaeological level *kārum* II of Kültepe; for an overview of the archaeological levels, see Kulakoğlu 2010, 41.

event would have been foreseen and the houses emptied of valuables prior to it.¹⁹⁴ Thus, for whatever motive, the archives have been discontinued in an orderly fashion by their owners themselves and not due to abrupt catastrophe. Generally speaking for terminology's sake, we would see in the excavated archives such that the Assyrians had vacated because they were no longer needed, hence 'dead' or 'inactive' archives; rather than 'living' ones that had been in regular use until a sudden and complete break of activities.¹⁹⁵

Unsurprisingly, considering the circumstances of disbandment of the Kanešite houses, merchandise is rarely to be encountered in those parts of the houses that can be identified as storage areas, as it would have been removed¹⁹⁶ when the owners left for retirement in Assur¹⁹⁷ or for other reasons.

While Kaneš was the Assyrians' main trade hub and as long as the individual texts still served a purpose, texts would have been kept and sorted in the archives, in order to facilitate later consultation. With certain kinds of texts, like debt notes, the temporal horizon of their lives and their existence in an archive seems rather clear-cut. Once a debt is paid, the tablet would be invalidated¹⁹⁸ and/or returned to the debtor for their records. That is, of course, not to say, that there are no situations when we find such debt notes without clear indications of invalidation still in the archive of the creditor and have to consider whether they truly had never been settled or if perhaps they are copies or remained there for other reasons of safe-keeping.¹⁹⁹ Concerning letters the situation is even less transparent. Their importance and inherent legal weight, at any rate, is already evidenced through this sheer quantity.²⁰⁰ It is also not rare to find unopened letters. Their contents must have been known beforehand, perhaps they were copies of important letters. Since letters were kept for contingencies, it is easy to see why they could be among the oldest texts of an archive and would not

¹⁹⁴ While there are documented cases of houses plundered following the destruction of the Assyrian settlement at Waḥšūšana, the fact that not only very few valuables except in graves are found in Assyrian houses but also no unburied dead bodies exist there, a sudden catastrophe seems unlikely to account for the inventory of the discovered houses; see Barjamovic et al. 2012, 68. In that volume, for the most part, the reasons behind the decline in documentation and Assyrian trade are sought in economic and administrative circumstances; be they economic recession due to changes in the administrative, economic structures, or more social and legal factors due to the simultaneous death of prominent traders and the consequent freezing of assets for too long a period of time; cf. Barjamovic et al. 2012, 69–73; Larsen 2015, 72–79.

¹⁹⁵ For a discussion whether 'dead' and 'living' are apt designations of an archive or whether we should rather think in terms of them being 'active' or 'working' or not, see Brosius 2003, 8f.

¹⁹⁶ See Özgüç 2001, 370.

¹⁹⁷ See for an outline, e.g., Michel 2008c, 80.

¹⁹⁸ For such a document to become invalid, be "killed" (*duākum*) or "die" (*muātum*), the object itself could be destroyed, marked as such, or the sealed envelope broken; cf. Michel 1995.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Larsen 2008, 87. To assume a debt had never been repaid is really only feasible if the tablet is still sealed in its envelope, thus holds indisputable legal power.

²⁰⁰ See more on this topic above *sub* Definition and purpose.

easily be discarded, and thus survived until the end of the archive itself.²⁰¹ They could serve as evidence, although the exact moment of their relevance could not easily be foreseen, so they would be kept for a long time and maybe eventually simply forgotten. An example like the following hints at how letters may be consulted even after relatively long spans of time. This letter quotes from another letter that was several years old at the time of writing.

Innāya 78, 3-18: *mīššu ša ana mē[tim t]aškunānimma ištu šanātim 2 : tīrtakunu zakūtum lā illakanni? ippanītim tašpurānim umma attūnuma kaspam ša Apatananim nilqēma : kīma ūmū tamkārika qurbūni : aššibtim : niddiššu. umma nīnuma ištēniš kaspam išti : Šamaš-tappāʾi : lū nušēbil. ūmū tamkāriya ana barkišunu iturrūnim. mā kaspam : ša Apatanānim išti Kiliya tušēbilānim. kaspam ša tamkāriya lā tušēbilānim.* “Why is it that you take me for dead and that you do not send any definite reports for two years? Before you wrote saying: ‘We will take Apatanānum’s silver, since your merchant’s terms are almost up and sell it on interest. We said to ourselves: «We should send the silver all at once with Šamaš-tappāʾi.»’ My merchant’s terms shifted to a later date. Yet now, you sent Apatanānum’s silver with Kiliya. My merchant’s silver you did not send.”

In this discussion, the material aspect of storing or archiving should not be neglected either. T. Özgüç recounts of a typical archive of tablets as encountered by the archaeologists that “(t)hey were evidently kept on wooden shelves against the walls. The tablets that were found on the floor along the walls are those that fell off the shelves in the fire. The tablets that had been packed in bags, in straw wrappings and sacks were discovered in piles at the middle of the rooms. A group of the tablets, as usual, were kept in pots.”²⁰² These rooms for storing important goods and tablets were usually locked by seals and referred to as *maššartum*, “strongroom”, or *maknukum* “sealed room”.²⁰³ Specific tablet containers, besides sacks, pots or baskets, are types of boxes called *tamalakkum* and *šiliānum*.²⁰⁴ Both of them are typically said to be sealed and at least the *tamalakkum*-boxes are also used for shipping texts.²⁰⁵

The different containers used to store tablets together with a system of markers must have been in place so that the archive was not merely a place of storage, but individual items could also be found amongst the inventory for later consultation. For instance, a letter by the assembly (*šeher rabi*) of the

²⁰¹ See Michel 2018, 64f.

²⁰² Özgüç 2001, 370.

²⁰³ See Veenhof 2003, 99; Larsen 2008, 82 For a general, recent synopsis on storage spaces in Assyrian houses in Kaneš, see Michel 2023c.

²⁰⁴ For a wide selection of example references, cf. Veenhof 2003, 102f.

²⁰⁵ In connection with their use for shipping, M. Larsen (2008, 82) makes the convincing enough argument that they were made of wood.

kārum Kaneš to that of the *kārum* Durḫumit is asking at the behest of two traders for certain documents in storage to be sent to them. The documents are labelled by name.

TPAK 1 44a, 12-31: *apputtum kīma ṭuppini tašmeāni ammakam : ali : ṭuppū u našperātum ša šumi : Elamma Pūšu-kēn Iddin-abim u Aššur-šulūlī udduʾūni ibaššiūni : ana maḥrikunu lubulūnimma^(sic) 206 kunukkī : paniūtīm šurmāma ṭuppē litammadāma u kunukkī ša tašarramāni ana qerbim šuknāšu! kunkāma kunukkīkunu : ana Madaya šiprini : dināma lublam! : Madaya šiparni lā tušašḫarā! “Urgently, once you read our letter, there, they shall bring them before you, wherever the tablets and letters are which are labeled with Elamma, Pūšu-kēn, Iddin-abim and Aššur-šulūlī’s name. Then break the previous seals, so as to examine the tablets and then place the seals you will have broken back inside. Reseal them and give your sealed parcels to Madaya, our envoy! You must not delay Madaya, our envoy!”*

The tool of choice to make archives searchable were clay dockets or *bullae* with sealings linking the containers to which they were attached to their owners. They were also often inscribed with short notes to indicate the content of the containers;²⁰⁷ for an example see Figure 3. Perhaps *bullae* could additionally serve to certify the integrity of a particular container by virtue of closing them with a seal. The Assyrian terminology perhaps also points in that direction, when they talk about containers and sealing (*kanākum*):

(A)KT 8 237, 17-23: *Dudu mera Aššur-ṭāb ḥabbulam. šumma wašab kaspam šašqilaššu! ṭuppušu ina tamalakka^(sic) ša ikkunukkī ša Šalimma kanku ibašši. “Dudu, son of Aššur-ṭāb, is indebted to me. If he is staying there, have him pay the silver! His tablet is in the box that is sealed under Šalimma’s seals.”* In this letter, Šu-Ištar is writing to three colleagues about various debts. Šalimma’s tablet box is also mentioned in another letter in the archive, no. 208, according to which Šu-Ištar is tasked with bringing her one of her tablets from within. Perhaps also in the present letter, Šu-Ištar is acting in Šalimma’s service.

About the excavations of 1994, the archaeologists describe groups of tablets stored in different loci within the storeroom and “on top of each group lay one or more *bullae*.”²⁰⁸ Documents can be sorted in rather broad categories of document types, such as through a container holding certain types, or through owners or principally concerned people, like in the example above.

²⁰⁶ Kouwenberg 2017, 49–52 explains such writings – against expected *lublū-* – as vowel epenthesis in the environment of a consonant cluster with /l/.

²⁰⁷ Cf. Michel 2018, 56.

²⁰⁸ Özgüç 1994, 369; On *bullae* and filing, cf. also Veenhof 2003, 101–105; Larsen 2008, 81–84; Michel 2018, 61–64 For details, descriptions and photographs of many of the bullae, also of the examples below, see Özgüç and Tunca 2001.

(A)KT 6 520²⁰⁹: *ṭuppūa [ḫa]rrumūtum meḫrūa u taḫsisātum* “my certified tablets, my copies and memoranda”

They can, however, also be arranged into more specific dossiers, concerning very particular instances of trade:

(A)KT 6 16: *ṭuppū ša ḫubul Iddin-abim niā'im* “tablets about our Iddin-abum’s debt” M. Larsen makes the point that this *bulla* collects documents, mostly debt-notes, ([A]KT 6 17-27) that pertain to “Iddin-abum’s attempt as a young man to gather investments in Anatolia that could become the basis for a joint-stock contract, a *naruqqum*.”²¹⁰

(A)KT 6 89: *taḫsisātum ša šībē ša šīm šapātīm ša Ušinalam* “memoranda about witnesses concerning the proceeds from wool of Ušinalam”²¹¹

A final aspect to be considered as concerns letters in the archives are unopened letters. In this regard, Kuliya’s archive seems enlightening. There we find several lists documenting tablets stored in a *tamalakkum*-box.²¹² Interestingly, within the lot of excavated texts of Kuliya’s archive only one tablet from any of the ones listed in the eight tablet lists could be identified. None of the other listed documents are extant. We would assume that they were taken along from the archive when Kuliya moved away from Kaneš. This would, in turn, hint at the importance of the tablets of these lists. While the lists themselves did not retain their value, the simple fact that these specific tablets had been organised in lists perhaps already shows their importance to Kuliya. Especially noteworthy, as regards letters, are the lists (A)KT 5 62-64. Bearing almost identical entries, with only a few omissions in one or the other, they probably inventory the same box but at different dates in time. Among the first entries, they all feature letters of different protagonists. Only no. 64, however, notes the most important piece of information to us, that these letters had been filed without their envelopes opened.

(A)KT 5 64, 1-7: 2^{šitta} *našperātum lā patiātum ša Atata mera Mannum-balum-Aššur aššēriya u aššēr Aššur-ennam mera Kubiya*; 2^{šitta} *našperātum ša abīni lā patiātum ana Bēlum-bani mera Šu-Bēlim* “Two unopened letters of Atata, son of Mannum-balum-Aššur, addressed to me

²⁰⁹ Due to the excavation circumstances, we unfortunately do not know the exact assemblage of tablets that this *bulla* marked. However, the *bulla* does carry the imprint of the archive owner Ennam-Aššur son of Šalim-Aššur’s seal (Teissier 530).

²¹⁰ (A)KT 6a, 95, comment to no. 16.

²¹¹ For a first contextualisation of these last two *bullae* within the Šalim-Aššur archive, see already Larsen 2008, 85–88.

²¹² For a discussion of the archive’s lists, see (A)KT 5, 176f.

and to Aššur-ennam, son of Kubiya; two unopened letters of our father to Bēlum-bani, son of Šu-Bēlim”²¹³

We see these letters were important enough to be stored and inventoried, and their content known sufficiently that they could be deemed such. The question remains whether they were duplicates of a third letter that had been sent and read, or whether there had never been the need to open and read them because their content or at least potential later relevance was known otherwise. The first entry refers to letters addressed to Kuliya, the archive holder, himself. Thus, it seems unlikely that unopened letters necessarily would have had been received on behalf of someone else and that subsequently the opportunity to forward them simply never arose.

While we cannot provide many definite answers about the archiving of letters, we can still see that it was done deliberately and for many different reasons each according to specific circumstances.

Assyrian terminology about letter correspondence

In a discussion of Old Assyrian letters, we must, of course, not neglect the emic terminology. Here we will broach the most important terms for letters themselves, as well as those for writing, sending, and reading them.²¹⁴ The first group pertains to terms for entire letters, with a second group rather referring to individual messages, pieces of information – commonly conveyed by letter –, and often relating to the first group. After that, miscellaneous terms for writing, sending and reading letters follow.

ṭuppum, “tablet”, is the written document par excellence. The term refers both to the object and the text. It is not restricted to any one type of written document, so it is often not easy for us to know if it refers to a letter or something else.

JCS 15 (4) 42, 3-9: *mimma ṭuppēya ša ulappitakkunūṭini išti Ennam-Bēlim šitammēma aššumi ša bēt Aššur-imittī adīni sikkī ukallu awātī adīni ulā ga[mrat]*. “Together with Ennam-Bēlum read any of my tablets that I have written to you, since he is still pestering me about the affair of Aššur-imittī’s household and the matter concerning me is still not resolved.”

²¹³ As a curious side note, where (A)KT 6 63 and 64 give the plural *našperātum* after the number two, (A)KT 6 62 gives the singular form *našpertum* in both instances. Perhaps the entries have been conceptualised differently. (A)KT 6 62 sees them as “two-times the item ‘letter of...’” (or maybe even two-times the same letter of ...), while the other lists simply count two letters.

²¹⁴ For a sketch on the Assyrian terminology of written correspondence, cf. also Veenhof 2008a, 199–204.

We would hesitate to decide whether the tablets written to the addressees were all letters or also other documents written for them. In connection with *lapputum* and an indirect object suffix, it at least seems likely that the author is (mostly) referring to letters.

In the very common stock phrase, *ina šamši ša ṭuppī tašammeu* “as soon as you read my letter” (see the discussion below), *ṭuppum* evidently always means letters, more specifically the current letter.

(A)KT 6 329, 35-43: *u ammala tîrtika umma attāma šubātū anḫūtum ibaššiū apputtum ina šamši ša ṭuppī tašammeu ina ḫuršim ša ebrim a[ttā] u lī-ašranni šubātī kalašunuma nappišāma 3 umē u 5 umē libšiūma šutablakkitāšunu!* “And in accordance to your notice, saying: ‘There are neglected textiles here.’, urgently, the day you read my letter, you and lī-ašranni, air out all the textiles in a friend’s storeroom, where they should stay for 3 or 5 days, then turn them over!”

At the same time, the frequent and seemingly indifferent use of the word *ṭuppum* shows that very often to the Assyrians themselves it was clear which exact object was referred to and that the point was referring to a written text, irrespective of object type or genre, as in the following example.

(A)KT 6 445, 10-21: *aḫī attā. iḫḫarānimma taqbām umma attāma : emārī luqūtim araddām. ṭuppam ana amtika : u iāti lappitamma šāpatka lušaššiakkum. aḫī [a]ttā. šāptam šaššiamma anāku taššiātīm ḫabbulākkum!* “You are my brother. It was during the journey that you said to me the following: ‘I will lead the donkeys with the merchandise. Write a tablet to your *amtum*-wife and myself, so I shall have the wool brought to you!’ You are my brother. Have the wool brought and I will be in your debt for the transport costs!”

Apparently, it was important for the addressee cited here to possess a written document with instructions. That this would take the form of a letter is incidental. The particular set of circumstances in this case, however, gifts us with the rare opportunity of knowing the exact reason and course of events of why the letter that conveys this information was written in the first place. The letter is making good on an oral agreement asking for a written document.

***našpertum* (*našpartum*, *nišpertum*)** fits best a translation as “letter”,²¹⁵ especially in the sense of a written message, less so denoting the physical artefact.

TPAK 1 22, 4-9: *našpertī ša aššērikunu u aššēr : Pūšu-kēn lapputatni : Pūšu-kēn šašme<ā>ma umma attūnuma kaspam : azzittišu nišaqqal.* “Have Pūšu-kēn read my letter that is addressed to you and to Pūšu-kēn, telling him: ‘We need to pay the silver of his share’.”

²¹⁵ Cf. already Larsen 1977, 97f.

As a sidenote, this is a nice example showing some of the important characteristics of Assyrian letter addresses. The address simply designates people who may be directly affected by the letter (see below *sub* Letter form). It is evident, in the case of the letter cited in TPAK 1 22, that one of the addressees had not yet been given the opportunity to read that letter himself. Furthermore, this letter which the author refers to will also serve as a source of information for the necessary procedures as well as for those justifiedly acting in a representative capacity. As is the case in the next example, missing information that would have been expected in a letter may also be pointed out and clarification requested.

TPAK 1 21a, 12-26: *ana 1/3 mana kaspim u šibātišu ša ṭuppišu Urdam nišbatma umma šūtma kāsam ša 1/3 mana 2 1/2 šiqil kaspim ana Aššur-mūtappil ana šapartim addiššum. miššum kāsam ina našpartišu lā ilputam? attā malakka.* “We seized Urdam for 1/3 mina of silver and its interest as per his tablet, but he said: ‘I gave Aššur-mūtappil a cup worth 1/3 mina 2 1/2 shekels of silver as security. Why did he not write about the cup in his letter?’ This is for you to decide.”

The function of letters as documentation comes into play, for example, when the amount of debts to be collected needs to be ascertained.

(A)KT 6 442, 4-9: *ana mala tašpuranni annakam nišpertaka ašmēma adi kaspim 1 manā'im^(sic) ša Aḥ-šalim ḥabbulakkunni ašbatma mimma kaspam ulā iddinam.* “In accordance with what you wrote, I read your letter here, and seized him for every single mina of silver that Aḥ-šalim owes you, but he did not give me any silver.”

Here it seems, a business partner had sent instructions to gain insight from another letter of his about an owed debt. Similarly in the next example, the author had apparently written another letter detailing a debt owed to him which should now be collected.

TPAK 1 29, 4-14: *aššumi 8 mana kaspim ša ina dīn : Ālim : Atata ṭupšarrum : ina Ālim išaqqalanni : ša ašpurakkunūti šumma tadaggalāma : Atata damiq : ammala : našpartiya šabtāšuma : kaspam šašqilāšuma : išti Aššur-nādā kunkāma šēbilānim!* “Concerning 8 minas of silver which as per decision of the City Atata, the secretary, is to pay me in the City, and about which I have written you: if you deem Atata solvent, seize him in accordance to my letter and have him pay the silver, seal it together with Aššur-nādā and send it!”

If they need to talk specifically about a letter as physical object, *našpertum* apparently can be used in attributive apposition to *ṭuppum*. While it is unclear, in the first example, why *ṭuppum* needs to be specified by *našpertum*, in the second one, complex legal matters are described in detailed instructions that put emphasis on three tablets that need to be presented. One of these is a letter. In

the last example, several material goods have been brought, but the expected letter was not among them.

(A)KT 8 87, 3-9: [ta]špuram umma [att]āma ṭuppē našperātīm ša ištu Ālim^{ki} tušēšianni [šēbil]am[?] : ṭuppē [na]šperātīm ša Dadiya [u] Ennam-Aššur [Šumī]-abīya naš'akkum. "You wrote me, saying the following: '[Send]?' me the letter tablets that you took up from the City!' [Šumī]-abīya is bringing you the letter tablets of Dadiya [and] Ennam-Aššur."

(A)KT 6 109, 51-66: ṭuppē^(sic) panīn kilāllēmma ša šiprū ša Ālim u kārūm Kaneš šaḥer rabi ištammeūnima ippiqdūni u ṭuppam našpertam ša kāri[m] Purušhaddim šaḥer rabi Ilī-bāni u Ḥurašānum ana kārīm Kaneš šaḥer rabi naš'ūnima kīma kārūm išmeuni u attūnu ana kārīm šuka[?]ināma ṭuppēn panīn ša šēp ṭupšarrim mera Ibāya u [šuḥ]ārim ša Ušinalam u ṭuppam anniam ša šēp Ilī-bāni Ḥurašānim išti kārīm [Kaneš] ana Buziya šiprim [ša Ā]lim ṭuppē šalaštuma šunūti [kunkā]ma²¹⁶ ina ma[h]rikunu lipqidūma Buziya : ana [Ālim lubi]lšunu! "Concerning both of the previous tablets which the envoys of the City and the assembly of the kārūm Kaneš have read and which then were entrusted for safekeeping, as well as the letter tablet of the assembly of the kārūm Purušhaddum which Ilī-bāni and Ḥurašānum brought to the assembly of the kārūm Kaneš: once the kārūm has read them, you too submit to the kārūm and together with the kārūm [Kaneš seal] these three tablets – the previous two tablets brought by the secretary, Ibāya's son, and Ušinalam's servant as well as this tablet brought by Ilī-bāni and Ḥurašānum – for Buziya, the envoy of the City, so they entrust them to him in your presence and so Buziya shall bring them to the City!"

OAA 1 78, 28-36: 35 maški 18 šubātī pirikannī Iddin-Aššur u Ennam-Bēlum ana ša kīma iāti iddinū. ṭuppam našpartam ulā ublūnim. umma Iddin-Aššurma lapātam lā imū'ū. abba'ūa : attūnu. werī'ī mala tadnu šīm maški u pirikannī : mala itbulūni šitti kaspim : mala išittanni tīrtakunu ana Durḥumit lillikam. "Iddin-Aššur and Ennam-Bēlum gave 35 hides and 18 pirikannum-textiles to my representatives. They did not bring a letter tablet with them. Iddin-Aššur said: 'They do not want to write one.' You are my fathers. Send me your report about my copper, how much was sold, about the price of the hides and the pirikannums, how much they fetched, and about the remainder of the silver, how much is left for me!"

²¹⁶ This restoration is clear from the same circumstances being described similarly in a letter to the kārūm Kaneš and the envoy of the City themselves, (A)KT 6 110, 58-62: ṭuppē šalaštu šunūti ana Buziya šiprim ša Ālim kunkāšunuma piqdāšunuma ana Ālim lubilšunu! "Concerning these three tablets, seal them for Buziya, the envoy of the City, and entrust them to him, so he may bring them to the City!"

There are, however, also arguments that the word *našpertum* still retains the basic connotation of its *mapra(/i)st*-²¹⁷/*miprist*-formation as “something for sending”.²¹⁸ K.R. Veenhof has argued that the term found on *bullae* designates a shipment of goods rather than letters.²¹⁹ More in line with *našpertum* as “letter”, Ö. Tunca would see those instances as referring to a written order sent alongside a shipment.²²⁰

tîrtum designates a message or act of speech that warrants a specific reaction, thus it may connote only part of a letter rather than the letter itself. Usually, it is an instruction to act a certain way, or a specific piece of information to be imparted, a report or a notification.

(A)KT 6 417, 4-7: *bētam niptēma ammala tîrtika werī'am nusanniqma 51 bilat 50 mana werī'am šikkam nusanniq 1 bilat 5 1/2 mana damqam*. “We opened the house and according to your instructions checked the copper, and we determined 51 talents 50 minas of *šikkum*-copper; (also) 1 talent 5 1/2 minas of good-quality one.

(A)KT 3 92, 3-6: *inūmi annakam tuš'uni mimma šāt bētika ulā taqbīniāti u tîrtaka ulā tušāḫizniāti u ištu annakam tūšu tîrtakama ulā illikam!* “The day you left here, you did not tell us anything about the matters of your household and did not provide us with your instructions, even after you left here, you did not send any instructions at all!”

As we see in the example above, there is a difference between *tîrtum* as instructions in general and instructions given by way of a letter. The former is often also put into the plural *tîrātum* designating multiple instructions or perhaps the prolonged speech for giving such, while *tîrtum* as instructions in a letter is always used in the singular.

OAA 1 133, 4-13: *mīššu ša tîrātīm ana kaššārika taddinu umma attāma wardam alqe u šumma maḫāram ulā imū'ū ana abīni KI*²²¹. *ammakam umma attāma šumma 8 šiqil kaspam talaqqe ridīšu. šumma lā kī'am akallāšuma*. “Why is it that you gave instructions to your harnesser, saying: ‘I took the slave, but if they refuse to receive him, (do ...) for our father!’, but there you then said: ‘If you gain 8 shekels of silver, lead him away. If not, I will keep him.’”

²¹⁷ Cf. Streck 2002.

²¹⁸ Cf. Michel 2008b, 119–121.

²¹⁹ See Veenhof 1993, 648f., 2003, 89.

²²⁰ See Özgüç and Tunca 2001, 305f.

²²¹ M. Larsen (OAA 1, 183f.) is uncertain whether the sign KI in line 9 is erased or not. If it is not, he suggests an emendation to read <le>-qé, meaning “take him for our father!”

(A)KT 6 394, 15-21: *adi šinīšu u 3-šalšīšu tîrti illikakkum u ippīya tîrātīm : aštapparakkum. tašpuram umma attāma kaspam ištikama libbiši! libbaka [lū] īde kīma ištu 4 warḥī kaspum aššumika kaššudu.* “Several times I have sent you instructions and I have constantly been sending you instructions in dictation. You had written, saying: ‘The silver should stay with you!’ You must know that the silver has been held up in your name for 4 months.”

We would suggest that “*adi šinīšu u 3-šalšīšu tîrti illikakkum*” means Pilaḥ-Ištar had sent letters, while with “*ippīya tîrātīm aštapparakkum*” he is saying that he had asked someone else to pester Ennam-Aššur about the silver.

With all these various terminological conventions in mind, the deliberateness in the choice of words and terms for specific aspects of a letter becomes apparent in a passage like the one below: *našpertum* is a letter par excellence, *tîrtum* is a message with clear intentions, most often instructions, and *ṭuppum* ranges from physical object to text.

(A)KT 6 404, 13-27: *ammala našpertini panītim werīʾum ša maššartim 20 mana itir. ammala tîrtika ništaʾalma našpertaka ša <ak>kārim tušēbilanni kīma ina ṭuppika awātum 2-šitta u 3^{aš} dannātīm talpulanni^(mistake for talputanni) lā nuštašmēši. umma nēnuma surram ē nušalqēšunu! našpertaka ibašši.* “As according to our previous letter, the copper from the safe was too much by 20 minas. According to your instructions, we deliberated and as concerns your letter that you sent <to> the *kārum*, because you wrote some harsh words in your text, we did not let them read it. We said: ‘We must not let them take offense!’ Your letter remains here.”

zakūtum is another abstract term that often appears in the context of letter communication. It denotes detailed and definitive declarations, in short reliable and binding information that the merchants look for in order to plan their trade. On the one hand, it can be used independently, always with the possessive suffix -*ša*, perhaps in implicit reference to a general *awātum*, “word; matter” (see more below). On the other hand, the basic form of *zakūtum* always appears as attribute to *tîrtum*.

(A)KT 5 29, 6'-9': *aššumi awātīm ša bēt Sabasiya a[di] 5 umē kaspam nišaqqalma tîrtini zakūtum illak[akkum].* “Concerning the affair of Sabasiya’s house, we will pay the silver in 5 days and send you a detailed report.”

(A)KT 8 83, 14-23: *aššumi amtīm ša Aššur-taklāku ša tašpuranni Dān-Aššur nišʾalma umma šūtma šīm amtīm anāku : irraminiya ašqul. Šarrum-Adad ana Waḥšušana illak. šībē ušaʾʾalamma(/ušaʾʾalāma) zakūssa : nišapparakkum.* “Concerning the slave-girl of Aššur-

taklāku about whom you wrote us, we asked Dān-Aššur, who said: ‘It was myself who paid the price of the slave-girl.’ Šarrum-Adad will go to Wahšušana. He will interrogate the witnesses for me(/they will interrogate the witnesses) and then we can send definite information in the matter.”

Innāya 147, 19-26: *bēti^(sic) tîrtini : lā illikakkum. kîma awîlum la ušteššuru u nînu : zakûssa : lā nišapparakkum. adi* Šu-Enlil *ûmam urram nidaggalšum. imaqqutamma : pîšu nišammēma zakûssa nišapparakkum.* “We did not send you a report on the(/my?) house. Because the man has not put it in order, we could not send you a definite report about it. As concerns Šu-Enlil, we will attend to him today or tomorrow. Once we come across him, we will listen to his words and send you a detailed report.

Perhaps the following example elucidates what is behind the form *zakûssa*.

BIN 4 76, 5-14: *aššumi* Aššur-malik *ašmēma kîma kaspum : maššuni²²² libbī iptirid. aḫī attā : zakūt awātīm : ša ana kaspim libbī lā iparridu tîrtaka lillikamma (...)* “I heard about Aššur-malik and became worried whether the silver would be enough. You are my brother. Send me a report with definite information that I do not need to worry about the silver!” A more literal translation of the lines in question (ll. 9-14) may be helpful for a more direct understanding of *zakūtum*: “Your report should come with definiteness in the matter that my heart does not need to worry about the silver!”

We would interpret *zakūt awātīm* as an adverbial construction with a complement clause²²³ attached to it. In any case, it makes it plausible that the suffixed form *zakûssa* typically refers to *awātum* and then has become the standard formulation.

Lastly, as with *tîrtum* which signifies a concept rather than a concrete object, so does *zakūtum* not need to be in the form of a letter, but is simply definite information of any kind.

Innāya 29, 4-14: *annakam kîma : pirittam : iṣṣērika ekallum iškunu nišmēma : adi zakūtam nišmeu : lā niqîp.* Iddin-Suen *kaššār bēt Ennam-Suen nuša[?]ilma umma šūtma : awîlam aḫāma ukallūšū. aššiāti : ana ašārika* Bēlum-bāni : *nišpuram.* “Here we heard that the palace had terrorised you, but we did not believe it until we heard reliable information. We asked Iddin-Suen, the harnesser of Ennam-Suen’s household, who answered: ‘They are detaining him separately.’ For that reason, we sent Bēlum-bāni to tend to you.” Iddin-Suen as a known figure to the letter authors is considered more trustworthy than word-of-mouth.

²²² Because the ‘emphatic’ consonants were glottalised, a sequence /šʔ/ could be written /šš/, as is the case with the present form of *mašāʔum* “to be equal; to be responsible”, cf. Kouwenberg 2017, 47f.

²²³ Cf. Kouwenberg 2004, 821f.

Next to terminology for individual pieces of mail, also sending and writing requires specialised vocabulary. *tîrtum*-instructions sent via mail are virtually always referred to in collocation with a form of *alākum*. Since this is the standard construction, we would tend to simply translate it with “sending” instructions, a report, or the like. In light of the rhetoric in letters discussed below, this translation also makes it clear that a request *tîrtaka lillikam* “send me your instructions”, seemingly more literal “your instructions should reach me”, is not an indirect request but merely a stereotypical expression. It would have strong implications on the level of pragmatics, if it were an indirect request. Below, we strongly argue that indirect requests, like e.g. Old Babylonian letters addressed to superiors in the third person, are not an element of Old Assyrian pragmatics.

(A)KT 8 270, 25-29: *šumma amtum [...] tēriška [dī]ššimma²²⁴ u tîrtaka lillikamma kaspam lušēbilakkum!* “If the maid/*amtum*-wife asks for it, [give] it to her and then send me a notification about it, so I have the silver delivered to you!”

(A)KT 5 27, 18-21: *šumma kaspī imaššuḥū tîrtaka lillikamma uznī piti!* “If they are stealing my silver, send me notice, keep me informed!”

(A)KT 6 338, 20-23: *šumma kaspum ina qātika lā maqit annītam lā annītam tîrtaka lillikam!* “If you do not happen to gain some silver, whether yes or no, send me notice!”

(A)KT 6 371, 31-38: *ḥarrānī ana Waḥšušana attalak : waddi : aḥī attā merī attā : ana tîrtika ša ta<š>puranni umma attāma ana Waḥšušana ašapparamma werīam uššurūnikkum. ūmamma tîrtaka lillikamma werīam luššerūnim!* “I have left on my journey to Waḥšušana. Certainly, you are my brother, you are my son. About your notification that you sent me, saying: ‘I will write to Waḥšušana, so they release the copper to you.’ Send your instructions even today, so they release the copper to me!”

This construction can also be used with *našpertum*, although *našpertum* is more often used with other words.

(A)KT 6 228, 26-28: *warkītam našpertum ša aḥīka illikamma umma šūtma (...)* “Later a letter of your brother arrived, in which he said: (...).” Since the arrival of the letter rather than the total act of sending letter is the focus here, our translation of *našpertum ša aḥīka illikam* reflects this nuance, according to our interpretation.

²²⁴ Given the broken context, K.R. Veenhof’s restoration is probably the best one to make a coherent sentence, plausible and simple.

(A)KT 5 19, 27-37: *Ḫanuba annakam uttazzam umma šūtma adi našpertam ša Kuliya ašammeu ammakam amātim lā uššar. u ša kīma šuāti iqbiūnim. apputtum iḫidma našpertaka aššēr Šu-Suen Ḫanuba Puzur-Lama aššēriya u aššēr ellitika ša kīma awīlūtika damiqtam lillikam!* “Ḫanuba, here, keeps grumbling: ‘Until I read a letter by Kuliya, I will not release the female slaves over there.’ Also his representatives said so. Urgent, do send a letter in a favourable tone as befits your status as gentleman to Šu-Su’en, Ḫanuba, Puzur-Lama, myself and your caravan!”

TPAK 1 11, 32-38: *kīma ṭuppī tašmeanni : našpertaka aššēriya u ašar šubātē [tē]zibu lillikamma 30 šubātēya u našpertam iššazzuzātiya luššerūnim! tīrtaka uqa’ʾa.* “Once you read my tablet, send a letter addressed to me and about where you left the textiles, so they release to me 30 of my textiles and the letter through my representatives! I am awaiting your report.”

šapārum, as it also lends itself to a *figura etymologica* with *našpertum*, is mostly used in the sense of sending letters, besides a much rarer, more literal use for sending someone or something, for which *ṭarādum* might be preferred. In its use of sending a letter, even without explicit grammatical object, it gains a stereotypical metaphorical meaning of “writing to someone”, meaning communicating with someone via text.

Of course, the verb is not restricted to the combination with *našpertum*, but can be used with any word connoting a message; for *zakūtum*, see already above (A)KT 8 83.

(A)KT 6 241, 1-14: *aḫī attā ebrī attā. attā u Tutaya : aššēr Lā-qēp ina šeārim u šamšuwim kīma ša ana raminika u iātim tuštabarruʾūni [iḫd]āma : ana mala našpertini [ša an]a šēr Lā-qēpim [u] Ešu-bāni nišpuranni ina šaḫāt Lā-qēpim [i]zizzāma (...)*! “You are my brother, you are my friend. You and Tutaya, pay attention to Lā-qēp, in waking and sleeping, as if you were regarding yourself or me, and assist Lā-qēp regarding our letter which we sent addressed to Lā-qēp and Ešu-bāni! (...)”

(A)KT 6 399, 3-6: *ammala tīrtika ša tašpurinni annakam Man-maḫir adi mala u šinīšu upattīšuma (...)* “According to your instructions that you had sent me, I informed Man-maḫir here several times, but (...)”

(A)KT 6 394, 4-18: *aššumi luqūtim ša abīni ašar šalāmiša aššēr ša kīma abīni u aššērikunu adi mala u šinīšu ašpurakkunūti. ina tīrtikunu ḫarrān suqinnimma aššērub luqūtim taštanapparānim umma attūnuma ašar šalām luqūtim ša abika milik. u annakam awāt ekallī*

ša šalāšat šunūti dannāma ašar ištēn awāssunu šaknat u ina ḥarrān suqinnimma mera Azuzaya iṣbutūma adi ūmim annîm kali? “I have written to our father’s representatives and to you several times about the safe handling of our father’s goods. In your instructions you keep writing about the smuggling routes for transporting the goods. You also said: ‘Decide about how to safely handle your father’s goods!’ Only, here, the pronouncements of the palaces, of which there are three, are severe and they have been expressed unanimously. Thus, they seized Azuzaya’s son on a smuggling route and he is detained to this very day.”

Like in this last example, the verb can also be used intransitively without the direct, explicit grammatical object of a letter, but still denoting writing or communicating via letter.

OAA 1 74, 31-35: *šumma lā išaqqalakkum umma attāma mala ṭuppiḫunu ṣibtam nimannu! šībī šukuššum u mala ipuluka šupram!* “If he does not pay you, tell him: ‘We will calculate interest according to your tablet.’ Set witnesses against him and write me what he answered you!”

(A)KT 6 309, 4-10: *adi 10-ešrišu ašpurakkim umma anākuma bābtī zakkiāma adi allakanni šillatum lā ibašši : u kaspum 1 šiḡil limḥurī. attī kīma šapārimma uzniya patā?im tîrtiki matīma ulā illakam.* “I have written to you 10-times, saying: ‘Clear my outstanding claims, so until I arrive, there will be no problem and every shekel of silver may reach me!’ Yet you, instead of writing and providing me with information, you never send me any notice.”

(A)KT 6 360, 2’-10’: *aššēr Ennam-Su?en šupramma littalkam. šumma tamkāršu mamman uka?alšu kaspam ana mera ummeānim kēnim lipqi[dma] lušēbilam.* “Write to Ennam-Suen that he should set out. If any of his creditors hold him back, he should entrust the silver to an affiliated trader to send it to me.”

(A)KT 6 393, 9-14: *ištu 45 ūmē kaspum imqutamma ibašši. šumma saḥrāti tîrtaka lillikamma ašar tašapparanni kaspam lašqul!* “45 days ago, I gained some silver, and it is still available. If you are delayed, send me instructions, so I pay the silver wherever you write!”

The following example is an especially nice illustration of the web of letter communication spun in pursuit of a specific matter, and in order to keep everyone notified while they have to wait for the matter’s resolution. In a first letter a request is sent, but the requestees need to ask for further clarification from another party, all the while keeping the first letter correspondent updated.

(A)KT 8 83, 4-13: *tašpuram umma attāma ṭuppum iḥḥulāpim lawi : panūšu KIŠIB Ali-aḥim ana Ḥinaya u Elamma lapit. illibbi ṭuppē ša Aššur-ṭāb nîmurma lāšu. ana Aššur-ṭāb ništāpram. tîrtušu litūramma ašar šaknu nušebbalakkuššu.* “You wrote as follows: ‘It is a tablet wrapped

in a rag. On its face, there is written «sealed by Ali-ahum, to ʕinaya and Elamma».’ We looked among Aššur-ṭāb’s tablets, but it is not there. Now we have written to Aššur-ṭāb. Once his clarification comes back, we will send it to you, wherever it has been put.”

When *šapārum* is used together with people, it seems to often have the connotation of sending someone with or for a message.²²⁵

(A)KT 6 366, 6-15: *aššumi* : Aluwa *ša ana taḥḫittim* : *ana* Puruṣḫaddim *šapru siḫītum* : *ina* Puruṣḫaddim. *ḫarrān[um] lū ana* Ulama *lū ana* Šaladuwar *lū annakam ana* Šabaya *ašar erābim ulā ibašši*. “Concerning Aluwa who has been sent to Puruṣḫaddim for information: there is unrest in Puruṣḫaddum. It is impossible to enter the road, be it to Ulama, be it to Šaladuwar, or here to Šabaya.”

lapātum designates the act of writing itself,²²⁶ both in the G-stem and D-stem.

OAA 1 125, 7-15: *annikī ša ištu* Ālim *tušēlianni ašar tapqidu tirtaka lillikam u šībika šumišunu ina ṭuppiṃ luptam!* “Concerning my tin that you brought up from the City, send me notice where you entrusted it to and write for me the names of your witnesses on the tablet!”

Writing a letter could necessarily also imply sending it. The first example even specifies the place a letter needs to be written/sent to.

Innāya 21, 15-22: *šumma libbaka adi anāku ištu* Timelkiya *aturranni našpertaka dannuttam ana* Kuburnat *ana šēr šazzuzātika u iāti lappitamma ina* ʕattim *kasapka lū nušašqil!* “If it pleases you, write your strongly worded letter to Kuburnat addressed to your representatives and myself until I return from Timelkiya. Then we shall have your silver repaid in ʕattum.”

Innāya 76, 26-31: *aššēr našparātīm ša iššēp* Pūšu-kēn *ulappitakkunni mīnam ḫa[bu]lākkumma ša šēpika warkītīm šīm emāriya taklāšu?* “What more do I owe you on top of the letters that I write to you via Pūšu-kēn that you would retain the price of my donkey(s) from your last shipment?”

(A)KT 6 788, 3-7: *iḫḫarrānim ana* Puzur-Aššur : *u* Kuzim : *ṭuppam kīma* : *kināti* : *ulappit umma anākuma* : *kaspam* 10 *šiḫil lū nušēbil!* *nišūni* : *eriā*. “On my journey I wrote a tablet to Puzur-

²²⁵ Some more examples are: (A)KT 5 4, 5-7; (A)KT 6 146, 5-10; (A)KT 6 353, 34 (in a general sense of sending); (A)KT 6 407, 12; (A)KT 6 433, 5f.; Innāya 15, 13; TC 3/2 129, 26’.

²²⁶ C. Michel (2009a, 267f.) also uses this fact in her discussion on the potential (and likely) literacy of women in the Old Assyrian world.

Aššur and Kuzim on your behalf, saying: ‘Let us send 10 shekels of silver! Our people are destitute’.”

Innāya 48, 3-6: *našpertam ša kārīm ša ana rubbā’ē lapputatni šamā’am ulā imū’ū*. “They refused to read the letter of the *kārum* that was written for the princes.”

Very occasionally, also other words for sending can be used, maybe owed to certain nuances expressing the real-world circumstances of delivery, which are, however, hard to grasp for us. Most common amongst these, are forms of *wabālum*, otherwise reserved for talking about shipments of goods. In theory, any verb that expresses transportation can be used, so we also find instances of *našā’um*, *kašādum* or *wašā’um*.

(A)KT 6 796, 19-23: *aḫī attā : ana : mimma : tîrtiya : ša Aššur-ṭāb u Erišu[m] ublūnikkunū[tini] iḫidma : [...]* “You are my brother. Pay heed to any of my instructions that Aššur-ṭāb and Erišum brought you!

CCT 2 6, 14-16: *mimma ṭuppī ša uštēnebbalakkunni meḫrišunu uka’al. iṭṭuppiṣim ṭuppimma uzakka apatte*. “I keep a copy of every tablet that I send to you. Tablet after tablet, I keep you informed.”

(A)KT 8 87, 3-9: *umma attāma ṭuppē našparātīm ša ištu Ālim tušēšianni [šēbi]am²²⁷ : ṭuppē našparātīm ša Dadiya u Ennam-Aššur [šumī]-abiya naš’akkum*. “You had said: ‘[Send] me the letter tablets that you brought up from the City!’ Šumī-abiya is bringing you the letter tablets of Dadiya and Ennam-Aššur.”

Innāya 35, 5-9: *našpertaka Šarra-Adad mera Nūr-Suen ana Ḫaḫḫim ušakšidannima aštammēši*. “Šarra-Adad had your letter brought to me in Ḫaḫḫum and I read it closely.”

The final important piece of vocabulary about letters is, of course, reading them. *šamā’am*, lit. “to hear, to listen”, is the only general word used for grasping the content of a text, understanding its message, be it via reading it, be it via listening to having it read out or only having it recounted.²²⁸ Albeit not an entirely clear text passage, the following example, in our opinion, illustrates well how *šamā’am* relates to the perception and reception of a message.

²²⁷ K.R. Veenhof suggests this restoration of the traces [šē-bi-l]am (l. 6).

²²⁸ C. Wilcke 2000, 25–33 arrives to a similar observation for Old Babylonian which shows a neglectable distinction between *šemûm* and *amārum*.

(A)KT 6 732, 27-30: *ṭuppam ša tušēbilīni ulā zaku. mimma ulā nišme*. “The tablet you sent us was unclear. We did not understand anything.”

Whether a tablet being *zaku* means its script is easily legible or the wording is well intelligible, the consequence expressed by *šamā’um* clearly refers to comprehension of the text and not to faculties of hearing.

Given *šamā’um* is the basic verb used to express approaching the written word and adding to it the fact that the Assyrians could to an overwhelming part read,²²⁹ we generally opt to translate “to read” in the context of cuneiform tablets. This is also in line with our aim to provide immediately comprehensible translations that prefer reflecting meaning before grammatical syntactical or literal lexical faithfulness to the Akkadian. In this regard, “hearing a letter” appears to us as needless metaphoricity. Even the (questionable) claim that, of old, people read out aloud rather than silently,²³⁰ bears little consequence, since it is in our conception still to be seen as reading before only hearing as an aural activity.

Bearing this in mind, we can examine closer the important epistolographic contexts in which it is used. *našpertum* and *ṭuppum* are the preferred objects of *šamā’um*.

(A)KT 6 442, 4-9: *ana mala tašpuranni annakam nišpertaka ašmēma adi kaspim 1 manā’im^(sic) ša Aḥ-šalim ḥabbulakkunni ašbatma mimma kaspam ulā iddinam*. “According to what you wrote, I read your letter here, and seized him for every single mina of silver that Aḥ-šalim owes you, but he did not give me any silver.”

Innāya 146, 4-14: *tašpuram umma attāma 5 mana kaspam ša Atata : qātā[t] Ḫannan-Nārim altapat. Ḫannan-Nārum ištini našpartaka išmēma umma [šūtma] mīnam [...]*. “You wrote, saying: ‘I wrote down 5 minas of Atata’s silver as Ḫannan-Nārum’s security.’ Ḫannan-Nārum read the letter together with us and said: ‘Why [...]?’”

BIN 6 74, 9-17: *ṭuppaka ašmē[ma] ina ṭuppiya ašpu[rma] umma anākuma ana 30 mana kaspim ša iāti ḥabbulāt[ini kaspam] ṣarrupam 5/6 šiq[il kaspam] ana šibtim alqe [u 30] mana*

²²⁹ For literacy among men and also women which the Assyrian merchants made a necessity for their long-distance trade, cf. Larsen 1989, 132–135; Michel 2008a.

²³⁰ The *locus classicus* for this problem lies in Augustine’s *Confessiones*, when he describes his visit to the bishop of Milan Ambrose: *Sed cum legebatur, oculi ducebantur per paginas et cor intellectum rimabatur, vox autem et lingua quiescebant. Saepe, cum adessemus – sic eum legentem vidimus tacite et aliter nunquam*. “But when he was reading, his eyes ran across the pages and his heart sought understanding, but his voice and tongue stayed silent. Often when we went to him, we found him reading like this, silently and never in any other way.” (Augustine, Conf. VI.3.). Studies that progress from this anecdote and emphasise to various degrees the pervasive convention of reading aloud in Classical Antiquity are Balogh 1927a, 1927b; Knox 1968; Manguel 1996, 41–54. What they all really show is that reading aloud was a matter of public *culture* in Greece and Rome, evidence of which in either direction we simply do not have for the Assyrian world.

kaspam u š[ibassu šēb]ilamma [šabbuāk]u. 30 mana u šibassu lā tušēbilam. “I read your tablet and in my tablet I wrote, saying: ‘For the 30 minas of silver, which you owe me, I bought refined silver at interest of 5/6 shekels per mina. So send me the 30 minas of silver and its interest [to satisfy m]e.’ You did not send me the 30 minas and their interest!”

The term *tîrtum* only rarely appears in connection with *šamā’um*.

Innāya 112, 3-13: *aššumi ša Innaya ša tašpuranni umma attāma adi warḥim ištēn u 2-šina : ramakka zakkīma teb’amma atalkam, tîrtaka ašmēma kīma : ša Aššur awā[t]ka²³¹ damqat : u libbam taddinam. ammala tîrtika adi : warḥim : ištēn u 2-šina : raminī uzakkāma atabbi’amma : attallakam. “Concerning Innaya’s affair, about which you wrote, saying: ‘Within a month or two, clear yourself and set out to come!’, I understood your instructions, your words are good like those of Aššur and you give me courage. In accordance with your instructions, I will clear myself in a month or two and set out to come.”*

Here, *tîrtum* refers to the content of the message and the reiteration that he positively perceived it, after quoting the pertinent passage, must serve for reassurance in the matter.

The Š-stem form of *šamā’um* is used *mutatis mutandis* if a third party needs to receive the content of a letter, as well. This may then be by having the original addressees hand over the letter for reading or read it out loud to that third party.

(A)KT 6 294, 35-43: *lā libbi ilimma aḥīma mēt. kīma aḥī : mētu ṭuppam ša Ālim : u Ababa rābišam niṭrudam. aḥḥūni attūnu. ṭuppam ša Ālim ša meḥaršu Ababa ublanni : littakkirūma ana Ālim alkāma ṭuppam Ālam šašmeāma ṭuppam šuāti leqeānim! “Unfortunately, it is my brother who has died. When my brother died, we sent a tablet of the City as well as Ababa, the attorney. You are our brothers. They should annul the tablet of the City, whose copy Ababa brought! So go to the City and have the City assembly read this tablet in order to get a hold of said tablet!”*

(A)KT 8 166, 20-28: *2-šitta našperātim ša Ennam-Aššur Pilaḥ-lštar naši. šumma ana šubātē waššurim Aššur-šamšī : mimma iqabbi : našperti Ennam-Aššur šašmeāšuma šubātē : kunukkī ša naruqqātim lipqidakkunūtima ana Pilaḥ-lštar aḥīšu munnuāšumma ammala tîrtini lēpuš! “Pilaḥ-lštar is carrying two letters by Ennam-Aššur. If Aššur-šamšī speaks up against releasing the textiles, have him read Ennam-Aššur’s letter, so he entrusts the textiles with sealings on their bags to you. Then charge Pilaḥ-lštar, his brother, with them, so he may act according to our instructions!”*

²³¹ A rare occasion of *plene*-spelling, *a-wa-a-[at]-kà* (l. 8), would indicate that in Old Assyrian the singular *awātum* indeed features a long vowel.

Very often *šamā'um* appears in the Gtn-stem. Unclear as the exact nuances of this verbal stem can be, there are also doubts concerning the exact meaning of pertinent forms of *šamā'um*. Often it may be best to opt for an intensive meaning, “to read carefully”, perhaps by way of repeatedly doing said act. In some instances, this is very clearly the best option (for an example, see also above Innāya 35).

Innāya 45, 3-13: *abī attā bēlī attā. ammakam ṭuppam našpertī ša Ennam-Aššur mera Šalim-aḥim ublakkunni šitammēma u tîrtaka zakūtum : išti lkūn-pīya ṭupšarrim lillikamma (...)* “You are my father, you are my lord. Over there, carefully read my letter tablet, which Ennam-Aššur, son of Šalim-aḥum, brought you, and send me clear instructions with lkūn-pīya, the secretary! (...)”

Since plurality is commonly associated with the Gtn-stem, accordingly also *šamā'um* is often encountered with plural objects. In many examples, there do not seem to be strong grounds for seeing *šitammu'um* in any other way than simply governing a plural object.

(A)KT 6 109, 22-25: *šiprū ša Ā[lim] kulušunuma u kārum Ka[neš] ṭuppīšunu²³² ištammeūma umma [šunuma] Ušinalam tuṭa''ab!* “Once all the envoys of the City and the *kārum* Kaneš had read their tablets, they said: ‘You must satisfy Ušinalam!’”

(A)KT 6 231, 19-23: *ṭuppikunu uqa''a. našperātikunu laštammēma lallikamma ēn Aššur u ēnikunu lāmurma bēt abīya lubbib!* “I am awaiting your tablets. I want to read your letters, so I can come and see the eyes of Aššur and yours and clear my father’s house of claims!”

Ignoring such considerations about object plurality, seems the use of *šamā'um* in the stock phrase “as soon as you read the tablet/letter, do ...”, *iššamši ṭuppam tašammeu* (and other phrasings, see below). In this construction the verb only ever appears in the base G-stem, regardless of plural objects.

(A)KT 6 328, 24-28: *[aḥḥ]ūa : attunu. [išš]amši našperātim [taša]mmeāni iḥdāma : ammala [našper]ātim epšāma [uzan ša t]amkārim : pitiā!* “You are my [brother]s. The day you read the letters, do act according to the letters and inform the merchant!”

It may also be noteworthy that virtually all instances of an imperative (or also precative) of *šamā'um* in reference to letters are in the Gtn-stem. This is likely owed to rhetoric and the fact that the moment someone needs to explicitly request a letter be read, a careful reading is what is necessary.

OAA 1 121, 43: *ṭuppam šitammeāma kunkāma aššēr lštar-[pilaḥ šēbilā]!* “Read the tablet carefully, reseal it and [send it on] to lštar-pilaḥ!

²³² In an earlier section, this letter explicitly refers to two tablets that had been delivered and brought forward as evidence in this affair, making the reading of *ṭup-pi-šu-nu* (l. 24) as a plural noun certain.

Innāya 147, 11-19: *umma šūtma nišperātum ša mer'ēa Šu-Enlil ša ana Innaya damqāni lapputā : u iātum našpertum laputassum. lištammēma mala : damqaššunni līpuš!* “He said: ‘The letters of Šu-Enlil’s sons, which are favourable to Innaya, are written and so is my letter written for him. He should read them carefully and then act in whichever way is in his favour!’”

The following instance of a G-stem imperative, the context substantiates the above assertion. Here, it really is the mere existence of the letter that the author fears could cause ire in his addressee, regardless of the manner of reading.

(A)KT 8 79, 17-23: *ṭuppam našpartam ša Aššur-lamassī ša aššumi tadmiqtim ša ana abīka ipqīdu naš'ūnikkum ammakam ṭuppam šimēma libbaka lā ilammin!* “For your part, read Aššur-lamassī’s letter tablet about the free loan he gave to your father, which they are bringing to you, but do not get angry!”

amārum appears but rarely in connection with reading a tablet. It never denotes only reading a text, but rather to inspect it, to have a look at a specific passage in order to search for and retrieve a certain piece of information.²³³

OAA 1 85, 33-42: 17 *šiqil kaspum ša umma attāma ana niqêka allān 10 šiqil kaspam ša taddinanni mimma ulā alqe, šīm emārim tuṣaḥḥer. ammakam taḥsistaka amur! taḥsistī u našpartam ša Annīnam tušēbilanni ammakamma u attā ḥusus!* “Concerning the 17 shekels of silver about which you said: ‘For your offerings, I took nothing apart from the 10 shekels of silver that you gave me.’, you debited the price of a donkey. Check your memorandum, there! My memorandum and the letter that you had Annīnum bring are there, remember that!”

OAA 1 91, 8-12: *nissīma ina qerbim ½ mana kaspam talaqqe. šittum ša abīni u taḥsistam alputma meḥram addinakkum. meḥarka amur! mala laptātini attā leqe!* “We settled and you were to receive ½ mina of silver from it. The remainder belongs to our father. I even wrote a memorandum and gave you a copy. Have a look at your copy! You take whatever you are booked for!”

Most of the times, **amārum** is simply used in the sense of seeing that is (visually) experiencing something. Without knowing much of the wider context, in the following example, the strained relationship between a woman, Maka, and perhaps her nephew is evident, as she tells him off when

²³³ See more Old Assyrian examples in CAD A/2, 18 s.v. *amāru*.

he was asking for aid for his mother and sisters, among whom is the mentioned Tataya. Amongst other things, she will not even write them letters in matters of their household. This is expressed through *amārum*.

(A)KT 6 788, 7-9: *umma Makama adi : aḥḥūkunu : irabbiūni mimma : ṭuppē : ulā tammarā u uṭuptam : lā addanakkunūti*. Tataya : *u kuwāti : mannum uštakkidakkunu?* “Maka said: ‘Until your brothers grow up, you will see no tablets and I will give you no household items. For Tataya and you, who caused you worry?’”

Likewise, we can find instances of producing letters, e.g. as evidence, in the following example expressed through *kallumum* “to show”. It has to do with proving the existence of a text, but not the act of reading it.

(A)KT 6 358, 12-19: *našpertam ša abīka ša Ikūn-pīya : kaspam šašqi[!] ...] šumma našpertam uktallimkunu ṭuppušu : ḥirmā!* “Concerning your father’s letter about Ikūn-pīya, have him pay the silver! [...] If he can show you the letter, certify his tablet!”

Letter form

The integral aspect of a letter is its function to convey messages over large distances in space and thereby also in time. This fact necessitates a letter author to provide certain pieces of information in certain ways in order to connect the author and addressee beyond such distances. The intent and objective behind sending the letter can then be embedded in the context of this information. In the majority of cases for Old Assyrian letters, this objective takes the explicit form of requests or enquiries relating to the trade. For facilitating the reading and understanding of a letter, the message is presented in a particular form.

The two major parts of the content of a letter as just outlined are henceforth called *narratio* and *petitio* or information section and petition section.²³⁴ These parts can receive attention by the authors on a structural level. They may employ certain structuring particles to organise the letter form *expressis verbis*, although this is (almost) never done on the level of formatting. While it may not be as complex as other systems even when compared to the form developed in Old Babylonian times, also with Old Assyrian epistolography a typical letter comprises a distinct section for the *narratio* and one for the *petitio*. The label ‘typical’, as explained above, refers to the bulk of letters that have been found and unearthed in modern times, because they were not simply discarded by their recipients but rather stored due to their value beyond the temporal immediacy of the message. This sequence of *narratio* and *petitio* is, of course, only a rough outline, as an Old Assyrian letter never needs be restricted to just one topic. Thus, several iterations of *narratio* and *petitio*, or, without explicit petitions, a series of distinct *narrationes* are frequent enough, in order to deal with various topics in one letter.

Besides *narratio* and *petitio*, another requirement of any letter is to establish who is immediately concerned by the letter’s content, *i.e.* the author(s) and addressee(s). This carries such importance that it necessarily receives its own formal part(s) in a letter. In the Old Assyrian case, said part is located at the very beginning of a letter, the letter heading. Herein, we mean the address on the letter itself which pertains to the reading of a letter and not to its sending, which are not necessarily one and the same. Addresses on envelopes are those that bear relevance for the sending of a letter

²³⁴ As outlined above, we borrow these terms in essence from the European medieval tradition (*artes dictaminis*). At least the parts of *narratio* and *petitio* seem to be - also in this order - anthropologically the most intuitive way to compose a letter as they are found in letters from most diverse places and periods. Compare, for instance, early Medieval Chinese letters (see Richter 2013, 93–101), or Ayyūbid and Fāṭimid letters (see Khan 1990), even though thinkers such as Ibn al-Aṭīr would emphasise stylistic and aesthetic considerations over persuasion as principal purpose of letters (cf. Gully 2008, 131–133). The Old Russian messages transmitted on birchbark are a case in point where most often *petition* seems to come first, which can be understood in the light of their highly oral nature and the important role the letter carrier had as messenger for providing information himself and to whom the letters only serve as legitimization (cf. Dekker 2018, 18–24). Old Assyrian instances in which the order of *narratio* and *petitio* is tipped on purpose are discussed below.

and take a different form from the address on letters themselves, providing different details. In the letter heading it usually suffices to identify the protagonists with only their proper names,²³⁵ since those involved in the message would know their peers despite the high degree of homonymy among the traders,²³⁶ whereas on envelopes the address takes a different form, often including patronymics.

Letter heading

The letter heading, as structural denomination, or the letter address, as functional denomination, constitute the very first part of any Old Assyrian letter. This section conveys who is immediately affected by the letters' contents, i.e. the author(s)/addresser(s) and addressee(s).²³⁷

The address takes the typical form of either *ana* PN(s) *qibīma umma* PN(s)-(ma) or *umma* PN(s)-(ma) *ana* PN(s) *qibīma*.²³⁸ The order of the address elements is dictated by the social standing of the individuals. Whoever is mentioned first is the most important. This preeminent person dictates the

²³⁵ Even with homonymous protagonists only their names are used. The enclitic *-ma* can be attached to a homonym, in order to indicate that indeed two different persons of the same name are meant, cf. Kouwenberg 2017, 474f.

²³⁶ See for a synopsis on the problem of homonymy and naming practices in Old Assyrian society, Michel 1991b, 28–36.

²³⁷ Authors and addressees seem to us the aptest terms for those persons named in the heading. We chose author over sender, since we simply have no information concerning who the physical person to bring a letter to its carrier may have been in each instance. The author is certainly the sender as in the person with the original intent of sending a letter, but not necessarily the sender in a physical sense. We chose author over writer even though we can assume that in most cases people wrote their own letters (rather than having them dictated) (see for Old Assyrian literacy, Larsen 1989, 132–135 and most exhaustively Michel 2008a), since there often are multiple authors but most likely only one writer. Nevertheless, there are cases with several authors in the heading in which really only one of them is speaking in the first-person (singular) as the author proper. So one might also distinguish between author and addressers, the latter being those mentioned in the heading who certainly bore responsibility for the contents of the letter but were not engaged in the same way as the author proper. Below, where we discuss such cases, we will follow this distinction. Otherwise, wherever it is not absolutely necessary, we subsume all those in the heading under the label authors, if only for ease of reading comprehension avoiding potential confusion between the similar terms of addresser and addressee. We chose addressee over recipient, as there often are several addressees whom the letter concerns, however not always directly and not always in the position of those to receive the physical object (see the example of (A)KT 6 234 and (A)KT 6 235 above). Within the content of letters, often, only a part of the addressees is spoken to directly while the remaining persons are affected more indirectly and would perhaps even only ever see the letter, should circumstances necessitate their involvement.

²³⁸ For the standardisation of the general formula of letter addresses before Old Assyrian times, cf. Sollberger 1966, 2–4 and Michalowski 2011, 31f.

entire structure and subsequently the authors and addressees are listed in their respective groups in hierarchical order as well.²³⁹

Frequently, a letter can have groups of people acting as addressers and addressees. In many cases, however, among the addressers clearly only one is truly the author of a letter with the others having different stakes in it. Likewise, not all designated addressees need to be addressees in the sense that the letter author is directly speaking to them. The letter address rather establishes who is mostly affected by the contents and who is therein shown to be under certain social and/or legal obligations, such as contracts or promises. The relevance of the letter to those in the address who are not the author or direct addressees originates in the circumstances surrounding the issuance of a letter. Addressers, on the one hand, are those who stand to gain things from the requests of the letter. Perhaps they share in the debt that the author is claiming, perhaps they vouch for the legitimacy of the author's demands. On the other hand, addressees are those who are prompted to action through the letter. One of them, the principal addressee, may, for example, be asked to collect the author's debts while the remaining addressees are simply made to be aware that they should assist in the request and bear certain responsibility for its fulfilment as it is made explicit through the letter. Examples of letters with several correspondents follow below.

Another formal part to broach in the context of the letter address may be a possible *salutatio* or *captatio benevolentiae*, a part to elicit good-will from the addressee(s) and prepare them for the *narratio*. One might be tempted to recognise as one of these the invocation of relation, phrases like *aḫī attā* "you are my brother", or *abī attā* "you are my father" (see the detailed discussion below), which is most often used before requests but also generally to emphasise certain parts of a letter. Rarely, the invocation of relation immediately follows the letter address. However, we would see this as an optional rhetorical ploy rather than an established formal feature of those few letters, and never in the sense of a greeting.

(A)KT 6 137, 5-8: *ahhūa bēlūa attūnu. lā libbi ilimma ibissā'ē mādūtīm ātamar*. "You are my brothers, my lords. Unfortunately, I have suffered great losses."

(A)KT 6 325, 4-6: *ahhūa attūnu. adi mala u šinī[šu] tīrtī i[ll]ikakkunū<ti>*. "You are my brothers. Many times, I have sent you a letter."

(A)KT 6 346, 4-6: *aḫī attā. tīrti abīni ana kaspim 10 mana šēbulim [ill]ikam*. "You are my brother. Our father sent me a letter to send 10 minas of silver."

²³⁹ J. Lewy 1926, 61 fn. * was the first to notice this practice, while H. Hirsch 1981 elaborated greatly on it and C. Michel 1991b, 70f. consolidated our understanding in her application for the reconstruction of the Innaya archives. The same phenomenon also appears in the letters from Ugarit/Ras Shamra during the Middle Babylonian period, see Knutson 1981, 18.

(A)KT 6 450, 4-13: [š_u]mma ahhūa attūnuma : tara²²amāni kīma anāku annakam kīma kunūti amtaḥhušuma ana awātikunu azzazzu, 26 mana kaspam [...]. “If you are my brothers and love me, like I am fighting here on your behalf and look after your affairs, [...] the 26 minas of silver.”

One quickly notices that a certain urgency and graveness pervades the instances when this particular stock phrase is used at the beginning of a message.

Several letter correspondents

Only about half of the letters (c. 46%) are exchanged between only two persons, one author and one addressee. Very often multiple people get involved in a letter by way of mention in the address, notwithstanding whether the content of the letter affects them directly or indirectly. In c. 35% of letters one author writes to several addressees, and in c. 6% a group of authors writes to a group of addressees. In c. 12% several authors write to only one addressee; quite often, these have to do with caravan procedures or are communications of representatives (*ša kīma* PN or *šazzutum*) to their merchant.

Several addressees

The entire letter does not need to always pertain to each of the addressees. Often specific parts of a letter really only affect certain individuals among the addressees. There may be interconnections and varying degrees of pertinence between a letter's contents and the respective addressees. As far as we can discern the backgrounds of a letter's issuance, addressing one letter to several people might simply be the most expedient course of action, even if all addressees would not be interested in its entirety.

In those cases in which individual parts of a letter specifically concern only some of the addressees, this can be marked by inserting a corresponding address line *ana* PN *qibīma*. If this involves a change in hierarchy the author, *umma* PN-*ma*, may be repeated in the needed position.

(A)KT 5 22: Aššur-emūqī writes to Kuliya, Aššur-lamassī and (another) Aššur-lamassī. The letter consists of two parts, one of which is addressed to one of the Aššur-lamassīs, the son of Puzur-ilī and the other part to the Aššur-lamassī who is the author's own son. Kuliya acts as Aššur-emūqī's proxy to whom the two Aššur-lamassīs should entrust their respective debts owed to Aššur-emūqī but is never directly spoken to. The two debts do not seem to be connected in any other way than both having been due for two years, maybe a shared fund.

letter heading	<i>ana</i> Kuliya Aššur-lamassī <i>u</i> Aššur-lamassīma ²⁴⁰ <i>qibīma umma</i> Aššur-emūqī	ll. 1-3
specific addressee	<i>ana</i> Aššur-lamassī <i>mera</i> Puzur-ilī <i>qibīma</i>	l. 4
specific addressee	<i>ana</i> Aššur-lamassī <i>meriya qibīma</i>	ll. 22-23

(A)KT 6 422, at first the letter is only speaking about Ennam-Aššur (in the third person), in the second part Ennam-Aššur is specifically addressed and spoken to.

letter heading	<i>ana</i> Ušurānim Ennam-Aššur <i>u</i> Ibni-[Adad] <i>qibīma umma</i> Šilli-[Adad-(<i>ma</i>)]	ll. 1-3
letter body (implicit change in addressees)	directed only at Ušurānum and Ibni-Adad, but mentioning Ennam-Aššur	ll. 4-22
specific addressee	<i>ana</i> Ennam-Aššur <i>qibīma</i>	l. 22

(A)KT 8 28: Īnah-ilī writes to Elamma and Kurub-lštar, with the latter part addressed only to Elamma

letter heading	<i>ana</i> Elamma <i>u</i> Kurub-lštar <i>qibīma umma</i> Īnah-ilīma	ll. 1-3
specific addressee	<i>ana</i> Elamma <i>qibīma</i>	l. 16

(A)KT 6 303: Ennam-Aššur writes to Mannum-kī-Aššur, a close associate, and his wife Anna-anna. He makes it clear which parts pertain to one or the other. Most of the letter involves both addressees equally, but there are also seemingly casual pieces of information that exclusively concern one of them. This behaviour probably reflects the close relationship among all three letter protagonists.²⁴¹

letter heading	<i>ana</i> Mannum-kī-Aššur <i>u</i> Anna-anna <i>qibīma umma</i> Ennam-Aššurma	ll. 1-3
specific addressee	<i>a[na]</i> [A]nna-anna <i>qibīma</i>	l. 7'
specific addressee	<i>aMM</i> Mannum-kī-[Aššur <i>q]</i> <i>ibīma</i>	ll. 13'f.

If one of multiple addressees is addressed specifically this needs to be done at the start of the specific section – if at all – and often only once for the entire letter, even if there are intermittent parts directed at someone else.

²⁴⁰ The enclitic *-ma* (and the independent conjunction *u*) serves to explicitly differentiate two individuals with the same name, cf. Kouwenberg, Grammar, 474f.

²⁴¹ See M. Larsen's (2013, 51) commentary to this letter.

(A)KT 6 341: Ikūn-pīya is writing to four other traders, Ennam-Aššur, Lā-qēp, Iddin-abum and Adad-pilaḥ about purchases and debts. He frequently but not always explicitly changes whom he addresses.

letter heading	<i>umma</i> Ikūn-pīyama <i>ana</i> Ennam-Aššur Lā-qēpim Iddin-abim <i>u</i> Adad-pilaḥ <i>qibīma</i>	ll. 1-3
letter body (implicit change in addressees)	directed at everyone but Ennam-Aššur, who is only mentioned in the third person	ll. 4-10
specific addressee	<i>ana</i> Ennam-Aššur <i>qibīma</i>	l. 11
letter body (<i>petitio</i>)	again directed at everyone but Ennam-Aššur; introduced via <i>aḥḥūa attūnu</i>	ll. 16-35
letter body (implicit change in addressees)	inclusion of Ennam-Aššur in one of the requests via <i>u</i> 4 <i>attūnu</i> (“and you 4 [do ...]”)	l. 36
letter body (implicit change in addressees)	again directed at everyone but Ennam-Aššur	ll. 37-40

As seen above, those directly addressed within the letter can change from the specific back to the general, i.e. all addressees, without further specification.

(A)KT 6 225: Ennam-Aššur is at first writing specifically to his wife Anna-anna and, without specific address but an indirect indication of such, changes half-way through to speaking to everyone but her.

letter heading	<i>ana</i> Kuzizia Lā-qēp <i>u</i> Anna-anna <i>qibīma umma</i> Ennam-Aššurma	ll. 1-3
specific addressee	<i>ana</i> Anna-anna <i>qibīma</i>	l. 4
letter body (implicit change in addressees)	directed at all other addressees via <i>aḥḥūa attūnu</i>	l. 21 ²⁴²

If the entire letter or the very first section is specifically addressed to only some of the addressees, also here social hierarchy needs to be factored in. Only the specific ‘*ana* PN *qibīma*’ formula is repeated immediately in its hierarchically appropriate place. So, in the case of a low standing author, the main formula will typically only be closed with *umma* PN-*ma* after the specific address has been inserted into the main address. Often in these instances, the specific address is merged with the heading in such a way that ‘*qibīma*’ appears only as a final item after all addressees, general and specific, have been mentioned.

²⁴² All pertinent verbal forms, *scil.* imperatives and prohibitives, are kept in the Sg.f. in the section before line 21 and in the Pl.m. for the remainder of the letter.

(A)KT 5 8: Kuliya had acted as a kind of guarantor for Ānah-ilī who owed silver to one Aššur-ṭāb. Note that Puzur-Aššur among the addressees was probably one of Kuliya's servants, but still features before Kuliya in the overall structure because Iddin-Kūbum enjoyed higher standing than Kuliya.

letter address	<i>ana Iddin-Kūbim Ānah-ilī u Puzur-Aššur</i>	ll. 1-2
specific addressee	<i>ana Ānah-ilī qibīma</i>	ll. 2-3
letter address	<i>umma Kuliyama</i>	l. 3

(A)KT 5 20: Aššur-ennam is especially writing to Ilī-bāni, the elder brother of Kuliya.

letter address	<i>ana Ilī-bāni u Kuliya</i>	l. 1
specific addressee	<i>ana Ilī-bāni qibīma</i>	l. 2
letter address	<i>umma Aššur-ennamma</i>	l. 3

(A)KT 8 208: Šalimma writes to her sons, Šu-lštar and Aššur-imitti, with only the closing section implicitly directed at both.

letter heading	<i>umma Šalimmama ana Šu-lštar u ana Aššur-imitti</i>	ll. 1-3
specific addressee	<i>ana Aššur-imitti qibīma</i>	ll. 4-5
letter body (closing section) (change in addressees)	directed at all addressees <i>merūa attūnu ihdā</i>	ll. 19f.

In (A)KT 6 128 there are two specific addresses to the same person without a break in who is addressed for the entirety of the letter. As this letter seems to have been sent from Assur to Kaneš, it does not seem to be merely a draft for two different letters. The two specific addresses neatly divide the two letters into separate topics, first, a large caravan and an issue about lapis lazuli, and second, a shipment of textiles. Perhaps the author felt it necessary for the relatively long letter to clarify the content in this way and maybe also to insist that the issues still revolve around the same individual.

letter heading	<i>ana Amurru-bāni Aššur-imitti Itur-ilī Ḫana Inaḫ-ilī u Ennam-Aššur qibīma umma Šalim-Aššurma</i>	ll. 1-3
specific addressee	<i>ana Aššur-imitti qibīma</i>	l. 4
specific addressee	<i>ana Aššur-imitti qibīma</i>	ll. 30f.

Several addressers

As with the case of addressees, not all the addressers necessarily speak directly in the letter. There are many examples of letters with several addressers written in the first-person singular. In the letter

body, the other addressers may be named and referred to in the third-person, so it is sometimes possible to identify the author proper.

Only rarely are two independent messages compiled into one letter that would warrant an individual specification of the authors.

(A)KT 6 373 is issued by Kukuwa and Šu-lštar to Ennam-Aššur. Most of the letter is authored by both addressers writing in the first-person plural, only a final addendum is specified with Šu-lštar as sole author. The full address formula is reiterated establishing that Ennam-Aššur ranks higher than Šu-lštar but below Kukuwa.

letter heading	<i>umma</i> Kukuwa <i>u</i> [Šu-lštar(<i>ma</i>)] <i>ana</i> Ennam-A[ššur <i>qibīma</i>]	ll. 1f.
specific addresser	<i>ana</i> E[nna]m-A[ššur] <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Šu-lštar ²⁴³	ll. 36f.

Innāya 178, issued by Innaya, Rabi-kī-iliya and Nazi. The first half is authored only by Innaya and the latter half only by Rabi-kī-iliya and Nazi, respectively referring to each other in the third person. For the second half, a full address is inserted, either reasserting the hierarchy between addressers and addressee, or clarifying that their message follows and not a direct quote in Innaya's recount. This letter could be seen as the most formalised version of a piggy-back letter (see below).

letter heading	<i>umma</i> Innay[a Rabi]-kī-iliya <i>u</i> Nazi[<i>ma an</i>]a Aššur-malik <i>qibīma</i>	ll. 1-3
specific addresser	<i>umma</i> Innayama	l. 3
specific addresser	<i>umma</i> Rabi-kī-iliya <i>u</i> Nazima <i>ana</i> Aššur-malik <i>qibīma</i>	ll. 14-16

(A)KT 6 395 is issued by Alaya and Šēp-lštar. They are seemingly writing together for the first half, then specifically only Alaya, with Šēp-lštar being concerned and referred to only for a short sidenote.

letter heading	<i>umma</i> Alayama <i>u</i> Šēp-lštar ²⁴³ <i>ana tamkārim qibīma</i>	ll. 1-3
specific addresser	<i>umma</i> Alayama	ll. 16

²⁴³ Perhaps the full address formula is used here due to hierarchical considerations: first address: Kukuwa – Šu-lštar – Ennam-Aššur; second address: Ennam-Aššur – Šu-lštar. This would give a relative hierarchy of these three individuals as: Kukuwa – Ennam-Aššur – Šu-lštar.

Incidentally, the list of addressers sometimes features enclitic *-ma* on the name of both the very first and last addresser (as in [A]KT 6 395 above). It seems to mostly occur when the first-mentioned addresser is the highest-ranking one in the entire address, i.e. in the structure *umma* PN1-*ma*, ... PNn-*ma* *ana* PNx *qibīma*. In our corpus this is the case in the following letters:

(A)KT 6 167 <i>umma</i> Šalim-Aššur- <i>ma</i> Sabasiya <i>u</i> tamkārūm- <i>ma</i>	<i>ana</i> Pilah-lštar <i>u</i> Zikiki <i>qibīma</i>
(A)KT 6 287 <i>umma</i> Man-maḥir- <i>ma</i> Dan-Aššur Ali-ahum <i>u</i> Šu-lštar- <i>ma</i>	<i>ana</i> Ennam-Aššur <i>qibīma</i>
(A)KT 6 395 <i>umma</i> Alaya- <i>ma</i> <i>u</i> Šēp-lštar- <i>ma</i>	<i>ana</i> tamkārim <i>qibīma</i>
(A)KT 6 807 <i>umma</i> Šu-lštar- <i>ma</i> <i>u</i> [Lā-q]ēpum- <i>ma</i>	<i>ana</i> tamkārim <i>qibīma</i>
(A)KT 8 27 <i>umma</i> Ali-ahim ^(sic) - <i>ma</i> Aššur-rēšī Ennam-Aššur <i>u</i> Dadia (no - <i>ma</i>)	<i>ana</i> Elamma <i>qibīma</i>
(A)KT 8 36 <i>umma</i> Ennam-Aššur- <i>ma</i> Dadia <i>u</i> Hinnāya (no - <i>ma</i>)	<i>ana</i> Elamma <i>qibīma</i>
(A)KT 8 38 <i>umma</i> Ali-ahum- <i>ma</i> Aššur-rēšī Ennam-Aššur <i>u</i> Dadia (no - <i>ma</i>)	<i>ana</i> Elamma <i>qibīma</i>
(A)KT 8 39 <i>umma</i> Ilia- <i>ma</i> Aššur-rēšī Ennam-Aššur <i>u</i> Dadia (no - <i>ma</i>)	<i>ana</i> Elamma <i>qibīma</i>
(A)KT 8 40 <i>umma</i> Ennam-Aššur- <i>ma</i> <i>u</i> Dadia- <i>ma</i>	<i>ana</i> Elamma <i>qibīma</i>
(A)KT 8 82 <i>umma</i> Elamma- <i>ma</i> <i>u</i> Kurub-lštar- <i>ma</i>	<i>ana</i> Dada <i>u</i> Īnah-ilī <i>qibīma</i>
(A)KT 8 238 <i>umma</i> ṛA-murṛ-luṛ-sú/- <i>ma</i> Šuli <i>u</i> Šilli-lštar (no - <i>ma</i>)	<i>ana</i> Šu-lštar <i>qibīma</i>
(A)KT 8 262 <i>ana</i> Puzur-Anna	<i>umma</i> ^(f) Lamassī- <i>ma</i> <i>u</i> ^(f) Ah-bāštī- <i>ma</i>
(A)KT 11 8 <i>umma</i> Aššur-malik- <i>ma</i> <i>u</i> Ali-aḥum (no - <i>ma</i>)	<i>ana</i> Šu-lštar <i>qibīma</i>
BIN 4 27 <i>ana</i> Šalim-aḥim <i>u</i> Pūšu-kēn <i>qibīma</i>	<i>umma</i> Ali-ahum- <i>ma</i> Imdī-ilum <i>u</i> Puzur-Aššur- <i>ma</i>
CCT 5 49c <i>umma</i> Šu-Laban- <i>ma</i> [u D]adia- <i>ma</i>	<i>ana</i> Imdī-ilum <i>u</i> Pappalim <i>qibīma</i>

KTS 1 18

ana Imdī-ilum qibīma

umma Amur-Ištar-ma u Uzua-ma

TPAK 1 6

ana Aššur-bāni Aššur-mūtappil u Aššur-rē'ī qibīma

umma Aḫātum-ma u Aššur-rabi-ma
(repeated in l. 7)

OAA 1 109

umma Lā-qēpum-ma Asqudum u Kurub-Ištar-ma

ana Aššur-nādā qibīma

(A)KT 8 82 is written from the perspective of a first person singular and, in the final line (l. 24), refers to the first addresser, Elamma, in the third person. Judging from this together with (A)KT 6 395, which inserts a specific address with the first addresser Alaya, the enclitic *-ma* does not mark the author who is talking in the letter body. It is also, in any case, different from the use of *-ma* to distinguish different persons with homonyms.²⁴⁴ Since the double enclitic *-ma* is repeated in TPAK 1 6 and, in (A)KT 8 238, deliberately squeezed inbetween lines, when space on one line ran out after the personal name, it is clearly not a simple mistake either. We could speculate that it may be connected to considerations of hierarchy, but we can offer no cogent explanation or pattern for this practice.

Informally realised changes in authors and addressees

There are, of course, also changes visible especially in the grammatical number of author and addressee that may not be made explicit in the formal way described above. Implicitly, an author can be part a group of people that stand behind him when writing a letter, which may prompt the author to change from singular to plural as the context of the respective statement warrants. In the same way, addressees can be seen and referred to in the singular in one instance and in the plural in the next.

As shown above, a change in specific letter correspondents can be made explicit by a formal change in the address when the letter moves from talking to a group to an individual and vice versa. In these cases, such groups would, however, have been named explicitly already in the main letter address. Such letters must, however, bear different relevance to the letter protagonists as opposed to the cases below in which no or less formal indication between a shift in authors and addressees is made.

(A)KT 8 218, 3-10: *ina era Aššur-idī 1 bilat erîm damqim ana Ennam-Suen din. aḫḫūa attūnu iḫdāma era Aššur-idī šašqilā : u nāpaltušu šuprānim (...)* “Of Aššur-idī’s copper, give^{Sg.} 1 talent of good-quality copper to Ennam-Suen! You are my brothers, do make Aššur-idī pay the copper and write me his response! (...)” The letter by Iddin-Suen is addressed to Asqudum

²⁴⁴ See for the “-Ma of distinction”, Kouwenberg 2017, 474f.

and Abila but the first request speaks only in the singular to one of the two, who was probably more closely involved while the other is only there to give the one more authority in completing his task.

(A)KT 8 220, 4-10: *taḥsistam ša awāt Ennam-Suen u Aššur-šamšī nigmuru ammakam lū ina qāti awīltim lū ina ṭuppê ša kunukkīni amrāma (...)* “Check there the record that we settled the affair of Ennam-Suen and Aššur-šamšī, which is either among the lady’s possessions or among the tablets with our seals!” The letter is written by Aššur-imittī and Akūa to Ilī-bani and Suʿen-ilšu. In the latter part Ilī-bani is specified as sole addressee (l. 23 *ana Ilī-bani qibīma*), but evidently also the author changes to only one of the two, ll. 27-29: *mala ka[spam q]ātka ika[ššud]u ana Ennam-Suen dinma lublam. kīʾam : wašbāku*. “Give whatever silver you acquire to Ennam-Suen, so he brings it to me! For that reason, I am staying (here).”

Piggy-back letters

A special and rare case of letters with several authors are what we may call piggy-back letters. These are letters featuring an altogether different author than those in the letter heading, which are attached on the same physical object as another letter to the same addressees.

T. van den Hout coined the term piggy-back letter for his study of Hittite correspondence for the “postscripta” that are added to the main letter after the main message, often only consisting of a simple greeting.²⁴⁵ M. Weeden followed him pointing out the rich information they provide us for the relations of the letter protagonists, and also for more mundane, personal issues.²⁴⁶ In Neo-Babylonian epistolography, there is a similar type of message. Piggy-back letters there adhere to a fixed formula and only serve the purpose of sending one’s regards.²⁴⁷ For analysis, they are also useful in showing the relation between the author and addressee, as it appears they were only written to people of about equal standing.²⁴⁸

With the Old Assyrian cases, we stretch the meaning of piggy-back letters a bit. They are never just a simple greeting but in practice their own fully fledged letters merely attached to one another. They

²⁴⁵ See van den Hout 2003, 145.

²⁴⁶ See for this synopsis of Hittite piggy-back letters, Weeden 2014, 48f. He was, for instance, also able to demonstrate in the piggy-back letters a sign of respect among Hittite dignitaries, since people felt the need to attach their own greetings to someone else’s letters, cf. Weeden 2011, 124f. He builds his argument about the so-called Tarḫumniya dossier about a scribe’s house that could be reconstructed largely on the basis of piggy-back letters, in van den Hout 2007.

²⁴⁷ The Neo-Babylonian formula runs PNa *šulum* PNb *išāl* “PNa enquires about PNb’s well-being.” For a discussion in the context of the administration of the Eanna temple, see Levavi 2018, 132–134.0

²⁴⁸ M. Schmidl suggests this interpretation in Hackl et al. 2014, 32f..

might demonstrate a high level of closeness of the correspondents, sharing the same tablet and unrelated messages.

(A)KT 6 223: Ennam-Ištar is writing to Ennam-Aššur, who maybe was her son. Most of the reverse of the letter is taken up by a message by a woman with the unusual name of Naḫištum who would seem to also be closely related to the family since she refers to Ennam-Aššur's brother, Ali-ahum, and probably Ali-ahum's wife, Lamassī. It is noteworthy that Naḫištum, like his mother, features higher in the hierarchy than Ennam-Aššur.

letter address	<i>umma Ennam-Ištarma ana Ennam-Aššur qibīma</i>	ll. 1-3
letter address	<i>umma Naḫištumma ana Ennam-Aššur <qibīma></i>	ll. 21f.

(A)KT 6 732: Ānaḫ-Ištar and Ḫattītum alternate talking to Ab-šalim. Ānaḫ-Ištar, probably Ab-šalim's mother, is writing first, then Ḫattītum, probably her sister, and then again Ānaḫ-Ištar.

letter address	<i>umma Ānaḫ-Ištarma ana Ab-šalim qibīma</i>	ll. 1f.
letter address	<i>umma Ḫattītumma ana Ab-šalim qibīma</i>	ll. 18f.
letter address	<i>umma Ānaḫ-Ištarma ana Ab-šalim qibīma</i>	ll. 23f.

For now, we only have evidence of multiple letters on one tablet that are authored by women. This could be significant and indicate a different approach to sending letters than we see from the male traders. It may simply be owed to practical considerations that it would be easier and probably also cheaper to only send one tablet. Two examples, however, do not seem sufficient to draw definite conclusions from.

Information section

The *narratio* of the letter and thereby the main letter body itself usually starts with the main topic of contention, may they be goods for trading, problems in the trading procedure or references to earlier topics. Usually these do not need any rhetorical embellishment and the text proceeds *medias in res* with the desired narration. Individual topics can, of course, also be introduced by various particles, such as *aššumi* (*ša*) ("concerning") or through simple topicalization. Also, different perspectives and highlights within the narration can be navigated with particles such as *aḫamma* "furthermore". These are discussed in the chapter on Structuring particles below. These particles introduce individual

pieces of information that do not necessarily pertain to the entire information section, hence their treatment elsewhere.

(A)KT 8 26, 2-5: 1 *meʾat* 8 *kutānī qadum ša kaššārē ša ana Aku tapqidu ina qerbim*²⁴⁹ 75 *kutānī ublūnim*. “108 *kutānum*-textiles together with those of the harnessers that you entrusted to Aku: of these, they brought me 75 *kutānum*-textiles.” This is a very typical start for the kind of trade activities the Assyrians did, with the formal topicalisation of the main subject, continuing with more specific information. In this case, the relevant complication is a discrepancy in the amounts of textiles sent and those delivered. In the following, it is explained where individual pieces of textile had been given away.

The content of the information section is primarily concerned with the letter author(s): what they have done or heard, retelling events surrounding them or the addressee(s) with direct implications towards the author(s).

The main topic is introduced, mostly trade goods or trading activities, in order to set a minimal context for what is to come. After this matter-of-fact introduction specific, current information about the topic is given. For the most part, this involves complications that warrant the writing of a letter and from which the request of the *petitio* follows.

Petition section

The tone of the petition section changes direction to the addressee(s). The *narratio* entails the requests that are devised in this section. These requests are always kept in the imperative (or its negative counterparts, prohibitive and rarely vetitive) when directly speaking to the addressee(s). Whenever a third-party is involved regarding the addressee(s) the precative is used.

OAA 1 29, 5f.: *kaspam mimma lā tušebbalam*. (The author wants to negotiate with his creditors himself, so:) „Do not send any silver whatsoever!”

(A)KT 6 304, 13-19: *ammakam išti : Anna-anna libšiū. ammakam Ewarimuša ana bābtim ša Tumliyaîm liḥḥid*. (Associates are bringing several tablets:) “They shall remain there with Anna-anna. There, Ewarimuša shall take care of the outstanding claims of the man from Tumliya.”

(A)KT 5 22, 14-21: *aḫī attā bēlī attā : 3 šubātē ša šuhrim ša tušēlianni : ana Kuliya : din : šumma šubātū tadnū : kaspam šimšunu ussimma ana Kuliya din*. “You are my brother,

²⁴⁹ For the syllabic reading of ŠĀ.BA, see Kouwenberg 2017, 455.

you are my lord. Give the garments for a child that you brought up here to Kuliya. If the garments are sold, *establish*²⁵⁰ their silver price and give it to Kuliya!”

The following example shows how the precatives are requests to be carried out by a third-party but under the addressee’s supervision or guidance.

(A)KT 6 74, 29-37: *kaspam lušarripma ina aban tamkārim lusanniḫma liknukma liddinakkum u šībī šukuššum kīma aššumi* Šalim-Aššur *eqlam kaspum etiqanni. šaduātam u nišhātīm* Šalim-Aššur *lumalli*. “He (= Šalim-Aššur) shall refine the silver, check it with the merchant’s weight stone, seal it and give it to you! Also, set witnesses for him that the silver travels overland under Šalim-Aššur’s name. Šalim-Aššur shall add the transport tariff and import duty.”

While the precative can indirectly address the addressee in situations of social distance or for politeness in later centuries,²⁵¹ in Old Assyrian times, it is the imperative which always frames the requests in the normal, civil manner rather than as outright and curt commands. These latter commands are expressed with the present tense indicative. The present tense indicative shows impatience and indignance, and forms commands that do not allow for protest:

(A)KT 6 309, 34-41: *anāku u attā atahwāni. ištu waraḥ Allanātīm kaspam ša iššērika išū ištu* *Purušhaddim ina erābikama tušebbal[am kīma²⁵²] attā kaspam anniam tuktaššidann[i* *š]ibtam ula agammilka* “You and I are brothers. From the month of Allanātum you will send me the silver you own from Purušhaddum as soon as you arrive! [*The moment*] you delay this silver for me, I will not do you any favours with the interest.” The author no longer uses imperatives, but simply states how the addressee will behave and what would be the consequences in (the unlikely) case he does not do so.

Requests can be interspersed with further informational incentives (often on a personal level) not expressed in the *narration* for the purpose of persuasion or additional details for fulfilling the request.

In a letter’s most basic, matter-of-fact form, the *narratio* transitions seamlessly into the *petitio*. The different instances of such seamlessness or in fact the use of formal transitional devices reflect the degree of the request’s urgency, see below *sub* Rhetoric.

²⁵⁰ For the possible derivation of a D-imperative *ussim* from *wasāmum*, cf. (A)KT 6a, 118 *ad l.* 20.

²⁵¹ For Old Babylonian see Sallaberger 1999, 51f.; for Middle Assyrian Llop 2012, 295; for Neo-Babylonian Waerzeggers 1997. In general, indirect address is never a feature of Old Assyrian communication.

²⁵² M. Larsen (2013, 59) restores as conjunction [*šu-ma*]. However, *šumma* does not take a verbal form with subjunctive. We would, therefore, suggest to emend [*ki-ma*], since temporal *kīma* always takes a past tense (see Kouwenberg 2017, 803) and may even further set the mood in so far as the described consequence is not a mere contingency that would be clad in a normal conditional sentence.

The most common introduction of the *petitio*, conveying a minimal degree of urgency, is the invocation of relation (e.g. *ahī attā/ahhūa attūnu*, *abī attā/abba'ūa attūnu*), discussed below.

Closing section

For the most part, an Old Assyrian letter simply ends once all points are made, the necessary information is related, and all requests are conveyed. There is no formularisation of ways to end any given letter. This fact does not mean, however, that there was no rhetorical interest in finishing a letter in a special way to, say, underline the points made or appeal to one's interrelationships, partnership or friendship.

From a pragmatic standpoint, we can identify a section distinct from the *petitio* proper, mostly via its content, but sometimes also via certain particles.

The simplest form of ending a letter takes the guise of a variation of *ahī attā*. *iḥid* "You are my brother. Take care (to do as instructed)/pay heed (to the letter)!" (see below *sub naḥādum*). This final statement served to emphasise the importance of the given letter, as in *ana tîrtiya iḥid* "Pay attention to my instructions!"

An emphasis of the *petitio* can also be achieved through repeating or recapitulating the main request.

In (A)KT 6 139, Šalim-Aššur heavily emphasises his qualities as a business partner and justifies why he sent an associate, Aluwa, to the main addressee Ennānum. This fact apparently caused some inconvenience for Ennānum and the other addressees. After the main *narratio* and *petitio*, Šalim-Aššur reiterates his reasons with *aššiāti* : Aluwa : *aṭrudam* "That is why I sent Aluwa" (l. 40). Note that for emphasis, Šalim-Aššur puts word dividers between every word in this line (see below *sub* Word dividers). After this, the closing section starts. Šalim-Aššur summarises his petition and finishes with a repetition of that self-same line – only without word dividers.

(A)KT 6 139: the letter is addressed to many of Šalim-Aššur's representatives, Iddin-abum, Ennānum, Īnaḥ-ilī, Man-maḥir, Ennam-Aššur and Ali-aḥum. The main part of the letter is specifically addressed to Ennānum, of which we give the relevant parts, ll. 31-49: *u mala ina panitim ḥarrānam addina[kkuni] libbakama ide. aḥī [attā.] ana umū eṭār[im] eṭranni. mīššu ša Ali-aḥu[m] pazzurtī ina Ḥaḥḥim ēzibu? ḥarrān sukkīnim pazzurtī lušēribūma šubātūa ana kaspim litūrū. aššiāti* : Aluwa : *aṭrudam*. (closing section:) *šubātē ana dātiya dināma ṭuppušu luptā : ašar kaspam 1 šiqil aḥum u ebrum aḥḥūtam ištiya ipšūni, išti šaptišuni^(sic) : pazzurtī šērubam lā ile''ū? mimma luqūtiya u saptiya^(sic) zakiāma ḥarrānam dinānim! aššiāti Aluwa aṭrudam*

“And, how much I gave you a caravan before, you fully know! You are my brother, save me while I can still be saved! Why did Ali-aḥum leave my smuggling goods in Ḥaḥḥum? They should bring my smuggling goods to the smuggling route, so my textiles can be converted to silver. That is why I sent Aluwa! Sell the textiles for my fees and write a tablet about it. Where even a single shekel of silver was to be had, colleague and friend would make them together with me in brotherly bonds, now they cannot carry my smuggling goods together with their wool? Clear every piece of my merchandise and wool and provide me with a caravan! That is why I sent Aluwa!”

In the closing section, additional information unrelated to the other parts of the letter may be appended at the end, framing a quasi *post-scriptum*. Due to letters not being formularised to a very high degree, we would not overevaluate the exact compositional nature of such closing sections and if they should even be treated as a distinct formal feature. Whether unrelated and short pieces of information were deliberately kept to the end or were kept short because they needed to be appended at the end as an afterthought, as in the case of a *post-scriptum*, cannot be assessed with absolute certainty. We would still argue that most letters are composed with great deliberation and there is no real reason to doubt that such short notes were added at the end on purpose.

We conclude our discussion on the letter form with an example of a typical and rather basic letter, pointing out its various formal parts.

OAA 1 86: Aššur-taklāku is writing to Aššur-nādā, a close business partner, about typical trade activities in Anatolia (perhaps from Durḥumit to Assur)²⁵³.

address	<i>ana Aššur-nādā qibīma umma Ašš[ur- t]aklā<ku>ma</i>	Speak to Aššur-nādā. Aššur-taklāku says the following:
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narratio	<i>10 ½ mana 6 šiqil kaspam šarrup[a]m kunukkīni Aššur-malik mera Lā-qēp naš’akkum. šitti annikika u šīm ṣubātika niddamma iššēpīya ubbalakkum. 5 bilat [werī’am] lī-ālum ušēbilam. ina tīrtišu umma šūtma “emārī ša Aššur-nādā šērīāma werīšu liššiūnim. ūmū tam<kā>rišu mal’ū.”</i>	“Aššur-malik, son of Lā-qēp, is bringing you 10 ½ minas 6 shekels of refined silver under our seal. We will sell the remainder of your tin and the proceeds of your textiles, and I will bring it to you myself. lī-ālum sent me 5 talents of [copper].
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²⁵³ Cf. OAA 1, 127.

	<i>ammala tîrtišu emārī ušēramma werīʾaka isarridūnim. adi 10 ūmē uzakkāma uṣṣiam.</i>	In his letter he said: ‘Send Aššur-nādā’s donkeys so they carry his copper. His merchant’s term is up.’ In accordance to his letter, I sent the donkeys, so they load your copper on them. I will clear myself and leave in 10 days.
<i>petitio</i>	<i>kaspam 1 šiqil ša takannuku amurma ammakam lā asaḥḥur!</i>	Inspect every single shekel of silver you place under seal, so I will not be delayed there!
<i>narratio</i>	<i>werīʾaka addamma kaspam ubbalakkum.</i>	I will sell your copper and bring you the silver.”

Rhetoric

After a brief theoretical discussion on the nature of rhetoric in Old Assyrian letters, we shall collect and describe typical examples of means of rhetorical elaboration aimed at enhancing a letter's persuasive power. The letters that need the least embellishment²⁵⁴ and which we take as baseline for the investigation into rhetoric are those that immediately surround the caravan transport. Such letters play a role in the documentation and basic transmission of information within the standard procedures of the trade.²⁵⁵ They only (implicitly) ask of their addressees to follow the self-evident conventions of trade, *i.e.* going through the necessary legal procedures, clearing (*zakku'um*) the goods with the local authorities, and dealing with the merchandise. Rhetorically, they are designed for concise clarity in providing only the necessary pieces of information without any additional linguistic or formal elements. For comprehensibility's sake, structuring particles can be used. Caravan accounts detailing the receipt of goods and subsequent procedures, mostly sales, are a typical example of such letters.²⁵⁶ The following example transmits only information without a petition section and does not feature any formal, structural aids apart from the occasional word divider.

(A)KT 6 348: *umma* Ikūn-pīya Dan-Aššur Šalim-wardī u Šu-[Nūnuma] *ana* Ennam-Aššur *qibī[ma]*. 50 *šubātī kutānī* 25 *mana annakam* 1/3 *mana* 2/3 *šiḫil kaspam* 2 *emārī šallāmū*^(sic) *mimma anniam tušēbilam. ina qerbim*²⁵⁷ 25 *kutānū* 13 *mana tadnū. 25 kutānū* 12 *mana tadnū. 18 mana annukum* 10 *mana, 4 mana maṭī*²⁵⁸ 15 *šiḫil* 9 *mana tadin. šitti : annikika* 3 *mana* 15 *šiḫil naš'ūnikkum. 55 mana šim emārīka. 31 mana šim kaspim ša libbi* Dan-Aššur. *naphar*²⁵⁹ *werī'ika* : 15 *bilat* 24 2/3 *mana werī'um masium. ina qerbim* 6 *bilat* Šu-Nūnu *ippanītim ublakkum. 8 bilat werī'am masiam* Šalim-wardī u Šu-Nūnu *kunukkīni naš'ūnikkum. 18 mana damqam šaddu'at werī'ika u emārīka nišqul. 1 biltum* 1 *mana ina šabburim imṭi. 2 1/2 mana werī'am damqam illibbi werī'ika ni[ddi]. ana tašši'at werī'am* ša Ab-šalim u Dan-

²⁵⁴ We would very purposefully talk about embellishment here already in order to indicate a general, perhaps somewhat abstract approach to Old Assyrian rhetoric, the main goal of whose analysis, as we shall elaborate shortly, is not to give a literary analysis of tropes and figures with taxonomic rigour. R. Barthes (1985, 156f.) offers a similar outlook in his study of rhetoric in Classical Antiquity – as science/art not as application – under the heading “La rage taxinomique”: “Ce que nous appelons d'un terme générique les figures de rhétorique, mais qu'en toute rigueur historique, et pour éviter l'ambiguïté entre *Tropes* et *Figures*, il vaudrait mieux appeler les « ornements », a été pendant des siècles et est aujourd'hui encore l'objet d'une véritable rage de classement, indifférente aux railleries qui ont cependant très tôt surgi.”

²⁵⁵ For the detailed study of these letters documenting and communicating the caravan trade, see Larsen 1967.

²⁵⁶ See Larsen 1967, esp. 6-14. The types of letters for the communication of transactions are, with M. Larsen's (1967, 6–14) terminology, first ‘transport contracts’, then ‘notifying messages’ and finally, as a last step during the trade, the ‘caravan accounts’.

²⁵⁷ For the syllabic reading of ŠÀ.BA, see Kouwenberg 2017, 455.

²⁵⁸ For the syllabic reading of LÁ, see Kouwenberg 2017, 296 fn. 37.

²⁵⁹ J. Lewy (1938, 138) gives evidence for the Old Assyrian reading of ŠU.NIGIN as *ištēniš*. In the present case, the rendition ŠU.NIGIN URUDU-*i-kà* (l. 17) with the following genitive, however, points to a noun, probably *napharum* – as is the *opinio communis*.

Aššur ana Ab-šalim niddin. gamram u ukul[tam] mimma ulā niddiššunūti. werīʾaka : [...] šitti werīʾika [...] luballiṭakkum. ḫīdam ḫurāšam ša ana šuḫārtim tušēbilanni massuḫma u laqāʾam lā tamūʾa. kunukkīni našʾūnikkum. “Ikūn-pīya, Dan-Aššur, Šalim-wardī and Šu-Nūnu say the following, speak to Ennam-Aššur: ‘50 *kutānum*-textiles, 25 minas of tin, 1/3 mina 2/3 shekel of silver and 2 black breed donkeys: you had sent all this. Of this, 25 *kutānums* were sold at 13 minas each. 25 *kutānums* were sold at 12 minas each. 18 minas of tin were sold at 10 minas each and 4 minas minus 15 shekels at 9 minas each. They are bringing you the remainder of your tin, 3 minas 15 shekels. 55 minas was the price of your donkeys. 31 minas was the price of the silver at Dan-Aššur’s disposal. The total of your copper is 15 talents 24 2/3 minas of washed copper. Of this, Šu-Nūnu already brought you 6 talents. Šalim-wardī and Šu-Nūnu are bringing you 8 talents of washed copper under our seals. We paid 18 minas of good one as transport tariff on your copper and your donkeys. Each talent was reduced by 1 mina during the crushing. Out of your copper, we deposited 2 1/2 minas of good-quality copper. We gave it to Ab-šalim for the transport costs of the copper of Ab-šalim and Dan-Aššur. We did not give them anything for expenses or food. Your copper [...]. I shall credit you the remainder of your copper [...]. The gold bead you sent to the girl was damaged, so she refused to take it. They are bringing it to you under our seal’.”

In terms of “relationship thinking”, this letter can be seen as an interpretant of the interpretant following Ennam-Aššur’s sending of goods (probably accompanied by a detailed list) to his affiliates in Kaneš, which warranted the standard commercial handling of the goods. The letter fosters the normal socio-economic relations among the merchants. Each individual entry within the letter, in its turn, anticipates specific expectations Ennam-Aššur may have towards any given item in view of his whole trade. Being held purely informative, the letter relies on clear, implicit conduct and knowledge of the trade mechanics. A minimum amount of effort needs to be made to satisfy the social relations in such a standard transaction.

However, once social problem-solving – which may or may not be caused by material and economic problems in need of effective solutions – needs to be considered, various argumentative strategies and rhetorical devices appropriate to the circumstances must be added to the message. When investigating how the Assyrian merchants persuade and qualify requests, we would not limit ourselves to only strictly linguistic means but look at the letters also under wider formal and graphical aspects.²⁶⁰ Further, materiality forms an important part of the real-world context as well,

²⁶⁰ Perhaps, in our view of rhetoric as explicated in the next passages and looking at textual form as a para-linguistic element, we may again approach C.S. Peirce (1978, 149) in his definition of *speculative rhetoric* from 1904: “Evidently, our conception of rhetoric has got to be generalized; and while we are about it, why not remove the restriction of rhetoric to speech? What is the principal virtue ascribed to algebraical notation, if it

although it is beyond the scope of the present work to exhaustively investigate whether the fashioning of a clay tablet itself, concerning the preparation of the clay, fine vs. coarse clay, could also be dependent on the prospective addressee and their persuasion.²⁶¹ In short, as Aristotle would put it, to grasp what can be persuasive in any given situation lies at the core of rhetoric.

Rhet. I.2, 1355b26-35: ἔστω δὴ ἡ ῥητορική δύναμις περὶ ἕκαστον τοῦ θεωρῆσαι τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον πιθανόν. τοῦτο γὰρ οὐδεμιᾶς ἐτέρας ἐστὶ τέχνης ἔργον: τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων ἐκάστη περὶ τὸ αὐτῇ ὑποκείμενόν ἐστιν διδασκαλική καὶ πειστική, οἷον ἰατρική περὶ ὑγιεινῶν καὶ νοσερῶν, καὶ γεωμετρία περὶ τὰ συμβεβηκότα πάθῃ τοῖς μεγέθεσι, καὶ ἀριθμητική περὶ ἀριθμῶν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν τεχνῶν καὶ ἐπιστημῶν: ἡ δὲ ῥητορική περὶ τοῦ δοθέντος ὡς εἰπεῖν δοκεῖ δύνασθαι θεωρεῖν τὸ πιθανόν, διὸ καὶ φάμεν αὐτὴν οὐ περὶ τι γένος ἴδιον ἀφωρισμένον ἔχειν τὸ τεχνικόν. “Let rhetoric be defined as an ability, in each particular case, to see the available means of persuasion. This is the function of no other art; for each of the others is instructive and persuasive about its own subject: for example, medicine about health and disease and geometry about the properties of magnitudes and arithmetic about numbers and similarly in the case of the other arts and sciences. But rhetoric seems to be able to observe the persuasive about ‘the given,’ so to speak. That, too, is why we say it does not include technical knowledge of any particular, defined genus of subjects.”²⁶²

Following this assessment, we view rhetoric in a pragmatic way from an inner-Assyrian perspective rather than focus on categorisations of different types of speech and figures thereof. In the long history of rhetorical thought, there has often, from a philosophical point of view, been a certain reserve against rhetoric as calculated manipulation.²⁶³ In the tradition of Plato’s judgement on

be not the rhetorical virtue of perspicuity. (...) Let us cut short such objections by acknowledging at once, as an *ens in posse*, a universal art of rhetoric, which shall be the general secret of rendering signs effective, / including under the term ‘sign’ every picture, diagram, natural cry, pointing finger, wink, knot in one’s handkerchief, memory, dream, fancy, concept, indication, token, symptom, letter, numeral, word, sentence, chapter, book, library, and in short whatever, be it in the physical universe, be it in the world of thought, that, whether embodying an idea of any kind (and permit us throughout to use this term to cover purposes and feelings), or being connected with some existing object, or referring to future events through a general rule, causes something else, its interpreting sign, to be determined to a corresponding relation to the same idea, existing thing, or law.” In short, salient for this broad assessment of rhetoric that, in its application, clearly would need to be combined with a thick description of practices is the “suasive power of various signs, in diverse contexts – the power of signs to move agents and to change the habits so integral to their agency”, as V. Colapietro (2007, 19) dubs the focus of C.S. Peirce’s semiotic.

²⁶¹ C. Michel (2023b)’s investigation in this direction about a gender difference in letter materiality suggests a negative answer to the question whether tablets are fashioned differently depending on the social context.

²⁶² For the English translation, see Kennedy 1991, 36f. For ease of access, see also the online version on Perseus.tufts.edu of J.H. Freese’s (1926, 14f.) edition with both the Greek score and an English translation: <<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text.jsp?doc=Perseus:text:1999.01.0059>> (last access: 28/02/2022).

²⁶³ Cf. Posselt and Hetzel 2017.

rhetoric as mere opinion (*δόξα*),²⁶⁴ modern occidental philosophy has at times criticised the inadequacies of languages in its pursuit of truth; from René Descartes and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz to Ludwig Wittgenstein and the logical empiricism of the Vienna Circle.²⁶⁵ At the same time, the exigence of language for ontological and epistemological problems has been (re-)pleaded in the *linguistic turn* which can already be placed with John Locke, Wilhelm von Humboldt and Johann Gottfried Herder,²⁶⁶ until Friedrich Nietzsche expounding on the rhetorical essence of language,²⁶⁷ next to Gottlob Frege and L. Wittgenstein; similarly Jürgen Habermas,²⁶⁸ with whom we return to the topic at hand. For rhetoric and possible claims to validity of arguments in a socially conditioned ontological setting, he posits: “Die Logik der Argumentation erfordert einen begrifflichen Rahmen, der dem Phänomen des eigentümlich zwanglosen Zwangs des besseren Arguments Rechnung zu tragen erlaubt.”²⁶⁹

Moving along with J. Habermas, away from assertions about absolute claims to knowledge and truth and towards such a different ‘conceptual framework’, we would maintain a certain distinction from within that philosophical framework, between rhetoric as mere strategic and deceptive manipulation, on the one hand, and as dialogic persuasion, on the other,²⁷⁰ and transpose it completely into the realm of social interactions. The argumentative language present in the Old Assyrian letters relies to a large degree on stock phrases, idioms, and, in general, certain culturally determined keywords.²⁷¹ When we analyse certain rhetorical figures, stock phrases in general, it is usually possible to segment them into smaller parts which already refer to certain intricate aspects of the Old Assyrian world. The social and cultural context we can gain through the uniquely focussed Old Assyrian documentation perhaps allows us, better than for other places of the ancient world, to gain substantiated ideas about the rhetorical, then social and cultural significance of some of the

²⁶⁴ Cf. Borsche 1990, 37–106.

²⁶⁵ See e.g. Leibniz 1996 (1677); Wittgenstein 1922; Carnap 1931. Cf. Posselt and Hetzel 2017, 1–8.

²⁶⁶ Cf. after Posselt and Flatscher 2018, 260–268, also already Rorty 1999, 71f. n. 10; Losonsky 2006.

²⁶⁷ Cf. Borsche 1990, 292–312.

²⁶⁸ Cf. Habermas 2004.

²⁶⁹ Habermas 1981, 52 (similarly already p. 47). The English translation (Habermas 1984, 28) reads: “The logic of argumentation requires a conceptual framework that permits us to take into account the phenomenon of the peculiarly constraint-free force of the better argument,” although the translation of “zwanglos” as constraint-free should be expanded that it also connotes necessity-free.

²⁷⁰ Cf. Posselt and Hetzel 2017, 3.

²⁷¹ We can use the term *keywords* like R. Williams (1985) did when diving into pieces of the culturally determined and ever-changing vocabulary of the English of his time: “What I had then to do was not only to collect examples, and look up or revise particular records of use, but to analyse, as far as I could, some of the issues and problems that were there inside the vocabulary, whether in single words or in habitual groupings. I called these words *Keywords* in two connected senses: they are significant, indicative words in certain forms of thought. Certain uses bound together certain ways of seeing culture and society, not least in these two most general words.” (Williams 1985, 15).

used words.²⁷² They constitute socially acknowledged and valid forms of dialogue and argumentation, rather than semantic innovation that might be aimed at talking someone into something they may not have thought of before. We believe the rhetoric present in Old Assyrian mercantile letters very heavily depended on, and drew on, social norms and conventions that give arguments validity.²⁷³ The mutual trust that is so important for a trading society, such as the Old Assyrian one, also extends to the direction that persuasion can take. The rhetoric in the letters accentuates degrees of importance and urgency of specific requests in the context of the usual procedures of the trade. It never seems to aim at convincing someone to do something unheard of, both in a sense of ontology and decorum.

Compared to argumentation in the Old Babylonian corpus, which also shows a propensity for social convention, if less extensively, one might say that the Assyrians use a language that appears grammatically and syntactically complex, and less abstractly formularised or rhetoricised,²⁷⁴ but more personal, for giving nuance to the conventionalised modes of argumentation, and *topoi* in general.

It is from this conceptual point of view that we wish to delve into Old Assyrian rhetoric, rather than give an exhaustive exercise in literary criticism and structure the Assyrians' rhetoric by means of Classical terminology and classifications of styles of speech.²⁷⁵ The merchants' strong sense of social cohesion is perhaps also a reaction to the rapid cultural and social changes that accommodate their trading lifestyle. Within few generations they constantly re-adapt their lives to the long distances. The simplification of the cuneiform script, the newly bigamous institutions of marriage, and the acceptance of constant personal mobility²⁷⁶ are but a few examples. A heightened awareness of

²⁷² W. Sallaberger (1999, 216–225) already has fruitfully identified the worth of, what he calls after Cicero and Quintilian, *loci communes*, in order to gain better understanding of social values for the Old Babylonian period.

²⁷³ With J. Habermas (1981, 52–56), one might say the concept of acceptability (“Begriff der Akzeptanz”) is important to expand the realm of validity (“Geltung”) for our socio-cultural investigation of Old Assyrian arguments.

²⁷⁴ Compare the examples in Sallaberger 1999, 222–243.

²⁷⁵ Recently, M. Piccin (2021) has offered a synopsis on rhetorical figures for surveying the rhetoric (as persuasion) in Neo-Assyrian royal letters and Old Babylonian prayers. While such terminology helps, in an erudite and comparative environment, grasp at how exactly people and texts are speaking, we should be very conscious that it is neither the purpose of the present work to analyse the corpus as such, nor do these terms necessarily suffice to understand the socio-pragmatic implications we are interested in of so far-removed and ancient a people like the Old Assyrian one without a wider context. Here, we might, nonetheless, quote R. Barthes (1985, 157), talking in terms of F. de Saussure about ancient Greek manuals of rhetoric: “Pourquoi cette furie de découpage, de dénomination, cette sorte d’activité enivrée du langage sur le langage ? Sans doute (c’est du moins une explication structurale) parce que la rhétorique essaie de *coder la parole* (et non plus la langue), c’est-à-dire l’espace même où, en principe, cesse le code.” For a recent, postmodern criticism on the traditional vocabulary of rhetorical analysis, see esp. the introductory chapter in Kennerly 2021.

²⁷⁶ This mobility even turns into a source of pride for Assyrian men, as in the complaint in CCT 4 45b, 16-19: *mīššum kīma sinništīm : ištu 10 warḫi iqqerab* : Ālim *taptaḫa’ni*? “Why have you kept me confined inside the City for 10 months like a woman?”

social norms and conventions provides grounding of their lives and thus gives impetus to their rhetoric. It might seem paradoxical but is certainly very human, as S. Greenblatt observes in advocating for studying culture as something essentially fluid, or in his words, mobile: “(Mobility studies) need to account as well for the fact that cultures are experienced again and again – in the face of overwhelming contrary evidence – not as contingent at all but as fixed, inevitable, and strangely enduring.”²⁷⁷

Persuasion through rhetorical elaboration is necessitated when unexpected problems loom. As has been explicated above, by far the largest portion of the extant Old Assyrian letters are constituted by those that arise out of irregularities in the trade, unforeseen problems of any kind. These warrant additional rhetorical elaboration in order to persuade their addressees to contribute to a solution in a timely fashion. Since letters such as caravan accounts have a rather distinct temporal horizon of relevancy, it is unsurprising that they would be discarded sooner and with higher regularity than those letters that detail unexpected complications that could have an effect for an inestimably longer period of time. These letters also had longer-lasting legal value. The former type rather fits the nature of letters as *ephemera* in commercial archives which has been observed, for instance, in Late Babylonian archives.²⁷⁸

The Assyrians can persuade through a variety of approaches within the social context of the trading community. These can be alluding to the mutual partnership and collegiality among the traders, referring to the exchange of favours, or stating emotional investment, all to ultimately intimate urgency.

Urgency is the most prevalent backdrop that informs these letters and their argumentative devices. The Assyrians attach great importance to speedy execution of the trade and show an aversion to wasting time. The perceived urgency of a given situation can dictate the intensity and volume of rhetorical devices employed. This becomes immediate in the way they conduct their trade and in the many *topoi* and stock phrases they employ in their letters. It might, also, be owed to a possibly substantial delay in their individual activities, at least as pertains to the communication between Assur and Anatolia. A vivid example may be the not infrequent use of the metaphor of hungry merchandise, meaning goods that are not being traded and thus are unproductive and do not generate profit to be immediately reinvested.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁷ Greenblatt 2010, 16.

²⁷⁸ See Hackl et al. 2014, 2.

²⁷⁹ See for a discussion with further examples and a description of the desired constant cycle of exchanging goods, Veenhof 1987, 57f. Although this is not a place for a lengthy historical analysis of this metaphor, it must be stated that the use of *barā’um* “to be hungry” would be a lexicalised metaphor, not semantic innovation, in Old Assyrian. It appears already in an Old Akkadian text in reference to a field (cf. MAD 3, 100 s.v. *br’*), which

OAA 1 17, 27-34: *kaspam tušēbilānimma umma attūnuma lā ibarre’ aššumi tîrtikunu annakam batqam aš’amma u ammakam ibtere’ ūmam annukum* 16.GÍN.TA u eliš ibašši “You sent me silver, saying: ‘It must not grow hungry!’ Because of your instructions, I bought tin of short supply, so there it has grown hungry! Today there is tin to be had at 16 shekels (per 1 shekel of silver) or an even higher rate!”

The interjection *apputtum*, best translated as “urgent”, and the conventional phrase *ina šamši/inūmi ṭuppam tašammeu* “the day you read the letter” are both among the more frequent rhetorical ornaments in letters.

(A)KT 6 239, 22-25: *apputtum ina šamši ṭuppī tašammeu 5 mana kaspam kunukma kunukkika 1 šuḥārum lublam*. “Urgent, the day you read my letter, seal 5 minas of silver, so a servant brings me your sealed package!”

Even the common introduction to *petitiones* via the invocation of relation (see below) strengthens the request and in doing so, we would argue, already evokes a connotation of urgency. It is also often combined with clear statements of urgency.

(A)KT 6 135, 32-38: *aḥḫūa bēlūa attūnu. ana ūmū⁽¹⁾ eṭārim eṭrāni! gimillam iṣṣēr Aššur u iṣṣēriya šuknā!* “You are my brothers, my lords. Save me while I can still be saved! Do Aššur and myself this favour!”

On the other hand, urgency can also be expressed with references to time, which should never be passed idly.

(A)KT 3 91, 16-23: Kukuzi : *ana werī’im sarādīm ana Waḥ[šūš]ana illikma ištu 5 warḫī ittasker. ḥarrānum ittapte*, Kukuzi : *errabamma ūmakka lā abi’at attallakam*. “Kukuzi went to Waḥšūšana to procure copper but has been blocked in for 5 months. As soon as the road opens, Kukuzi will arrive and I shall not stay even a single day but set out.”

OAA 1 135, 39-47: *ana ša’ālikunu nišpuram. ina šamši ṭuppini : tašammeāni tîrtaknu lillikamma maṣṣartam lū nipte. šuḥārū lā isaḥḫurū!* Iddin-Aššur u Aššur-bani *ūmakka lā tušasḫarā!* “We wrote to ask your advice. On the day you read our letter, send your instructions, then we shall open the strongroom. The servants must not tarry! You must not delay Iddin-Aššur and Aššur-bani even a single day!”

might be taken as good point of origin for this metaphor. Nevertheless, its use in Old Assyrian does have a deliberate, emphasising effect when compared to a simple request of reinvesting money.

K.T. 86, 21-25: *iPPurušḫaddim lā tsaḥḫur u ina Kaneš ūmakka lā tabi*??at *teb’amma atalkam!* “Do not tarry in Puruṣḫaddum and do not spend even a day in Kaneš! Set out and come!”

Distribution of rhetorical keys

In the following sections, we systematically collect the most pertinent, frequent stock phrases as rhetorical means that ultimately all aim at having the requests they emphasise accomplished sooner rather than later. They may all come into play under different social and economic circumstances, which can grant us deeper understanding of the underlying mechanics and different degrees of value the Assyrians attach to them as well. These rhetorical devices and stock phrases help express certain – sometimes implicit – notions in a commonly understood and almost standardised way. Thereby, they can also aid in structuring a letter by drawing attention to specific points of the letter body. In the following, we provide representative examples ordered by their frequency in the letter corpus, from highest to lowest. With examining the frequency of the respective expressions, we can already attribute varying degrees of rhetorical appeal to them, or social validity and expectance. While the line between their being inherent features of the language and being purposeful rhetorical devices needs to be defined, high usage would already indicate a good degree of socio-cultural acceptance of an expression. At the same time, this does not equate to rhetorical effectiveness for the purpose of convincing. Extreme situations that occur less frequently certainly may warrant for different rhetorical framing. Both overkill and understatement can be a valid strategy but also very quickly make a debate seem absurd.

The following table arranges the most common stock phrases by their frequency in the corpus, which is also the order of their respective discussions. For a percentual distribution of individual keywords see Figure 4.

Keywords	Key concepts	Frequency (% of letters in our corpus)
<i>aḫī attā, abī attā...</i>	Invocation of relation	36%
<i>naḫādum</i>	Directing attention, emphasising request	18%
<i>apputtum</i>	Highlighting urgency	10%
<i>kaspum 1 šiqil, ...</i>	Stock phrases referring to minimal quantities of commodities for rhetorical emphasis	8.5%

forms of <i>gamālum</i>	Favours	7%
<i>ina šamši tuppam tašmeu, ...</i>	Requesting urgent action “as soon as the letter has been read”	6.5%
<i>uznī pite, ...</i>	Emphatically requesting information	5%
<i>adi mala u šinīšu</i>	reproach for repeated actions, mostly correspondence	4%
four most common emotions, mostly phrases with <i>libbum</i>	Emotions	14.5%: <i>libbum marāšum</i> as most frequent one: 5.3%

Table 3: The distribution of stock phrases by frequency

After a more detailed presentation of the individual stock phrases and keywords and similar parts of speech, this chapter will be resumed discussing their discursive interrelations and possible communicative and social ramifications.

Invocation of relation

Terms denoting family relations have received specialised meanings in the setting of trade partnerships. Colleagues, bosses and servants are called *aḥum* “brother”, *abum* “father” and *šuḥārum* “child”.²⁸⁰ Since family held great value in society, mobilising this concept through addressing someone as a family member is an ideal – if not the only – way of forming bonds.²⁸¹

A perfect example of the wider, non-literal meaning of these terms is a letter in connection with the death of Šalim-Aššur after which his biological son Ennam-Aššur becomes the new *abum* “father” of the household and firm. His brother Ali-ahum and Amur-Ištar, one of Šalim-Aššur’s in-laws, bring it to the point:

(A)KT 6 209, 3-9: *lā libbi ilimma abūni mēt. lā* Šalim-Aššur *abūni attā abūni*. “Unfortunately, our father has died. Not Šalim-Aššur is our father, but you are our father.”

²⁸⁰ See Michel 2020c, 34.

²⁸¹ For a characterisation of family ties and responsibilities of individuals, see Larsen 2007. For a comparable outlook on family and forging bonds in Babylonia around the same time, see van der Toorn 1996, 21-25. The importance of the family and economic operations in such contexts is a fact throughout all Mesopotamian history (for a characterisation in the first millennium BC, see Jursa 2010, 153–204).

Another telling example shows the main kinds of trade partners a merchant could rely on, in the form of father and brother, that is boss and colleague, and generally their representatives (*ša kīma* PN or *šazzuztum*).

CCT 6 12a, 36-: *šumma abī lū aḥī lū ša kīma šuwā[ti] iša''ulūka ka''issunu umma attāma kēna ašpur umma anākuma mala tale''eu dišši!* “If my father or my brother or his representatives ask you, confirm it to them, saying: ‘Yes, I did write him: «Sell of it as much as you can!»’!”

The most frequent rhetorical devices to be employed for requests in letters use just such terms that express a relation between the correspondents. The most basic form is a noun phrase of the respective relational term plus possessive suffix of the first person and the independent personal pronoun of the second person, e.g., *aḥī attā* “you are my brother”, *abī attā* “you are my father”, *bēlī attā* “you are my lord”. We propose to call this figure the invocation of relation. *Mutatis mutandis* it uses also other kinship terms and certain other, additional terms for close relations, which will be discussed below. This stock phrase evokes closeness, collegiality, between the participants in the Old Assyrian trade, an inherent characteristic of its trust-based social networks. The explicit reference to it insinuates a degree of urgency of the letter or individual requests.

Each term used in the described stock phrase, has its own connotations as related to hierarchy and relation between the letter correspondents. Even if the kinship term *abum* received a broader meaning like “boss”, it, nonetheless, conveys a higher degree of closeness than *bēlum* does, which solely serves to express subservience and is barely ever used on its own. *abum*, *aḥum*, and *bēlum* constitute the most frequent terms for this construction between men. Also addressing women, the respective counterparts, *aḥātum* “sister”, and *ummum* “mother” – with rare instances of *bēltum* – are used. Owing to the nature of the documentation, we possess fewer pieces of evidence, and they typically come out of a narrower family context. Due to the sheer quantitative distribution, the speech of men, usually also with other men, predominantly flows into our analysis. While we would maintain that the main modes of rhetoric are used by both men and women, the speech of women, those in Assur and those in Anatolia, towards both men and other women needs to be given its due thought, as well (see below).

Formally, the main purpose of the invocation of relation is to emphasise certain parts of the message, mostly requests in the *petitio*. We find the invocation of relation in c. 35% (i.e. 361 letters) of the 1035 letters in the corpus. In more than half the cases (c. 54% of its instances), it is additionally used as a structuring device to introduce the *petitio* – or one of the *petitiones* – as a whole. Otherwise, it stresses individual requests, introduces the closing section or, foreshadowing especially

dire news, it also opens a letter. In short, it highlights important parts of a letter that immediately succeed it.

In addition to the main phrasing of stock phrase, there are a few related variants that express even greater emphasis and urgency. One follows the pattern *šumma aḥī attā* “If you are my brother”, the other *allānukka aḥam šaniam lā išu* “Besides you, I do not have another brother.” with very many variations. The latter one, especially, possesses a strong emotional nature. Opposed to the fixed structure of the other stock phrases, the great freedom in form and content, used as a rhetorical question or an assertive statement, results from this fact. The *šumma*-phrase, on the other hand, is so-to-speak a simple enhancement of the standard phrase *aḥī attā*.

aḥum “brother = colleague” indicates a social set-up of either equals or superiors writing to those inferior. Those hierarchically higher virtually always address others by *aḥum*, never directly betraying their superior position. *merʾum* “son” that would more directly express one’s own superiority is very restricted in its use and has a demeaning connotation (see more below). The construction with *aḥum* is used in c. 21% of letters, making it by far the most common form of address and relation visible in all the letter correspondence. Despite indicating a different hierarchical relation from *abum*, there is no real difference in other rhetorical devices that may follow either the invocation of *aḥum* or *abum*. This corresponds well with an overall assertion that the rhetoric of the distinct group of the Old Assyrian merchants is well delimited and rather clear-cut in its uses.

(A)KT 5 76, 20: *aḥī attā : šupramma kaspam u šiʾamātišu ša šitta ḥarrānātīm lalqēma u šitti kaspika ašar tušāḥizinni laddin!* “You are my brother. Write me so that I may take the silver or what has been bought with it on the two journeys, and I shall also give you the rest of the silver wherever you direct me to!” The invocation of relation introduces the *petitio* asking for urgently needed money.

(A)KT 6 220, 8-10: *aḥḫūattū[nu] 4 attūnu : ana šēr ummēāni : abīni : punuāma (...)* “You are my brothers. You four turn to our father’s investors and (...)” The *petitio* is introduced via the invocation of relation. The author has the addressees go to his investors yet another time on his behalf. The closing section that summarises and emphasises the latter half of the petition requesting the investors to swear an oath, is again introduced with the invocation of relation but apparently with added emphasis, not in crasis and with word dividers, ll.31-35: *aḥḫūa : attūnu : ana pānia : tīrtakunu išti : šuḫāriya annītum la annītum lillikamma ṭēmī lū šabtam* “You are my brothers. Send me a letter with my servant whether it is so or not, so a decision can be made for me!”

In the following examples, the invocation of relation is used to introduce the closing section of a letter.

(A)KT 6 136, 26-28: *aḥḥūa attūnu. ṭuppam awīltam šašmeā!* “You are my brothers. Have the lady read this tablet.” The invocation of relation introduces the closing section, emphasising that an undisclosed woman of high status needs to be adequately informed of the problems detailed in the letter.

(A)KT 8 79, 24-29: *ahī attā. ina šaḥat šazzuztiya izizma ina alāk maškattiya šubātē ištēna u šana šēbilamma lagmilka* “You are my brother. Assist my representative and send one or two textiles when my claimed shipment arrives, and I shall owe you a favour!” The closing section summarises and enhances the petition with the invocation of relation and the promise of favours.

Fully utilising the stock phrase to structure the letter, Ikūn-pīya directs his change in addressees through it, in the following example. He mostly talks to a group of his representatives, briefly interrupted with a specific address to Ennam-Aššur, only to immediately return to addressing the entire group.

(A)KT 6 341, 9-18: *ša šitti kaspim : šīmam ša balāṭiya : šāmānim! ana Ennam-Aššur qibīma 40 mana annakum damqim illibbika. aḥī attā. annakam : dammiqma išti ālikim panēmma : šēbilānim. aḥḥūa : attūnu : iḥdāma šuḥārī : lā isaḥḥur.* “As for the remainder of the silver, make purchases to my profit! Speak to Ennam-Aššur: ‘40 minas of good-quality tin are at your disposal. You are my brother. Make good on the tin and send it with the very next travellers!’ You are my brothers. See to it that my servant does not tarry!”

All the kinship terms also see usage in the variant stock phrases for invoking relation, those with *šumma*-phrases and those with *allānum*. In (A)KT 6 235 the stakes are high, since the addressees’ father had died and now the economic fallout needs to be dealt with, which is a common but ever difficult task in the Old Assyrian trade. To a long letter dealing with many of these matters, one of the authors, Elāya, also attaches an urgent personal note, now speaking only on his own behalf. He is seeking a personal favour but has to acknowledge through rhetorical elaboration that it is a lot to ask in the stressful situation the addressees find themselves in:

(A)KT 6 235, 47f.: *umma Elāyama šumma aḥḥūa attūnu šīm šubātē kaspam kunkānimma gimlāni* “Elāya says: ‘If you are my brothers, seal the silver proceeds from the textiles and so do me a favour!’”

Phrases employing *allānum* show a strong personal and emotional investment. In this example, the author feels let down, if not betrayed, because his partner had acted differently from what had been agreed upon. Instead of collecting the money from his debtor, he merely wrote him another debt note, although the letter author is eagerly awaiting the repayment. He shows this by first calling his correspondent brother and friend,²⁸² thereby establishing a rather close relation and then continues with characterising him as a big brother. While they may be of more or less equal standing, he still wants to insinuate that he is looking up to his correspondent as someone on whose aid he would rely.

(A)KT 6 409, 16-28: *ana kaspim kuāti ušazzizakkuššuma ištu Puruṣḫaddim ina erābišuma kaspam kīma iāti išaqqalakkum. u tašpuram umma attāma : ṭuppušu alput : aḫī attā ebrī attā : allānukkama aḫam rabiam īšū? annakam kaspam Lā-qēpam ētarriššuma šaqālam ulā imū’a. umma šūtma ṭuppī lušētiqūnimma kasapka leqe!* “Regarding the silver, it is him I had designated for you, so he would pay the silver to you as my representative upon his arrival from Puruṣḫaddum. But you wrote me, saying: ‘I have written him a tablet.’ You are my brother, you are my friend. Apart from you do I have any big brother? I kept asking Lā-qēp for the silver here, but he refuses to pay, saying: ‘They should produce my tablet, then take your silver!’”

Next, a sister stresses the relation to her brother trying to resolve a conflict they had just before her brother left on his journey back to Anatolia. She, moreover, introduces what is in this case the *petitio* through the simple invocation of relation.

(A)KT 8 165, 9-13: *aḫī attā. libbaka lā tulamman. allānukka aḫam šani[am] lā išu.* “You are my brother. Do not be angry! I do not have another brother besides you.”

The rare attestations of *atḫu’um*, a verb in the Gt-stem derived from *aḫum*, are particularly intriguing. These forms show the strongest emotion and are used out of great impatience and indignation, as in the following case where the requests become outright commands.

(A)KT 6 309, 34-41: *anāku u attā ataḫwāni. ištu waraḫ Allanātīm kaspam ša iṣṣērika iṣū ištu Puruṣḫaddim ina erābikama tušebbal[am kīma] attā kaspam anniam tuktaṣṣidann[i ṣ]ibtam ula agammilka* “You and I are brothers to each other. From the month of Allanātum you will send me the silver you own from Puruṣḫaddum as soon as you arrive! [*The moment*] you delay this silver for me, I will not do you any favours with the interest.” Notice that the requests are no longer in the imperatives but simple statements of facts in the present tense indicative.

²⁸² On *ebrum* see more below.

abum “father = superior” can only be used by someone of lower hierarchical standing or rarely in order to lower oneself in respect to a relative equal. In rhetorical usage, it features in c. 11% of the corpus.

(A)KT 6 124, 9'-11': *abī attā. tīrtaka zakūtum aššēr ša kīma [ku]āti u aššēriya šu[pr]a[m]* “You are my father. Send detailed instructions to your representatives and to me!” After a long narration, the author introduces the brief *petitio* with the invocation of relation to his boss and biological father.

OAA 1 78, 30-36: (about copper, *pirikannum*-textiles and hides) *ṭuppam našpartam ulā ublūnim. umma Iddin-Aššurma lapātam lā imū'ū. abba'ūa : attūnu. werī'i mala tadnu šīm maškī u pirikannī : mala itbulūni šitti kaspim : mala išittanni tīrtakunu ana Durḫumit lillikam.* “They did not bring a letter tablet with them. Iddin-Aššur said: ‘They do not want to write one.’ You are my fathers. Send a report to Durḫumit about my copper, how much was sold, about the price of the hides and the *pirikannums*, how much they fetched, and about the remainder of the silver, how much is left for me!” The author introduces the second petition section with the invocation of relation in which he has to trouble his addressees with a task that goes beyond their standard involvement in the mentioned procedures of day-to-day trade, in order to urgently gain clarity what assets he still has.

OAA 1 117, 3-11: 5 *šiqil ḫurāšam pašallam kunukkīya Ikūn-pīya mera Daya naš'akkum. abī attā. niq'am maḥar ilika iqīma kurubam*^{(sic)283}! “Ikūn-pīya, son of Daya, is bringing you 5 shekels of *pašallum*-gold. You are my father. Make an offering (*with it*?) before your god and pray for me!” The biological son introduces the *petitio* with the invocation of relation.

Innāya 152, 27-34: *šumma awīlam ana bāb ilim šērudum ibašši abī attā lāma ina Kuburnat uš'anni ina paniūtamma tīrtaka lillikam! ana mala tīrtika līpuš.* “If there is reason to have the man go down to the god’s gate (i.e. to swear an oath) – you are my father – send me your instructions as soon as possible, before he leaves Kuburnat! He should act according to your instructions.” The invocation of relation can also be interjected between sentences, also here immediately preceding the request proper. It serves to enhance the urgency of the matter

The following example uses interesting iterations of the formula adapted to their respective syntactic context, two times in an inner monologue. The letter author is writing to his evidently older brother-in-law.

²⁸³ K. Hecker (1968, 51) and N.J.C. Kouwenberg (2017, 50) speak of vowel epenthesis that can be a feature of imperatives, probably for special emphasis.

(A)KT 8 189, 40f.: *umma anākuma abī šūt illakma ištu Ālim annakam ušēlamma* (...) “I said to myself: ‘He is my father, he will go and bring me tin from the City (...)’ Towards the end of the letter, the sender expresses his feelings of betrayal at not having received any tin against his expectation, again with an inner monologue but leaving the grammatical person as if directly speaking to the addressee, 55f.: *umma anākuma abī attā bēlī attā. annakam 10 mana šāmamma šēbilam!* “I thought you were my father, my lord! Buy me 10 minas of tin and send it to me!” The closing section introduced by the invocation of relation immediately follows, 57-60: *abī attā bēlī attā šīm kaspim ša addinakkuni annakšu šēbilam. ēn Aššur <u ēnēka šāmiranni>*²⁸⁴! “You are my father, you are my lord. Send me the price of the silver I gave you, in tin. <Let me visit> Aššur <and you>!”

For closing a letter, the next example shows one of the most typical ways to do so. In combination with the invocation of relation, the second most frequent keyword, *naḥādum* (see more below), is used.

(A)KT 6 242, 16f.: *abī attā iḥid.* “You are my father, pay heed (to this letter)!”

For greater urgency and greater leeway in social expectations, the *šumma*-phrase can enhance a request.

(A)KT 8 87, 16-24: *[išt]u 3 warḥī [ašpu]rakkum umma anākuma [kaspam] šēbilam. šumma abī attā [1 u] 2 mana : <išti> ālikim [pan]ḥmma : šēbilamma [šuq]alka lā ippaṭṭarma [u l]ibbaka lā ilammin. [d]ātum marištum ikšudniāti.* “3 months a[go, I wro]te to you, saying: ‘Send me [silver]!’ If you are my father, send 1 or 2 minas with the very next travellers, so your [pack]et does not need to be opened and you do not get upset. A terrible road-tax was imposed on us.”

OAA 1 131, 19-23: *šumma abī attā libbī lā ulamman! kaspam kunkā ina ištēn ālikim šēbilānim!* “If you are my father, I must not grow angry! Seal the silver and send it with the first travellers!”

To express strong emotional investment, kinship is also affirmed in the form of, e.g., *allānukka abam ulā išu* “Besides you I have no father.” The first example, is a rare instance of an apology.

²⁸⁴ Evidently the letter would have been continued on a second page or possibly on the envelope. We can however safely reconstruct on the basis of a follow-up letter written in the same matter, (A)KT 8 190 closed off in almost the exact same way, ll. 42-51: *umma anākuma abī attā bēlī attā. annakam 10 mana šāmamma šēbilamma! ēn Aššur u ēnēka šāmiranni! minam šillatam aršiakkumma u adī ūmim annīm annakam lā tušebbalam? šīm kaspiya annakam šēbilam!* “I thought you were my father, my lord. Buy me 10 minas of tin and send it to me! Let me visit Aššur and you! What misdeed have I committed that you would not send me the tin to this day? Send me the proceeds of my silver, the tin!”

(A)KT 8 96, 3-9: *allānukka abam u bēlam ulā īšu. ašša īštika lā uštāmeru libbaka lā tulamman! ulā ana ši'amātīm allak attîrti bēt abīni allak.* “Besides you, I do not have father and lord. Because I could not meet with you, do not get angry! It is not for purchases that I am going but I am going at the behest of our father’s household!”

Very often this is also phrased as a rhetorical question.

(A)KT 8 224, 21f.: *abī attā. šēṭūtaka anāku alaqqe? allānukká abam šaniam nīšu?* “You are my father. Could I hold you in contempt? Do we have another father besides you?”

Although we chose *allānum* as the representative keyword of this idiom, the same notion can also be expressed differently. It shows the same kind of emotional exigency, as in the following example where a request needs to be made that is above the author’s station.

(A)KT 6 399, 21-25: *abī attā bēlī attā. šumma lā kuāti abī šaniam ulā īšu. etqamma kaspam 1 mana būlātika : anni qātka lišbat!* “You are my father, you are my lord. If I did not have you as my father, I would have no other. Travel overland, so you may yet get hold of the one mina of silver, your working capital!”

Rhetorically, *bēlum* “lord” usually serves as an addition to *abum* (71 examples), more rarely to *aḥum* (25 examples). It is used alone only in 21 letters. In 5 letters, it alternates between being used independently and with one of the kinship terms. With *bēlum*, the letter author highlights their reliance on their addressee’s support. In total, we find *bēlum* in c. 11% of letters. Apart from its relative dependence on the kinship terms, it is used in just the same as them. The distribution of its use with *abum* and *aḥum*, respectively, shows that it comes more readily for showing humility and dependence towards one’s superior rather than to a peer.

Whenever the invocation of relation is used at the beginning of a letter, introducing the first information section, it sets the dire and urgent tone of the letter. This might also explain the exceptional use of *aḥum* together with *bēlum* in the first example. It adds to the severity of the matter by humbling oneself in front of an equal.

(A)KT 6 133, 7-12: *ahhūa bēlūa attūnu. ḥusārum ikribū ša Aššur ḥalqū. ina ša[ḥat] rābišim u šu[ḥārim] izizzāma (...)! “You are my brothers, my lords. The lapis lazuli, the votive offerings of Assur have been lost. Assist the attorney and the servant (...)! “*

Typically, *bēlum* is used together with *abum*, and as with all the invocations of relation, to introduce the *petitio*, like in the next examples. It always serves to strengthen the following statement and indicates a difficult situation the letter author had to convey.

Innāya 177, 5'-9': *abī attā bēlī attā. kīma ṭuppam tašmeu ṭuppē šēbilamma awīlum ina bāb ḥarrāni ana ṭuppē lā iṣallahanni[...]* "You are my father, you are my lord. Once you have read this letter, send me the tablets, so that the gentleman does not harass me over the tablets when I start the journey."

(A)KT 6 115, 56-68: *umma šunuma ištu : ḥamaš šanātim ana tîrtišu izzizam : lā nimū'a. umma anākuma : mīššu : lumun libbikunu? umma šunuma : allān : tadmiqātim ša niddinušunni : mimma šaniam lumun libbim lā nīšušum. abī attā bēlī attā : ana šalṭim lā tašakkananni ša tîrti : adi ūmim : annîm : lā illikakkunni. umma anākuma : mīnam awātim maššuḥātīm lašpuraššum?* "They said: 'For 5 years we refuse to attend to his instructions.' I asked: 'Why are you angry?' They answered: 'Except with respect to the interest-free loans that we gave him, we harbour no ill-will towards him.' You are my father, you are my lord. Do not berate me that I did not send you notice until this day. I thought to myself: 'Why should I write him hurtful words?'"

(A)KT 8 91, 3-11, 20-31: $\frac{1}{2}$ *mana 5 šiqil kaspam sarrupam iṣṣēr Enlil-bāni mera Sasaya : ṭuppušu ḥarmum ina libbi : ṭuppīya ina Durḥumit bēt Ḥinnaya : ibašši. abba'ūa : attūnu. šabtāšuma kaspam šašqilāšu! (...) ana Elamma qibīma 2 kutānī Aššur-mūtappil mera Šu-Bēlim : ina kunuk Dadiya kankūma ublakkum. abī attā bēlī attā : ṭuppam ša $\frac{1}{2}$ mana 3 šiqil kaspam ḥabbulākkunni : kunukšuma ana mera ummeānim kēnim : dinšuma^(sic) lublūniššu!* "There are $\frac{1}{2}$ mina 5 shekels of refined silver owed by Enlil-bāni, son of Sasaya. His certified tablet is among my tablets in Durḥumit, (in) Ḥinnaya's house. You are my fathers. Seize him and have him pay the silver! (...) Speak to Elamma (= change of address): 'Aššur-mūtappil, son of Šu-Bēlum, brought you 2 *kutānums* sealed under Dadiya's seal. You are my father, you are my lord. The tablet that I owe you $\frac{1}{2}$ mina 3 shekels of silver, seal it and give it to a trustworthy affiliated trader, so they bring it to me!'

In the last example, the author is in urgent need of money, so introduces each of his petitions with the invocation of relation. The first part of the letter is addressed to both Ḥinnaya and Elamma, while the last part only to Elamma. The invocation of relation is changed accordingly and when addressing Elamma with the addition of *bēlum*. Maybe this is so Elamma more readily accepts the *kutānum*-textiles as adequate payment of the author's debt, as it may not have been the originally agreed-upon compensation. It may also be due to the fact that Elamma has to take an additional step himself for gaining his repayment.

In the next example, the invocation of *abum* and *bēlum* is used to apologetically introduce a piece of information. Later in the same letter, the phrase, shortened to just *bēlum*, introduces the closing

section. The final statement *bēl attā*, however, needs to be considered slightly differently, since it does not correspond to the relation between the letter correspondents but only highlights the status of the addressee.

TPAK 1 7, 18-31: *annakam : bābtam iṣūma : aššumi kīʾam mala warādi ētappaš : abī attā bēlī : attā : adi 5 ūmē ammakam : wašbāku. šumma <aḥ>ḥaqqa : tattallak ṭuppam : ša Iddin-kūbim mera Aššur-ṭāb : ana Amua din! bēlī attā. lā tīdé kīma kaspum 1 šiqil ina qātiya lā ibaššiu u purūʾī lā i-<šā>kkan²⁸⁵. bēl attā. “I have goods sold on credit here, but due to that/despite that, I have been doing everything possible to come down. You are my father, you are my lord. I am staying here for 5 days. If you leave for Ḥaqqā, give Iddin-Kūbum son of Aššur-ṭāb’s tablet to Amua. You are my lord. Do you not know that I do not have a single shekel of silver at hand? Yet, my integrity as a merchant is not being called into question. The boss is you.”*

Next, the invocation of relation stresses the urgency of a piece of information, after which the *petitio* that asks for help in resolving the problem just described follows.

(A)KT 6 230, 19-29: *[ašš]ēr 40 bilat werīʾam būlā[tī] ša abīni ukallūni umma šunuma u ḥusārum ikribū ša abīkunu : [...] lū nissuḥ : abbaʾūni bēlūni attūnu. awīlū ḥusaram ikribī ša abīni ana eṭārini izzazzū. iḥdāma Ālam muḥrāma mala ikribū ša Aššur la iḥalliḳūni epšāma (...) “On top of that they retain 40 talents of copper, our father’s assets, they say: ‘Also the lapis lazuli, the votive offerings of your father [...] let us take it away.’ You are our fathers, our lords. The gentlemen stand ready to take the lapis lazuli, the votive offerings of our father, from us. Do approach the City assembly and act so that the votive offering for Aššur is not lost. (...)”*

Another good example for the invocation of relation used with the closing section is the letter (A)KT 6 209 discussed already above, in which the role of *abum* of the trading firm shifts from biological father to son. It repeats, in the closing section, the main request and strengthens it with the invocation of relation with both *abum* and *bēlum*, referring to the new boss of the firm.

(A)KT 6 209, 6-12, 17-19: *lā Šalim-Aššur abūni attā abūni. ammakam ana tīrti abīni iḥidma zakki! (...) abūni attā bēlīni attā. zakki! “Not Šalim-Aššur is our father, but you are our father.*

²⁸⁵ C. Michel and P. Garelli (TPAK 1, 70) would emend the verb to *la i-<šā>-ka-an* (l. 31), making it the typical collocation of *purūʾum* with *šakānum* (for the social and economic implications of *purūʾum* see more below). Morphologically, this would certainly be preferable to positing a contracted form of, say, *kuānum* in the indicative, which would be untypical for Old Assyrian (for II *ū* verbs, cf. Hecker 1968, 159; Kouwenberg 2017, 561): *purūʾī lā ikān* “the allegations against me are not true.” See for a discussion of what *purūʾum* could entail below, *sub* Social values.

Heed our father's instructions there and clear it all up! (...) You are our father, you are our lord. Clear it all up!"

In a few instances, *bēlum* is used entirely alone within a letter. This may sometimes be the case when writing to multiple addressees who were of diverse social ranking, so neither *abum* nor *aḥum* would have been appropriate to cover them all, or a certain social distance needs to be kept in the face of a large group. In the following, two sons write to their father's representatives in Assur.

(A)KT 6 219, 25-30: *bēlūni attūnu. u tīrtakunu lillikam u bēlū kaspim mādūtum ša lā ilqeūni aḥḥurū*. "You are our lords. Also send us instructions since there remain many creditors who have not gained anything."

In slightly damaged context, the author of the next letter describes doubts about some of his father's debts and asks for help in settling them. He closes the petition with a repeated appeal for help and finally the invocation of their status as *bēlum*.

(A)KT 6 380, 29-34: [...] *u ana awātīm anniātīm ammakam iḥdāma awīlī šunūti ana qerab bētim šērēma ḥassisāšunu! ṭuppašunu bāb ilim leqē²⁸⁶ u tīrtakunu [lillikam]! bēlūa attūnu. iḥdā!* "And take care of these matters by bringing said men into the house and reminding them! Take their tablet (in) the gate of God and send me a report! You are my lords. Pay heed!"

merʾum "son = junior" can be used in an endearing manner among the core family members, especially so by mothers. There are three instances of such a use in our corpus, twice Ištar-rabiat to Ennam-Aššur (A)KT 6 432, (A)KT 6 433, and once Šalimma to Aššur-imittī (A)KT 8 208. In this regard, these instances deviate from the previously discussed terms in that they do not also refer to an economic setting but solely to social relations. When used among merchants, it is condescending and only used by superiors to tell off younger partners in cases of gross misconduct. There are only four instances of this use in the corpus.

The letter Innāya 70 shows some underlying conceptions of relations between traders, especially as regards fostering the next generation. The letter talks about the apprentice relations between a

²⁸⁶ All the imperatives in this section must be plural. Since the author, Ennam-Aššur, omits the explicit plural morpheme in both cases of verbs III *infirmae*, (l. 31) *šē-ri-ma* and (l. 33) *le-qé* instead of *šē-ri-a-ma* and *le-qé-a* (as he writes, e.g., in [A]KT 6 383, 23), one might wonder if it really is a mere scribal error. Maybe it rather has to do with the nature of the vowel /a/ that seems to be interchangeable to an extent with /e/ and even /i/ (cf. Hecker 1968, 16–18) and in our case may rather be perceived as very similar as, perhaps even contracted with, the final vowel of the verbal stem. It might, of course, also simply be a change in address that one command refers only to one of the addressees while another refers to all. While we encounter such a thing quite frequently, in the present context, the constant changes would seem a bit too confusing.

younger and an older merchant with the abstract nouns of *aḥḥūtum* “brotherhood” and *merʾūtum* “sonship”. The younger party is dissatisfied with the elder’s behaviour towards him and complains to the letter author who is narrating the dispute to the elder partner. The letter author tries to placate the young trader professing that the elder one wishes only to take him under his wing. Paralleling *aḥḥūtum* with *merʾūtum*, we see that being one’s junior still made them partners.

Innāya 70, 10-16': *annama*²⁸⁷ *tîrtaka išmeu umma šūtma šumma ana : iāuātīm imaggar limgurī. šumma lā imaggar ulā allak. dannatam ētawu [... umma] šūt[ma šumma] ana iātīm imaggirī limgurī. šumma lā kī'am awātī ša Ālim ina Ālim ātawwu. ana awātīm awīlum išē'eka. umma anākuma awīlum ana aḥḥūtīm u merʾūtīm išē'eka. aššēr awīlim alik! umma [šūtma mī]nam aššērišu [lallik] u mīnam [...]? “As soon as he read your instructions, he said: ‘If he agrees with my propositions, he should agree with me. If he does not agree, I will not go. He spoke harshly.’ [... He said again: ‘If] he agrees with me in my proposition, he should agree with me. If it is not so, I will argue my affair concerning the City in the City.’ The gentleman pursues you for the affair. I then said: ‘The gentleman seeks to take you as brother and son. Go to the gentleman!’ But he answered: ‘Why should I [go] to him? And why [...]?’”*

Mostly, explicit references to such a constellation, a status of inferiority and dependence, are not made. Rather everyone who is inferior should be referred to as *aḥum*, an equal, a colleague. Only under great stress, mostly in a demeaning or condescending manner, will a business partner be called *merʾum*.

The following letter is a good example of such a situation. The author feels slighted by his partner, also addresses his disappointment emotionally, but finishes his letter on a conciliatory if patronising tone by using *merʾum* in the invocation of relation to introduce the closing section. He recognises that the addressee is his junior, so he may forgive the error committed out of inexperience.

(A)KT 6 132, 24-38: *umma anākuma aḥum u ebrum iāti. ūmam iāti ana lā awīlim talqeannima luqūtam ša ištu Ālim ina kaspiya tušēšīāninni ana Šu-Bēlim u Ennam-Su'en merʾē Iddin-abim tutaššir. aḥī attā merʾī attā. ulā ša awātīm anāku u attā iḥidma luqūtam ašar taddinu adīnima*²⁸⁸ *ana ša kīma iāti din! “I told myself: ‘He is a brother and partner of mine.’ Today you treated me as a non-gentleman, when you^{Sg.} released the goods which you^{Pl.} exported from the City with my silver to Šu-Bēlum and Ennam-Su'en, sons of Iddin-abum. You are my*

²⁸⁷ For this rare, emphatic temporal conjunction, see Kouwenberg 2017, 795f.

²⁸⁸ M.T. Larsen does not hazard an interpretation of the sequence *a dī ni ma ʾx* (l. 37). We propose to see it as the temporal adverb *adīni* with emphatic *-ma* “until now; still”

brother, you are my son. I am not a man of strife.²⁸⁹ Thus, you too, do still give the goods to my representatives, wherever you handed them over!”

Since this use of *mer²um* is close to breaking civility, it is used only sparsely. Sometimes walking the fine line between a parental and patronising tone, *mer²um* can also be used by older close acquaintances. For instance, Kuziyya who had already been a close associate of Ennam-Aššur’s father, often addresses Ennam-Aššur both as *aḥum* and *mer²um*. He does so in (A)KT 6 371 (quoted above), where all he asks for is haste and thus rhetorically uses the invocation of relation. Similarly, in the following example, that shows a situation of great urgency – albeit in broken context – he uses *mer²um* in the *šumma*-variant

(A)KT 6 364, 5-10: *šumma aḥī attā u mer²ī attā anāku annakam maššāku*.²⁹⁰ *kīma ša ana abīka ānuḥu u kuwāti [lū] anḥāku [...]* “If you are my brother and my son, I myself am taking responsibility here. Just as I exerted myself for your father, I am exerting myself for you. [...]”

Although the number of examples is more limited due to the social setting the letters were written in, women can be addressed *mutatis mutandis* just the same with the invocation of relation. Like any invocation of relation, the respective stock phrases are used in situations with a certain degree of urgency.

Writing to women who are not their superiors, very often also actual sisters, *aḥātum* “sister” is used in the same way as *aḥum* for emphasising parts of a letter.

Innāya 183, 13-26: *ammakam šiliānī kunukkīya ana Šamaš-ublam u Kuzi dināma lublūnim u tīrtiki lillikam! aḥātī attī. šumma šiliānū u kunukkūa paṭrū attī u Šāt-Šamaš kunkāma šēbilānim! apputtum ṭuppum ša taḥḥittim*. “Give the boxes there with my seals to Šamaš-ublam and Kuzi, so they bring them to me, and also send me notice! You are my sister. If the boxes and my seals are broken open, you and Šāt-Šamaš, reseal them and send them to me! Urgent, it is a tablet of important information.”

In a long, emotional letter exchanged between a woman and her mother, and especially her sister, the invocation of relation is used in a dramatic climax. She is trying to mediate between her sister

²⁸⁹ Also J.J. Ridder (2012, 556) recognises that many rhetorical plays are happening here. However, he rather interprets the final comments of the letter sarcastically. We, moreover, concur with M. Larsen in translating (l. 35) *ulā ša awātīm* as “not someone of strife” following the connotation of *awātum* with disputes and legal suits. Whereas J. de Ridder chooses “not (a man) of (many) words”, suggesting the letter author is weary of discussing the matter.

²⁹⁰ For spellings of /šš/ for /š²/, see the Fn. to the comparable form in BIN 4 76 above.

and her sister's husband, who had left her in Kaneš and moved back to Aššur. So far, she has, however, been unlucky in her efforts both regarding the husband and her sister.²⁹¹

(A)KT 8 206, 11-26: *awīlum : awātim : ittaḥdar. umma šūtma ištu : alākam : lā tamū'u lā taturrīma : lā taqabbīm! šumma : aḥātī attī : awātim : sarrātim lā taštanapparīm : ana kaspim mimma lā tašapparīšum! : aššumi kaspim aqbīšumma umma šūtma : malamā : kaspam ½ mana gamriša : gimillam : iṣṣēr ummiša ul aḥḥiša laškun? ul ina bābtiya : kaspum 10 šiqil lā ibašši u šumma : ina bābtiya lāšu kaspam 10 šiqil : mala : gamriša išti ummiša : ul aḥḥiša lū tērišma anāku : annakam : luta''eršuma lū tattalkam : mimma : awātim u našperātim : lā taštanapparīm!* "The gentleman is tired of the affair. He said: 'Since she refuses to come, do not speak to me about it again!' If you are my sister, do not continue to write false words! Do not write him anything about silver! Concerning silver, I spoke to him, but he replied: 'In how far should I do her mother or brothers a favour with a full ½ mina of silver for her expenses? Rather, are there no 10 shekels of silver left among my claims? And if there are none, she ought to ask for such 10 shekels of silver as are her expenses from her mother or brothers, then I myself shall repay it here, so she can just leave for here.' Do not keep sending me any words or letters!" In the closing section, the rhetoric of relations is brought to the tipping point in the most drastic way, ll. 43-49: *šumma : lā tallikīm iāti : ina pani : awīlim tušazzizī u šerrīki : tuḥalliḳī u anāku lā atu''arma : šūmki lā azakkar. ulā aḥātī : attī u mimma iāti lā tašappirīm.* "If you do not come here, you will bring me into conflict with the gentleman and bring ruin to your little ones and I, I will never again mention your name. You will not be my sister and must never write to me anymore."

ummum "mother" marks women in higher social ranking than their correspondents.

In the following example, we find the letter author, Ennam-Aššur, in complex and not entirely understood circumstances, but which evidently put him under duress. He is writing jointly to his mother and sisters who appear in a financially unstable situation and reports how Maka, a woman closely connected to them, perhaps his aunt, refuses to help (for this part of the letter, see above).

(A)KT 6 788, 16-37, : *ummī attī : u aḥḥuwātua attīna. ana šalṭim lā tašakkanāni : mūši u urri : zībtakna azuab : umma anākuma lušbūma : ša kīma : abīni ṭuppē : libriūma 3 tamkārī na-bu-am*²⁹² *lū nišbatma kaspam 1 šiqil : annišini : lū nušēbil. ṭuppē : tadānam : lā tamūwa. umma šītma : kê : Ennam-Aššur mā'ē : ušazbalā? : miššum damam : lā išattiā? : Aššur-mūtappil*

²⁹¹ For a detailed discussion of this letter and its background, see Veenhof 2007.

²⁹² Unfortunately, we cannot add much to M.T. Larsen's ([A]KT 6d, 62 ad l. 23) comment in which he indecisively speculates about deriving the word from *nabā'um* "to name".

*illikamma : umma šūtma : aklam [tu]mmešanniāti : šumma : ummī u aḥātī [attīn]a adi urḥim : ištēn [...] ša : šikarim : araddišima [akk]ārim : aqabbi : umma anākuma [umm]ī u aḥḥātī : eriāma : šīt uṭupam : ṭuppē tukaʔʔal : kārum usannaqši. “You are my mother and you are my sisters. Do not hold me in contempt. Day and night I sweat in toil for you.”²⁹³ I said: ‘They should sit down and my father’s representatives should inspect the tablets, so we can seize ... 3 merchants and send every single shekel to our people.’ But she refused to hand over the tablets, saying: ‘How can they have Ennam-Aššur carry water? Why do they not drink blood?’²⁹⁴ Aššur-mūtappil came and said: ‘You let us be hungry for bread.’ If you are my mother and sisters, in one month, I will lead [...] of beer to her and say to the *kārum*: ‘My mother and sisters are destitute, but she keeps the household items and tablets for herself.’ The *kārum* will subject her to scrutiny.”*

Maka’s relationship with her family, who evidently held great authority, appears strained. Kuzum too, who is probably her son, seems anxious in writing a letter to her. Kuzum is also mentioned in Ennam-Aššur’s letter, in which Maka is quoted calling Kuzum and Ennam-Aššur brothers, probably meaning they had a close relationship.

TPAK 1 32, 20-31: *ṭuppam ša šīm bēti ša šum abi attī²⁹⁵ : udduʔu. ummī attī. ṭuppam šuāti : attī u šumī-abīya ṭuppēya petēāma ina libbi ṭuppēya šuknāma : šumī-abīya liknuk! šumma ṭuppam ina libbi ṭuppēya lā taštaknī : lā ummī attī. “Concerning the tablet over the sale of the house on which your³ father’s name is indicated: you are my mother. Concerning said tablet, you and šumī-abīya open my tablets and put it among my tablets, where šumī-abīya should seal it! If you do not put the tablet among my tablets, you are not my mother.”*

The rare instances of *bēltum* “lady”²⁹⁶ show the same sentiments of urgency and dependence expressed as when using *bēlum* towards men. There is only one example in our corpus. In the especially dire straits here, it is even used in combination with *aḥātum*.

²⁹³ The syntagma *zībtam zuābum* must be a *figura etymologica* from a root *zūb, although we have no good translation for either the noun or the verb. M.T. Larsen’s ([A]KT 6d, 61) elegant translation that we adopt here probably comes close to the desired effect.

²⁹⁴ M.T. Larsen ([A]KT 6d, 63 is surely correct in that this must be a proverb. It is only clear that Maka insinuates Ennam-Aššur has to do chores below his status, as carrying water was usually the task of women (courtesy C. Michel).

²⁹⁵ C. Michel and P. Garelli (TPAK 1, 101 *ad l.* 21) are probably correct that this is a corruption from the following phrase with *ummī attī* and should perhaps be emended to *šum abīki* “your father’s name”.

²⁹⁶ Old fashioned “mistress” may be more adequate to differentiate *bēltum* from *awiltum*, however with modern-day connotations we opt to translate both terms the same as “lady”, in order to avoid having the Assyrians sound Shakespearean, and because the two words are used in very different contexts anyway, the former within the invocation of relation and the latter to refer to a third-party.

(A)KT 6 233, 2-14, 28-36: *aššumi šīmātim ša abīni tîrti adi ḥamšišu ašpurakkimma matēma tîrti<ki> ulā ēzibamma uznī lā tapatti? u libbam ulā taddinīm. anāku allānukki aḥātam u bēltam šanītam mannam iśū? : ištu ūmim ša abī imūtu aššumi mūši u urri lā ašaggašuni Aššur u ilabīni^(sic) liṭṭulā umma anākuma [x]-DI-IŠ aḥātī uzakka u bētiša ubbabšimma panīša šalmūtīm ušanwar. attī matīma tîrtiki lā illikamma libbam ulā taddinīm. (...) bēltī attī. mūši u urri šazzuzātiya šamṭi?īma ammala ašpurakkunūti 2 tuppē ša dīn Ālim leqeāma Ašdu u Aluwa ṭurdānim u mimma ša lā bēt abī<ni> aḥurtam šuprānimma uznī peteā! “Concerning our father’s testament, I have written you instructions five times, but no notification ever left for me, you do not keep me informed nor do you give me courage. Apart from you, in whom do I have another sister or lady? Since the day that our father died – because do I not spare no effort day and night? – Aššur and our father’s god shall bear witness, I have said to myself: ‘[...] I will clear my sister and clear her house of claims, and so lighten her darkened face. Yet, you have never sent me notice and have not given me courage.’(...) “You are my lady. Pester my representatives day and night, and as I have written you, get 2 tablets with the City assembly’s verdict and send Ašdu and Aluwa. Also write me about all the remaining things that do not belong to our father’s house, keep me informed!”*

Outside our corpus, we only know of two letters by Puzur-ilī who refers to perhaps his elder sister via *bēltum* (and *ummu*) (CCT 4 15a and Pa. 29). In the first example, he is asking his sister to pay a debt for him.²⁹⁷

CCT 4 15a, 5-13: *ummī attī bēl<tī> attī. ammakam kaspam ša Mannum-kīya šuqulīma mala tašaqqalīni kaspam u šibassu šabtāma šuprānimma kaspam lušēbilam. “You are my mother, you are my lady. There, pay the silver of Mannum-kīya, seize the silver and its interest, as much as you will pay, then write to me, so I may send the silver.”*

ebrum “friend, comrade” is a rare variant (10 examples), always in connection with *aḥum*. It shifts the rhetoric to a more personal level. In the first example, we find it concerning a trivial, household matter of personal convenience, while the second one has a stronger emotional spin.

(A)KT 6 153: 10-19: *aḥī attā ebrī attā. ana kaspim annīm uṭṭatam ša-ma-hi-x u ina bētikama kunkaššima libbiši. adi allakanni uṭṭatum limḥuramma ana bētim erīm lā errabam. “You are my brother, you are my friend. For this silver, buy² grain, and seal it in your house where it*

²⁹⁷ For a collated transliteration and the proposition that the letter author is the younger brother of the main addressee, see Michel 2020c, 307 no. 204.

should remain. Before I go, the grain should be ready, so I will not enter into an empty house.”

(A)KT 8 252, 6-15: *šitrī ša pūkim damqūtim watrūtīm sāmāma kunukāma ana Aššur-taklāku dināma šumma ebrūattūnu išti panīmma piqdāma ṭurdāniššunu! aḥḥūattūnu. iḥdāma u anāku awātkunu ašamme*. “Buy very high-quality scarves of *pūkum*-weave,²⁹⁸ seal them and give them to Aššur-taklāku, so if you are my friends, entrust them to him via the very next (caravan), and so send them off! You are my brothers. Heed this, then I too will listen to your words.”

Occasionally, some additional terms feature here and there that may point to a certain freedom in expression under specific circumstances.

In OAA 1 127 we find *šamšum* “sun”. It might be owed to the especially unfortunate events that prompted Aššur-nādā’s transporter to use this pathetic wording. He had been attacked by a pig which broke his leg, and to top it off, they also detained his slave. The author introduces the *petition* and the closing section with invocations of relation.

OAA 1 127, 17-25: (petition section) *bēlī attā Šamši (dUTU) attā. Šamaš-tappā’i šabatma šēriaššu! ana našār šubriya mamman lāšu*. (closing section) *abī attā. illā nāširim šubrī lā iḥalliḳ* “You are my lord, you are my sun! Seize Šamaš-tappā’i and send him to me! There is no-one to watch over my domestic staff. You are my father. My staff must not perish for lack of a guardian!”

naḥādum

One of the most frequent rhetorical keywords is *naḥādum* “to pay heed to; to take care doing something.” It expresses urgency and diligence for a task in a straightforward manner. It is very often used in combination with the invocation of relation. As a rhetorical device *naḥādum* appears in c. 15.5% of letters.

Semantically speaking, *naḥādum* on its own expresses paying attention and care doing something or being concerned about/with something (CAD N s.v. *na’ādu*; AHW *sub na’ādu[m]*), as in the following examples:

²⁹⁸ K.R. Veenhof suggests this translation in accordance with the evidence collected in Michel-Veenhof 2010, 239 and 243. There, *šitrum* is shown most often in connection with women’s attire and possibly linked to a semitic root for “covering”.

Innāya 20, 3-11: *annakam* Ilšu-rabi *mera* Ennam-Aššur *tamkārīka mēt. lū kaspam lū annakam lū luqūssu ša 10 mana kaspum ēzib. ammakam ša kīma <kuāti> ana awātika naḥdū* “Here, Ilšu-rabi, son of Ennam-Aššur, your merchant has died. He left silver, tin, as well as his merchandise at a value of 10 minas of silver behind. There (= probably Aššur), <your> representatives are taking care of your affairs.”

Innāya 12, 3-11: *mīnam lumun : libbim tašpuram umma attāma našpertam ašapparamma ana tīrtiya : la tanaḥḥidma tīrtakunu : lā iturram. mati : ša anāku : ana tīrtiya : ašapparanni ana kuwātīm : našpertam lā atmu’uni?* “Why did you angrily write: ‘I send you letters but you do not heed my instructions, nor do you send me instructions back.’ When was it that I would write you for my concerns, but would not *swear to send a letter for yours*²⁹⁹?”

The verb *naḥādum* also appears very frequently in the D-stem taking the meaning of “to instruct” via “to make pay attention to”.

OAA 1 98, 25-38: Šalim-Adad *ūmakka lā ibi’at : ṭurdāniššu!* Ilī-ālum *u* Inar *ištišu lillikūnim!* *šumma* Šalim-Adad *ittalkam ulā alākam : lā imū’a 5 mana kaspam ana mera ummeānim kēnim : dināma : lublam. šumma mera ummeānim lāšu 2 mana kaspam ana* Ilī-ālum *: dināma ina Kaneš lirkusma : Inar u šūt lētatqūnim. u ammakam* Ilī-ālum *naḥḥidā* “Šalim-Adad must not stay a single day! Send him here! Ilī-ālum and Inar should go with him! If Šalim-Adad has already left or does not want to go, give the 5 minas of silver to a trustworthy affiliated trader to bring them! If there are no affiliated traders, give 2 minas of silver to Ilī-ālum who should sign a contract in Kaneš, so Inar and him may leave overland! Also instruct Ilī-ālum there!”

(A)KT 6 353, 31-34: *annakamma unaḥḥidka umma anākuma emārū ša šēpikunu lizzizū. mīššu ša aššimim taddinušununi u mīššu ša* Šu-Nūnu *annišam tašpurāninni?* “It was here that I instructed you, saying: ‘The donkeys that you led shall stay!’ Why is it that you have sold them and why is it that you sent Šu-Nūnu here?”

OAA 1 107, 3-5: *annakamma aššumi šubātī ša* Išmid-ilim *unaḥḥidka. ana panika šupurma* Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur *ana panika lētiqamma šubātī ša* Išmid-ilim *šulluṭma : diššum!* “It was here, I instructed you regarding Išmid-ilum’s textiles. Write ahead, so Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur travels on to you, then give him Išmid-ilum’s textiles on your own authority!”

²⁹⁹ This passage and our translation is quite uncertain, but we cannot think of any other solution but to derive AD-*mu-ú-ni* (l. 11) from *tamā’um* “to swear an oath”. In any case, the sentiment seems clear that the author wishes to emphasise that he is just as concerned about his partner’s affairs as he is about his own.

Much more frequently (in about 70% of the instances using *nahādum*) however, *naḥādum* is used for rhetorical emphasis of requests. It is not used as single predicate but in the imperative in paratactical constructions, so-called *Koppelungen*,³⁰⁰ – in classical rhetorical terminology one might speak of *hendiadys*³⁰¹ – conjoined with either other imperatives, or precatives if referring to a third party. Since *naḥādum* gets so closely connected to the following statements, we try to model our translations accordingly. *naḥādum* almost appears as an auxiliary verb, so we avail ourselves of the comparable construction “to do do something” in an attempt to give extra force to the main verb in the English translation.

Most of the following letter is addressed to Aššur-ṭāb specifically. It deals with a verdict by the assembly of the *kārum* Kaneš after a settlement with the help of an attorney. The author, not present, needs the tablet about the verdict. After a contingency that Aššur-ṭāb might not be able to bring it himself, the author reiterates in the closing section, again specifically talking to Aššur-ṭāb, that he should assist in the request in any way possible. For the emphasis of this final statement, he uses *naḥādum*.

(A)KT 6 126, 24-36: *ṭuppam šumma šuāti : naš'ātunu Aluwa : ištikunuma litūram. šumma ṭuppam : šuāti Aššur-ṭāb : lā naši : ana ša kīma šuāti lišpurma ṭuppam : ali ibaššiu maḥar kārim : lišširū! kārum ana mera ummeāni : lipqissu u Aluwa išti : wābil ṭuppim lillikam! ana Aššur-ṭāb qibīma iḥidma gimlanni* “Regarding the tablet, if you are carrying that one, Aluwa should return to me together with you. If Aššur-ṭāb will not be bringing said tablet, he should write to his representatives for them to release the tablet, wherever it may be, before the *kārum*! The *kārum* should entrust it to an affiliated trader, then Aluwa should come together with the tablet bearer! Speak to Aššur-ṭāb: ‘Do do me the favour!’”

In the next example, the request, following only the basic information, receives great rhetorical emphasis with both the invocation of relation and *naḥādum*, showing how eager the author is to have some of his obligations fulfilled through that request.

OAA 1 36, 51-55: *awātum ša lī-bāni gamrā. 3 mana kaspum aḥur. šumma aḥḥūa attūnu iḥdāma kaspam šēbilānimma lī-bāni lušabbi!* “lī-bāni’s affairs are settled. 3 minas of silver remain. If you are my brothers, do send me the silver so I may satisfy lī-bāni!”

The fully realised parataxis can employ *naḥādum* in a proper *hendiadys* when the direct object is syntactically connected to *naḥādum* but grammatically to the ‘main’ verb.

³⁰⁰ See Kouwenberg 2017, 695–697, who follows Kraus 1987 using that term.

³⁰¹ We are hesitant to generally use this term, because as such it might insinuate a projection of Greek rhetoric onto the Assyrians, while this syntactical construction is simply an inherent feature of Akkadian syntax.

(A)KT 8 93, 8-10: *kaspam 1 ½ mana iḥidma šēbilam!* “Do send me the 1 ½ minas of silver!”

The silver is the direct object of both *iḥid* and *šēbilam*, but semantically the two verbs need to be considered together. The sentence *kaspam iḥid* “Pay attention to the silver” alone would clearly not be meaningful.

The verb *naḥādum* is one of the devices to explicitly indicate the urgency of the matter at hand by highlighting a request. In that regard it often features alongside the invocation of relation and *apputtum*. Even if we do not understand the exact circumstances of the following letter, the language Ennam-Aššur uses regarding his sister, Šāt-Anna, easily conveys a feeling of urgency and tension.

(A)KT 6 315, 3-16: *anāku ana šēr Ilī-dān ana Kuburnat ētiqma <ina> warkītimma Man-maḥir aššatam ētaḥaz. ana Durḥumit : aššumiki ettiqma : awātam nikaššad. apputtum apputtum ištu qāssu paniʾatni iḥdīma kaspam 1 šiqil ina³⁰² qātiki lū ša šuḥartim šašširīma ina qātikima libši* “I myself had travelled to Ilī-dān’s in Kuburnat, when just afterwards Man-mahir took a wife. I will travel to Durḥumit for your sake and we will win in the matter. Urgent, urgent, since he is reaching out for it, do safeguard every single shekel of silver in your possession or that of the girl and keep it close!”

The following example demonstrates the precision with which such a rhetorical device can be used to intimate urgency towards a specific target. Here the grammatical subjects of the two imperatives in the parataxis, of *naḥādum* and *šēbulum*, change – so perhaps not a *Koppelung* in the true sense.

(A)KT 6 761, 3-8: *aššumi ḥurāšim ištikunu iḥidma attā u Elāli ḥurāšim damqim šēbilānim* “Concerning the gold that you owe,³⁰³ take care that you and Elāli send me good-quality gold!”

As in many of the examples above, and by virtue of emphasising individual requests, *naḥādum* can also *de facto* function as a structuring particle starting the petition section.

(A)KT 8 90, 8-24: *Aššur-idī illikamma ana 4 mana kaspim Aššur-idī Aḥ-šalim iṣbat umma šūtma ulā uššarka. ina rēm luqūtīm kīma unūtīm lā taʾʾurim anāku u Dadiya ana 4 mana kaspim qātātišu niltapat. iḥidma Aḥ-šalim kaspam erišma umma attāma ša kīma iāti qātātika iltaptū. kaspam šuqulma ana awīlī lušēbilma ana Aššur-idī lišqulū.* “Aššur-idī came, and Aššur-idī seized Aḥ-šalim for 4 minas of silver, saying: ‘I will not release you.’ Out of

³⁰² The original reads *i-šu*, but such a form does not fit syntactically or grammatically. We would suggest that *i-na* was meant.

³⁰³ For *išti* (as well as *ina libbi*) in reference to a commodity in non-legal language meaning “owed by”, see Ulshöfer 2003.

consideration for the merchandise, in order not to bring back the goods, I and Dadiya recorded ourselves as his guarantors for the 4 minas of silver. Do ask Ah-šalim for the silver, saying: ‘My representatives have recorded themselves as your guarantors. Pay the silver, so I can send it to the gentlemen, and they can pay Aššur-idī!’”

For repetition and summary of the main request, *naḥādum* will likewise often feature in the beginning of a letter’s closing section (c. 15% of instances of *naḥādum*). In the first example, the closing section serves to further enunciate the emotional aspect of a difficult legal matter.

(A)KT 6 138, 35-45: *aḥḥūa : attūnu. awīlū magrūniāti ša azakkuanni. ammakam ina awātim maqqitāšunuma u tīrtakunu appaniya lillikamma libbam dinānim! ammakam iṣṣēr ʃuḥārīya ēkkunu kīmama illiku lillikma kaspam 1 šiqil ibbābtiya luqarribūnim! iḥdāma libbam dinānimma ēn kārīm u ēnēkunu kallimāni* “You are my brothers. The gentlemen have agreed with us that I will be cleared. Have at them in that matter, there, and send me notice, and so give me courage. Keep your eyes on my servants, there, as you have been doing, so they collect every single shekel from my outstanding loans! Do give me courage and let me visit the Kārum and yourselves!”

In the second example, there is institutional standing on the line, if the request for silver is not fulfilled soon.

OAA 1 38, 14’: *šumma aḥī attā šitti luqūtim ša šēpika zakkiamma šēbilamma adi saḥrātini libbalkitma kaspum 1 šiqil libītam! luqūtam warkītam ša ušēbilakkunni ašpurakkum umma anākuma kaspam ana bēt Ālim ašaqqal. iḥidma kaspam šēbilam!* “If you are my brother, clear the remainder of the goods from your transport for me and send them to me, so they are shipped even while you are being delayed, and so every single shekel of silver is available³⁰⁴ to me. Concerning the last shipment that I sent you, I wrote you: ‘I will/must pay the silver to the City Hall.’ Do send me the silver!”

Without parataxis, *naḥādum* can close a letter as its own formula. What might seem like a valediction, “take care”, is an abbreviated statement to heed the letter’s message and request, as is evident from the first two examples. It serves as a general remark about the letter as a whole and is a proper, formal way to end a letter on an emphatic note. Also here, *naḥādum* is often preceded by an invocation of relation.

(A)KT 6 355, 20-22: *aḥī attā attīrtiya iḥid!* “You are my brother. Pay heed to my instructions!”

³⁰⁴ M. Larsen (OAA 1, 24) discusses Aššur-idī’s, the author of this letter, idiosyncratic use of the verb *biātum* under text no. 15 *ad l.* 13. He suggests a meaning to the effect of the translation here.

OAA 1 101, 16-18: *šumma aḥḫūattūnu ana awāt tuppim iḥid!* “If you are my brothers, pay heed to the tablet’s words!”

(A)KT 8 166, 29: *iḥdā!* “Heed it!”

(A)KT 6 242, 16f.: *abī attā iḥid!* “You are my father, heed it!”

(A)KT 8 208, 19f.: *mer’ūa attūnu iḥdā!* “You are my sons, heed it!”

Innāya 97, 28-30: *aḥḫūa : attūnu. lū būlātu : ibašši<ū>ma ammakam : illiq’ū tīrtaknu lillikamma uznī : piteā! kīma anāku kunūtam ēpu[šu] u attūnu iḥdā!* “You are my brothers. Send me notice and keep me informed, whether the working capital is available or if it has been taken, there. As I preoccupy myself with yours, you too pay heed!”

We encounter *naḥādum* as one of the most frequent keywords in the letters. Thus, it is unsurprising that the concept of *naḥādum* itself can be addressed when talking about proper conduct among the traders.

For example, in the closing section of a long letter about debt collections, not all of which seem to have gone entirely smoothly, an indignant Šalim-Aššur invokes *naḥādum* alongside the most important status distinction of an honourable trader, *awīlūtum* (see below *sub* Social values).

(A)KT 6 141, 61: *naḥādka u awīlūtaka ammar [...] -ama awīlū anniūtum lū īdeū.* “Certainly, I will witness your diligence and gentlemanlike manner. These gentlemen shall know of my? [...].”

Similarly, in a context of indignation, the following example closes with invoking *naḥādum* on part of the addressee.

TC 3/2 107, 47-51: *aḥī attā. kīma ana kuātīm tušamrušu šutamrišma gimillam iṣṣēriya šukun u ana abīni awātam ištēt qarrib! naḥādum kuā’um.* “You are my brother. Just like you exert yourself for yourself, exert yourself for doing me a favour and send our father just a single word! It is up to you to show diligence.”

Keeping this cultural significance of *naḥādum* in mind, the imperative for requests in paratactical constructions lends itself to the direct style of rhetoric the Assyrians employ, hinging largely on social validation and expectation. Telling someone to see to it that a request is fulfilled both literally conveys the unshrouded wish to have the request fulfilled post-haste and rhetorically draws attention to the specific point at hand. At the same time, *naḥādum* can also connote the socially accepted desire for one’s letter to warrant its addressee’s due attention.

apputtum

The non-verbal clause *apputtum*³⁰⁵ “(lit.) It is an urgent/important matter.” used as a quasi-interjection marks the following statement as urgent and important. It almost exclusively features in the petition section, in first position. We find it in c. 10% of letters. Since it characterises the following statement, we rather subjectively translate it often as “urgent” but also as “important”. Importance of a matter naturally entails urgency in action, but – perhaps an overly stylistic notion for our translations – statements other than requests like rhetorical questions may not perfectly fit the descriptor “urgent” in English. Noteworthy on this topic is a differing use in Old Babylonian letters, where *apputtum* frequently appears as last – as opposed to first – element of a statement or letter.³⁰⁶

(A)KT 6 795, 17-24: *kaspum kasap tamkārim. ammakam kaspam u šibassu ana Amur-lštar šuqul! ana Amur-lštar qibīma apputtum iḥid kaspam u šibassu šašqil!* “The silver is silver of a merchant. Pay the silver and its interest to Amur-lštar there! Speak to Amur-lštar: it is important. Do have them pay the silver and interest!”

(A)KT 5 11, 2-12: *ana mala pī našpartika panītim 3 mana kaspam ana Ennānātīm addin. apputtum, mīnum ša ana Ennānāt-Aššur kaspam tušširú? ana lānišu tatikkil. lā bētam : lā šāram īšu u kaspam tuššir! [ap]puttum ana mera ummiānim [...]* “In accordance with the wording of your last letter, I gave 3 minas of silver to Ennānātum.³⁰⁷ Importantly, why is it that you released silver to Ennānāt-Aššur? You trusted in his appearances. He has neither house nor offspring, still you released the silver. Urgent, [give? X] to an affiliated trader!”

It is also useful for emphasising the closing section, as in the following desperate letter in which the authors ask for help with a debt but also reprimand the addressees for ignoring them until now. Thus, the urgency of the letter is highlighted in the closing section with *apputtum* and *naḥādum*.

TPAK 1 6, 26f.: *[appu]ttum ana awāt [ṭuppini iḥ]dā!* “It is important. Pay attention to the words [of our tablet]!”

³⁰⁵ For the general usage and possible derivation of the word (commonly but insecurely from *appūna i.a.*), see Soden 1959, 158; GAG, 222 § 124b; Sallaberger 1999, 163 and specifically in the Old Assyrian context, Kouwenberg 2017, 409. The word is most certainly a nominative form of the *status rectus* forming a nominal sentence.

³⁰⁶ See Sallaberger 1999, 160.

³⁰⁷ We, unfortunately, do not have enough contextual information to decide whether this statement pertains also to the following ones or if it is a separate matter. In case of the former, it may be that the addressee gave away silver that was intended for someone else.

As already above, *apputtum* is often combined with other phrases for directly indicating urgency, such as *naḥādum*, *kīma ṭuppam tašmeu*, and the invocation of relation. Also in such combinations, *apputtum* is always the first element, since it is syntactically disconnected.

CCT 3 34a, 13-26: *ṭuppīya šitammeamma aqqāti Maši-ilī lā tuwaššar! ṭuppī qātkama luka*³⁰⁸*ilšunuma ulā kunukšunuma ibbītišu libšiū. apputtum iḥidma šēšiamma kīma libbī lā ilamminu epšamma tīrtakunu damiqtam lašme'e! apputtum iḥidma awīlūtaka lāmur!* “Carefully read my tablets, but do not release them to Maši-ilī! The tablets, you must keep them only to yourself, or reseal them so they may remain in his house. Important, do make him leave, and so act that I do not get upset, and I can read good news from you. Important, see to it that I may witness your gentlemanlike manner!”

(A)KT 6 239, 19-27: *ašpurakkum umma anākuma kīma šuḥārū ērubūninni mamman iššaḥati<ya> lāšu. apputtum. ina šamši ṭuppī tašammeu 5 mana kaspam kunukma kunukkīka 1 šuḥārum lublam. annakam nu'ā'u aššibtim ētanarrišūni.* “I wrote you, saying: ‘Since the servants arrived, there is no one left to assist me.’ Urgent, on the day you read my letter, seal 5 minas of silver, so one servant can bring me your sealed package. Here, the Anatolians keep asking me for interest-bearing loans.”

Two women in Assur emphatically admonish Imdī-ilum for neglecting his cultic and social duties. Their concluding request is strengthened with *apputtum* and *kīma ṭuppam tašmeu*.

TC 1 5, 8-17: *kaspam tara''am. napaštaka taze''ar*³⁰⁸*. ina Ālim Aššur magāram ulā tale''e? apputtum kīma ṭuppam tašmeu alkamma ēn Aššur amurma napaštaka eṭer!* “You love money, but you despise your life. Can you not be agreeable with Aššur in the City? Urgent, as soon as you read this letter, come and visit Aššur to save your life!”

As interjection, in order to reinforce the sentiment, *apputtum* can also be redoubled. In the following case, an additional indication of urgency is the inverted order of *narration* and *petition*, starting immediately with the petition (for this formal piece of rhetoric see below).

(A)KT 6 208a, 4-15: *apputtum apputtum ramakkunu zakkiāma mimma werī'am ana Puruṣḥaddim lā tušebbalā! amātīmma : abbatīq u utur dināma kaspam leqeāma tib'ānimma atalkānim! ammala ippanītim ana bēl kaspim usalliuma lā imgurūninni ūmam imtagrūni.* “Urgent, urgent, clear yourselves and do not send any of the copper to Puruṣḥaddum! Sell even the slave-girls at any price, then take the silver and set out and come! For, previously, I

³⁰⁸ M. Ichisar (Imdīlum, 342 ad l. 10) is certainly correct in interpreting *za-ze-ar* as *ta-ze-ar*, be it a phonetic corruption or a scribal error.

pleaded with the creditors who would not come to an agreement with me, but today they have come to an agreement with me!”

Stock phrases referring to minimal quantities of commodities for rhetorical emphasis

Achieving profit, making money to perpetuate the trade is the main goal of the Assyrian merchants. Insofar as this fact needs to be referred to explicitly, the Assyrians can make use of a simple rhetorical means to pointedly and summarily speak of the need for goods for trading. It typically takes the form of “commodity + 1 + (small) unit of measure.” Most commonly it is used with silver and shekels: *kaspum 1 šiqil*. We find it in c. 8.5% of the letters in our corpus. This stock phrase has two distinct meanings of quite equal distribution within the corpus. One is a sort of synekdoche in which the number one receives the meaning of “every single one”, emphasising that not even one unit of an amount must be missing. The other meaning, perhaps truer to the numerical value, goes more along the lines, “at least one”, intimating desperation that even just one measure of something might suffice. For this latter usage, also other small, round numbers besides 1 can be used, whereas the wording for the former meaning seems quite fixed. The negative version of the stock phrase, in its meaning a sort of combination of the aforementioned two, translates to “not even one”.

The use of *kaspum 1 šiqil* as “every single shekel of silver” usually appears in contexts of economic urgency when merchants desire new investments and need to consolidate their funds.

OAA 1 23, 3-13: *kaspam 1 šiqil mala naš’ātini šumma saḫrāti : ana šinīšu maḥašma mišlam : ippanīmma šēbilam u šittam iwwarkiūtīm šēbilam : adi saḫrātini šīmam : laš’amma luta’erakkumma kaspum 1 šiqil libīt*³⁰⁹. “Break up into two every single shekel of silver, as much as you are carrying, in case you are delayed, and send me half at the very next opportunity. Then send the rest at a later one. While you are delayed, I shall make purchases and retrade it for you, so every single shekel of silver is active.

(A)KT 6 176, 3-11, 23-26: *ina luqūtika ša ana šēriya ša kīma kuāti uta’erūni lāma Aluwa ana šēriya tašpuranni annakka u šubātūka ana werī’im masīm u šikkim ištu 3 warḫī ta’ur[ūma] werī’am paniamma emā[rū] ana Šalatuwar izabbilū. (...) kaspam 1 šiqil ša ina Šalatuwar edūkuma ēpušu Aluwa naš’akkum*. “From among your goods, that your representatives traded for me, even before you had sent Aluwa to me, your tin and textiles had been traded for washed *šikkum*-copper 3 months ago so that donkeys could bring the very first copper to

³⁰⁹ For Aššur-idī’s, the author of the present letter, idiosyncratic use of the verb *biātum*, see Fn. 304 above.

Šalatuwar. (...) Aluwa is bringing you every single shekel of silver that I spared no effort to make in Šalatuwar.”

CCT 4 18b, 3-14: *kīma kaspam ana awīlim lā tušēbilannima libbušu imrašma umma šūtma šīma ūšiam. mimma luqūtika ištiya ušēš’akkum. iḫidma kaspam 1 šiqil ina panīmma a-[...] šēbilamma libbi awīlim linūḫ!* “Because you did not send me the silver for the gentleman, he got upset and said: ‘Leave!’ So I left. I exported for you any of your merchandise with me. Do send me every single shekel of silver at the very next opportunity for [...], so the gentleman can be at ease!”

(A)KT 6 167, 15-20: *anniam ana Pilaḫ-lštar piqidma išti awātišu [lī]tawwu u attā ina rēšišu izizma kaspam 1 šiqil [lū ṭ]ābāti!* “Entrust this to Pilaḫ-lštar, so he negotiates for it together with his affairs, while you yourself assist him, being good for every single shekel of silver!

(A)KT 8 93, 11-21: *lā ša³¹⁰ ašpurakkunni umma Ḫinnayama tīrtaka lillikam[ma] ušebbalam. ašpurma kaspam lā tuḫalliḫ. iḫidma kaspam šēbilam! kaspum 1 šiqil līliam! kaspum lā kasapšu šūma^(sic!) kasap Iddin-Su’en.* “That I did not write you is due to Ḫinnaya saying: ‘Send me notice and I will send it.’ So I wrote that you did not lose it. Do send me the silver! Every single shekel of silver must be raised! The silver is not his silver, it is Iddin-Su’en’s silver.”

The other use of *kaspum 1 šiqil* as “at least/just one shekel of silver” comes out of a place of economic distress. It shows a correspondent in resigned, maybe desperate spirits, or in an unpromising, forlorn situation. There is a greater freedom in wording for this use than for 1 meaning “every single one”. Besides pure semantics we might venture to attribute this more diverse phrasing to the higher degree of emotionality involved. A contextually dependent, small amount conveys the adequate feeling for this usage, so it very often features the number 1 but is not limited to it.

(A)KT 6 144, 50-57: *mimma kaššārī išti Ennam-Aššur u Ali-aḫim ana Puruṣ[ḫaddim lū] ana Dirḫumit [lū] ana Tišmurna ali kaspam 1 šiqil teppašāni ina šaḫat Ennam-Aššur u Ali-aḫim izizzāma kaspam 10 mana epšānimma paniamma ana Kaneš šēbilānim! kaspam 1 šiqil ana tamkārim lā tuššarā!* “Concerning any one of my harnessers with Ennam-Aššur or Ali-aḫum en route to Puruṣhaddum or Durḫumit or Tišmurna, wherever you can make even one shekel of silver, assist Ennam-Aššur and Ali-aḫum, so you make 10 minas of silver, then send them at the first opportunity to Kaneš! Do not release even one shekel of silver to a merchant!”

(A)KT 6 139, 31-49 already above, with the relevant passage in ll. 42-47: *ašar kaspam 1 šiqil aḫum u ebrum ahūtam ištiya ipšūni, išti šaptišunu¹ pazzurti šērubam la ile²ū.* “Where even

³¹⁰ J.C. Kouwenberg (2017, 214) observes that the particles *ša* and *lā* can change position in genitive constructions. Here, it would seem that this is a general contact phenomenon.

one shekel of silver was to be had, colleague and friend would make them together with me in brotherly bonds, now they cannot carry my smuggling goods together with their wool?”

A merchant with an Anatolian name, Kasubeli, uses the hyperbolically small amount of half a shekel of silver, the smallest we find used in this expression in our corpus. Quantities smaller than one shekel are only rarely used rhetorically.

(A)KT 8 253, 12-15: *šapātīm : zakū<tim> šāmānim! kaspam ½ šiqil lā tabe’elā!* “Buy me cleared wool! Do not keep even half a shekel of silver for yourself!”

Perhaps using a more realistic amount, the *ugbabtum*-priestess Ummī-lšḫara tries to mend a quarrel with her brother.

(A)KT 8 165, 3-13: *aššumi libbaka lamnuma tūṣūni ša kaspam 10 šiqil ina qātiya lā iṣu lā tī[dē]³¹¹? u iāum libbī emmuma ištika lā atawwū³¹² – aḫī attā – libbaka lā tulamman!* “Because you left in anger – do you not know that I did not even have 10 shekels of silver at my disposal? –, and because I too became exasperated so that I would not speak with you – you are my brother – do not stay angry!”

Phrases such as *kaspum 1 šiqil* with negated predicate mean “not even one shekel of silver” or – really just the same – “every single shekel of silver is/must not ...”.

(A)KT 5 23, 22-27: *ištu ṣuḫārū illikūninni urki kasap Ennanātīm isaḫḫurū. mimma iqqātišu lā ibašši. 1 šiqil kaspam tadānam lā ile’e. malakka.* “After the servants had arrived, they then started to seek out Ennanātum’s silver, but he does not possess anything. He cannot hand over even one shekel of silver. It is up to you to decide.”

(A)KT 6 307, 23-31: *ištēniš ša 2 mana kaspim šīmam ša balāṭišu attūnu u Daraš šita’amāma pirikannū ašar Mannum-kī-Aššurma lērubū u kaspam ašrākamma ša<š>qilā! : adi pirikannum lā ērubanni kaspam 1 šiqil ana Daraš lā tuššarā!* “For a sum of 2 minas of silver in total, you and Daraš, continue to make purchases that are profitable to him, the *pirikannum*-textiles should go to Mannum-kī-Aššur’s place and have the silver paid out also over there! Until the *pirikannum*-textile has not arrived, do not release even one shekel of silver to Daraš!

For even stronger emphasis – which might often be necessary in the exacerbated circumstances it is used in – *mimma* can be added to the phrase. In the first example, a merchant has died, so his bereaved are strongly urged to clear everything up and liquidate the remaining assets. The second

³¹¹ Although M. Larsen ([A]KT 6, 232 ad 5-9) rejects an emendation to a form of *idā’um*, we would argue for it, the complex syntax of this entire passage notwithstanding.

³¹² Since both verbs *emmu* and *atawwū* bear a subjunctive ending, they must still be ruled by the causal conjunction *aššumi*.

example comes from a complex debt situation in which a trader acts as proxy of several women for interest-bearing loans. In the third example, the stock phrase is used in an oath.

(A)KT 8 170, 16-22: *šumma werī²um mimma aḥḥur batīq u watur dināma abkānim! mimma kaspam 1 šiqil ammakam lā ikkalla!* “If there is any copper left, sell it for any price and ship it! Not even a single shekel of silver must be retained there!”

ICK 1 192, 16-23: *amātuka šaḥḥitāšinama kaspam 1 šiqil šibtam mimma iššēriya lā ilaqqeā! kīma šibtīšina šubātī lušēbilūnimma^(sic) kaspam 1 šiqil raminī lakbusma ludammīqšināti.* “As pertains to your *amtum*-wives,³¹³ warn them not to borrow at interest even a single shekel of silver at my expense! For their interest-bearing loans, they should send me textiles, and I myself shall do my utmost to make up for every single shekel of silver for them.”

Innāya 177, 8-12 = (A)KT 3 62, 7-10 = KTP 33, 2-5:³¹⁴ *tašpuram umma attāma Ḥannān-nāram šabatma ḥurāšam u šibassu šašqilšu! Aššur u Amurru liddiāni. e³¹⁵ ša šattim ištēn šibtam ina šērišu alqeu. mimma kaspam 1 šiqil lā akbusuka.* “You wrote to me, saying: ‘Seize Ḥannān-nārum and have him pay the gold and its interest!’ May Aššur and Amurru desert me. Apart from the one for one year, I truly took up interest-bearing loans on his account. I truly did not encroach on you for even a single shekel of silver.”³¹⁶

In some of the examples above, the stock phrase already featured numbers other than 1, of course there are also instances concerning different measures or commodities. The shekel as the smallest relevant measure of silver beyond doubt is used in a rhetorical sense. When other, larger units, such as mina, appear, the respective contexts can permit a rhetorical interpretation, some doubt, however, remains whether that specific amount of goods is meant rhetorically or literally. If the rhetorical interpretation is correct, it may demonstrate a particular economic context of perhaps greater wealth of a merchant, or of a particular set of goods that warrant speaking in such measures (e.g. copper).

³¹³ It seems clear that the entire passage deals with the *amātum* of probably all four of the addressees, although the references with the possessive suffix in the singular in *amātuka* (l. 16) and the verb *lušēbilūnimma* (l. 21) in the masculine plural point to some confusion. Oftentimes, letters change whom they are speaking to, since the authors would have known if there may be a group behind any one addressee who would help under certain circumstances. Only in this case, such considerations seem to have led to some confusion in connection with the *amātum*. Due to the specific economic transactions referred to here, we think *amātum* has to refer to wives rather than servants.

³¹⁴ The present passage survives in three duplicate letters, (A)KT 3 62 being the best preserved.

³¹⁵ This preposition means “apart from”. N.J.C. Kouwenberg (2017, 427f.) would liken it to the vetitive particle *e*, while K.R. Veenhof ([A]KT 5, 77 ad no. 5 l. 40) takes it as a shortened form *el* from *a/ellānum* with assimilated // > *ešša šattim ištēn*.

³¹⁶ Two different oaths, both introduced by the formula *Aššur u Amurru liddiāni*, are being made here, although the exact significance and how (or if) they are connected to the same matter is difficult for us to grasp.

(A)KT 6 383, 16-28: *abba'ūa bēlūa : attūnu. šumma ammakam awāt kārīm u ekallim dannāma luqūtam ammišam lā nušerrabašši kaspam 1 mana tiri ina kasap abīni leqeāma išti bātiqim ulā išti šuḥāriya šēbilānimma luqūt abīni ašar šulmim liššiliḥ!* “You are my fathers, my lords. If the words of the *kārum* and palace are strict there, so that we cannot let the goods enter there (= smuggling routes), take every single mina of *tiri*-silver from our father’s silver, and send it by express caravan or with my servant, so that our father’s goods may be dispatched safely!”

Since the fulcrum of trade is silver, we find this stock phrase mostly used with this type of commodity. This is, of course, only a limitation of the particular real-world context of the letters, not a rhetorical one. Where, in the following, the first example might still be connected to silver, the second one, written by a wife in dire straits in Assur, already shows a great variety of uses for the rhetoric of reproaches, proceeding from the standard phrasing with silver to an entirely different but equally vital (if not more so) commodity, grain. We encounter grain often in letters written by women to their husbands as it pertains to the upkeep of the household. The last example speaks of a talent of copper, which again brings to mind the problem whether this is purely rhetorical or to be taken literally. A talent of copper would not be particularly impressive, but at the same time there are instances where copper is counted only in minas. Since the author later in the letter speaks of some 10 talents he had already shipped, the rhetorical interpretation would seem to be corroborated.

OAA 1 18, 8-16: *ina ūmim ša akkārīm Aššur ušallumukama terrubu ina erābikama 40 mana kaspam ana naruqqiya šēbilam! lū ina kuāim lū ša naruqqiya mallīma šēbilam! aššumiya maškattam 1-išet lā tamaggar!* “On the day Aššur lets you safely enter the *kārum*, on your arrival, send me 40 minas of silver for my joint-stock capital. Supplement it either with some of yours or from out of my joint-stock capital and send it! Do not agree even on a single investment claim on my behalf!”

Innāya 3, 10-18: *inūmi tūšū kaspam 1 šiqil ulā tēzibam : bētam tulaqqit[ma] : tušēši. ištu tūšūni dannutum [rabī]tum³¹⁷ ina Ālim : ulā še'am 1 SILA₃ : tēzibam : še'am ana ukultini : aštana'am.* “When you left, you did not leave me with even one shekel of silver. You plundered the house and emptied it. Since you left, there is [great] plight in the City. Not one SILA₃ of barley did you leave me. I have to continuously buy barley for our nourishment.”

OAA 1 118, 3-10: *lāma ana Kaneš erābka : ašmeu werī'um 1 bilat ša qātni ikšudu umma anākuma lāma kūšum ikšudīni ina Waḥšušana linnidīma lū napšāku.* “Before I had heard of

³¹⁷ We expect a reinforcing adjective here, perhaps *rabītum* would fit *dannatum* well.

your arrival in Kaneš, I thought to myself about every talent of copper that we have obtained:
‘Before the cold reaches me, it should be deposited in Waḥšušana, so I may breathe freely.’”

Any interpretation being very much context-dependent, we might sometimes have problems recognising the exact intentions of a letter author as concerns this stock phrase, but its prolific use as a rhetorical device is unquestionable. That there are two different meanings attached to it, neither of which more frequent than the other, may pose additional problems to us but also demonstrates the succinct simplicity the Assyrians wielded to give their letters a not at all simplistic character. The stock phrase can quickly address the meticulous expectations a trader would have about capital and goods for the purpose of persuasion.

In sum, this idiom features in pressing economic contexts and indicates a certain urgency of the letter concerning a person’s material means. By synekdochically using the number one to count out whichever commodity is desired, the Assyrians can achieve a pointed and intuitive understanding of the matter.

Favours

Trust as essential prerequisite of the trade and the material facet of reciprocity that goes together with it can manifest in favours that informally bind the merchants together. In situations that warrant additional cooperation which goes beyond the quotidianity of the trade and legal contracts, the merchants could call upon this fact. As such, the promise to do or owe someone a favour or the mere acknowledgement that an action would be judged a favour serve as a good argumentative vehicle. Structurally, this is usually done at the end of a request, as closing remark. We find this rhetorical device in c. 7% of our corpus. As to the terminology to speak about favours, the Assyrians either use verbal forms of the root *gamālum* “to do a favour” or use the noun *gimillum* “favour” in combination with *šakānum* “to place”, or more rarely with other verbs like *tadānum* “to give”, or *naḥbulum* “to owe”. In talking about the abstract possibility of doing a favour rather than the concrete act, the modal construction *gamālam le’ā’um* “to be able to do/return favours” may be preferred. The ability to do favours is the mark of an accomplished trader. We can often neatly trace distinct talk of favours as a more abstract concept, on the one hand, and very concrete agreements favourable to merchandise and trade, and goods in general that were traded as a favour which would be termed *gimillum*, on the other.³¹⁸

(A)KT 6 375, 16-24: *inūmi Šukkutum išti tamkārim innammuru šumma libbušu tamkārum mala ūmūšu ētiqūni šibtam iššēr Šukkutim lilqe. šumma šibtam lā ilaqqe gimillī ana Šukkutim*

³¹⁸ For such concrete favours, see Veenhof 1999, 57f.

liddimma ligmilšu. “When Šukkutum meets with the merchant, the merchant may take as much interest from Šukkutum as his term is overdue, if he wishes to. If he does not take any interest, he would grant Šukkutum favours³¹⁹ and he (= Šukkutum in turn?) could do him a favour.”³²⁰

The above example gives a simple image of the specific kind of favour that is common among merchants, concerning loans and interest. The next one shows a wider concept of *gimillum* as something that would make one’s life easier, but the authorities will not consider acting according to the trader’s wishes.

(A)KT 8 81, 17-28: *annakam ana kārīm atūr umma anākuma luqūtum iāttum. [mīš]šum šaddu’atam tušaddiā? umma šunuma luqūtum ana ša Iliya šaknatma nušaddi. umma anākuma latma’ luqūtumma lū iāttunni. u alēma ana kārīm šaddu’atam ilteqqeū³²¹ ulā igdamlūni*. “Here, I returned to the *kārum*, stating: ‘The goods are mine. Why have you levied transport tariff?’ They answered: ‘The goods had been added to those of Iliya, so we taxed them.’ I replied: ‘I shall swear that the goods are mine.’ However, they would not oblige me in any of the places the transport tariff was collected for the *kārum*.”

Tablets documenting a favour can even be referred to as such, *ṭuppam ša gimillī*.³²²

(A)KT 11 83, 4’-19’: *ṭuppam ša gimillī ša 4 mana kaspim ša mera Ennamānim : ša ana Puzur-ilī : tēzibu umma attāma : šumma : kaspum ina Kaneš : ana ša kīma : Aššur-malik šaqil tīrti aššērika u aššēr Puzur-ilī : illakamma ṭuppaka : liddinakkumma dūk. abī [attā.] tīrtaka aššēriya [u a]ššēr Puzur-ilī [lī]llikamma : ṭuppī liddinamma ladūk!* “Concerning the tablet of favours about 4 minas of silver belonging to Ennamānim that you left to Puzur-ilī, you said: ‘If the silver was paid to Aššur-malik’s representatives in Kaneš, I will send instructions to you and Puzur-ilī, so he hands over your tablet to you, and you may invalidate it.’ [You] are my father. Send instructions to me [and] Puzur-ilī, so he hands over my tablet to me, and I may invalidate it!”

Regarding rhetoric in letters, favours are most often called in as final statement to a request, or as very final argument in the closing section.

³¹⁹ If *gi-mi-li* (l. 22) only referred to the waiving of interest, the plural form would be untypical. It seems to be used as part of a general rhetorical statement rather than referring to concrete favours already established as fact at an earlier date (as is the case in [A]KT 6 285 below).

³²⁰ It could be that *gimillī ana Šukkutim liddimma ligmilšu* is a pleonastic construction, both times with the same subject: “He (= the merchant) would really be doing Šukkutum a favour.”

³²¹ The verbal form behind *il₅-té-qé-ú* (l. 29) ought to be a Gtn preterite in the plural, although it lacks the subjunctive ending.

³²² Another example is (A)KT 3 64, 35. In this letter, the author had taken on a debt on behalf of a colleague, which act was registered in its own tablet, herein referred to as *ṭuppam ša gimillī*.

(A)KT 6 325, 15-18: *ammakam išti šim annikiya kaspam šēbilānimma gimlāni!* “There, send me silver together with the proceeds from my tin, and so do me a favour!”

Favours are, of course, also important within the family network. In the following example, Šāt-Anna is affirming her own abilities to Damiq-pī-Aššur, dubbed Damqaya, who otherwise features as an especially close associate of her brother Ali-aḥum.

(A)KT 6 319, 4-16: 10 *šiqil kaspam ša addinakkunni tašpuramma umma attāma išti ša bē’ulātiya šimam aš’amma ana Puruṣḥaddim ušēbil. šimam ša tēpušu ana Ālim ṭābātumma <šēbilam>*³²³! *aḥī attā u anāku gamālka ale’*²³e. “Regarding the 10 shekels of silver that I gave you, you wrote to me, saying: ‘Together with my working capital I made purchases and sent them to Puruṣḥaddum.’ <Send> the purchases you made to the City in their entirety! You are my brother, and I can grant you favours.”

Even in the midst of more difficult situations, close enough associates might hazard asking for a favour. In this example, family members and close associates write from Aššur to the sons of recently deceased Šalim-Aššur in order to help settle the aftermath of his passing. One of them, Elāya, appends his own piggy-back request to the letter, nevertheless seeking a favour.

(A)KT 6 235, 47f.: *umma Elāyama šumma aḥḥūa attūnu šim ṣubātīm kaspam kunkānimma gimlāni!* “Elāya says: ‘If you are my brothers, seal the silver proceeds from the textile and so do me a favour!’”

Trust-based cooperation being so important, favours thus serve as additional social glue strengthening bonds between merchants. In the social networks the Assyrians navigated, favours deemed one person may however also easily break trust towards another.

(A)KT 6 285, 24-34: *aḥūka ina puzrim išti ilī-dān ultaḥḥišma gimillī ina ṣēr ilī-dān iddimma anāku ulā ide : 21 bilat šapātīm aḥūka ana ilī-dān iddanma 6 mana kaspam ina rēš šapātīm ilī-dān ana aḥīka išaqqal. apputtum ammakam luqūtam ṣabtā!* “Your brother whispered with Ilī-dān in secret and showed favours to Ilī-dān that I did not know about. Your brother will give Ilī-dān 21 talents of wool and Ilī-dān will pay your brother 6 minas of silver upon delivery of that wool. Urgent, seize the goods there!”

In urgent or uncertain cases, it might be necessary not to be lenient with someone and thus not grant them any favours. In the first example, the reference to *gamālum* is only added in the contingent summary of the request in the closing section of this long letter. The second example, probably a tablet supplement, closes with *gamālum*.

³²³ We follow M.T. Larsen in his suggestion to emend an imperative of *šēbulum*.

OAA 1 4, 32-40: *apputtum awīlum e islīkunuma šumma inūmi tazuzzāni ḥusārī ša šēpišu lā ublamma maḥrikunu lā iškunma ištēniš lā tuštēbilāma lā tazzuzā awīlam watram*³²⁴ *lā tagammilāšu! ḥusārū ša šēpišu damqū danniš!* “Importantly, the gentleman must not deceive you! So if, when you are dividing it all up, he has not brought the lapis lazuli he is carrying, and did not place it before you, so you could not send it together and make the divisions, do not do the gentleman any extra favours! The quality of the lapis lazuli he is carrying is extremely high.”

(A)KT 5 33:³²⁵ *ana ša kīma iāti [qib]īma ammakam [Aššur-t]aklāku pīšu : liptēma [x] mana maṭi 1 šiqil kaspam šašqilāšu! lā tagammilāšu!* “Speak to my representatives: ‘Here, Aššur-taklāku should make himself heard, then have him pay the [x] minas minus 1 shekel of silver! Do not do him any favours!’”

The modes of requesting favours above are found in any social setting, whereas explicitly spelling out the reciprocity of favours is something those of lower standing have to do in their petitions to those of a higher one, in certain situations. The explicit promise of a favour as *quid pro quo* for the requested favour intimates a humble demeanour vis-à-vis the addressee. In the first example, Elamma is writing to representatives and a higher-ranking colleague, Ataya, in Assur, in the hopes of bolstering his merchandise. The author of the second example has been doing odd jobs for his higher-ranking colleague, but finds the time to also pursue his own interests. In the third example, the author writes to a group of three people, among whom Šu-Aššur is the highest-ranking one, apparently with a substantial outstanding debt against him.

(A)KT 8 79, 16-29: *ana Ataya qibīma ṭuppam našpartam ša Aššur-lamassī ša aššumi tadmiqtim ša ana abīka ipqidu naš’ūnikkum. ammakam ṭuppam šimēma libbaka lā ilammin! aḥī attā. ina šaḥat šazzuztiya izizma ina alāk maškattiya šubātē ištēna u šana šēbilamma lagmilka!* “Say to Ataya: ‘They are bringing you Aššur-lamassī’s letter tablet about the interest-free loan that he entrusted to your father. Read the tablet there, but do not be upset! You are my brother. Assist my representatives and send me one or two textiles when my claimed shipment leaves, and I shall do you a favour!’”

³²⁴ Whether the logogram DIRI, here, is to be read as an adverbial accusative *watram* or *watris*, is unclear. That *watrum* “additional, extra” could serve as an adverb, in any case, is shown in kt c/k 680, 11-22 (Balkan 1967, 401f.): *aššitti kaspim ṭuppam ša migrāt Ali-aḥim u Edinaya ša kīma Kurara emmurūma šumma qātum ša Edinaya qātat u qāti Kurara qātat ammala ūmū šaknūni 5 warḥi ana qātim ša Kurara DIRI illakma kaspam išaqqal.* “As for the remainder of the silver, Kurara’s representatives will inspect the tablet about Ali-aḥim and Edinaya’s agreement, so if Edinaya’s share is one share and Kurara’s share is another share, then in accordance with how the terms have been set, five months will pass for Kurara’s share additionally, until he is to pay the silver.” In our example, we would certainly prefer the interpretation as an adverb over that of a direct object of a doubly transitive *gamālum*.

³²⁵ This must be a tablet supplement whose ‘first page’ we unfortunately do not have.

(A)KT 6 338, 14-19: *ana Ālim ḥarrānī : eḫpat. šumma kaspum ana qātika maqit kaspam ana šēr ša kīma kuāti šēbilamma lipqidūniššumma u lagmilka!* “My journey to the City is soon. If you happen upon any silver, send the silver to your representatives, so they entrust it to him, and I shall do you a favour!”

(A)KT 8 270, 16-25: *ana Šu-Aššur qibīma šīm ḥurāšim meḥrātīm idīma pirikannī šāmānim : attā ina šīm ḥurāšim kasapka leqe : gimillam iššēriya šukun u anāku gamālka ale^{2e}!* “Say to Šu-Aššur: ‘Deposit^{sg} the yield of the proceeds from the gold and buy^{pl} pirikannum-textiles for me! You, take your silver from the proceeds from the gold. Grant me this favour, and I too can do you a favour!’”

Another pertinent example is (A)KT 6 319, quoted above, in which the woman Šāt-Anna affirms her own ability to do favours to a higher-ranking business partner, whom she nevertheless calls brother.

Outright renouncing favours could also be an effective threat for those in a position of power.

OAA 1 41, 14-23: 40 *manā^{em}(sic) Aššur liṭṭul šibtam lā agammiluka ša ištu waraḥ Maḥḥur-ili limmum Iddin-Aššur mera Kūbī-idī. luqūtam ša šēpika zakkīma tib^{amma} atalkam!* “Concerning the 40 minas, – may Aššur be my witness – I truly will not do you any favours regarding the interest that accrues from month Maḥḥur-ili, eponymy of Iddin-Aššur, son of Kūbī-idī. Clear the goods you are transporting, set out and leave!”

Favours having such social merit, it is thus important to one’s own image as a candid trader to also have a reputation of granting favours, of being an *awīl gimillī* “a man of favours”.

(A)KT 6 241, 42-46: *iḫidma iššaḫat Lā-qēp iz[izma ṭuppam] ša Ālim leqeānim u nī[nu] awī[l] gimillī nigammilka!* “Do assist Lā-qēp and get a tablet of the City, and we too, as men of favours, will do you a favour!”

(A)KT 6 391, 5-22: 1 *šubātam raqqatam damqim ša ana šīmim addinakkunni. aḫī : attā : ana mala awīlūtika raqqatam dinma kaspam kunukma : išti Amur-lštar šēbilam : u šumma raqqatum lā tadnatma adīni : ibašši kīma aššīmiša : ubbulu kaspam irramātika idīma kunukma Amur-lštar lublam : u lū gimillum iāti. ḥarrānī ana Ālim u anāku awīl gimillim. Amur-lštar lā ibi^{2at}! ṭurdāšu! šuāti : uqa^{2a}šu.* “Regarding the *raqqatum*-textile of good-quality that I gave you for sale: You are my brother. Befitting your status as gentleman, sell the *raqqatum*, seal the silver and send it to me with Amur-lštar. If, however, the *raqqatum* has not been sold and is still available, put down as much silver yourself as it would fetch when sold, and seal it, so Amur-lštar brings it to me, and it shall be a favour for me. I am

leaving for the City and I too am a man of favours. Amur-lštar should not rest one night! Send him! It is him I am waiting for.”

lšme-Aššur is short on cash with just having bought a house. He puts pressure on his correspondent to repay a debt as promised, but also incentivises it with talk about favours.

TTC 18, 5-24: *maḥar Šu-Ḫubur [umma] attāma kutānam dinamma ina erābiyama meḥrātīm ina raminiya <u>šebbalakkumma agammilka! meḥrātīm ina raminika ulā tuštēbilam. šumma aḫī attā gimlanni! awīl gimillim anāku. agammilka. tadmiqtī ina panīmma ālikim šēbilam! bētam aš’am[-ma ...].* “With Šu-Ḫubur as witness you had said: ‘Give me a *kutānum* and I shall send you its equivalent myself upon my arrival and do you a favour!’ You have, however, not sent me its equivalent yourself. If you are my brother do me a favour! I am a man of favours. I will do you a favour. Send me an interest-free loan with the very next travellers! I bought a house [and ...].”

In conclusion, the express mention of favours called in, promised, asked for, shows us what was both economically and socially desirable and acceptable, broadening the view from what had been previously agreed upon in the context of trade partnerships to what may fortify a long lasting partnership. Due to the Assyrians’ rhetorical directness – and an acute awareness of these social currents – the explicit mention of favour could be the best argument. At the same time, their relative social standing had to be taken in account to find the adequate phrasing for talking about *gimillum*.

Requesting action “as soon as the letter has been read”

In an epistolary context, an obvious statement to express the urgency of a request is to emphasise that it should be carried out as soon as it has been read. The pertinent stock phrase, to the effect of “the moment you read the letter, (do sth.)” can be introduced with three different temporal conjunctions, *kīma*, *ina šamši*, and *inūmi*. Interestingly, the conjunction *kīma* always uses for its predicate the preterite, *kīma ṭuppam tašmeu* “once you have read this letter”, while the constructions *ina šamši* and *ina ūmi* (with or without *krasis* to *iššamši* and *inūmi*) favour the present tense, *ina šamši ṭuppam tašammeu* “on the day you read this letter”.³²⁶ Since *ṭuppum*, here, refers to the specific letter at hand, we suggest to translate it as “this letter” in those cases where it does not already carry a possessive suffix. This stock phrase is used in c. 6.5% of letters, to preface an urgent *petitio*. There is a preference for the temporal conjunction with *šamšum*, featuring in more than 50%

³²⁶ For these conjunctons, and for the observation of *kīma* as temporal conjunction always taking a preterite form, see Hecker 1968, 251–257; Kouwenberg 2017, 797–799, 802–805.

of the instances – and specifically for the uncontracted form *ina šamši*, an emphatic form in itself–, those with *kīma* amount to c. 25% and *ina ūmi* c. 18%. What motivates the choice of one over the other is not entirely clear. Proportionally it would seem that *ina ūmi* appears in letters with an especially high degree of rhetorical elaboration, using many stock phrases, emotional language etc.

In settling the estate after his father's death, Ennam-Aššur is writing a desperate letter to his sister and her husband, complaining about their neglect and eventually requesting a copy of the (disputed) testament be sent to him. His petition is prefaced with *ina ūmim ša ṭuppī tašammeāni*.

(A)KT 6 233, 18-24: *attī matīma tīrtika lā illikamma libbam ulā taddinīm. ina ūmim ša ṭuppī tašammeāni* Aššur-massu'ī *u attī meḫrat šimātīm šubalkitāma išti* Aluwa *šēbilānim!* "You, however, have never sent me notice and did not give me encouragement. On the day that you read my letter, Aššur-massu'ī and you, have a copy of the testament fashioned and send it to me with Aluwa.

Much less desperate, a letter about a shipment of wool uses *iššamši ṭuppam tašammeu*. The matter should have been dealt with in a few days but is now overdue by many months, so the author anxiously reproaches and urges on his addressees.

(A)KT 8 169, 16-24: *adīma 5 ūmē lā tusasḫurušuni*³²⁷ *7 warḫī tuštēšibšu. šumma aḫī : attā iššamši*³²⁸ *ṭuppam tašammeu luqūtam : ana* Pilaḫ-Ištar *u Abu-šalim piqidma lublūnim!* "While you should not have kept him (= Abu-šalim) for 5 days, you had him stay for 7 months. If you are my brother, the day you read this letter, entrust the merchandise to Pilaḫ-Ištar and Abu-šalim for them to bring it to me!"

The stock phrase is also part of the official language of the *kārum*, here probably of Kaneš. As such letters are typically simple commands that do not need any additional persuasion or reasoning, the following example is a very short order stressing to appear before the *kārum* posthaste.

Innāya 63: *[ana] Innaya [qib]īma umma k[āru]mma kīma ṭuppam tašmeu ūmakkal lā tabi*² *at. tib'amma atalkam!* "Speak to Innaya, the *kārum* saying: 'Once you have read this letter, do not stay a single day. Set out and come!'"

In the closing section of the following letter, as part of repeating the main points of the letter, being alone and in need of assistance, the author utilises several stock phrases. The last iteration of the

³²⁷ Distant assimilation of /š/ to a sibilant as first radical in Š-stem forms is a common occurrence, cf. Hecker 1968, 62f.; Kouwenberg 2017, 60.

³²⁸ Throughout the letter, *iššamši* is written ^dutu without preposition or other phonetic complements like usual *i-dutu-šī*.

request is introduced with *ina šamši ša ṭuppī tašammeu*, which also serves to redraw attention to the letter as a whole.

(A)KT 6 809, 24-30: *iḥidma šuḥārī ṭurdamma kušsum lā ikaššadanni! ḥarrānī lēpuš! ina šamši ša ṭuppī tašammeu wēdāku šuḥārī ṭurdam!* “Do send me the servants, so the cold shall not catch up with me! So I may travel on! On the day you read my letter – I am alone – send me the servants!”

For even more pressing matters, this stock phrase can be combined with others that indicate urgency, such as *apputtum* (in c. 26% of the instances) or the invocation of relation (in c. 39% of the instances). As always, the authors are careful not to exaggerate too much. There are hardly ever more than two of these stock phrases combined for any given matter. The first example, urgent due to a complicated transference of debt, uses *apputtum*, the second, urgent due to a trader’s death threatening to freeze assets for a long time in the ensuing settlement procedures, uses the invocation of relation together with *ina šamši ṭuppī tašammeāni*.

(A)KT 5 13, 14-29: (...) *kaspam nušabbīšunuma 3 ṭuppē ša Ālim 1 ṭuppam ša 1 ½ mana kaspim ša ḥubullika ušširūniāti. aššatka : ištini kankat : waraḥ Maḥur-ilī limmum Dān-Ea. apputtum. kīma : ṭuppī³²⁹ tašmeu kaspam u šibassu šēbilamma ṭuppam ša kunukkīni u kunuk aššitika lū nidūk!* “We satisfied them with the silver, and they released to us three tablets of the City, one tablet over 1 ½ minas of debt owed by you. Your wife sealed it together with us, in month Maḥur-ilī (IV) under Dān-Ea’s eponymy. Urgent, as soon as you read my letter, send the silver and its interest, then we shall invalidate the tablet sealed by us and your wife!”

(A)KT 8 170, 5-15: *ašammēma Aššur-ṭāb lā libbi ilimma mēt. abba’ūa bēlūa attūnu. ina šamši ṭuppī tašammeāni luqūtam lū panītam lū urkitam zakkiāma kunkāma išti panīmma Abu-šalim ṭurdānim!* “I hear Aššur-ṭāb has sadly died. You are my fathers, my lords. The day you read my letter, clear the merchandise, both the earlier and the later one, seal it, and send Abu-šalim at the very next opportunity!”

Given much of the context in which this stock phrase is used, deaths of merchants, long-overdue terms and other grave complications, together with its overt meaning and already comparatively lower use rate, we may surmise that its degree of urgency was higher than, for instance, the most common and general markers like the invocation of relation or *apputtum*. Its efficacy derives from

³²⁹ In line 16 the plural is written *ṭup-pé-e*, while here (l. 24) it is written *ṭup-pí-i*, so that it could be a singular with the 1st person singular possessive suffix. The letter is otherwise consistently written in the 1st person plural. It is, however, very uncommon that the authors would refer to several tablets or letters in this stock phrase. We might still choose to respect the differing spelling and interpret *ṭuppī* as “my letter” as opposed to “the letters”, be it an error due to the standard phrasing of this stock phrase, be it that one of the authors, the one writing the letter, feels more strongly involved than the others.

directly relating to the important value of *naḥādum* (see below) in paying attention to and taking to heart a trade partner's communications.

Emphatically requesting information

The exchange of letters being so important for the workings of the Old Assyrian trade, it is no surprise that messages revolving around this fact with added rhetorical elaboration are very common. As already detailed above, "*tīrtam lillik*" constitutes the base formula for requesting a letter with information or instructions (featuring in c. 12% of the letters). For the purpose of rhetorical emphasis, there is an additional figure of speech with *uznam patā'um*,³³⁰ often as a request like *uznī pite* "(lit.) Open my ear!", analogous to "Inform me/Provide me with up-to-date information!", or a complaint like *uznī lā tapte* "You did not open my ear/You did not keep me informed," expressing the need for up-to-date information. This stock phrase features in c. 5% of the letters.

As the emphatic counterpart to *tīrtaknu lillikam*, the following example elaborately uses a parallelism with *uznī piteā* in the closing section, succinctly repeating the main request.

OAA 1 105, 21-2': *aḥḥūa attū<nu>. ammakam aššē[r lu]qūtim annītim lū bābtam išu lū luqūtam šaliṭtam išu lū luqūssu ali : tašammeāni šabtāma u tīrtaknu l[illikam ...] lū <ib>bābtim lū illuqūtim mimma ilqeū uznī piteā!* "You are my brothers. There, on top of these goods, seize whatever outstanding claims there are, whatever available goods there are, as well as any of his goods you have heard of, and s[end me] notice! [...] Inform me, whether they have taken anything from among the outstanding claims or the goods!"

Both phrases are often used in a pleonastic expression, as in the following, generating a small rhetorical climax. Since the author of the following example is being held up, he is emphatically requesting to be kept up-to-date.

Innāya 18, 3-12: *annakam ḥuluqqā'am*³³¹ *ša Ali-aḥim ibbišiūma ina dīn kārīm ālikum adi 5 ūmē kali : ālikam uššurūma atabbiamma attallakam. tīrtaka appāniya lillikamma uznī pite!*

³³⁰ In Assyrian letters, a specific rhetorical purpose is drawn from the common Mesopotamian view of the ear as the seat of knowledge and wisdom and its associated metaphorical uses. For the Sumerian use of this particular phrasing, cf., e.g., Attinger 2021, 190 s.v. *bad-d/r ad* ^{ḡeš-tuḡ}*ḡeštu bad*. A poetic rendering of what it meant to have an 'opened ear', may be found in the composition *níg-nam nu-kal* (Version D), D 10-12 (Alster 2005, 276–279) that connects it to the wholeness of being and the opportunity of a good life: *tukum-bi diḡir-ra-ni igi-zi mu-ši-in-bar / ḡeštu-gà-ni ḡál ba-an-taka₄ / [...] ^ḡlama ^ḡguruš diḡir-ra-ni su ba-ḡál-[x]*. "If his god looks favourably upon him, opens his ear (*i.e.* mind), his personal god and protective deities will be present in his flesh."

³³¹ After C. Michel's collation (and her comment in Innāya II, 35 *ad l.* 3), the reading is indeed *ḥu-lu-qá-am* (l. 3) and therefore a scribal error for the plural *ḥuluqqā'ū*. The word usually only appears as *plurale tantum*

“Here, losses arose for Ali-aḥum, and travellers were held up for 5 days by the *kārum*’s decision. As they release the travellers, I will set out and leave. Send me a report, keep me informed!”

In the next example, Ennam-Aššur complains to his *amtum*-wife, Anna-anna, who is often tasked with collecting debts for him, about a lack of information on her progress. In his reproach, he uses *kīma uzniya patā’im* as the more pointed phrasing to anticipate the more general statement about not having received any information.

(A)KT 6 309, 4-10: *adi 10-ešrīšu ašpurakkim umma anākuma bābtī zakkiāma adi allakanni šillatum lā ibašši : u kaspum 1 šiqil limḥurī. attī kīma šapārimma uzniya patā’im tīrtiki matīma ulā illakam.* “I have written to you 10-times, saying: ‘Clear my outstanding claims, so until I arrive, there will be no problem and every shekel of silver may reach me!’ Yet you, instead of writing and providing me with information you never send me any notice.”

As in the example above, lack of information is an irksome but all too frequent matter. In the following case, the author aims to preclude an excuse in that direction by expressly addressing this issue. This is also a matter of personal reputation as a merchant to be a reliable and diligent trade partner.

Innāya 76, 26-36: *aššēr našparātīm ša iššēp Pūšu-kēn ulappitakkunni mīnam ḥa[bbu]lākkum[ma] ša šēpika warkītīm šim emārīya taklāšu? iššēp Iliya lā tušēbilam? ana našparātīm ša šēp Pūšu-kēn iḥid! ina alākika lā taqabbi umma attāma mīššum uznī lā tapte.* “On top of the letters I wrote you via Pūšu-kēn, what else do I owe you that you would keep the proceeds from my donkeys from your last shipment? That you would not send it with Iliya? Pay attention to the letters sent via Pūšu-kēn! When you come, do not say: ‘Why did you not inform me?’”

Emotions ran high in the next letter, as it mentions the contemptible behaviour of *ḥimṭātum* “heated words” of a business partner.³³² In line with the urgency the author perceived as a result, he uses *uznam patā’um* in his request that their partner be informed, as soon as possible.

(A)KT 6 328, 19-28: [...] *kīma [ḥi]imṭātīm ša tamkārim [ašm]eu : aššiāti : našperātīm [ša] tamkārim : ša Ālim : ša naš’ākkunūti Puzur-lštar naš’ākkunūti. [aḥḥ]ū’a : attūnu [išš]amši našperātīm [taš]meāni iḥdāma : ammala [našper]ātīm epšāma [uzan ša t]amkārim : piteā!* “Since I read the heated words of the merchant, because of that, Puzur-lštar is bringing you

(according to CAD H, 233 s.v. *ḥuluqqû* there is only one fragmentary piece of evidence for a singular form in an Old Akkadian account), and is, in the present text, also rendered a plural by the verb *ibbišū*.

³³² For a discussion of the great social faux pas of uttering *ḥimṭātum* and the immediate negative response to the allusion in the reply letter (A)KT 6 329, see below.

the letters of the merchant from the City that I was bringing you. You are my brothers. On the day you read the letters, do act according to the letters and inform the merchant!”

Taking informed, circumspect action in accordance with one’s trade partners is in the foreground of the requests. Providing sufficient information in the letters can then prompt decision-making befitting a good trader. The author of the following letter requests a decision be taken by his trade partner, reasoning that doing his due part of giving information, *uznam patā’um*, he can expect an adequate response.

Innāya 23, 22-34: *abī attā bēlī attā. aššēr iqaqqirim dannim ušbātini awīlum lā damiq u šūt šumka maḥar Ālim ina lā idim e izkur. našperātim ana Ālim aššēr ša kīma kuāti lappitma inūmi šumka [maḥar Ālim?] illā idim izakkuru lizzizūma awīlam luba’iṣū. uzakka apte. malakka.* “You are my father, you are my lord. On top of being in a dangerous situation, the gentleman is not good, so he must not be allowed to call your name under false pretences before the City assembly. Write letters to your representatives in the City, so when he calls your name under false pretences [before the City assembly], they stand ready and defame the gentleman. I have informed you. It is up to you to make up your mind.”

The fulfilment of a request often entailed a report or notification to that effect, thus a stock phrase with rhetorical purpose would also strengthen the request itself. At the same time, keeping informed is an appreciated trait of a trader. Using *uznam patā’um* alludes to important social values and is part of the “sacred civility” within the traders’ networks.

Reproach for sending multiple letters without response

Sending letters not only between Assur and Anatolia but also within Anatolia itself took time. More or less patient, the Assyrian merchants clearly had notions of how long they should reasonably have to wait for a response. For reemphasising a request, making known frustration over repeatedly writing about it and low patience was a proven strategy. The simple reproach for having already written several letters on the same topic could be expressed with the stock phrase *adi mala u šinīšu* “(lit.) once or twice”, perhaps simply to be translated as “several times”, with some numerical variation for greater emphasis.³³³ It features in c. 4% of the letters in our corpus.

The final matter in the following letter pertains to a question the author apparently has asked many times without reply. He expends more rhetorical effort to get an answer this time, with *adi mala šinīšu* and *uznam patā’um*.

³³³ For this observation, see already Michel 1998, 265

(A)KT 8 195, 25-32: *tuppīya išti Lamassatim ibaššiū lū mamman ina šazzuztiya ukaʾʾalšunu?* : *adi [mala] u šinišu ašpur[akkunūti]. mīššum : matīma : tīrtakunu lā illikamma uznī la tapatteā?* “About my tablets, are they with Lamassatum or does someone among my representatives keep them? I have written to you several times about it. Why have you never sent me notice to keep me informed?”

More often, letters are opened with such reproaches. Phrases with *adi mala u šinišu* are used like this in 50% of the instances. The following two examples show that having to repeat oneself directly contravenes the important virtue of *naḥādum*, taking care and being concerned about the affairs of one’s fellow traders (see more below).

CCT 3 11, 3-22: *anāku annakam ana tīrtikunu naḥdāku. aššumi Lipit-Ištar mera Dagan-malkim adi mala u šinišu ašpurakkunūtima tīrtaknu lā illikam. annakam sikkī iššanabbutū u kutuātiya iktanattu’ū. aḥḥūā bēlūa attūnu. kaspum u šibātušu išteat awīlam [gimlā]ma kaspam m[ala tal]eʾʾāni šašqilāma ana mera ummiānim kīnim piqdāma aššumišu eqlam lētiqam.* “I always pay attention to your instructions here. Concerning Lipit-Ištar, Dagan-malkum’s son, I wrote to you several times, but you never sent me notice. Here, they keep pestering me and holding my possessions under lock for security. You are my brothers, my lords. Concerning the silver and its first rates of interest, do the gentleman a [favour] and have as much silver paid as you can, then entrust it to a trustworthy affiliated trader, so it is transported overland under his name.”

(A)KT 5 27, 2-18: *adi [mal]a u šinišu aššumi [Amur]rum-bāni pāširiya [aš]ša šīm šubātīya [ašp]urakkum. attā mimmašāma uznī la tapatte. [anā]ku annakam ana kuātīm [na]ḥdāku. attā ūmakal [ḥuš]aḥḥaka lā tēzibma [ana] iātīm lā tanaḥḥid. [...] kaspam šīm [šubātīya] lū Aššur-ennam [... lū Šal]im-Aššur [...] lū Amurru-bāni [...] kaspam šašqilma u Amurru-bāni ṭurdam!* “Several times have I written to you concerning Amurru-bāni, my peddler, about the proceeds from my textiles. Yet you give me no information whatsoever. I, here, care for your interests. Yet you have not set aside your interests a single day and instead cared for mine. Concerning the [x amount of] silver of the proceeds from [my textiles], have either Aššur-ennam [... or] Šalim-Aššur [...] or Amurru-bāni pay the [x amount of] silver and send Amurru-bāni with it!”

Exaggerating the number of times of repetition or perhaps an actual account of it can also be used to good effect.

OAA 1 76, 28-38: Turaya : *ašʾalma umma šūtma 12 šiqil kaspam ana Iddin-Suʾen āpul. adi šinišu : ašpurakkunūti. ana 3 warḥī kīma itapulūni^(sic) šīm šubātī laqeu Abum-ilī līpulakkunūti.*

šumma lā išqul šibtam uššabam. mīššum mala ṭuppišu lā išqul? mā 12 šiqil Iddin-Su'en išti Turaya ilaqqe. “I asked Turaya who answered: ‘I balanced the 12 shekels of silver for Iddin-Su'en.’ I have already written to you two times. Within 3 months after they have paid the balance and the proceeds from the textiles are received, Abum-ilī should pay the balance to you. If he does not pay, he is to add interest for me. So why has he not paid according to his tablet? Alas, Iddin-Su'en will take the 12 shekels from Turaya.”

The author of the next letter stresses that he has been doing his due diligence by his trade partner, whose silver is in his care. Due to lack of communication, however, he has not handled the silver for a long period of time and cannot wait any longer for his own affairs. He starts his argument by asserting that he has been trying to contact his partner often, phrasing it with the numbers two and three, as well as a Gtn-stem verb.

(A)KT 6 394, 15-27: *adi šinīšu u 3-šalšīšu tîrti illikakkum u ippīya tîrātīm : aštapparakkum. tašpuram umma attāma kaspum ištikama libbiši. libbaka [lū] īde kīma ištu 4 warḥī kaspam aššumika kaššudu. urrani³³⁴ attallak. kaspam ašša kīma iāti ēzib.* “Two or three times, I have written you instructions and I have constantly been sending you instructions in dictation. You wrote, saying: ‘The silver should stay with you.’ You must know that the silver has been held up under your name for 4 months. Tomorrow I am leaving. I left the silver with my representatives.”

A similar reproach about goods remaining unused, the following letter starts with the assertion of having sent letters several times, namely again *adi šinīšu u šalāšīšu*.

(A)KT 6 129, 4-14: *adi šinīšu u šalāšīšu tîrti ana Ālim illikamma umma anākuma šubātī ša ina Ālim ša kīma Pilaḥ-līstar u Adad-rabi mera Buzi išta²umūni umma anākuma šubātī ša ina Ḫaraba nadūni ina panika tablāšunu! attā šubātiya tētazbam.* “Two or three times I sent instructions to the City saying – about the textiles that Pilaḥ-līstar and Adad-rabi, son of Buzi’s representatives have been buying – I said: ‘Remove the textiles that are deposited in Ḫaraba yourselves!’ Yet you left my textiles there.”

The nuisance of having to write letters on the same topic several times, which the merchants all knew, can also be acknowledged as apology or placation in case things had to be delayed.

OAA 1 116, 2-13: *adi kaspim ša mala u šinīšu tašpuranni Aššur u Ilabrat il abīni liṭṭulā ištu ūmim ša aDDurḫumit tallikannima ninnammeru šīmam ša ina šanā'im u 1 manā'im watru unassiḫu. ammala ūmīya werī²um šulušā'u itūrma werī²am me²at bilat butuqqā'ē lū āmur?*

³³⁴ The spelling *u₄-ra-ni* (l. 25) must be a mistake for *urram*.

Aššurma u ilka awīlam ittidīma u : kaspum aqqātiya maqitma adi ūmim annīm šutabbuāti.
 “Concerning the silver, that you wrote about several times – Aššur and Ilabrat, our father’s gods shall be witness –, since the time you came to Durḥumit so we could meet, I carved out a price at a rate exceeding 2:1 mina. As per my term, the copper has tripled, so would I experience losses of 100 talents of copper?³³⁵ Even Aššur and your god have forsaken the gentleman, yet silver fell into my hands and to this day you have always been satisfied.”

Of course, repeated events and actions that did not lead to the desired outcome are not limited to the writing of letters, and so complaints about the fact can be framed in similar ways. The rhetoric of reproaches employed is the same in these instances.

In the following, Aššur-idī, easily irritated, combines in a rhetorical repetition the stock phrase of having written several letters with having expected a response several times in vain.

OAA 1 35, 5-21: *mala u šinīšī^(sic) ašpuram umma anākuma kaspam 30 mana ša šēp : llī-ālim panītim šēbilānim! ālikū : mala u šinīšī^(sic) illikūnim. ammīnim kaspam lā tušēbilānim? apputtum : ippanīmma ālikim 30 mana kaspam šēbilānim!* “I wrote several times, saying: ‘Send me the 30 minas of silver of llī-ālūm’s previous transport!’ Various travellers arrived several times. Why did you not send the silver? Urgent, send the 30 minas of silver with the very next travellers!”

The higher the number, the more potent the hyperbole would obviously be, while bearing the risk of sounding ridiculous. Among the highest numbers, 10 appears quite often, less so 20, but even 100 can be found.³³⁶ The author in the following letter is explaining himself and alludes to proceedings that we unfortunately do not know much about. Since it is Aššur-nādā writing to his father, Aššur-idī, we see the usual irritation in which the two often correspond. Aššur-idī was rarely satisfied with the dealings of his successors.

OAA 1 48, 3-24: *ana šumi nikassiya adi išrīšu taqbiām umma attāma ina kaspiya šuqul! u ina šamši ūšianni umma anākuma lašḥut. umma attāma lā tašahhat! ana mīniya : anāku ušazziz?*

³³⁵ The exact trade technicalities of this passage have been topic of much debate, cf. Veenhof 1972, 451f.; Donbaz and Veenhof 1985, 132; Michel 1991a, 259; Dercksen 1996, 161; OAA 1, 161f. Going by what the letter is trying to express, the terms must be favourable to the author, Iddin-lštar, since he is reaffirming his own liquidity towards his anxious father and boss, Aššur-nādā, who apparently has been informed of some misfortune that befell another acquaintance interlinked with this copper trade. Since Iddin-lštar is singing his own praises, we would follow K.R. Veenhof (1972, 452) and J.G. Dercksen (1996, 161) in taking *ú-na-sí-ḥu* as 1.Sg.c. subjunctive dependent on the oath construction with Aššur *u* Ilabrat *il abīni liṭṭulā*, as opposed to a generalising plural indicative. As to the exact meaning of *šīmam nassuḥum* we suggest it to mean that he managed to shrewdly negotiate a good price, tore out a favourable deal from the negotiating party, contrary to K.R. Veenhof’s suggestion “to collect a purchase price” and following him, J.G. Dercksen with “to collect means of exchange (‘money’, i.e. copper)”. Good comparative material for either interpretation is, however, lacking.

³³⁶ For these hyperbolic examples, which come from outside of our corpus, see Michel 1998, 265.

[u] *kīma lumun libbim anniātum* [taš]apparam Aššur u llabrat liṭṭulā išu^(sic)337 *qātiya ulaqqitma* 3 ½ *mana* 4 *šiqil kaspam šarrupam ana niplātiya ša* 16 *manā*? lū *ašqul*. “Concerning my account, you told me ten times: ‘Pay with my silver!’ However, on the day I left I said: ‘I shall clear it from debts.’ You replied: ‘Do not clear it from debts!’ For which of mine, have I set a representative myself? So, instead of writing these things in a foul mood, Aššur and llabrat shall bear witness, I have scraped together all I had at hand and did indeed pay 3 ½ minas 4 shekels of refined silver for my balance payments of 16 minas each.”

In the following example as well, the emphasis on repeatedly having done as asked serves to placate the addressee and exculpate oneself for the bad news that have to be conveyed.

(A)KT 6 399, 3-25: *ammala tîrtika ša tašpurinni*^(sic) *annakam* Man-maḥir *adi mala u šinīšu upattīšuma umma šūtma mer*?ū *awīlim mādātunu*. Ennam-Aššur *lētiqamma kasapkunu leqeāma u ṭuppam ša kunukkikunu* [a?][?]Ennānim³³⁸ *ša kīma* [x]-šu-ba-ì-lí *u ana iātim aṭaḥḥīma* [...] *kà-ni mala lā a-ša* [...] 1/3 *mana* 3 *šiqil kaspam kunukkīya* Šulum-urdī *naš*?akkum. 3 *šiqil kaspam illi*<bbi> Ali-aḥim. 2 ½ *mana masiam* Damqaya. *abī attā bēlī attā. šumma lā kuāti abī šaniam ulā išu. etqamma kaspam* 1 *mana bûlātika : annī qātka lišbat!* “In accordance with the instructions you sent me, I broke it to Man-maḥir several times, who replied: ‘You sons of the gentleman are many. Ennam-Aššur should travel here, then take your silver and I will transfer the tablet with your seals to Ennānum, [x]-šu-ba-ill’s representative, and to mine, and [...]!’ Šulum-urdī is bringing to you 1/3 mina 3 shekels of silver under my seal. 3 shekels of silver are against Ali-aḥum. 2 ½ minas of washed (copper), Damqaya. You are my father, you are my lord. If not for you, I would not have any other father. Travel here, so, finally, you may get hold of the 1 mina of silver of your assets!”

Using expressions with a stock phrase like *adi mala u šinīšu* demonstrates annoyance with whoever is responsible, and so demands prompt action.³³⁹ Since it is improper to show strong (hostile) emotions too overtly (see below), *adi mala u šinīšu* is perhaps also a routine vehicle to vent irritation.

Emotions

In the context of Mesopotamian epistolography, we mostly talk about emotions in terms of references to emotions with rhetorical purpose, less so showing emotions in, say, phrasing or choice

³³⁷ The spelling *i-šu* (l. 18) is clear from the photo on CDLI (P357350 [last access: 12/12/22]). A form of *išā*?um “to have” would be curious in this syntactical position, so we would suggest emending it to (*ša*) *i-na*.

³³⁸ Here, the preposition *ana* assimilates to the glottal stop of the following word.

³³⁹ An iteration on this idea, would also be the hyperbolic figure of speech of having used up all the clay of a place for writing so many letters to one person, cf. Michel 2023a, 102f. and see the examples above Kt 89/k 232 and (A)KT 4 30.

of words. References to emotions emerge out of specific social situations. Such emotions communicated through a standard lexical repertoire, aimed at a certain purpose in the letters, are – as all rhetoric discussed until now – socially validated.³⁴⁰ This aspect of emotions has been observed many times, for Mesopotamia, e.g. in Neo-Babylonian letters (Hackl et al. 2014, 103), or for Old Assyrian letters by M. Larsen,³⁴¹ who recognises that one needs to distinguish between “discourse on emotion” and “emotional discourse” when talking about the evidence to emotions in the texts.

Even if exploring the neurological or psychological dimension and origin of emotions, or indeed giving a comprehensive universally applicable definition of the English category of ‘emotion’, is not the goal of this chapter, we would still posit that such socially encoded references to emotion derive from what we today may categorise *ad-hoc* as emotion³⁴² and nonetheless refer to a common human experience with which one can, at least, try to empathise, even with a distance of several millennia. For this reason, some reflections on the conceptualisation of emotion are needed, so that we do not merely operationalise the term for the simple purpose of subsuming various stock phrases under a common banner. Considering the main aspects of the major strands of emotion theory, basic emotion theories, constructionist theories, and appraisal theories,³⁴³ K.R. Scherer offers a conciliatory summary of how emotions arise and what their experience entails:

“Individuals are exposed to stimuli, events, or situations generating an ‘overwhelming idea’ of personal significance and potentially requiring some kind of reaction. This sets off a parallel, multi-level, and recursive process to determine, form, or construct the nature of this reaction. The first stage after elicitation is a subjective analysis and evaluation of the eliciting stimulus/event/situation in terms of its consequences, implications, and action requirements, involving a variety of attribution and appraisal mechanisms. The results of this evaluation process, which generally runs through several recursive cycles involving interactions between criteria, produces a synchronised effect on action tendencies and autonomic and somatic responses (including expressions). These in turn, are also evaluated by the appraisal system in the context of the results of situation evaluation until some degree of closure is achieved.

³⁴⁰ For the most recent collection of essays about emotions in the Ancient Near East, see Sonik and Steinert 2023. In the introduction (p. 3f.), the editors already stress the important socio-cultural aspect of emotions.

³⁴¹ Larsen 2001, 278.

³⁴² An exact equivalent to such a category as emotion did not exist anywhere in Mesopotamia (cf., e.g., Jaques 2021, 241).

³⁴³ These denotations are taken from Scherer 2022. For an exhaustive discussion of the approaches in emotion theory, see Scarantino and Sousa 2021. Very roughly put, basic emotion theories (emotions as feelings in Scarantino and Sousa 2021) engage with a subgroup of emotions as constants in the *conditio humana* that are pre-programmed and thus cross-cultural. Appraisal theories (emotions as evaluations) deal with emotions on a cognitivist level as evaluations of situations that elicit and differentiate emotions. Constructionist theories (emotions as motivations) see emotions as reactions built from core affects and affective states that emerge in any individual in any given situation.

The constantly changing evaluation results are represented in the form of continuously updated schemata, which constitute the unconscious representation of an integrated feeling (*qualia*) of the emotional experience (core affect). Parts of this feeling representation can enter consciousness (Scherer, 2005b) and, especially when social communication of the felt experience seems desirable, give rise to categorisation and eventually verbal labelling.”³⁴⁴

What is very important for our discussion, follows in the subsequent paragraph, where K.R. Scherer emphasises that “[a]n important aspect, which is often neglected in emotion theories, is that this process is shaped by the social, cultural, and historic context in which the episode takes place.” This in turn is the focal point for how we must engage in the emotions referred to in the Old Assyrian letters. Critically expounding the cross-linguistic differences in conceptualisations of emotion – and championing the linguistic method of Natural Semantic Metalanguage to describe emotions through basic concepts of any human experience –, A. Wierzbicka provides a simple but far-reaching example. In the English language, emotions are often verbalised as “states” described by adjectives, whereas in Russian, they are rather conceptualised as “inner activities” described by verbs.³⁴⁵ She later stresses that in intersubjective communication of emotions (and empathy), “the most important aspect of emotion” is the “human emotional experience”³⁴⁶ that people can share.

Taking this as a steppingstone to the Old Assyrian world, we can observe that, in the letters, emotions are most often described by verbs attributed to *libbum*,³⁴⁷ the innermost part of an individual, usually translated as “heart”, which is the most important seat of feeling and wanting.³⁴⁸

For the purpose of translation, emotion terms – perhaps more so than other terms – never have exact equivalents in another language, but we still have to provide our interpretation of the individual instances of references to emotions and propose a translation. We also wish to provide the reader with a good basis for judging our particular interpretation. Thus, we describe – as ever – a variety of situations showing how we grasped at the many nuances any given reference to an emotion can have.

³⁴⁴ Scherer 2022, 164f., with a reference to Scherer, Klaus R. (2005): Unconscious Processes in Emotion. The Bulk of the Iceberg. In Lisa Feldman Barrett, Paula M. Niedenthal, Piotr Winkielmann (Eds.): Emotion and Consciousness. New York: Guilford, pp. 321–334. In his paper there is also a useful chart to illustrate this summary, Fig. 1, p. 158.

³⁴⁵ Wierzbicka 2009, 10.

³⁴⁶ Wierzbicka 2009, 11.

³⁴⁷ In general, in Mesopotamia, *libbum* is the most common term from among an array of internal parts of the body associated with emotions, see Steinert 2021, 420–422 listing, also, *kabattum*, *karšum*, and *qerbum* as the more frequent ones.

³⁴⁸ For other parts of the human body associated with like concepts on a Mesopotamian level, see most recently Steinert 2023, 54.

The term *libbum* itself may first serve as point in case for how many different avenues of translation (or omissions of direct translations) need to be considered for each context of the word. The wide spectrum that constructions with *libbum* can take, may already be demonstrated by two conventionalised formulae, *lā libbi ilima*,³⁴⁹ usually idiomatically translated along the lines of “unfortunately” or “sadly”, and *šumma libba/ika* lit. “if it is your wish”, perhaps corresponding well to “if you please”. Both formulae understand *libbum* rather in the realm of what in today’s English would be conceptualised as desire and will rather than emotion, such a distinction is very clearly not a problem in Old Assyrian.

In the stock phrase *lā libbi ilima*, the emotional connotation reappears in its usage rather than its semantics. It does not (necessarily) serve a rhetorical, persuasive purpose but expresses a certain emotional attachment over loss, i.e. regret and sorrow, and serves social expectations in such situations. It is typically used to break the news of someone’s passing who was dear to the letter parties or to talk about economic disaster having struck.

The first example relates that Aššur-ṭāb, the nephew of the letter author, who bears the same name, had died, and requests the normal settlement procedures in such a case.

(A)KT 8 170, 5-15: *ašammēma Aššur-ṭāb lā libbi ilīma mēt. abba’ūa bēlūa attūnu. ina šamši tuppī tašammeāni luqūtam lū panītam lū urkītam zakkiāma kunkāma išti panīmma Abu-šalim ṭurdānim!* “I hear³⁵⁰, Aššur-ṭāb, unfortunately, has died. You are my fathers, my lords. On the day you read my letter, clear the goods, both old and new, seal them and send Abu-šalim at the very next opportunity!”

Something bad has befallen the author of the next example. He is under great economic pressure from his creditors.

OAA 1 66, 3-8: *lā libbi : ilīma miqittum imqutamma ana Uršu ištaprūni*³⁵¹. *ahī attā : ašar šāli’um iṣṣēr bēt abīni lā išallu’u epuš!* “Unfortunately, misfortune has struck me, they have

³⁴⁹ Whether the phrase is to be understood with *ilum* in singular or plural is difficult to say, as it is virtually always written either *lā li-bi i-li-ma* or *lā li-bi dingir-ma*. (A)KT 1 11, 26 writes *lā li-bi i-le-e-ma* indicating a plural understanding of the idiom. H. Hirsch (1972, 38f.) contemplates a reference to the personal deity or “Schutzgott”. Conceptually, it may indeed be quite close to German “leider Gottes”.

³⁵⁰ Since this is a general statement not disclosing whether this information had been imparted by letter or hearsay (and really is of no import to the author in the present text), we likewise translate it in English broadly with “I hear” as in “I come to understand”.

³⁵¹ B. Kienast (1960 no. 36) and after him C. Michel (2001, 202–204) and M.T. Larsen (OAA 1 66) see in *iš-ta-áp-ru-ni šapārum* as “to send a letter” with a ventive ending. This would mean that the mimation was lost, unlike in all other forms occurring in the same letter. It would also mean that the author, Aššur-nādā, purposely wrote the ventive this way. In all his other letters, Aššur-nādā invariably writes a word final /nim/ with the sign NIM and never *ni-im*. We prefer to take it as it is written, making *-ni* an accusative suffix, “they have sent me”. This interpretation moves the problem to the realm of idiomatics, since it may be objected that *šapārum* is only rarely used with persons as direct object. For examples, see above *sub šapārum*. It mostly seems to connote

just sent me (with a message) to Uršu. You are my brother. Act so that no evildoer may harm our father's house!"

Likewise in the next letter, the author incurred silver losses which had even involved a lawsuit.

(A)KT 6 137, 5-8: *ahhūa bēlūa attūnu. lā libbi ilīma ibessā'ē mādūtīm ātamar. kaspam ša išti : Šu-Nūnu tušēbilāninni [Lā]-qēpum : ana [...] ...* "You are my brothers, my lords. Unfortunately, I have suffered great losses. Lā-qēpum [...] the silver you sent me with Šu-Nūnu ..."

The expression *šumma libbika*, usually used to introduce a request, seems to indicate a certain respect towards one's correspondent and a desire not to impede on their freedom of decision too much.³⁵² We find it features whenever writing on behalf of others or no immediate gain for the requestee can be offered.

It certainly suggests freedom of decision in (A)KT 6 375, 15-24 above where two options are given that are well in the realm of normal practice. The main author is putting in a good word for another who apparently is somewhat in arrears with repayments. The owed merchant is said to be well in his right to charge interest, but if he did not it would be deemed a great favour.

The next example uses *šumma libbaka* for relaying a request of someone else. Aššur-rēšī is writing to his father Innaya about an opportunity to purchase gold on behalf of a third-party.

Innāya 40, 3-20: Puzur-Anna *mera* Ilī-ālim *ištu* Ālim *ēli'amma umma šūtma 2 mana ḥurāšam ša Ḥurašānu ana abīka šapkunima šumi tamkārim uddu'uma ana ummeāni izzazu ḥurāšum šūt ana abīni u Pūšu-kēn izzaz : tīrtaka aššēr abīka lillikamma tīrti abīka lillikamma ašar usmatni lū nēpuš. šumma libbaka tīrtaka aššēr* Puzur-Aššur : Buzāzu *u* Puzur-Anna *lillikamma ašrākam awātīm lugammerū!* "Puzur-Anna, son of Ilī-ālum, came up from the City, saying: 'The two minas of gold that Ḥurašānu invested for your father, which is marked with the merchant's name and is available to affiliated traders: that gold is available to our father and Pūšu-kēn. Send notice to your father, so your father sends instructions, and we may act in an adequate manner.' If you please, send instructions to Puzur-Aššur, Buzāzu and Puzur-Anna, so they may settle the matter over there!"

sending someone with a message. So perhaps, Aššur-nādā was sent away to recount the details of what had transpired in Uršu.

³⁵² In this regard, it is similar to the variant *šumma aḫī attā* of *aḫī attā* and *mutatis mutandis* of the other forms of invocation of relation (see above).

Unfortunately, on a broken off piece of what would have been a large tablet, the author of the next example asks for help in some machinations surrounding an Anatolian ruler. This would certainly have involved some risk that the addressees are asked to take.

(A)KT 8 274, 7'-11': *šumma libbikunu ša riāšim rīšā u kukrinīam rubā'am³⁵³ lū nutammī[ma] qātni : luka'ʔilšu*. "If you please, come to assist however possible and we will surely make the Kukrinian ruler swear an oath, so he will be in the palm of our hand."

Returning to the matter at hand of emotion references for rhetorical purpose, the following section lists examples of the most frequent stock phrases referring to emotions, most of which are constructions with *libbum*. As a valid rhetorical strategy, we encounter references to an emotion of either author or addressee, in sum, in c. 15% of letters. Most instances refer to negative emotions, and the rhetoric is along avoiding said emotions by behaving adequately regarding the requests.

libbum marāšum

The most frequent emotion reference is *libbum marāšum*, featuring in c. 5.3% of the letters. We shall first look at references describing the effects of *libbum marāšum*, before approaching what the rhetorically important stock phrases *libbaka lā imarraš* and *libbī lā imarraš* might entail. Whenever *libbum marāšum* has indeed occurred, its mention has a strong impact and as such is used only very rarely. In those cases where such a reference is made, it mostly features in contexts where a third-party is involved, as in the following.

Highly offended, Asānum, Kuliya's *šuḫārum*-servant, is writing to Kuliya detailing problems in the household concerning the mistress⁷ of the house and the other servant-girls who apparently feel deceived after having received certain information from Alpili about Kuliya's (marriage⁷) plans. Many times, Asānum uses emotion terms in his account, mostly forms of *libbum marāšum* to refer to his own distress but also that of the woman in question.

(A)KT 5 18, 3-8, 14: *ammā damqātušu ša Al<p>ili ša ina Tegarama utammiu. parsātika awātim ušēši u šumka damqum ṭappul u anāku ištikama ṭappulāku. (...) mādiš libbī imraš*. "Now this is his quality! That of Alpili whom I made swear in Tegarama. He has disclosed

³⁵³ The nisbe *kukrinīum* clearly qualifies following *rubā'um*. This word order is apparently not so rare when talking about rulers. For further examples of the word order *adjective noun* with two further instances of nisbe + ruler, see Kouwenberg 2017, 261 fn. 32.

confidential matters of yours,³⁵⁴ and your good name is besmirched and together with you I too have been besmirched. (...) I am very troubled by it.”

The matters that Alpili divulged concern the lady of the house, so Asānum, having been away, apparently where Kuliya is staying, is trying to conciliate her, however: (33-37) *libbaša dannišamma mariṣ. ana awātim anniātīm ša Alpili ētawuṣinni ina erābiya 5 ūmē ištiya lā tātawu*. “She is greatly hurt. Because of those words that Alpili said to her, she would not talk with me for 5 days when I arrived.”

Also in the next letter from a mother to her two sons, the mother is having troubles with a debt claimant who causes her *libbum marāṣum*.

(A)KT 8 208, 14-20: *annakam : šāltam ištiya ēpušma libbī danniš uštamriṣ. merūa attūnu. iḥdā!* “Here he quarrels with me and caused me great anguish. You are my sons. Pay heed!”

Rather a more technical use is shown in the following example that deals with legal procedures and the taking of an oath. One of the addressees had the palace seize textiles from the letter author’s house because the addressee suspected those textiles to be his. This dispute now leads the letter author to institute certain legal proceedings against the addressee. If, indeed, it must come to a lawsuit, he asks the addressee to detail in what way he feels wronged and what exactly had led him to his actions, which is phrased as *muṣ libbim*.

(A)KT 8 214, 21-26: *aḥī attā : ša awātim nēnu? šumma ana māmiṣ tapallilī muṣ libbika ana ša kīma <kuāti> lappitamma lutammiūni!* “You are my brother. Are we men of strife? If you would institute proceedings for an oath against me,³⁵⁵ write your grievances to <your> representatives, so they may make me swear!”

Almost as a threat, the reference to *libbum marāṣum* appears in the following instance. Iddin-abum writes to his nephews Ennam-Aššur and Ali-aḥum about copper he took in their names, and now wants them to repay it. The exact financial procedures described are not clear to us, however the consequences are more so. He seems quite eager to shirk all responsibility and squarely put it on his nephews. This is one of many examples that show the emotional investment in the economic transactions directly expressed through terminology referring to emotions.

(A)KT 6 13, 10-22: *aḥḫūattūnu. ana werī'im ša ummeān abīkunu āpulu ammakam iḥdāma ummeāni ṭa'ibāma iāti šaḥḫiṭā! šumma [lā] kīam ma[la] umme[āni] urakkisūninni libbaknu*

³⁵⁴ For the interpretation of the abstract noun from *parsum* as “secluded”, hence “confidential”, see (A)KT 8, 111f. *ad l.* 5.

³⁵⁵ For the specifically Old Assyrian legal term *palālum* describing a formal court procedure prominently involving the swearing of an oath before witnesses, see Veenhof 2018 expanding on Hertel 2013, 364–367.

imarraṣ. “You are my brothers. Take care, there, of the copper that I balanced with your father’s creditors, satisfy the creditors, and withdraw what is mine! If not so, you will have to worry about all that the creditors have bound me to.”

Most often, however, *libbum marāṣum* is used rhetorically as a negative consequence to be avoided by doing as instructed. Syntactically it is used in a paratactical final or consecutive clause of forms of the prohibitive or (stronger) vetitive, like *libbaka lā imarraṣ* or *libbī e imraṣ*. It is usually among the final elements of a request. Since the traders as peers can be expected to show concern for one another, this works both ways with the emotion directed either at the author or the addressee.

For a long enumeration of goods of a caravan transport, the author emphatically asks for assistance during the tax procedures in the palace (probably of Kaneš).

(A)KT 6 143, 4’-7’: *aḥḥ[ūa a]ttūnu. ina re’i[š]³⁵⁶ u[nnutīya ina] ekallim izizzām[a m]imma š[illutum] lā ibaššīma libbī lā ima[rraṣ]*. “You are my brothers. Assist with [my good]s [in] the palace, so that no m[isdeed] whatsoever occurs and I do not need to worry!”

Similar, the following letter is concerned about a large shipment of textiles, copper and tin sold in an Anatolian palace. The palace did buy the textiles but was not interested in the bulk goods as the traders apparently had hoped. They reassure their addressee, however, that they would sell the rest elsewhere on the market. The negative reference to *libbum marāṣum* is used as reassurance before telling their solution to the problem.

KTS 1 18, 14-21: (...) *mimma ana ša nam’ēdim lā iddinniāti. libbaka lā imarraṣ! ina ṣubātī ša tadānim tadnū. lū annakam lū werī’am niddamma kaspam 10 mana nēpašma išti warkiūtīm Addu niṭarradam*. “(... but,) it (= the palace) would not give us anything for that of the bulk. Do not worry! What there was to be sold among the textiles is sold. We will also sell both tin and copper, make 10 minas of silver, and send Addu at a later opportunity.”

In the following example, the letter author informs his trade partners about strict orders by the king and queen of an unspecified place that are designed to counteract smuggling, which due to its profitability was sometimes done by merchants.

(A)KT 6 771, 17-25: *apputtum : annakam u ṣubātī lā tupazzarā u ana ḥarrān suqinnim : mimma lā <ta>šakkanā! apputtum awātum : dannat. mimma e <tu>šēbilāma³⁵⁷ libbaknu e imraṣ*. “Urgent, do not smuggle tin or textiles and do not commit anything to the

³⁵⁶ For the phrase *ina reš* <something/someone> *izizzum*, where *rešum* is frequently written with a glottal stop or glide, like here (l. 5’) *re-i-[iš]*, see Kouwenberg 2017, 457f.

³⁵⁷ It is curious that in both instances of negative modes *lā tašakkanā* and *e tušēbilā* the author omitted the person prefix.

smuggling routes! Urgent, the orders are strict. Don't you send anything, so you will not regret it."

A more idiomatic translation of the final statement could even be "do not send anything or you will regret it." In any case, while regret is obviously not the primary emotion of *libbum marāšum*, we would think this still best conveys the picture in our context-dependent translation.

This negative emotion can also be directed at someone else as its cause; grammatically via an indirect object dependent on the verb *marāšum*. In the following example, Ennam-Aššur is writing to his Anatolian wife and a close associate, Lā-qēp. He is urging them on. Especially Lā-qēp is to send him back his servants, so he can conclude his business and return, for which he also orders some preparations.

(A)KT 6 310, 3-13: *mīššu šā šuḫārūa adi ūmim annīm ammakam wašbūni u anāku aššumišunu annakam saḫrākuni? apputtum iḫdāma šuḫārīya ṭurdānim! ana Lā-qēp qibīma aḫī attā. ina alākiya : libbi lā imarrašakkum. ammala [tīrtiya] ša išti šuḫārīya [illikanni ...] kaspam [...].*
"Why is it that my servants have been staying there to this very day and I have been delayed on their account? Urgent, do send my servants! Speak to Lā-qēp: 'You are my brother. So I must not feel ill-will towards you, when I arrive. [...] the silver [...] in accordance with [the instructions] that [I sent] with my servants!'"

Gathered from all the above examples, *libbum marāšum* refers to a rather broad and general set of negative emotions, which explains why it is the most frequently used emotion reference. It is the general negative emotion, which we can only give a specific translation according to empathetic evaluation of its context. Mostly from emotional hurt to worry and annoyance, it covers a wide array and is used in a number of different situations, in which there is, often, not a specific person at fault but rather the general circumstances of the situation, unlike following *libbum lamānum*.

libbum lamānum

For the most part we may describe *libbum lamānum* as agitation, from being upset to angry. Where *libbum marāšum* occurs in situations that one would want to avoid and that may be due to simple misfortune, *libbum lamānum* is a response to a person's outright wrongdoing. Rhetorically and syntactically the standard use is the same as with *libbum marāšum*, as a cautionary request against causing the emotion as final part of the request. It features in c. 4.9% of the letters.

In the first example, Šu-Kūbum is writing to his trade partners, Pūšu-kēn and Innaya, about a shipment of tin and textiles with the request to advance money on the value of the goods. It seems

important that the silver arrives with Innaya's caravan. This may be connected to the later part of the letter which deals with money for a donkey that Innaya still owes Šu-Kūbum and should also send him. We do not believe that it simply means that Šu-Kūbum would rest easier knowing the silver in Innaya's hands. In the Innaya archive, Šu-Kūbum often appears in financial troubles and relies on his partners' favours. However, he seems to have been disappointed a few times and adds emotion references in his requests.³⁵⁸

Innāya 76, 11-17: *aḥḥūa attūnu annakam u šubātīm mišla leqeāma kaspam meḥrātīm irraminikunu kīma tagammilāninni id'āma kaspam iššēp* Innaya lillikam libbī lā ilammin! "You are my brothers. Take half of the tin and textiles each, and deposit its equivalent in silver yourselves as if doing me a favour, and send the silver with Innaya's caravan, so I do not need to be upset!"

Some instructive examples of *libbum lamānum* have already been mentioned in previous chapters. Directed at the speaker in the first person, in CCT 3 34a, the author is sending several documents to the addressee, imploring him to safeguard them and to not let another mentioned party open them by themselves, which otherwise would upset the author. Directed at the addressee in the second person, in the second part of (A)KT 8 87, the author urgently needs money, which he had already requested three months earlier. Now he fears the need to take it from the addressee's funds which would be an upsetting prospect for any trader.

In the following example, the author is reassuring the addressee that he has done as asked and explicitly done so out of consideration for his addressee to avoid his *libbum lamānum*.

L 29-571, 3-16: *tašapparam iṭṭuppika umma attāma adī ištu* Puru<š>ḥaddim *allakanni Aššur-damiq ana Ālim lā taṭarrad! allakamma kaspam 1 mana u 2 mana išti aḥī ebrī abbe'ālim erriššum^(sic) u anāku addaššum. anāku allibbika lā lamānim aklāšu umma anākuma lā išanakkak adi illakanni eqlum luka'ʾilšu*. "You write me saying in your tablet: 'Until I come back from Puruṣḥaddum, do not send Aššur-damiq to the City! I will come, ask for 1 or two minas for him from brother and friend and give it to him.' For my part, so that you would not be upset, I retained him, saying: 'He is not just harrowing about.'³⁵⁹ Until he comes, business in the field must occupy him.'

³⁵⁸ All letters authored by Šu-Kūbum paint this picture: Innāya 76, 77, 78, 79, 107, 108.

³⁵⁹ M. Ichisar (Imdīlum, 198 ad l. 14) with AHW 1134 s.v. *šakāku(m)* Gt translates the form here as expressing "doing something in vain". Such a meaning for this metaphor fits the context well. For now we translate it a bit more directly but still trying to add a metaphorical spin. *eqlum* in the next sentence, denoting business engagements in the wider area of Anatolia, in its meaning of a field for crops makes the statement almost jocular but is perhaps only an associative coincidence.

Several things have gone awry according to the next letter. In the third and final matter that needs damage control, the author directly expresses his displeasure. Note that this regards addressees the author ranks higher than himself in the address.

Innāya 78, 27-40: *ašpurakkunūti : umma anākuma wardīya : kīma : ērubūninni ṭurdānim : attūnu : Maši-bēlī u lšar-lū-balaṭ tuḥtalliḳā. šumma aḥḥūā : attūnu Šamaš-tappā<?i> Mannum-kī-abīya u Ataya ippanīmma ṭurdānim : šumma [lā šu]nu : ana še'im : ša'amim mamman [lā] išu : šumma : ippanīmma [lā ta]ṭrudāniššunu : kīma kaspī 1 bilat tuḥalliḳāni [...]* *libbī : ilamminakkunūti :!* “I had written to you, saying: ‘Once they arrive, send my servants back!’ Instead, you let Maši-bēlī and lšar-lū-balaṭ disappear. If you are my brothers, send Šamaš-tappā'i, Mannum-kī-abīya and Ataya at the very next opportunity! If not for them, I have no one to buy grain. If you do not send them at the very next opportunity, it will be as though you caused losses of 1 talent of silver [...]. I will be angry with you.”

Another facet is expressed by *lumun libbim rašā'um*, perhaps denoting the formation process of that emotion and stressing its persistence, almost always explicitly towards another person as indirect object, maybe “to become angry with so.” or “to bear anger towards so.”.

In the first example, the author apparently does not trust his addressee to forward an amount of silver as promised. The tone becomes almost threatening.

(A)KT 8 277, 8-22: *šumma warkītī ana Ālim lā tušakšidī 1 manā'um 2/3 mana ina Ālim tašaqqalam. aḥī attā. kaspam ana Ea-bāštī šuqulma warkītī ana Ālim šakšidī! lumun libbim araššiakkum. awātum ša tātawwuni lā šinama. kaspam ana [E]a-bāštī šuqulma [lū a]tḥuāni.* “If you do not forward the silver after me to the City, you will pay me 2/3 mina per every mina. You are my brother. Pay the silver to Ea-bāštī and so forward it after me to the City! I will bear anger towards you. The words you spoke are untrue.³⁶⁰ Pay it to [E]a-bāštī, so we [may] be brothers to each other.”

The author of the next letter is requesting from his two addressees to send silver, in part his in part theirs, to a third party, Kulumaya. He emphatically repeats that request in the closing section with a reference to *lumun libbim*.

(A)KT 6 438, 26-29: *aḥḥūā attūnu. iḥdāma kaspam šēbilā : lumun libbim aKKulumaya lā arašši.* “You are my brothers. Do send the silver! I must/will not bear anger towards Kulumaya.”

³⁶⁰ As K.R. Veenhof ([A]KT 8, 391 ad l. 19) points out, *lā šina* could mean inappropriate or untrue. If it refers to the promise of forwarding the silver, it may rather be untrue in the present instance.

The syntactical construction points to the author experiencing anger because of Kulumaya.³⁶¹ Does he maybe not want to unjustifiedly get angry with Kulumaya for taking longer than necessary to trade with the silver, simply because the addressees did not forward it soon enough? Is he asserting that he will not get angry with Kulumaya, implying that, really, he would direct it at the present addressees?

In an unusual letter, Aššur-idī is writing to his sons about offences of his grandson, Iddin-lštar, for which it seems he wishes to vent his anger (*lumun libbim paṭārum*) on the latter. We know that the relationship between grandfather and grandchildren, whom he had to raise after the children's mother's death, has been a strained one and ended in his grandchildren deserting him, declaring *lā abūni attā* "you are not our father" in OAA 1 22, 29f.

OAA 1 37, 26-35: Iddin-lštar *aššēr ištarrīqīni ana bēt abim ilqeannima u bētam iplušma ētabat*. Iddin-lštar *šabtāma 3 mana kaspam ina kaspišu šašqilāšuma šēbilānimma u lumun libbiya lapṭuršum*. "Iddin-lštar, on top of continuously stealing from me, he took me to the boss's house, then broke into the house and fled. Seize Iddin-lštar, have him pay 3 minas of silver from his own silver and send him to me, so I may release my anger on him!"

Expressions with *libbum* are, of course, only the most common way of referring to emotions. Expressing related phenomena can also occur in other ways; like in the following example, by bodily appearances.³⁶² Somewhat indignant, the author is reaffirming that there is no silver to be had where he is, and the addressee should already be well aware of that. Thus, he does not wish to see a "darkened face" on his trade partner, when they meet. This state of *šulum pānī* appears quite parallel to the expression *libbum lamānum* later in this letter.

Innāya 56, 12-33: *iḫidma kaspam ammakam leqe! mā ina alākika šulum panī lā tukallamanni! šumma bēlī attā kaspum ša Puzur-Su'en ša ilqeu lā iggammarma iḫid kasapka ammakamma leqe! ina ša ištišu batiqtam u watartam alappatakkunni libbaka lā ilammin! umma anākuma addi[?]. liḫidma kaspam liddinakkumma ḫimṭātīm ulappitam. mīnam šazzutika lašpu<r>? ammakam attāma ša[?]il!* "Do take the silver there! Now, do not show me a darkened face when you arrive! If you are my lord, the silver that Puzur-Su'en took must not be spent, so do take the silver over there! Do not be upset for the fact that I register you with him for any amount! I told him: 'I will make a deposit[?]. He should see to it to give you the silver, since he wrote me heated words.' Why should I write to your representatives? Ask them there yourself!"

³⁶¹ Note that M.T. Larsen ([A]KT 6, 240) interprets the construction the other way around, translating "Let me not have to face Kulumaya's anger."

³⁶² For a collection of such idioms, cf. Michel 2010.

The difference to *libbum lamānum* is difficult to grasp, but the D-stem form *libbam lammunum* probably expresses a stronger nuance. Very often it is directed at the affected person, e.g. *libbaka lā tulamman* “do not get angry”. If a person is explicitly the cause of the emotion, they are the subject of the verb, e.g. *libbī lā tulamman* “do not make me angry”. The two main ways in which it is used are either to mitigate the addressee’s response to bad news, or to strengthen the request by appealing to avoid causing the emotion, as it may be expected from traders’ interpersonal conduct.

In the first example, the author apparently could not observe a meeting with his trade partner and wishes to appease him and thereby acknowledges an albeit unavoidable faux pas before explaining the reason for it.

(A)KT 8 96, 3-6: *allānukka abam u bēlam ulā īšu. ašša ištika lā uštammiru libbaka lā tulamman. ulā ana šiamātim allak attīrti bēt abīni allak.* “Besides you, I have no father nor lord. Do not get angry, because I did not meet with you. I am travelling not for purchases³⁶³, but I am travelling on instructions of our father’s firm.”

In the next example, the author writes to his investor, only addressed as *tamkārum* “merchant”, about a shipment of silver for repaying his debts. However, he could apparently not repay everything because of troubles at the trade office. He prefaces his explanation with an appeal to not get angry.

(A)KT 6 806, 14-23: *aḥī attā bēlī attā. ašša aklu’u libbaka lā tulammanakkum. awīlum lā damqum ina ēnīka ana ba’ušiya izzaz. illā idim werī’iam 7 bilat bēt kārim uštašbit.* “You are my brother, you are my lord. Do not get angry, because I held back (some money). A no-good gentleman is about to defame me in your eyes. Without reason, he had the trade office seize 7 talents of copper.”

Also in the following letter, the author is concerned about his goods although the preceding context is quite broken. What follows is, however, most likely a repetition of the request expounded in the broken section of this letter.

Innāya 108, 23-31: [...] *libbī lā tulamman! kīma tagammilannima libbī lā imarrušu epuš! : aḥī attā. iḥidma lū kaspam lū šubātī lū : mimma ištappukūni qātī itaddīma kīma ana kuāti innappuluni u iāti līpulūnimma gimlanni!* “Do not upset me! Act so as to do me a favour and I do not need to worry! You are my brother. Do deposit on my account any silver, or textiles, or whatever else they have stockpiled, so that they balance accounts also for me, as it is balanced for you, and do me this favour!”

³⁶³ Perhaps this implies purchases the author would make for his own business, or maybe the two correspondents had wanted to meet to make plans for shared purchases.

The main ways of phrasing *libbum lamānum*, *lumun libbim rašāʾum*, and *libbam lammunum* all revolve around the same general emotion of being upset or angry with someone else. The exact differences, however, remain difficult to narrow down.

libbum parādum

The third most frequent emotion reference is *libbum parādum*. Featuring in c. 2% of letters, there is, however, a clear gap in frequency compared to the two most frequent ones, *libbum marāšum* and *libbum lamānum*. The pragmatic and syntactical use of *libbum parādum* is the same, in any case: mostly as a request against this emotion. It refers to strong worry or anxiety in situations gone awry or that are of great importance.

In the first example, preparations for a banquet are preoccupying the addressee. The authors wish for his presence among them, away from the banquet preparations. Thus, they are reassuring him that everything is going smoothly also without him. In this context, the reference to *libbum parādum* would point to a strong sense of unease, nervousness, or something stress-related in what was apparently an important social event.

(A)KT 5 14, 21f.: *bappiram ša šākultim u ku-ba-tim bēt tamkārim nilqēma ana aššat lī-bāni niddin : mimma libbaka lā iparrid. kīma awīlūtika luqūtkā ana kaspam taʾʾerma tibʾamma : atalkam! aḥī attā : tīde kī[ma] kaspam 1 šiqil ša qā[timʾ] ana šakulti[m (...)].* “We borrowed beer bread for the feast and *drink*³⁶⁴ from the merchant’s office and gave it to lī-bāni’s wife. Do not be nervous. Per your status as gentleman, convert your goods into silver, then set out and come! You are my brother. Know that every shekel of silver at ha[ndʾ] is for the feast!”

In the next example concerning Šalim-Aššur’s death, his sons, especially Ennam-Aššur, were tasked with settling the accounts of the firm. Stress from the multitude of dealings and a gradual falling-out with his brother, eventually even caused Ennam-Aššur to fall into a depression (see [A]KT 6 287). In the same context, several documents, letters as well as a judicial record ([A]KT 6 289), deal with an amount of lapis lazuli (and other goods) that one of the late Šalim-Aššur’s trade partners, Man-maḥir, was claiming as his due. Some of Ennam-Aššur’s partners have been negotiating with Man-maḥir. In a letter that may very well take Ennam-Aššur’s worsening state of mind into consideration, they detail their mediation and try to carry some of the burden. For stating that they ultimately need Ennam-Aššur to come meet Man-maḥir himself, they start the petition section of the letter with strengthened *mimma libbaka lā iparrid*.

³⁶⁴ K.R. Veenhof tentatively follows a suggestion by J.G. Dercksen to read *ku-<ku>-ba-tim*, a small drinking vessel. Rhetorically, it seems quite clear that this passage is a merism referring to the banquet by mentioning both food and drink.

(A)KT 6 288, 31-35: *ana werī'im u ḥusārim mimma libbaka lā iparrid! alkamma attā u Man-maḥir nāmerāma zakūssa šīm annikika 2 mana 22 1/2 šiqil kaspam Šalim-wardī u Šēp-lštar naš'akkum*^(sic)! “Do not fret at all about the copper and lapis lazuli! Come, so you and Man-maḥir meet, since Šalim-wardī and Šēp-lštar are bringing you the final report about the proceeds of your tin amounting to 2 minas 22 1/2 shekels of silver!”

The author of the following letter had fallen ill and is now writing his trade partner about his convalescence. Presumably there had been a period of silence in his correspondence, maybe his partners had even enquired as to his well-being, so he is announcing his return to business in a reassuring tone. First, he is addressing the worries about the household or firm with *libbum parādum*. Then he focusses on his personal situation with a rare phrase, *mimma ina libbika lā tašakkan*.³⁶⁵ This means that something affects someone, weighs on their mind. In many instances the English phrase “to take something to heart” may be a suitable translation.

Innāya 89, 4-9: *bētkā šalim : mimma libbaka lā iparrid! ana ša amrušuni mimma ina libbika lā tašakkan! Aššur u ilka : qātī iṣṣabtūma : aštilim. išti : paniūtimmera [at]abbi'amma : atallakam*. “Your firm fares well. Do not fret at all! Concerning the fact that I fell ill, do not let it weigh on your mind at all! Aššur and your god took my hand, so I recovered. At the very next opportunity, I will set out and come.”

Fear is often given as a basic translation for *parādum*,³⁶⁶ but this seems to us a bit too broad and strong for the Old Assyrian instances, especially if fear is defined along the lines of “a basic, intense emotion aroused by the detection of imminent threat, involving an immediate alarm reaction that mobilizes the organism by triggering a set of physiological changes,”³⁶⁷ maybe not even in a more mundane understanding, in the sense of “fearing for something”. In the Old Assyrian evidence, we would mostly see *parādum* in the realm of worry and uneasiness.

What rather corresponds to fear and fright is *palāḥum*. Since *palāḥum* refers to a more intense emotional response, it is used much more freely in the texts and is not used in such stock phrases and in syntactically final clauses as in the previous example letters. To note, it is also always used on its own, never in connection with *libbum*.³⁶⁸

³⁶⁵ Another example for *ina libbim šakānum* in our corpus is OAA 1 134, 10.

³⁶⁶ Next to the dictionaries, see, e.g., Larsen 2001, 278; Svärd et al. 2021. Svärd et al. abstracting a description for *parādum* as “disturbing the correct state of things” (p. 476 and 494) even connect it with terror (p. 492).

³⁶⁷ APA Dictionary of Psychology 2023 s.v. fear.

³⁶⁸ In their data analytical investigation of fear words on basis of Oracc (Open Richly Annotated Cuneiform Corpus, <<http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/>>), Svärd et al. (2021, 489) also find that their results do not bear any connections between *libbum* and *palāḥum*, contrary to examples in the dictionaries. We think the authors could have been more confident in their observations and see those few examples with *libbum* in the

We mention here two examples for the use of *palāḫum* to show the range in which it is used. In the first example, the author probably truly fears for the well-being of his addressee. He goes to great lengths to express this concern while explaining himself for having held up another party, Aššur-malik, who should have been on his way to the addressee with more funds.

Innāya 43, 10-26: (...) *kīma awātum : ša ekallim ammakam dannāni<ma> maššarātum šāḫuzāni : aplaḫma umma anākuma : abī ina qaqqirim dannim wašab : u bēt abīya ekallum inaššar. assurri : ina ḥarrānim riksum e innamerma abī : ana šillitim rabītim : e addi u bēt abīya e iḫliq u ekallum libbi abīya e ušamriš. aššiāti Aššur-malik u kaspam akla (...)* “Because the orders of the palace are harsh, here, <and> the guards have been instructed, I became afraid, thinking to myself: ‘My father is in a dangerous situation and the palace is monitoring my father’s house. By no means must a parcel be seen with him on the road, since I must not put my father to great offence, so my father’s house does not fall to ruin and the palace does not cause my father worry.’ For this reason, I have retained Aššur-malik and the silver.”

The next example shows a much more conventional use of fearing for something, being greatly concerned about a matter.

TPAK 1 29, 23-34: *aššumi kaspim annîm : ammakam uzan : Innaya : piteā : aššumi ṭuppim ša Ālim ša Innaya ana Atata : lā itūrma ṭuppam ša Ālim Atata uka²al : aššiāti išti Innaya : ana namgurim palḫāku. šumma ūmē : ana [epā]šim errišūkunu : 2 mana [kaspam² ...] ūmē mala tale²āni šuknāšum!* “Concerning this silver, inform Innaya there. Concerning the tablet of the City that Innaya did not return to Atata, Atata is keeping the tablet of the City. For this reason, I fear for the accord with Innaya. If they ask you for a longer term for the transaction, 2 minas [of silver ... and] set them a term for as long as is possible for you!”

libbam tadānum

The most frequent positive emotion reference is *libbam tadānum*, cheering someone up, helping them gather courage and determination. In short it covers the broad range of lightening someone’s mood under whichever circumstances that may have troubled them. Other people can provide it through their actions, but also positive events like obtaining good merchandise can have such an influence. Most of the time, *libbam tadānum* is asked of someone else as part of the petito, rhetorically accompanying the main request. It is used only sparingly, in c. 1.5% of the letters.

dictionaries as outliers which we would suggest are formed in analogy to the otherwise very common emotion expressions connected to *libbum*.

As with most of the emotion references, the uplifting influence on one's mind of *libbam tadānum* is very often directly connected to economic assets. In the first example, the author lists in great detail people owing him assets. Although much of the *narratio* is broken, it seems the author had intended to gain the funds he needs by selling textiles. As they are not disposable, he asks his trade partners to help him acquire the funds another way. Repeating the main request in the closing section, he uses *libbam dinānim*, where in the broken petition section he had used the expression *ēnēya pit'ā* "(lit.) open my eyes!", with a similar meaning.³⁶⁹

(A)KT 5 16, 23'-28': [...] *lublūnimma : ēn[ēya] pit'ā! : aḥḥūā : a[ttūnu.] išti šīm šubātiya [kīma]*³⁷⁰ *kaspam 1 mana taḥd[am] illakanni epš[āma] libbam dinānim!* " [... and] they shall bring me [...] and so make my eyes beam! You are my brothers. Deal with the proceeds of my textiles so that one extra mina of silver reaches me, and thus encourage me!"

Next, in a broken letter, the author, Šalim-Aššur, is writing home about various points of business, not all of which seem to have gone smoothly. He concludes his letter with a request for good news to cheer him up. This is not the only time that Šalim-Aššur finds himself in economic predicaments and uses this rhetoric (e.g. in [A]KT 6 138 and maybe [A]KT 6 165).

(A)KT 6 163, 31-33: *tīrtakunu damiq[tam ina] pāniya lillikamm[a] libbam dināni[m]!* "Send me a positive notice and give me courage!"

The author of the next letter has been waiting for a long time for a shipment of tin. The *narratio* takes up more than half of the letter for describing how desperately he needs it. In this context, he mentions *libbam tadānum* "to give courage" and its counterpart *libbam rašā'um* "to gather courage, take heart". Ultimately, the author has to complain that he could not gather courage as his request for tin was never fulfilled.

(A)KT 8 190, 4-20: 3 *mana maṭi 3 šiqil kaspam ippanītim ištu Ḫattim išti Šu-Su'en ušēbilakkumma umma anākuma abī šūt. illakma ištu Ālim annakam 10 mana ušēbbalamma libbam iddanam u kaspum 1 šiqil elliamma kaspam ana tamkāriya ana ša ṭuppiya ušebbal. attā umma attāma kaspam aḥātka taḥšaḥma ana ša ṭuppika attidiššim. urkītam ibbāb ḥarrā<ni>ka umma attāma kaspam 1 šiqil ina qātika dinamman annakam 10 mana laš'amma lušēbilakkumma kaspam lēliakkumma libbam riš[i]!* (...) "I, previously, sent you 2 minas 57 shekels of silver with Šu-Su'en from Ḫattum, thinking to myself: 'He is my father. He will go, and, from the City, he will send me 10 minas of tin, and so give me courage. Then every shekel of silver will become available to me and I will send the silver to my creditor as per my

³⁶⁹ See Michel 2010, 356.

³⁷⁰ It is clear that *kīma* needs to be restored, as K.R. Veenhof does, however the syntactic position puts *išti šīm šubātiya*, which belongs to the same context, outside the clause.

tablet.’ Yet you said: ‘Your sister needed the silver, so I gave it to her as per your tablet.’ Later, as you were about to travel, you said: ‘Give me every shekel of silver you have at hand, so I can buy 10 minas of tin, which I shall send to you, so silver may become available to you and you can gather courage!’”

Describing the episode of Ennam-Aššur’s depression,³⁷¹ *libbam tadānum* signifies positive influence that may help in his state and which his peers should be happy to provide.

(A)KT 6 287, 4-18: *mīššu ša ammakam ašar lā abim u ummim nālātinima u muršam ana muršim turaddû? kīma annakam ana bēt ilim turruduma ište ilim ennanātim tēta<na>rrišu*³⁷² *u pani ilika tūtanannunu u aḥum u ebrum libbam iddanakkunni*³⁷³, *attā ammakam kīma awīlim rāqim šanat tātašab ša tīrtam u ḥušaḥḥam la tīšû*. “Why do you^(sg.) lie about, there where there are neither father nor mother and aggravate the illness? Instead of descending to the temple here, to fervently ask for help from the god and continually pray before your god and so brother and friend could comfort you, you have sat there for a year like an empty man who has neither wishes nor needs.”

The exact meaning of *libbam tadānum* in the next example is difficult to establish. The authors are writing about a letter addressed to them and another party, Šu-Enlil, who is absent. They are forwarding the letter to the addressee, hiring a messenger for the purpose (see above for the quote of this part). It is not entirely clear who is to be encouraged. In the syntactical context the absent third-party would be more likely, but it may also be the hired hand although they would perhaps not be called an *awīlum*. In any case the addressee of the present letter is not with either of them, so how is he to encourage them, by letter? And how does the final statement connected by *u* relate to it? Is the content of the forwarded letter so bad that Šu-Enlil would need encouragement?

Innāya 15, 11-19: *nīgurma aššērišu ništapar. ammakam : adi 5 ūmē wašab : libbam ana awīlim din : u našpertaka aššērišu ittablū*. “We have hired (someone) and sent him (with a message) on to him. He is staying there for 5 days. Encourage him and(/since?) they have just brought him your letter.

For an Assyrian merchant, being encouraged by peers, *libbam tadānum*, and being able to gather courage, *libbam rašā’um*, for further exploits is often directly linked to money and trade goods but

³⁷¹ See the discussion above s.v. *libbum parādum* and a full rendering of [A]KT 6 287 below.

³⁷² As a present tense form is expected and we are unaware of a suitable meaning of a Gt form of *erāšum*, we would emend the reading to a Gtn-stem *té-ta-<na>-ri-šu* ((A)KT 6 287, 11) in analogy with the following Gt-form of *unnunum*.

³⁷³ The spelling *i-da-na-ku-nu* ((A)KT 6 287, 14) must be a scribal error for *i-da-na-ku-ni*^l, perhaps caused by the many instances of the subjunctive particle *-u* before this *-ni* subjunctive. It cannot be the dative 2pm which would be *-kunūti*, although the 2pm is invoked in the following sentence.

also to receiving encouraging words. Asking for such encouragement often seems a strong form of asking for favours (*gimillum*).

Emotionality in letters

Showing emotionality in a letter, rather than making conventionalised references to emotions, is typically something to be kept to a minimum. Some facets of emotionality may be confronted with the disapproving accusation or observation of *awātum ḥa/imtātum* or short *ḥimiṭṭum/ḥimṭātum*, often translated as “heated words”.³⁷⁴ Describing letters as such refers to wording perceived as agitated or full of “undue excitement in any form”³⁷⁵. It is the very opposite of a good letter, as shows the reproachful opening of the following letter that likens *ḥimṭātum* to curses, *arrātum*.³⁷⁶ For the remainder of the letter, the author defends himself from what must be the cause of his addressee’s original irritation.

VS 26 52, 2-10: *kīma tīrtim damiqtim damiqtimma šapārimma uzniya patā'im ḥimṭātim u arrātim taštanapparam*. Iddin-abam *anāku ana aplūtim ulā alqēšu u kaspam 1 šiqil ana šērišu lā uta''er* “Instead of only writing positive reports and keeping me informed, you continuously write me heated words and curses. As concerns Iddin-abum, I did not take him as heir and did not pay out a single shekel of silver to him.”

The letter (A)KT 6 328 (cited above) and its response (A)KT 6 329 frame the reactions to *ḥimiṭṭum* as something that should not be mentioned lightly. In the first letter, Damiq-pī-Aššur writes to his business partners, the brothers, Ennam-Aššur and Ali-aḥum, about having received *ḥimṭātum* from the merchant – probably their boss or client – and as a result feels the need to hurry them along. Ennam-Aššur’s reaction to the mention of *ḥimiṭṭum* is not positive, perhaps even indignant.

(A)KT 6 329, 19-27: *kīma kuppā'um māduni ana luqūt tamkārim ša kīma qaqqidiya ulā aštapram. ina naṭtir : kunūti u anāku ulā ša kīma qaqqidiya : aṭarradamma milik luqūtim ša tamkārim amallik*.³⁷⁷ *mīššu ša tašpuranni umma attāma tīrti tamkārim : ḥimiṭṭum : illikam. anāku saḥrākuma ana luqūtim ša tamkārim milikša malākam : lā alte''e : bā'ānim*³⁷⁸ *iāti :*

³⁷⁴ The principal study on the meaning and derivation of *ḥimiṭṭum* from *ḥamāṭum* “to burn, be aglow” is Hirsch 1967. A similar concept may be behind Sumerian *murgu₃* (KAxIZI), combining the signs for “mouth” and “fire”, see Jaques 2017, 195; Steinert 2021, 449f. The connection between heat and anger or great agitation is also shown in the apology letter of a sister after a quarrel with her brother in which she describes herself with *libbī ēm* “(lit.) my heart was hot” (see above, [A]KT 8 165, 8).

³⁷⁵ Larsen 2001, 280.

³⁷⁶ M. Larsen (2001, 280 fn. 34) uses this example to suspect a letter written in anger.

³⁷⁷ For a discussion of the syntactical difficulties in this sentence, see above.

³⁷⁸ Since there is only one addressee and the rest of the letter is written very consistently in the singular, perhaps this overt plural form is a frozen form of an interjection.

tašapparam : apputtum rēš : luqūtim ša tamkārim šašsir : . “Because there is a lot of snow, I did not send any of my representatives for the merchant’s goods. Once you (or I) are freed, then I will in person – or I will send one of my representatives – take a decision about the goods of the merchant. Why is it that you wrote, saying: ‘The merchant sent heated instructions.’ I myself have been delayed and about the goods of the merchant could not take a decision. Come now, it is me you are writing to. Urgent, keep the integrity of the goods of the merchant safe!”³⁷⁹

The specific instances in which *ḥimṭātum* may be used³⁸⁰ underlies a break in social conduct.³⁸¹ Arguments are brought forth in an undue manner which probably also involves heightened emotions that should ideally be bridled.³⁸²

In the next example, *awātum ḥimiṭṭum* is thus seen as an appropriate response to treacherous behaviour of another party. The author had been sent to remind Ennam-Aššur to repay a loan. Ennam-Aššur, however, first claims that he had not been fortunate enough yet to recoup any silver. When pressed to at least repay an earlier debt and the rest only later, he scoffs or lets slip that he will not repay anything but has rather loaned out what silver he had on interest.

CCT 4 30b, 22-31: *umma šūtma tallak lā wašbāti.*³⁸³ *kaspum ibaššīma lā ušebbalšumma mā kaspum ana šibtim illakam. annakam awīlum emūqātam ētawu. awātum ḥimiṭṭam šuprasšumma annakam lā ušasḥaranni!* “He answered: ‘You will go, not stay. There is silver available, but I will not send it to him, really the silver will accumulate interest for me.’ Here, the gentleman has said outrageous things. Write him a heated word, so he does not delay me here any longer!”

As such, references to *ḥimṭātum* are extreme cases and if truly used as a rhetorical strategy are a brutal form of rhetoric and an escalation of relations. It is no wonder that in the following example, Ennam-Aššur’s representatives try to placate Ennam-Aššur who apparently was upset because of an

³⁷⁹ The frequency of word dividers used in the passage having to do with *ḥimiṭṭum* is noticeable. In the rest of the letter of 53 lines, word dividers are clearly used to highlight the sentence structure but never more than one per line.

³⁸⁰ H. Hirsch (1967, 109) summarises his observations on the meaning of *ḥimiṭṭum* as: “den ‘heißen, zornigen’ Worten entsprechend – um ein deutsches Idiom zu verwenden – ‘Brandbriefe’; zugegeben allerdings, daß es auch bei einem solchen Bedeutungsansatz nicht leicht fällt, alle Nuancen des Begriffs auszuschöpfen: zornige, drängende Mahnungen von einem Vorgesetzten, aber vielleicht auch (...) die unverschämte begehrenden Briefe eines Gleichrangigen, der nur fordert, aber von sich aus keine sachlichen, nüchternen, ‘kühlen’ Informationen über günstige Geschäftsabschlüsse geben will.”

³⁸¹ C. Michel (2023b, 237f.) has observed that references to *ḥimṭātum* occur markedly more often in letters exchanged with and authored by women, as do emotion references in general, see below “Distribution of keywords in social context”.

³⁸² Cf. Larsen 2001, 280f.

³⁸³ Note the impolite way of commanding by using an indicative form instead of the imperative.

unspecified matter in the *kārum*, and withhold a letter of his that was perhaps written in too brusque a manner in order to help him save face. Such a letter would certainly be problematic in face of the *kārum* providing important institutional backing and being connected to all merchants.

(A)KT 6 404, 13-27: *ammala našpertini panîtim werî'um ša maššartim 20 mana îter. ammala tîrtika ništa'alma našpertaka ša <ak>kārim tušēbilanni kīma ina ṭuppika awātim 2-šitta u 3-aš dannātim*³⁸⁴ *talpulanni*^(mistake for talputanni) *lā nuštašmēši. umma nēnuma surram ē nušalqēšunu! našpertaka ibašši. ina alākika ennanātim*³⁸⁵ *erišma ennunūnikkum.* “According to our previous letter, the copper from the strongroom was too much by 20 minas. According to your instructions, we deliberated and as concerns your letter that you sent to the *kārum*, because you wrote some harsh words in your text, we did not let them read it. We said: ‘We must not let them take offence!’ So your letter remains here. Ask them for a service and they will grant you the benefit.”

Distribution of rhetorical keys in social context

The collection of individual stock phrases so far shows that their combination is important for conveying precise nuances. The stock phrases represent socially accepted and expected ways to convey additional meaning to a request. As such, any given situation may warrant distinctive rhetoric to convey the letter author’s intentions and evaluation of the situation in such a way that the addressee may readily understand and accept the described circumstances and the entailing request.

Pappi-ilum writing to Innaya about drowning in his son’s debts³⁸⁶ is an ample example for how the author conveys a high degree of urgency and a feeling of desperation through the combined use of a multitude of stock phrases. Observe how the author does not use the basic indicators of urgency, *apputtum* and *naḥādum*. The latter appears only as a play on words, where the author modifies the standard formula to be used in the framing of arguing that he himself does *naḥādum* so now Innaya should do so as well.

³⁸⁴ For *dannātum* and a comparison with *ḥimṭātum*, see also Veenhof 2015, 243f.

³⁸⁵ In contrast to *gimillum*, *ennanātum* denote a favour granted by a higher authority, an institution or a deity.

³⁸⁶ C. Michel translates the pertinent passage *ina šibtīšu amu''at* (l. 8f.) as “Je meurs de son arrestation.” Given the unmistakable reference to interest in the later passages, we posit that already here the author really is concerned about debt, which, for now, he has to bear in his son’s stead. Moreover, the fact that he describes his circumstances at the end of the passage is perhaps partly owed to Innaya not having been immediately involved in the matter but also to the high level of rhetorical effort the author is striving for. He breaks certain conventions. He details specific personal circumstances where it is otherwise enough to only give the information relevant to fulfilling the request and adding the adequate rhetorical embellishment, stock phrases *i.a.*

Innāya 151, 2-30: *adi mala u šinīšu aššumi ša mera Annīnim ašpurakkum u annakamma : ātawakkum. attā mimmašāma ulā tašpuramma uznī : ulā tapti u Dān-Aššur ša napaštiya mēt u balaṭ ulā īdi : ina šibtīšu amuʔʔat : attā : lā tīdê : kīma allān : Dān-Aššur : mamman : lā īšû? aḫī attā : bēlī attā : kīma anāku ana tīrtika : dannīšma naḥdākuni : u tappāʔamma lā īšû : attāma : tīdê : iḫidma gimillam : rabiam : iṣṣēriya šukun! : ina šamši : ṭuppī tašammeu : aṣṣēr : našpertika u attā awātīm : maršātīm tīrtaka : aṣṣēr : mera Annīnim lillikma kaspam šīm annikiya : u ṣubātīya liknukma : ana Dān-Aššur lipqidma [liṭ]rudaššu! : ulā šumma [...] lū īde šu-un-ku [Dān-A]ššur : aṣṣērika littal[kamma ṭur]daššu! annakam ša ušēbilušu[nni] kaspam bēt tamkārim : aṣṣibtīm alqe : šibtum : imaʔʔidma libbī imarraṣ. “I have written to you several times about the topic of Annīnum’s son and have even talked to you here. Yet you did not write anything at all back to me, did not inform me, while I do not know whether Dān-Aššur, who is my life,³⁸⁷ is dead or alive. I am dying from the interest against him. Do you not know that I have no one apart from Dān-Aššur? You are my brother, you are my lord. You, especially, know that, for my part, I greatly pay attention to your instructions and do not have any other partner. Do grant me a great favour! The day you read my letter, additionally to your letter (to me), you must also send instructions with grave words to Annīnum’s son, so he seals the silver proceeds from my tin and my textiles, and entrusts it to Dān-Aššur and sends him here. However, if [not? ...] – he must know šu-un-ku – [Dān-A]ššur should go to [you, then s]end him to me! Concerning the tin I sent to him, I borrowed silver from the merchant house against interest. The interest is accruing and I am distressed.”*

Taking the stock phrases as a case example for Old Assyrian rhetoric, we can start from the individual instance of a letter and try to discern the patterns visible in the entire corpus in which ways the stock phrases are combined to modify a topic. A network graph of all the stock phrases examined so far (Figure 5) serves for easy visualisation. The graph illustrates the frequency of the individual stock phrase in the corpus by the size of its node/vertex. The width of the connecting edges represents the frequency of the co-occurrence of two different stock phrases in the same letter.³⁸⁸ Distance between nodes shows the overall degree of connectedness of a given node. After the necessary steps of pre-processing and data wrangling from our letter database, we used the software Gephi for the

³⁸⁷ The partitive construction *ša napaštiya* (l. 7) (lit. “he is of my life”) evidently expresses the importance Dān-Aššur held for Pappi-ilum.

³⁸⁸ For a higher degree of precision, stock phrases as belonging to the same semantic or thematic context would be desirable but are impractical for the design of our study. Nevertheless, the statistical analysis is not impeded too much by this rougher contextualisation, since often enough letters have one main point to convey whenever rhetorical effort is to be made and the overall tone of the letter and the social context between the letter parties for the most part does not change within one letter.

network visualisation.³⁸⁹ The algorithm ForceAtlas 2 achieves the desired spatialisation, by calculating attraction through edges and repulsion between nodes, thus the graph needs to be read as relations between the individual elements only.³⁹⁰

What immediately catches the eye and confirms the statistical discussions on stock phrases above, is the centrality of *aḥī attā*, and *abī attā* and *bēlī attā*, as well as *naḥādum*. The relative rarity of *naḥādum* compared to *aḥī attā* notwithstanding, the importance of *naḥādum* is striking and shows its importance for basic rhetorical embellishment.

Strongly connected to *naḥādum*, *apputtum* is remarkable because it is rarely used together with the invocation of relation in comparison, especially in the case of *abī attā* and points towards considerations of social hierarchy (see below). Befitting its urgent character, *apputtum* is very often connected to *ina šamši tuppam tašammeu*, in proportion.

The proportion of emotion references overall connected to *aḥī attā* and *naḥādum*, and also *bēlī attā*, as opposed to *abī attā*, is striking. It shows that emotions references are preferred with correspondents at a similar social level.

Generally, the social implications of hierarchy are clearly crucial for the choice of rhetorical device. This becomes already apparent in the observations that concern *aḥī attā* versus those concerning *abī attā*. Figure 6 compares the proportional distribution of stock phrases per letter authored by lower ranking correspondents and addressed to higher ranking ones and *vice versa*. The relative ranking as it is established in the letter address constitutes the assignment to one hierarchical constellation or the other. For a higher degree of precision in the statistical analysis, a sample of only those letters with a single author, not those with groups of authors, was chosen. To note, in the example above, the author ranks himself higher than the addressee. Figure 7 & Figure 8 show a network bearing in mind the social hierarchy among the correspondents. Gender as another important social factor will be discussed below and letters involving women do not factor into the sample of these figures.

The slightly higher proportion of *naḥādum* in the setting of writing from a higher position to someone of lower rank may be owed to the fact that in some scenarios when talking to superiors a terse, matter-of-fact style should be favoured. Where there is rhetorical embellishment, however, there does not seem to be a difference as to hierarchy in using *naḥādum*, as can additionally be gleaned from the rather even distribution of combining *naḥādum* with *aḥī attā*, i.e. talking to someone of equal or lower rank, and with *abī attā*, i.e. talking strictly to a superior.

³⁸⁹ The datasets for the nodes and edges as well as the python script for wrangling the data from the overall letter database created for our thesis is available under <<https://gitlab.com/lapatum/OAepistolography.git>>.

³⁹⁰ See Jacomy et al. 2014.

That *abī attā* appears at all in the portion of high to low is owed to a few outliers, making use of the strong effect that humbling oneself could bring.³⁹¹

As could already be seen from its rare connection to *abī attā* in the general network in Figure 5, *apputtum* is quite unsuitable for talking to anyone but those inferior. The connections of *apputtum* in the setting of low to high (in Figure 8) corroborate this, since the combination with *aḥī attā* and that with *abī attā* are equally rare. In all cases, *apputtum* is most often used together with *naḥādum* by a significant margin. Thus, it serves to stress the urgency and need for directness in a request.

The fact that requesting “every single shekel of silver”, *kaspum 1 šiqil*, is so evenly distributed comes as no surprise. Semantically it simply refers to money, the most important aspect in trade, over which every merchant acts in concert.

Evaluating what it means to ask for a favour, as in *gimillum*, in the trading activities, however, needs to be more granular. Figure 5 shows it evenly distributed. Upon closer inspection of its use in the constellation low to high (Figure 8), it becomes clear that it is mostly used amongst peers but not towards those farther removed in the hierarchy. It is much more often used with those correspondents addressed as *aḥum* than it is with those identified as higher ranking through the address as *abum*.

The *ina šamši tuppam tašammeu* phrases are another curious example. Although not as extreme as *apputtum* they feature much more often in letters sent from higher ups to those lower than the other way around. Semantically, they seem closely related to *apputtum* for urgency and are also relatively often connected to *kaspum 1 šiqil*. Nonetheless, in correspondence from lower standing to higher (according to the letter address), these stock phrases are twice as often attested together with *abī attā* as with *aḥī attā*, that is in those cases with greater hierarchical distance between the correspondents.

Most of the emotion references, especially those subsumed as *libbum marāṣum* and *libbum lamānum* need to be separated into their different stock phrases. In the specific phrasing that is used in reference to oneself, e.g. *libbī lā ilammin*, they tend to feature more often from a position of higher standing, whereas in reference to the correspondent, e.g. *libbaka lā ilammin*, more often from a position of lower standing.

The clear outlier among the emotion references is *libbum parādum*. It features predominantly in letters addressed from lower to higher ranking correspondents. Therefore, we may regard it as

³⁹¹ We have described this rare phenomenon elsewhere, Adelhofer 2020, and summarise below in “Inverting the social hierarchy of the letter address”.

expressing a kind of strong personal investment and distress that is only suitable to be spoken of among peers or towards those of higher rank.

The emphasised request for a letter, especially information, with *uznam patā'um* shows a similar nature as *ina šamši tuppam tašammeu* in that it features more often in letters from higher-ranking authors while being connected most often to *abī attā*, and also *bēlī attā*, in letters addressed to higher-ranking correspondents.

Complaints with *adi mala u šinīšu* about having written several times on the same topic has a rather equal distribution in the letters. It is, however, only rarely said to a higher-ranking person addressed as *abum*.

It is evident that social hierarchy is an important factor in choosing the appropriate language in a letter as well as choosing appropriate strategies of argumentation. Directly expressing urgency and thereby pressuring the correspondents is more permissible coming from persons of high standing (as especially in the case of *apputtum*). Favours are mostly exchanged amongst those of equal standing. Both *ina šamši tuppam tašammeu* and *uznam patā'um* with a high frequency in unequal social constellations may be an expression of social tension in those situations in which their semantic content is needed. They have to do with urgent and perhaps thorough actions being requested. In the example above, Pappi-ilum at first behaves just as may be expected from a superior. The tone changes when he employs the rare combination of *aḫī attā* with *bēlī attā*, indicating the great urgency and need for assistance. "*Gimillam rabiam išṣēriya šukun*" undergoes semantic strengthening of the standard phrase *gimillam šukun*, and the final emotion reference makes the urgency of the situation unmistakably clear.

Summarily looking at the distributions in Figure 6, more rhetorical embellishment seems to be used from a position of higher social standing. We might attribute this to the important factor of urgency that is to be conveyed through it. Persuasion in the sense that someone would have to be persuaded to do something in the first place would not fit the image of how a superior needs to write a letter. Rather it may be the specific quality of action that warrants this persuasion. Inferiors might have to be more careful not to cause irritation and so do not use the discussed rhetorical keywords quite as freely.

For sound conclusions on Old Assyrian society, another important feature, that of gender,³⁹² needs to be considered (see Figure 9). About 13% of letters involve women. This needs to be taken as a caveat

³⁹² For a concrete synthesis in which respects Old Assyrian society can be considered gendered, cf. Michel 2020c, 33–37. Women oversaw the household, they earned good money through the sale of woven textiles and sometimes loaned or invested their money. They also often acted as keepers of social mores beyond the trade networks.

regarding the quality of the quantitative analysis – although compared to other Mesopotamian corpora the number of some 100 letters in our corpus may not seem as low. In c. one third of these letters, women are among a larger group of men as correspondents. In general, the presence of women in mixed groups of addressees does not seem to affect the choice of rhetoric. The instances in which the women are not directly referred to have been filtered out of the dataset visualised in Figure 9. Furthermore, the evidence in our corpus for letters exchanged exclusively between women is too small for meaningful quantification. Thus, the discussion only revolves around how women and men write to each other. Very similar principles apply, however. For instance, women of equal or lower rank may be referred to as *aḫātum*, as already stated above in *invocation of relation*.

The evidence for *aḫī attā* in the section about letters addressed to women comes from letters addressed to both a male and a female correspondent. These letters have not been discarded from the sample because there are both individual male and female correspondents being addressed alternately; *aḫī attā*, of course, referring to the male correspondent.

An interesting observation can be made about *apputtum*. It is used very frequently by both women and men writing to the other gender, irrespective of social hierarchy. This is in stark contrast to the use among men who shy away from using it towards men of a higher rank.

In relation to the comparatively small number of letters featuring women, the number of emotion references is high. Especially men appear to have a propensity for using emotion references when speaking to women. Among the letters from men, there is an even balance between forms like *libbī lā ilammin* (in reference to the male author himself), on the one hand, and *libbiki lā ilammin* (in reference to the female correspondent), on the other. Thus, this does not point to men more readily expressing indignation towards women, but rather that this sphere of rhetorical keys, in general, has more viability in this social set-up.

We observe quite often women explicitly asking favours, in the form of *gimillum*. Men, the other way around, virtually never do. The women in the respective examples always place themselves in a lower position compared to their male correspondents in the letter address. Men typically refrain from using *gimillum* towards men of too much higher a rank. Since the men in these letters are always the women's (probably older) brothers, they may, however, not be too socially distant.

Although similar enough, conduct between men and women, in conclusion, appears to follow slightly altered rules. Certain hierarchical restrictions, as in the case of *apputtum*, do not seem to apply. Women, perhaps, do not (need to) fear hierarchical disparity as much as men when writing to those initially established as superior. The closer social proximity between the correspondents of these letters probably also mitigates more intricate hierarchical considerations.

The rhetorical question: dispute and reconciliation

So far we have avoided discussing in detail traditional rhetorical figures. The rhetorical question, however, warrants an exception since its use permits interesting social observations. Next to repetition, rhetorical questions are the most frequent rhetorical figure in Old Assyrian letters (featuring in c. 11% of letters).

Generally speaking, rhetorical questions evoke in the mind of whoever they are addressed to an implicit and exclusive answer as an assertion.³⁹³ The same communicative functions, divided into deontic, argumentative, and expressive ones, apply to Old Assyrian rhetorical content questions as for Classical Biblical ones in A. Moshavi's (2014) analysis. Functionally by far the most frequent one, however, is the deontic category of criticism or reproaches.

The syntactical character as a question is surprisingly often marked graphically through vowel signs (in the transcription marked with an accent).

A common formula for rhetorical questions uses the tag *lā tīde* "don't you know?", most often as a challenge of an assertion by the addressee (an argumentative function according to A. Moshavi).

In the following letter, Aššur-idī asks to have his *dātum*-payment (here termed *awīl*; see the discussion below under "Social values") at the *kārum* reduced with the argument that his contributions have accumulated to a significant sum over the years anyway. He frames this argument with two rhetorical questions, leading with *lā tīde*.

OAA 1 1, 8-21: *kāram : muḫrāma ište kārim ennanātīm eršānimma ana kaspam 1 manā'im 3 šiḫil laddi. šumma lā imaggurūkunu šalli'āma ammišal awīl lazziz. attūnu lā tīdeā ayyātum maškanātua? ela mala maškattam laškunam? 37 mana nikkassī ašqul. gimillam iššēriya šukunā!* "Turn to the Kārum and ask for a benefit with the Kārum, so that I may deposit only 3 shekels of silver per mina. If they do not agree with you, implore them that I may be responsible for only half a gentleman's share. Do you not know of what kind my investments are? Should I make another investment on top of that? I have paid 37 minas on my account. Do this favour for me!"

Most common, however, are rhetorical why-/*mīššu*-questions, almost always serving criticism.

(A)KT 6 224, 21-28: *apputtum ša šaniūtīm lā taštanammé? mīššu ša aštanammeuma awāt aḫiūtīm taštanammeu? apputtum lā tašallaṭ!* "Urgent, are you really not listening to others? Why is it that I keep hearing that you keep listening to the words of strangers? Urgent, do not act rashly!"

³⁹³ See Ilie 1994, 38–46.

Rhetorical questions exemplify all Old Assyrian rhetoric in that their use presupposes the social notions on which it relies to already be acceptable to the addressee.³⁹⁴ Cognitive research has, moreover, corroborated that rhetorical questions increase processing intensity in unmotivated listeners, so motivate thoughtful attention to the message, while they can have the opposite effect in motivated listeners, serving as a distraction (in spoken language).³⁹⁵ Rhetorical questions strengthen attitudes in addressees towards the message, making it feel more relevant.³⁹⁶ The non-immediate communicative situation in letters is, of course, somewhat different, where the reader can be engaged without the same restraints about time and pace. In Old Assyrian letters we find rhetorical questions very often at the beginning or the end of messages. At the beginning, they introduce the topic to be discussed and emphasise its importance. Used at the end, they usually constitute an additional point for persuasion.

Bearing these points in mind, rhetorical questions have found a special use in letters that aim at resolving disputes which arose from personal fault of one of the correspondents. *Mutatis mutandis* such letters are used for defending against or bringing forward reproaches. These letters follow a specific structure. They always start with a rhetorical question, usually a *mīššu*-question, introducing the topic of contention and casting doubt. Although the rhetorical question is an interpretant to the need of addressing or explaining a problematic situation, objective topical arguments for one's own point are almost never brought forward. A challenge to prove the truth or falsity of the accusation may follow the rhetorical question. A hyperbolic account that suggests the egregiousness of the matter at hand also often follows. From this, the letters shift to a more conciliatory tone, usually stressing the relationship between the correspondents. All this leads up to a request with the goal of resolving the problem arisen from the situation, and of ensuring continued cooperation despite the previous misconduct.³⁹⁷

(A)KT 8 224: *mīššu ša tašpurāninni umma attūnuma alkam šitam nišakkan. tamkārum ina rēšiya izzaz. kaspam 1 mana ašaqqaḷ : kê lallikam. ulā 10 šiqil kaspum ina qātiya ibašši. aḥḥūa attūnu. adi 1 warḥim qaʾiāni! šumma ēmuqātam eppaškunuma mā akkārim illakma kārūm iddakkunu u anāku qadikunuma. abī attā.*³⁹⁸ *šēṭūtake anāku alaqqe? allānuká abam šaniam nīšu? ana Tuḥpiya ettiqma kaspam 10 šiqil u 1/3 mana mala gamriya : alaqqeamma u*

³⁹⁴ For the general enthymematic nature of rhetorical questions, see loussef et al. 2021.

³⁹⁵ Cf. Roskos-Ewoldsen 2003.

³⁹⁶ Cf. Blankenship and Craig 2006.

³⁹⁷ Some pertinent examples already quoted elsewhere are: (A)KT 6 287, 426; CCT 2 6; Innāya 12, 78; KTS 1 15; TPAK 1 36; OAA 1 17.

³⁹⁸ Although the letter has a specific address to only one of the two general addressees at the very beginning, the letter body changes to the singular only towards the end.

*atabbiamma atallakam. abī attā. TE-RI-Ú.*³⁹⁹ “Why is it that you wrote me, saying: ‘Come! We are submitting the expenditures.’ The merchant is watching over me. I am paying 1 mina of silver. How could I come? I do not even have 10 shekels of silver at hand. You are my brothers. Wait one month for me! If he treats you outrageously, alas goes to the *kārum* and the *kārum* makes you appear in court,⁴⁰⁰ I will be at your side. You are my father. Would I hold you in contempt? Do we have another father besides you? I will travel to Tuḥpiya, get 10 shekels or 1/3 mina of silver for my expenses, and then set out and leave. You are my father. TE-RI-Ú.”

The rhetorical structure of letters such as this demonstrates important pragmatic, social considerations in tackling disputes of varied nature. Securing one’s own position and acquitting oneself of possible guilt is a first step. Explicit admissions of any wrongdoing are impossible (see esp. CCT 2 6 and KTS 1 15 below). Moving beyond the specific problem at hand, after having discussed and repudiated it at length, it is imperative to ensure continued cooperation and keep the partnership intact. Rhetorical questions serve as the best vehicle of addressing severe problems while relativising accusations of personal responsibility to such a degree that a break in social relations can be avoided.

Non-verbal rhetoric

A letter as a physical object and a textual entity can convey things beyond the strictly verbal level. Speaking of the letter as an object, there seems to be relatively little variation in the fashioning of the clay tablets and their layout that could be attributed to specific social aspects like the hierarchy between the correspondents or pragmatic ones.⁴⁰¹ At best, more carefully crafted letters may demonstrate where a letter author had learnt their scribal techniques, whether they had been taught by a professional scribe or had learnt it “on the road” or from another family member.⁴⁰²

We did, however, find that details of textual form could reflect rhetorical considerations. Changing the form of the text could set and anticipate expectations an addressee may have for the content.

³⁹⁹ Like K.R. Veenhof, we do not have a good suggestion for the final statement either.

⁴⁰⁰ We follow K.R. Veenhof in his translation. See K.R. Veenhof’s ([A]KT 8, 328) note *ad* ll. 16-19 with the reference to the discussion of this formula in Hertel 2013, 193–196. This so-called “testimony-formula” with *tadānum* concerns the hearing and transfer of witnesses.

⁴⁰¹ C. Michel (2023b) has investigated materiality of letters under the aspect of gender but could not discern differences reflective of whether a man or a woman is the author.

⁴⁰² Here we might mention that K. Hecker (1993) has identified a few texts attributed to scribal training found in Kaneš, among which there is also a multi-column tablet comprising a letter or demonstrating typical phrases in a letter context, kt v/k 7 + uk 31. The tablet talks about several typical matters of letters dealing with problems of misconduct and personal reputation and demonstrates stock phrases on perhaps a somewhat advanced level, e.g. referencing emotions and the status of *awīlum* (see below).

Petitito before narratio

An easy way to convey a sense of urgency is to start the letter body with the *petitio*, a request for immediate action no matter the reason. The norm would be to first establish the situation factually and give reasonings for the involvement of the correspondents in the *narratio*, instead of requesting blind action of the addressees. In certain letters, however, this information only follows the request. For the most part, such information is restricted to the details needed for the successful execution of the request.

(A)KT 6 141, 5-14: *ṭuppēya ḥarrumūtim [ša b]ābātiya amrāma mamman kaspam 1 šiqil ḥabbulanni kaspam u šibassu : šašqilā! ašar tanaṭṭalāni attūnuma ammakam milkā! iḥdāma kaspam šašqilāma ina panīmma šēbilānim! kaspum ša bābātiya lū šaliṭ. allibbi luqūtiya lā tasaḥḥiā!* “Check my certified tablets concerning my outstanding claims and have anyone who owes me even a single shekel of silver pay the silver and its interest! Wherever you see the need, decide there by yourselves! Do have the silver paid and send it at the very next opportunity! The silver of my outstanding claims shall be available! Do not compound it with my merchandise!”

Šalim-Aššur starts his letter to a group of representatives and his sons with an array of breathless instructions to gain him some silver. Only after this initial section does he detail where and how silver is available. Stock phrases like *kaspum 1 šiqil* and *naḥādum* are fittingly used in this context. For the rhetorically loaded closing section of this letter see below. Šalim-Aššur ends his letter with two important social keywords, expecting to see the tasks done diligently (*naḥādum*) and in the manner of a gentleman (*awilūtum*).

Less exasperated and perhaps more anxious, the following letter by Šalimma to her sons, Šu-lštar and Aššur-imittī, concerns a dispute over debts.

(A)KT 8 208, 4-20: *ana Aššur-imittī qibīma merʔī attā : tamalakkī ša ṭuppīya pitiāma⁴⁰³ ṭuppam ša ḥubul lī-bāni šēliāma Šu-lštar lublaššu. annakam : šaltam išteya ēpušma libbī danniš uštamriš. merʔūa attūnu. iḥdā!* “Speak specifically to Aššur-imittī: You are my son. Open^(pl.) my *tamalakkum*-boxes with my tablets and take^(pl.) out the tablet concerning lī-

⁴⁰³ It is curious that Šalimma starts the letter with the clear singular form in *merʔī attā* (directly addressing only one of her sons, Aššur-imittī), but all the imperatives are in the plural. Since there is the specific address line for Aššur-imittī and Šu-lštar mentioned in the third person, she is never directly talking to both her sons. She probably envisioned a group of people together with Aššur-imittī, perhaps for witnessing the act of opening the *tamalakkum*-boxes. Moreover, we prefer this interpretation to seeing forms of a *dativus ethicus* with the dative suffix *-am* in *pī-tī-a-ma* (l. 8) and *šē-li-a-ma* (l. 11) that would read *piteamma* “open for my sake!” and *šēliamma* “take out for my sake!” respectively.

bāni's debt, so Šu-lštar may bring it to me! Here, he quarreled with me and caused me great anguish. You are my sons. Pay heed!"

Šalimma mentions the reason why she needs the specific tablet in question only after the main request and even then, puts more rhetorical effort into persuading her sons to utmost care rather than explaining more about her situation.

Letters of this format are in a way the purest form of Old Assyrian letters, relying heavily on the social validity of requests among members of the trading community without seeing the need for additional explanation or incentive.

Inverting the social hierarchy of the letter address

A distinctive feature of Old Assyrian epistolography is how the structure of the letter address is dictated by the social hierarchy of the correspondents; discussed above.

Briefly digressing from the purely formal aspect of the address, we might add, at this point, that this is an overt demonstration of social norms by a constant positioning of oneself in the group *vis-à-vis* one's correspondents. From the viewpoint of the Durkheimian sociology espoused by M. Horgan, this can be called an act of sacred civility. By a ritual performance of community life for the Assyrian traders, the network between the correspondents is reasserted with each letter.

It is, therefore, all the more significant, when this hierarchical order is purposefully inverted. In situations of great distress and urgency, a higher-ranking author may place themselves lower than their addressees. Contravening the usual practice of the letter address is thus a powerful tool for subverting expectations, although typically only available to those of higher rank. We have investigated the inversion of the letter address in detail elsewhere, calling the specific petitions in which it appears injunctions rather than more neutrally requests.⁴⁰⁴ Thus, we may limit ourselves to illustrating this rhetorical means with one pertinent example that was not discussed in our earlier publication.

(A)KT 6 450: *ana Ennam-Aššur [u] Ali-aḥim [qib]īma umma Šu-Tammuzima [šu]mma aḥḥūa attūnuma : tara''amāni kīma anāku annakam kīma kunūti amtaḥḥuṣuma ana awātikunu azzazzu 26 mana kaspam bēt a[... ..] 2 nīnu : [...]-pu-ta-ni. ašammēma epišti awīlim šaḥlat : šumma awīlum : bētam iṣūma naruqqušu : šalmat [annitum] : lā annitum [tīr]taknu zakūtum lillikam : šumma awīlam tadaggalāma lā idum : kīma iāti mitaḥšāma [...]* "Speak to Ennam-Aššur [and] Ali-aḥum, Šu-Tammuzi says: 'If you are my brothers and love me, like I am

⁴⁰⁴ See Adelhofer 2020.

fighting here on your behalf and look after your affairs, [...] the 26 minas of silver [...] we *are*? two [...]. I hear that the actions of the gentleman are slovenly.⁴⁰⁵ If the gentleman has a house, and his joint-stock fund is in order, send me a thorough report whether it is so or not! If you observe that the gentleman has no sense/is misguided, fight on my behalf and [...]!”

Šu-Tammuzi was a business-partner of Šalim-Aššur’s in Assur of about equal rank.⁴⁰⁶ In their correspondence they place each other first. Šu-Tammuzi was also widely involved in the settlement of accounts following Šalim-Aššur’s death. Regarding this matter, Šalim-Aššur’s sons, Ennam-Aššur and Ali-aḥum, frequently correspond with a group of people, involving several business-partners, and their sister Lamassī, among whom Šu-Tammuzi usually features as the highest-ranking person. In the few letters to Šalim-Aššur’s sons (co-)authored by Šu-Tammuzi he is most often the highest-ranking person overall as well. There is only one exception in a letter written to them by only Šu-Tammuzi himself. M.T. Larsen, therefore, takes this Šu-Tammuzi to be another individual of the same name.⁴⁰⁷ However, the name is very rare and all other instances of a Šu-Tammuzi in the archive pertain quite clearly to the same person. Furthermore, the content of the letter – as far as it is preserved – would fit well the circumstances of Šu-Tammuzi’s involvement with the two brothers as a former representative of their father. Šu-Tammuzi refers elliptically to his considerable efforts on their behalf, which may very well be those for settling Šalim-Aššur’s accounts in Assur. We would, therefore, suggest that it is, in fact, the same Šu-Tammuzi writing a letter but having inverted the hierarchy of the letter address. The rhetoric and tone in the letter body point to the kind of injunction the inversion of the letter address is used for. To note, he uses the invocation of relation with *šumma* plus *ra’āmum*, and the Gt-form of *maḥāṣum* “to fight = to exert oneself” in a parallel construction (in l. 8 *amtaḥḥušu* and l. 24 *mitaḥṣā*) and stresses his own previous efforts for their sake, giving a *quid pro quo*.

⁴⁰⁵ The adjective *šaḥlum* also appears in (A)KT 3 65, l. 30 as *nikkassū šaḥlūtum* and (A)KT 3 88, l. 54 as *awātum šaḥiltum* pointing to a negative meaning like “crude”. M.T. Larsen translates for the present instance “the man’s actions are in disorder”. There exists a comparable adjective in *saḥlum/saḥiltum* so far attested only in lexical texts and as a loanword in some Sumerian texts that seems to mean “clumsy”, see CAD S, 61 s.v. *saḥlu*; Civil 2007, 33 no. 253; Attinger 2021, 1173 s.v. *zu-ḥu-uls.v. zu-ḥu-ul*.

⁴⁰⁶ He appears in connection with Šalim-Aššur’s affairs in (A)KT 6 160, as addressee in (A)KT 6 165, as author in (A)KT 6 170; in the matters of Šalim-Aššur’s death as addressee of Ennam-Aššur and/or Ali-aḥum’s letters in (A)KT 6 214, 230, 231, 232, 294, and as co-author in (A)KT 6 234. He is moreover among Ennam-Aššur’s addressees in (A)KT 6 408, and appears in a complaint by Ennam-Aššur about the situation in Assur after Šalim-Aššur’s death in (A)KT 6 242.

⁴⁰⁷ See M.T. Larsen (A)KT 6a, 17.

Word dividers or punctuation marks

As rare as punctuation is in cuneiform writing,⁴⁰⁸ as inconsistent appears the use of the so-called word divider or word-dividing wedge (transcribed as ‘:’) in Old Assyrian texts.⁴⁰⁹ A word divider is a small vertical wedge, usually placed towards the top of the line. Some texts do not use it at all, others only once or twice, while some few use it in every line.⁴¹⁰ The blank space, the word divider of modern Latin scripts, like the English one, may suggest a relatively clear definition of such a punctuation mark in dividing text word by word for the purpose of comprehension, although orthographical inconsistencies still exist (like for English compound words written with blank spaces, hyphens, or written as one). The term applied to the Old Assyrian graphical mark then shows even greater inconsistency, thus the word divider has largely eluded scientific systematisation so far.

The most general purpose in Old Assyrian texts must certainly be for the sake of legibility according to the writer’s preference and judgement, since orthographic standardisation was quite lax. Rather than words, we can more often observe word dividers delimiting logical or syntactic units, short stereotypical phrases, construct chains etc. In his grammar, K. Hecker cites the impressive example of KUG 34 where the word divider very consistently features 59 times in 46 lines of text.⁴¹¹ Here, the word divider is not placed after prepositions, the conjunctions *u* or enclitic *-ma*, the relative particle *ša*, negation particles, in-between numbers and counted items, construct chains, appositions, or *umma* PN-*ma*. It is, usually, placed between noun and its qualifying adjective. This seems to roughly correspond to a ‘full’ pattern for using word dividers, as opposed to a pattern for only specific, occasional instances within a text. Since a typical line of text counts around three to four words, there rarely ever fits more than one word divider per line.

In addition to claims of inconsistency, the term word divider also calls forth considerations of ‘incorrect’ uses of word dividers, for which K. Hecker provides two examples.⁴¹² The first of which (TC

⁴⁰⁸ Outside of Old Assyrian, punctuation in any sense really only exists in Ugaritic and Old Persian cuneiform, also in the form of ‘inconsistently’ written word dividers. The Ugaritic word divider has the same shape as in Old Assyrian, while Old Persian uses a small oblique wedge or *winkelhaken*. Similar considerations as expounded for Old Assyrian in the following, may well apply to these two, especially Old Persian.

⁴⁰⁹ During and some time after the Old Assyrian period, this punctuation mark is occasionally also used in texts from Northern Mesopotamia, as can be found in the Mari documentation, Colonna d'Istria 2022, 184–191.

⁴¹⁰ For a short synopsis, see Hecker 1968, 12 and, for the most part following K. Hecker, Kouwenberg 2017, 37; see also OAA 1, XL f. and (A)KT 5, 32. Scholars have, however, shied away from a thorough systematisation of the use of word dividers. While the following illustrating of key concepts by pertinent examples is far from a binding systematisation, we still wish to tackle this subject in some detail here, if only to better demonstrate the versatility of this graphical marker. We do plan to provide a dedicated analysis in the near future.

⁴¹¹ Hecker 1968, 12.

⁴¹² Here must stress that such an application of the term ‘word divider’ would first warrant a clear definition of what a word and its orthographic boundaries are in a Semitic/Old Assyrian context – which might admittedly also be beyond the present study. From a different perspective, we could ask ourselves if we should let ourselves be restricted by a seemingly well-defined term like word divider for investigating this graphical marker that sometimes even appears at the end of lines or entire texts.

1 7, l. 7f.) is, however, simply a mistake in the copy.⁴¹³ The second example is a legal text, a protocol with signed witnesses. The text, first, records the witnesses introduced by KIŠIB, where there are no word dividers at all, before proceeding to the subject matter. Because line breaks are important for the present chapter, the following transcriptions reflect them in their formatting more clearly.

KUG 12, 5-14:

(end of witness list) : *umma ša kīma*

Buzāzuma ana Ilī-wē<dā>k(u)-:-ma :

lū bābtam ša nu'ā'ē :

lū šīmam : *ēzibakkum*

lū ibbābtišu išti

tamkārūtīm taltaqqe

ammala dīn kārīm Waḥšušana

tallakma ana warḥim 2

iKKaneš išti Buzāzu

tazakku : (...)

“Buzāzu’s representatives said to Ilī-wēdāku: ‘Be it the outstanding claims of the Anatolians, be it that he left you purchases, be it that you repeatedly took from the outstanding claims owed by merchants, according to the verdict of the kārūm Waḥšušana, you must go and clear yourself with Buzāzu within two months’ time in Kaneš!’”

K. Hecker sees a twofold problem with the word dividers in the passage “*ana Ilī-wē<dā>k(u)-:-ma* : / *lū bābtam ša nu'ā'ē* : /”; first, the word divider in the middle of ‘one’ word in “*Ilī-wēdāk(u)-:-ma*”, second the word dividers at the ends of these two lines. Before discussing these instances, we want to note that the very first word divider of KUG 12 is put just between the witness section and “*umma*” starting the protocol formula and, so-to-speak, the title of the document. A corresponding word divider may be the one following directly after “*ana Ilī-wē<dā>kma* :” at the end of that line of text, closing the direct speech formula for the protocol. All other problematic word dividers in question serve for clearly, graphically separating text on overlapping lines of the tablet that wrap onto the edge; see the copy in Figure 10 together with the photo on CDLI (P283869).

⁴¹³ TC 1 7, 7-8 is copied as 3 GÍN : *i-na* / KÙ.BABBAR-*pí-a* : *dí-šu-ma* with a word divider between the genitive stem *kaspí-* and the possessive suffix *-ya*. Intriguing as this would have been, collation on the photo on CDLI (P357342) shows that the passage is entirely unproblematic, read: 3 GÍN : *i-na* / KÙ.BABBAR-*pí-a* : *dí-šu-ma*. Nevertheless, this demonstrates a notable caveat with analysing word dividers in that, on the one hand, they are easily overlooked, on the other, an erroneously copied or mistaken wedge can be all the more misleading in an Old Assyrian context. Moreover, some modern text copies (and transliterations) may have omitted them altogether regarding them as irrelevant, similar to attitudes towards line rulings.

KUG 12	obverse	edge
l. 5	(...) : <i>um-ma ša</i>	<i>ki-</i>
l. 6	<i>bu-za-zu-ma a-na il₅-we-ak-</i>	<i>-ma</i> (continuing l. 5)
l. 7	<i>lu ba-áb-tám ša nu-a-e :</i>	<i>-ma :</i> (continuing l. 6)

Due to mismanaged line space, the scribe had to not only write on the edge but even squeeze signs onto the following line of the tablet multiple times. The scribe marked off each line of text with graphical indicators, in order to clarify the line distribution as best as possible. Although the text of line 7 ended well on the obverse, the scribe still wanted to make sure that the last sign of text line 6 that was written on the edge in tablet line 7 would not be mistaken to belong to text line 7 (i.e. to avoid reading l. 7 as *nu-a-e-ma*).

Despite this tangle of imprecisions and oversights from ancient scribal practice to modern scholarly analysis, KUG 12, nevertheless, demonstrates that the word divider was a versatile graphical means to demarcate parts of text. Its versatility went much beyond simply dividing words, really was never relegated to that in the first place. Perhaps it might be better to broadly speak of the Old Assyrian ‘punctuation mark’, to avoid following too closely a seemingly clear, implicit definition of a term like word divider.

The most straightforward purpose of the punctuation mark is perhaps to prevent confusion while reading, by marking word boundaries. TPAK 1 26 features only one punctuation mark in the whole text, in the last line (l. 28) *ṭup-pì-šu : ú-šé-bi₄-lu* “they sent his tablets”, perhaps to avoid connecting the vowels in the signs *šu* and *ú*, thus possibly mistaking the verb as something like an imperative. Perhaps similar, with bordering vowels, is (A)KT 6 746, 6-8: *ḥu-ša-e : ʿe^ʿ-ri-šu / e-ma-ri : i-na na-áb-ri-tim / i-ṭá-ar-du* “They ask for metal scraps. They have chased my donkey/the donkeys out of the paddock.” (A)KT 6 773 features only one punctuation mark in (l. 16f.) $\frac{1}{2}$ *ma-na* 1 GÍN *be-ú-lá-at / Ḥa-ni : ni-dí-šum*. “We gave him the $\frac{1}{2}$ mina 1 shekel of Ḥani’s working capital.” Moreover, the punctuation mark seems to be used especially often if the enclitic *-ma* is involved or needs to be avoided.⁴¹⁴ Also, names, especially non-Assyrian ones, are often delimited by punctuation marks, as in (A)KT 3 91 above that only uses them after the names Kukuzi and Šukitum.

⁴¹⁴ See, e.g., (A)KT 6 148, 21; OAA 1 78, 34f.

Differently, (A)KT 6 309 (quoted already above) is an example of a letter in which the sparse punctuation marks are used to delimit topical sections of the letter. First it delineates the two main parts of a citation of an earlier letter.

(A)KT 6 309, 4-10:

adi 10-ešrīšu ašpurakkim

umma anākuma bābtī zakkiāma

adi allakanni šillatum

lā ibašši : u kaspum 1 šiqil limḥurī.

attī kīma šapārimma uzniya

patā'im tîrtiki matīma

ulā illakam.

“I have written to you 10-times, saying: ‘Clear my outstanding claims for me, so until I arrive, there will be no problem and every shekel of silver may reach me!’ Yet you, instead of writing and providing me with information you never send me any notice.”

In a second instance, it marks the change in specific addressees. The first part of the letter is specifically addressed to the author Ennam-Aššur’s wife Anna-anna, in the middle (in a broken section) it changes to both main addressees, Anna-anna and Lā-qēp, and the final part is specifically addressed to Lā-qēp.

(A)KT 6 309, 33-34:

(...)-ma

uznī piteā : ana Lā-qēp

qibīma anāku u attā ataḥwāni.

(...)

“(...) and keep me informed! ^(still addressed to both) Speak to Lā-qēp: ‘You and I are brothers to each other. (...)’”

In general, Ennam-Aššur, son of Šalim-Aššur, seems to prefer using the punctuation mark sparingly and mostly for marking sections of letters. Anna-anna, conversely in her letters, uses it more according to the ‘full pattern’, delimiting logical and syntactical units, when writing to her husband.⁴¹⁵ Writing letters with the ‘full pattern’ of punctuation marks seems also to hinge on social

⁴¹⁵ Anna-anna’s letters with a high frequency of punctuation marks are: (A)KT 6 238; 299; 302b (all addressed to Ennam-Aššur); in contrast to those with sparse punctuation marks: (A)KT 6 239 (to Ennam-Aššur); 314 (to others).

considerations. The majority of such letters appears to be written from a constellation of low rank to high rank, although our database does not yet facilitate a definitive statistical statement, unfortunately.

In the following example of 33 lines, the punctuation mark is only used in the first three lines of the letter body. They seem to mark the main topic of the letter, the author Puzur-Aššur's affairs that should have been concluded a long time ago. In the remainder of the letter, Puzur-Aššur narrates to his representatives the injustices that keep befalling him, despite his correct course of actions.

(A)KT 6 749, 3-6:

ammala tîrtim

ša Zukua : aḫīṭma

ištu 3 warḫī : šīmī

gammer. (...)

“According to Zukua's instructions, I checked, and my purchases have been concluded for 3 months.”

TPAK 1 20 is another good example that is very careful in delimiting topical sections, with the particle *aḫamma* (l. 6, 15), the invocation of relation (l. 9), and lastly with punctuation marks (l. 20, 24).

As far as the text is preserved, the only punctuation mark in Innāya 1 seems to end the letter altogether. In her other letters to her husband, Tarām-Kūbi is usually very diligent in the use of punctuation marks according to the ‘full pattern’.

Accepting, even flirting with the risk of diluting the inherent definition of our proposed term with a pun, punctuation marks can be used rhetorically to punctuate parts of text, to emphasise statements for argumentative purposes.

In the following example (already quoted numerous times above), Šalim-Aššur strategically emphasises the text with punctuation marks. A central point of contention for the letter seems to be that Šalim-Aššur had sent Aluwa away, perhaps, as an urgent messenger to a group of his trade partners. There are only seven punctuation marks used in this letter of 48 lines, and three of them appear in the short sentence that concludes Šalim-Aššur's explanation of why he had sent Aluwa. When he repeats that statement at the very end of the letter, he no longer uses any punctuation marks, since the point has been stressed already and it is in a prominent position anyway.

(A)KT 6 139, 33-49:

(...) aḫī [attā.]

ana umū eṭār[im]

eṭranni. mīššu ša Ali-aḥu[m]
pazzurtī ina Ḥaḥḥim
ēzibu? ḥarrān sukkīnim
pazzurtī lušēribūma
ṣubātūa ana kaspim litūrū.
aššiāti : Aluwa : aṭrudam.
ṣubātē ana dātiya dināma
ṭuppušu luptā : ašar
kaspam 1 šiqil aḥum u ebrum
aḥḥūtam ištiya
ipšūni,
išti šaptišuni^(sic) : pazzurtī šērubam
lā ileʔʔū? mimma luqūtīya u
saptīya^(sic) zakiāma ḥarrānam dinānim!
aššiāti Aluwa aṭrudam.

“You are my brother, save me while I can still be saved! Why did Ali-aḥum leave my smuggling goods in Ḥaḥḥum? They should bring my smuggling goods to the smuggling route, so my textiles can be converted to silver. That is why – I sent – Aluwa. Sell the textiles for my fees and write a tablet about it. Where even a single shekel of silver was to be had, colleague and friend would make them together with me in brotherly bonds, now they cannot carry my smuggling goods together with their wool? Clear every piece of my merchandise and wool and provide me with a caravan! That is why I sent Aluwa.”

The punctuation mark in (l. 42) *luptā : ašar* may either be for clarity or to mark the next main argument. In (l. 46) *šaptišuni : pazzurtī*, where some scribal mistakes might have been caused by agitation, an explanation is more difficult. The punctuation could be to highlight the contrast between *their* wool and *his* goods, where, out of collegiality, a distinction should not be made according to Šalim-Aššur.

The following letter is again very agitated and full of reproaches, displaying an unusual amount of personal ire. The correspondents are in an argument over textiles that they refuse to release to the author Aššur-ennam. In the first 16 lines, there is only one punctuation, probably a reading aid in (l. 8) *um-me-a-ni : i-na /*. Where the main *narratio* concludes and Aššur-ennam turns to attacking his trade partner, the placement of punctuation marks becomes much denser.

TPAK 1 11, 15-38:

(...) *mīnam*

ēpu[ška]ma kīma
awīlim : lamnim
tēpušanni u ana
mētim : taškunanni.
ammā : awīlū : aḥḥūni
ammiūtum lū īdiūma⁴¹⁶
ana epīštim ša tēpušīni
mīnam ḥušaḥḥam :⁴¹⁶
šaniam išūma adi Kaneš
ētiqam : lā ana šumi šubātī
šunūti ētiqam. šumma-min
šubātīya iddinūnim ša
ippāniya : u[šē]ribaššunuma
u ina ēn [um]meānīya
kabtāku lā-min
damiq? : ēnāka attīrtim
iltamnā. kīma ṭuppī
tašmeāni : našpertaka
aššēriya u ašar šubātī
[tē]zibu lillikamma
30 šubātīya u našpertam
iššazzuzātiya lušširūnim.
tīrtaka uqa''a.

“What have I done [to you] that you treated me like a bad gentleman⁴¹⁷ and brought death on me? Well now, the gentlemen, our brothers, over there really know about it. For what other use did the actions that you took against me have? Thus, I travelled to Kaneš, and it was not for the sake of those textiles that I travelled. If they had given me my textiles which I would have assumed responsibility for, and I would have been held in high esteem in the eyes of my creditors, would that not have been a good thing? Your judgement in the matter has worsened. As soon as you read my letter, send a letter to me and to wherever you keep the textiles, so they will release 30 of my textiles and a letter from my representatives. I am waiting for your instructions.”

⁴¹⁶ This punctuation mark graphically sets apart the end of the line (l. 23) from signs still belonging to the previous line but squeezed onto the next, *té-pu*-(l. 22)//-*ši-ni* (l. 23).

⁴¹⁷ For the great significance of the status as a gentleman, see below.

We would argue that the punctuation marks in (l. 17) *awīlim : lamnim* and (l. 19) *mētim : taškunanni* underline the severe vocabulary about a fall in status and death. Likewise, (l. 20) *ammā : awīlū : aḥḥūni* emphasises the effect of the affair on important social relations. The almost gloating clarification that he had not travelled to Kaneš for his textiles but to tell on his partner's ill-doing, is also highlighted by a punctuation mark in (l. 25) *ētiqam : lā ana šumi šubātī / šunūti ētiqam*; the forthright long form of *ana šumi* instead of *aššumi* may well be on purpose too. In (l. 31) *damiq : ēnāka*, it is the parallel construction between the hypothetical *min*-sentence and the contrasting assessment of Aššur-ennam's partner. Finally in (l. 33) *kīma ṭuppī / tašmeāni : našpertaka*, the stock phrase *kīma ṭuppī tašmeāni* is marked, perhaps again for contrast between the author's tablet and the addressee's reply letter.

In conclusion, we can observe how Old Assyrian punctuation marks are used to break up lines of text for the sake of legibility, to clarify readings, as a purely graphical reading aid, to mark formal parts of a text, and to emphasise parts of a text rhetorically or otherwise.

Structuring elements

For ensuring that the relevant information is conveyed clearly in a letter, certain verbal devices may be employed to break up or draw the reader's attention to individual points of information. We have already shown how many of the rhetorical stock phrases, like the invocation of relation, *naḥādum*, *apputtum*, *ina šamši ṭuppam tašammeu*, can also mark the beginning of the *petitio*. Likewise, several devices can be employed to mark the *narratio*, be it directly after the letter heading, or individual topics or *narrationes*. Most common is syntactical topicalisation, followed by particles such as *aššumi* and *adi*, as well as *ana*, *ša*, *u*, *ammala*. That is, of course, not to say that there are not also many letters which seamlessly move from one topic to the next. A tendency can be observed that if the first *narratio* (directly after the heading) is introduced by one of the structural elements of topicalisation, *aššumi*, *adi*, and *ana*, subsequent topics within the same *narratio* do not receive any formal introduction.

There are also devices to better structure the narration itself, such as the opposition pair *ammakam* and *annakam*. *aḥamma* “furthermore, besides” can be used to add to an enumeration – typically, of commodities – an item that is not directly related to the others.

Topicalisation is the most frequent (marked) mode of introducing a topic. However, it can be difficult to distinguish between topicalisation, in the sense of extraposition with a *casus pendens*, on the one hand, and an OSV word order motivated by the object as a “heavy” constituent of a statement.⁴¹⁸ This is the case even if there is a resumptive element, like a verbal suffix, present in the main clause. The suffix can serve semantically for emphasis.⁴¹⁹ The frequent use of logograms without case complements for the most common topics, namely trade commodities, such as silver, tin and textiles, and donkeys complicates the matter further.

Topicalised nouns usually take the nominative case ending.

CCT 4 22b, 4-11: (immediately after the letter heading) *luqūtum lū ša šēp* Amur-ilī *lū [ša šēp]* Aššur-ṭāb *lū ša šēp* Aḥu-[waqar] *mimma luqūtim anni[tim]* *lū annakam lū šūbātī* Aḥu-[waqar] *u* Amur-ilī *ana* Puru[šḥaddim] *lušēribūma ana itaṭlim liddinū*. “Concerning the goods, be they those of Amur-ilī’s caravan, those of Aššur-ṭāb’s [caravan], or those of Aḥu-[waqar]’s caravan, Aḥu-[waqar] and Amur-ilī should bring all these goods, both tin and textiles, into Puruš[ḥaddum] and sell them for cash.”

⁴¹⁸ For SOV vs. OSV word order, both equally frequent in Old Assyrian, see Kouwenberg 2017, 704–707.

⁴¹⁹ Cf. Khan 1988, 159–168; Kouwenberg 2017, 710f.

The equally frequent occurrence of topicalised nouns in the accusative case are explained by case attraction by N.J.C. Kouwenberg,⁴²⁰ as in the following example motivated by the verb *tadānum* in the relative clause specifying the subject matter.

(A)KT 6 731, 5-17: (immediately after the letter heading) *ṭuppam ša tamkārim ša ina Ḫurama addinakkunni šumma kaspam išti tamkārim talqe kaspam ana Amur-šarrassa din! šumma kaspam lā talqe ṭuppam ša tamkārim ḥarmam : ana Amur-šarrassa din!* “Concerning the tablet of the merchant that I gave to you in Ḫurama, if you took the silver owed by the merchant, give the silver to Amur-šarrassa! If you did not take the silver, give the certified tablet of the merchant to Amur-šarrassa!”

The most common structuring particles are the prepositions *aššumi*/(*ana šumi*) and *adi*. There exists a rare variant of *adi* in the form of *adum* or *adū*, see (A)KT 6 224 below.⁴²¹

CCT 2 23, 4-13: (immediately after the letter heading) *aššumi werī'im ša Aššur-nādā ša Ennam-Aššur aḫūšu ištu māt Sawit ušēšianni ammala dīn kārim Ennam-Aššur nišbatma 3 bilat werī'am 5 bilat 40 mana werī'am kunanamā'iam maḥar 2-šina mer'ē ummiānī werī'am ana Ikūn-pīya nipqid.* “Concerning Aššur-nādā’s copper that Ennam-Aššur, his brother, brought up from the land of Sawit, in accordance with the verdict of the Kārum, we have seized Ennam-Aššur and concerning 3 talents of copper, 5 talents 40 minas of copper from Kunanamit, we entrusted the copper to Ikūn-pīya before 2 affiliated traders.”

TPAK 1 2, 3-6: (immediately after the letter heading) *adi kaspim ša libbi Šutaya ša ašpurakkunni kaspam talqe : lā talqe : uznī pite!* “Concerning the silver at Šutaya’s disposal about which I wrote you, inform me whether you took the silver or not!”

Still relatively frequent is the simple preposition *ana*.

Innāya 51, 3-9: (immediately after the letter heading) *ana kaspim ša tamkārim ša taddinannima ṭuppī tēpušuma kaspum aššumi tamkārim u luqūtum eqlam ētiqū 16 šiqil annakam aš'am.* “Concerning the silver of the merchant that you gave to me and for which you fashioned tablets/my tablet that the silver in the name of the merchant and the merchandise travel overland, I bought tin at a rate of 16 shekels (per shekel of silver).”

A simple *ša* is used more infrequently. It introduces a headless relative clause specifying the topic.

(A)KT 6 3, 20-26: (new topic in one *narratio*) *ša 7 mana kaspum šarr[up]um šīm sāmtika : šumma šibta[m i]ššēr tam[kā]rika ilqe [šīmam] ammala ṭuppim ša [...] Dudu luballi[ṭakkum]*

⁴²⁰ Kouwenberg 2017, 708f.

⁴²¹ See Kouwenberg 2017, 422.

“Concerning the 7 minas of refined silver, the proceeds from your carnelian, if he took the interest owed by⁴²² your merchant, Dudu should credit you [for the price] according to the tablet of [...].”

Exceptionally, *ammala* can be used not to refer to the content of an earlier document, in the sense of “according to”, but to introduce a topic. Perhaps this is due to semantic confusion in the example because a document is the subject matter.

CCT 4 16b, 15-19: (immediately after an additional, specific address line) *ammala tuppim ša Nab-Su'en naš'akkunni tuppam šitammeāma*⁴²³ *riksum ištika libši*. “Concerning the tablet that Nab-Su'en is bringing you, read^{Pl} the tablet carefully so that the parcel may remain with you.”

For introducing an additional topic or providing supplementary, not immediately relevant information *u* (the sign Û being favoured over Ú) can be used.

(A)KT 6 310, 28-32: (at the end of the letter) *u šumma Itūr-ilī ēkipma ħarrāššu ana [Ā]lim ittalak ina [...] Ālim šuprānimma lattalkam*. “Also, if Itūr-ilī is preparing to leave on his journey to the City, write me in the [...] of the City so I can leave!”

It can also be combined with another structural element, such as a topicalisation as in the following example.

(A)KT 6 152, 22-25: (after a *petitio*) *u 22 šubātū ša išti Ali-aḥim ibaššiūni ana erbiya ħašḫākšunu. aššēriya šēbilāniššunu*. “Also, concerning the 22 textiles that are at Ali-aḥum's disposal, I need them as my entrance gift. Send them to me!”

In the rare cases when *aḥamma* is not used in an enumeration of commodities but, similar to *u*, to introduce an additional piece of information, it, nevertheless, always pertains to information about a commodity previously not mentioned.

(A)KT 6 763, 5-20: 5 *kutāni ana 2/3 mana maṭi 2 šiqil kaspim addinakkum. ina qerbim 1/3 mana maṭi 2 šiqil kaspam abūka iddinam. 1/3 mana ana bēt kārīm iddin. ammakam ana abīka ta''er! aḥamma 1 kusītam damiqtam ištu 1 šattim addinakkum. 1/3 mana 5 šiqil kaspum šīmša*. “I sold you 5 *kutānum*-textiles for the price of 38 shekels of silver. Of that, your father gave me 18 shekels of silver. He gave 20 shekels to the trade office. There, return

⁴²² For the juridical term *iššēr* (and its relation to other synonymous particles) to mark a debtor, see Ulshöfer 2003, esp. 667.

⁴²³ The letter is addressed to a group of people. While the tablet at hand is destined only for one of them, they apparently should all take note of its content, so none of them may raise objections concerning the ensuing procedures.

to your father! Furthermore, I sold you 1 fine *kusītum*-garment one year ago. Its price is 25 shekels of silver.”

ammakam – annakam

The locative adverbs *ammakam* “there” and *annakam* “here” can serve to structure the letter body, coordinating whether a passage concerns the author or the addressee. As N.J.C. Kouwenberg already observed: “A typical use of *annākam* and *ammākam* in letters – often in direct opposition – is to inform the reader that the following statement concerns the writer and describes the writer's situation, actions or intentions (*annākam*) or that it concerns the addressee, for instance, to tell him news that is relevant to him or to inform him what the writer expects from him (*ammākam*). They particularly alert the addressee to a change of setting.”⁴²⁴ C. 5% of letters show *ammakam* and *annakam* in such an opposition.

The following two examples shall first give an impression of possible uses of *ammakam* and *annakam*:

(A)KT 6 161, 3-10: *1 mana kaspum ša (...) annakam šaqālam qabiūni annakam kaspam šabuāku* “The 1 mina of silver that (...) they promised to pay here: I have been paid the silver here.” The two *annakam* stress that the information provided relates to the author and that the following request, which is to be executed (implicitly) there where the addressees are, would be in consequence of it. Moreover, the two *annakam* also serve the chronological rather than purely local narration that the promise was fulfilled just as agreed.

Innāya 106, 22-28: *attūnuma tīdeā : kīma rigmātim ammakam Aššur-bani u Kura ritagmūma iKKaneš ētawūni : annakam bāb ḥarrānišu nišbassuma umma šūtma (...)* “You need to remember that Aššur-bani and Kura quarrelled with each other there and litigated in Kaneš. Here, we seized him (= Kura), who said the following (...).” This is a fast-paced example of the alternation between *ammakam* and *annakam*.

The opposition of *ammakam* and *annakam* can further serve to structure the letter in *narratio* and *petitio*. Commonly *annakam* would introduce the *narratio* as it would pertain to the letter author and *ammakam* the *petitio*.

(A)KT 6 224, 3-5, 18f.: *annakam adu ummiān abīni : awēlū 2^{šina} imtagrūni (...) u att[āma] ammakam lū zakuāti* “Here, two gentlemen have agreed with me concerning our father’s investor (...) Thus you too ought to clear yourself there!”

⁴²⁴ Kouwenberg 2017, 341.

Innāya 114, 3-13: *annakam ½ mana kaspam ana Innaya ḥabbulāku. ammakam ina werī'im ša Iddin-Ištar ša ana Ennam-Aššur mera' Annīnim habbulu ša ½ mana kaspam leqēma ana Innaya šēbilam!* “Here, I owe Innaya ½ mina of silver. There, take ½ mina of silver in copper that belongs to Iddin-Ištar who owes it to Ennam-Aššur, son of Annīnum, and send it to Innaya!”

The two particles can also be used in this way without their explicit counterpart, especially if the change in perspective is indicated in another way.

Innāya 111, 28-31: *abī attā bēlī attā. ammakamma ana awīlim punuma umma attāma (...)* “You are my father, you are my lord. There, confront the man saying the following (...)” Here the *petitio* is explicitly introduced with the invocation of relation immediately followed by *ammakam* with enclitic *-ma*.

Especially *annakam* can also help to set the scene and expectations at the beginning of letters. Additionally to the example (A)KT 6 161 above, see the following:

(A)KT 6 113, 2-4: *ṭuppaka annakam Šu-Ištar Aššur-malik Šalim-Aššur išme'ūma umma šunūma (...)* “Here, Šu-Ištar, Aššur-malik (and) Šalim-Aššur read your letter and said the following (...)” This is a purely informative letter without direct petition. *annakam* starts the letter and its information section off and shows that one might expect this section to continue until its counterpart *ammakam* may introduce the *petitio*.

OAA 1 107, 3-9: *annakamma aššumi šubātē ša Išmid-ilim unaḥḥidka ana panika šupurma Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur ana panika lētiqamma šubātē ša Išmid-ilim šulluṭma dīššum!* “Here, I instructed you about Išmid-ilum’s textiles. Write ahead of you(= before you leave?), so Ṭab-šilli-Aššur may set out towards you and then give him Išmid-ilum’s textiles at your responsibility.” It is difficult to gauge the author’s intentions with the emphasised *annakam* here. Maybe it expresses that it has been a long time because the addressee had had time to travel from Assur to Anatolia but had not yet done as asked. Perhaps it is intended to give the addressee the necessary authority to hand over the author’s goods to a third party that would carry out the original plan. The addressee did evidently not have a letter that would also have legal power with the exact instructions but could only claim to have been instructed vocally.

A vivid example of a constant alternation of *ammakam* and *annakam* is the dramatic letter concerning Ennam-Aššur’s depression and the mishandling of settlement procedures, discussed already above. The authors are very concerned with describing the opportunities of Ennam-Aššur himself, on the one hand, and theirs as his remote supporters, on the other hand.

(A)KT 6 287: *mīššu ša **ammakam** ašar lā abim u ummim nālātinima u muršam ana muršim turaddû? kīma **annakam** ana bēt ilim turruduma ište ilim ennanātim tēta<na>rrišu u pani ilika tūtanannunu u aḥum u ebrum libbam iddanakkunni^l, attā **ammakam** kīma awīlim raqīm šanat tātašab ša tīrtam u ḥušaḥḥam lā tīšû. **annakam** ummiānū abīkunu ša kīma ina panītim tētatarrišanni⁴²⁵ ana aḥīka ukallūma u kīma aḥīka wedinima u aššumika magāram ula imū^a. apputtum ina šamši ṭuppini tašammeu tib’amma atalkam. u aḥḫiūtum itabbulūka. kaspam 10 šiqil lū ana emārī lū ana ḥiššānim gumurma tib’amma atalkam! : **annakam** bēt abīkunu zakkiā. mamman šalium ina šērikunu la išalla. ūmšuma bēl awāti<k>nu ina awāti iraddeūkunu. “Why is it that you^(Sg.) lie about, **there** where there are neither father nor mother and aggravate the illness? Instead of descending to the temple **here**, to fervently ask for help from the god and continually pray before your god and so colleague and friend could comfort you, you have sat **there** for a year like an empty man who has neither wishes nor needs. **Here**, Your^(Pl.)⁴²⁶ father’s investors are holding back for your brother what earlier you^(Sg./Pl.?) kept asking me for, but since he is alone, he did not want to agree on your behalf. Urgently, as soon as you read our letter, set out and come. Otherwise, strangers might carry you away. Spend some 10 shekels of silver either on donkeys or a pole⁴²⁷ and set out and come. Clear your^(Pl.) father’s house **here**. No evildoer must swindle you. Until today your litigants drag you to court.”*

⁴²⁵ Hecker 1966, 124f.+145 and Kouwenberg 2017, 512^{fn.2}+514 disbelieve the existence of perfect forms of the Gt-stem and Gtn-stem in Old Assyrian and ascribe examples to dittography.

⁴²⁶ Both brothers are witnesses to this letter, however one is listed among the authors while the other is the addressee.

⁴²⁷ Dercksen 2007, 30+33 translates *ḥiššānum* as “pole” in the context of BIN 6 258 among other wooden objects, such as boards, wagons, and ploughs. It seems fitting for a journey from Kaneš to Assur. Suggesting travelling to Assur either on donkeyback or on foot, probably stresses that Ennam-Aššur should come under any circumstances. The mode of transportation otherwise be a matter of prestige for a merchant, see below Innāya 235.

Social values

The rhetoric in the merchants' letters can typically rely on the social relations and expectations held within the social networks. As a basis, traders may obviously hold their fellow traders to want to conduct trade and expect them to reinvest into the trade regularly and in perpetuity. The trade networks rely wholly on the interpersonal relationships of the traders and the pervasive norms of their community. The frequent enough metaphor of hungry goods (see above the example of OAA 1 17) and the ready complaints if goods do lie idle for too long show the desire for constant retrading clearly.

One Šalim-Aššur writing an accusatory letter to Pūšu-kēn demonstrates well the potential for conflict and stress that arise from having to keep the cycle of trade going. Šalim-Aššur feels put under undue pressure because of a disruption of trade. He, however, always acknowledges the need to keep the trade flowing. It is rather that he sees his own circumstances as more dire than those of his correspondent.

TC 3/1 32, 18-37: *ištu kasapka ša Adad-bani 40 mana gamrūni Aššur liṭṭul 1 ½ mana aššumika ašqulma 5 warḥi lū ibbe'il. adi eqlam aturranni Adad-bani ṭarādam lā ile'ūni. attā iāti appūtiyama ina ṭuppika tašappara<m> kīma awīlim ḥalpim ištu 1 me'at bēri eqlim. šummamin mētāku naruqqimin tatbal. Aššur u ilī ummiānīya liṭṭulā ummiākka ša kaspam iddinakkunni kīma iāti annaruqqika u 1 šiqil kasapka lā maršu [u] lumun [libb]im iāti tašapparam. [...]* "After the 40 minas of your silver that were (with?) Adad-bani had been spent, – Aššur may bear witness – I paid 1 ½ mina in your name and for 5 months it truly was inaccessible for (my) use.⁴²⁸ Until I return from abroad, they are unable to send Adad-bani. Yet you write to me of all people like a devious gentleman from a distance of 100 double-hours away. If I were dead, you would simply carry off my capital. Aššur and the gods of my creditors may bear witness – your creditor who gave you silver was not concerned about your capital, about even a single shekel of your silver, like I was. Yet, it is to me that you write grievances. [...]"

In the world of the merchants, social status is inextricably linked to assiduity and success in trade. Success can be materially expressed by carrying and – later in a merchant's life – investing in a *naruqqum* "joint-stock fund", cultic investments such as the *ikribum*, or, as is emphasised especially by women in Assur, by investing locally, buying real estates, dedicating daughters to the temple.⁴²⁹

⁴²⁸ The use of the N-stem form of *be'ālum* indicates that the silver was advanced by the author on behalf of his addressee to another party for trade, thus it was blocked for the author's personal use for a credit period of 5 months because it was being used by another; see for *be'ālum* Veenhof 1972, 409–412.

⁴²⁹ For a synopsis elaborating on these points under the purview of what it means to be rich or poor in Old Assyrian society, see Michel 2008d.

Success following assiduity is in large part why and how so many letters urge on the addressees with fulfilling their trade-related requests. The social dimension of successful trading is uniquely expressed in the following letter, where monetary value is directly attached to social standing, denoted as *bāštum* “prestige”. With rhetorical fervour, Aššur-šamši reproaches Ennam-Aššur for not having heeded his repeated request and praises as counterexample his own merits in his conduct as Ennam-Aššur’s trade partner.

(A)KT 6 426, 3-5': *a[di] mal[a u šinišu] ašpurakk[um] [umma] anākuma [tu]ppam ša Aššur-rēši šēbi[la]m! attā tīrtakama lā illakam. [ma]lama kaspim 10 šiqil bāštam ulā artaš'akkum u gimillaka ta'uram ulā alte'e? Aššur u ilū ebbarūtim liṭṭulā. ana kaspim ammîm ša kaspim 5 mana⁴³⁰ awātka šamā'am lū ale'e u gimillaka⁴³¹ ta'ura[m lū ale'e] [...] [iššamši]⁴³² ṭuppi [(...) t]ašammeu ṭuppam [(...) š]a šuhārim [ana] mera Lalim di[nma] [l]ublam! awilūtumma.⁴³³*

“I have written to you several times, saying: ‘Send me Aššur-rēši’s tablet!’ Yet you have not sent me any notice. Have I not acquired prestige worth just 10 shekels of silver for you and have I not been able to return your favours? Aššur and the gods of friendship shall bear witness: as pertains to that other silver, I am even able to follow your words about 5 minas of silver, and [I am able] to return your favours! [...] [The day] you read my letter/the letters [of? (...)] give the tablet of/about the servant to Lalum’s son, so he may bring it! That would indeed be gentlemanlike manner.”

The concept behind the concluding remark *awilūtumma* will be the topic of much of the present chapter below. The abstract noun *awilūtum*, being and behaving like an *awilum*, encapsulates what it means to be an acknowledged trader.

The importance of personal reputation and probably also accountability is, furthermore, exemplified in a letter detailing problems with selling textiles to another trade partner. Since their ownership is not formally disclosed on any label, Išār-bēlī is indignant about having to buy unattributed textiles.

⁴³⁰ It is clear that the complex syntax of *ana kaspim ammîm ša kaspim 5 mana awātka* (l. 18-20) serves as emphatic response to the earlier rhetorical question. Instead of the relative clause preceding its head, it may also depend on *kaspim ammîm*. In any case, this would still be purposely convoluted syntax for emphasis. We would then translate along the lines of “as pertains to that other silver that amounts to 5 minas of silver, I am able to follow your words.”

⁴³¹ As M.T. Larsen ([A]KT 6b, 227 ad l. 22) observes, *gimillum* is written strangely and unorthographically: *giš-im-mi-lá-kà* (l. 22 as opposed to previous *giš-mi-lá-kà* in l. 12). We would suggest that it is an attempt at marking emphasis, just like the previous phrase does in contrast to the rhetorical question.

⁴³² M.T. Larsen reconstructs *kīma*, however the verb form in the following line *tašammeu* is certain and *kīma* as a temporal conjunction always uses a preterite. So we have to restore either *iššamši* or *inūmi*.

⁴³³ We take this as the end of the letter although it could possibly also continue on a now lost tablet supplement. Since enclitic *-ma* never functions as copula in Old Assyrian, it may simply serve emphasis here.

(A)KT 11 69, 2-17: *adi lšār-bēlī ša tašpuranni umma attāma 10 šubātī damqūtim u ša qātim diššum! adi mala u šinīšu aqbīšum umma anākuma ana mala tîrti awīlim šubātī alkam leqe! laqā'am lā imū'a umma šūtma mīnam pa'am šubātī taddanam ša šumum lā ibaššiu? kī'amma lalqe?* "Concerning lšār-bēlī whom you wrote me about, saying: 'Sell him 10 good-quality and normal quality⁴³⁴ textiles!' I talked to him several times, saying: 'According to the gentleman's instructions, come take the textiles!' He refused to take them, saying: 'Why do you promise textiles to me that do not have a name on them? Should I take them just like that?'"

Sealing or writing the name of the owner/seller on the hem must be a common practice that is sometimes explicitly requested in the texts.⁴³⁵ Personal accountability and perhaps a trader's reputation could have played a part in the value of goods. (A)KT 8 82 quoted above makes it clear that the textiles that are to be shipped belong to Elamma but that they should only be marked anonymously as *ša tamkārim* "belonging to the merchant", here perhaps in order to evade their seizing by Elamma's creditors. Generally, marking goods in this way makes them easily transferable between traders. Albeit anonymous, the textiles should still have a label. A label of ownership would probably also have been necessary for the purpose of taxes and clearances.⁴³⁶ It could otherwise rouse suspicion that the goods had been smuggled or in some other way illicitly handled. In any case, it must have been improper to deal with textiles that did not possess any such labelling.

In the following letter, an Anatolian trader, Huḫarimataku, uses the reputation connected to one's name to gain a desirable position himself. He writes to his boss, Innaya, that he should be given a mule (much more costly than even a donkey) on a favourable loan in order to ride to an important gathering. Arriving as a pauper on foot would otherwise also reflect badly on Innaya by association.

Innāya 235, : *anāku meraka : attā abī. perdam⁴³⁷ ammiām dinam! ana sikattim allak. ku'āum : meraka : anāku ina šēpiya : allak? dinaššuma ana sikattim larkabma lū šumka.* "I am your son, you are my father. Give me that mule! I am going to the *sikattum*. It is your son that I am. Must I go on foot? Give it to me, so I may ride to the *sikattum*, and for the sake of your name!"

⁴³⁴ For the levels of quality of textiles, see Michel and Veenhof 2010, 246f.

⁴³⁵ This is mentioned, e.g., in OAA 1 98, (A)KT 6 769, (A)KT 6 777, (A)KT 8 82, (A)KT 11 103 and 121.

⁴³⁶ In the case of those who paid the *dātum* fee, we know that they were exempt from the transport tariff *šaddu'atum*. K.R. Veenhof (1972, 274–278) and M.T. Larsen (1976, 264) discuss the example of BIN 6 101 in this context. This text deals with goods belonging to a *tamkārum* whom the transporter does not want to name when asked for the purpose of paying *šaddu'atum* at the *kārum*. We also know of enough examples where people in possession of specific goods were registered with the *kārum* for the purpose of taxation, cf. Dercksen 2004, 112–118.

⁴³⁷ Written *me-er-dam* (l. 4) must be *pé¹-er-dam*.

In another letter, Aššur-rē'ī explains his tardiness in fulfilling his trade obligations. He closes the letter with a rhetorical question reasserting that there is no reason for worry since he always lives up to his commitments. The anecdotal answer to the rhetorical question refers to *purū'um*, a form of denunciation out of doubt of a trader's integrity and liquidity, that may involve the seizing of assets.⁴³⁸ Asserting that no *purū'um* has taken place although the author currently does not have any funds available reassures his reputation as a competent trader.

TPAK 1 7, 27-31: *bēlī attā. lā tīdé kīma kaspam 1 šiqil ina qātiya lā ibaššiu u purū'ī lā i<šša>kkan*. "You are my lord. Do you not know that I do not have a single shekel of silver at hand? Yet, my integrity as a merchant is not being called into question."

Such considerations also played a role in being an *awīlum*, an important label for being a respected member of the trading circles, and in maintaining this status in the eyes of the trading community. It has become customary to translate *awīlum* as gentleman, borrowing a term that also denotes or used to denote a far-reaching and vague social construct attributed to the upper echelons of society that in many periods needed to be constantly renegotiated within society. The term gentleman originally (for most of medieval times) more clearly delimited social status equivalent to that of the *nobiles*, meaning anything from free men to nobility, but continued changing with (English) society. In the late 19th/early 20th century under the social changes of the Victorian age, it had gained manifold meaning that fits well the usage of *awīlum* also: "On the one hand, *gentlemen* could be a mere synonym of *men* – used at public places and occasions to distinguish male persons from

⁴³⁸ The term *purū'um* (always in collocation with *šakānum*) is difficult to grasp in its exact implications. It is usually translated as "harassment; denunciation". A negative social, public facet seems important, often *purū'um* happens in the public space of the *kārum*. From the view of the affected party, *purū'um* seems to always involve demands for payment of silver or goods that go beyond that person's means or perhaps even involve a confiscation of goods. For examples, see CAD p, 535 s.v. *purū'u*, and Lewy 1939, although the connection to *pūrum* "lot" seems questionable (cf. Kienast 1960, 38, ad no. 27 l. 17f.). K.R. Veenhof (2014, 359) proposes a derivation from *parā'um* "to speak (insultingly)", cf. CAD P, 209 s.v. *parū* B. We prefer following K.R. Veenhof's suggestion, as *purū'um* always seems to be connected to goods of bad quality or the inability to repay debts and publicised knowledge of these circumstances. In OAA 1 116, 19-32, *purū'um* is even something that can be scheduled for a specific day and involves the seizing of merchandise: *ša mera Anninim ša tīdeu annakam u itrassu ište Tāb-šilli-Aššur aššēbulim izzizma iššamši luqūtum ušanni Tāb-Aššur mera Ešu-bāni ērubma umma šūtma purū' awīlim adi 5 ūmī iššakkan luqūtkā ta''er. u luqussu ūta''er. iššamši tuppu^(sic) ulappitakkunni tīrti aššēr eṭlim ittalak. šumma luqūtam qātī iṣabbat libbaka u libbī iḥaddu*. "Concerning the matter of Anninim's son, which you know about, the tin and its surplus was ready to be shipped with Tāb-šilli-Aššur, when, on the day the merchandise was to exit, Tāb-Aššur, Ešu-bāni's son, told me: 'The gentleman's denunciation will take place in 5 days. Turn your merchandise back!' So I turned his merchandise back. On the day I wrote you the tablet, I had already sent instructions to the young man. If I can seize the merchandise myself, you and I will be glad." With *purū'um* coming up, the letter author evidently expects the assets of the concerned gentleman to be taken away and given to those with claims. Thus, he holds the merchandise in place to better his chances of getting to keep it. In his comment to this text, M.T Larsen (OAA 1, 162) already presumes that in the *purū'um* the gentleman will be declared bankrupt. To us it seems, that this strikes very close to the heart of the matter. We would see in *purū'um* a public denunciation that specifically questions a trader's ability to uphold his obligations, and if found lacking, a forced repayment of debts from the available assets could follow.

females, and, on the other hand, acceptance by ‘society’ as a gentleman still required an income derived from sources other than manual labour and retail trade.”⁴³⁹ Both facets, a more general one and one focussed on occupation and the place in society, also apply to *awīlum*. Certain expectations regarding personal conduct resonate in it as well.⁴⁴⁰ Conceptually similar, this applies also to women who can be referred to as *awīltum*.

The general concept of *awīlūtum* seems to have been common among private traders throughout Mesopotamia during roughly this period. In the far south, the sea-faring private merchants of Ur used the Babylonian counterpart in *mār awīlim* in much the same rhetorical way as often found in Old Assyrian letters: complaining that they have not been treated as such.⁴⁴¹

The author of the next letter, Šu-Bēlum, feels disrespected as a gentleman, since he is currently not in Kaneš but has urgent business with the *kārum* which his peers fail to convey.

(A)KT 11 108, 3-18: *adi mala u šinīšu aššēr ša kīma iāti tīrti illikamma uzan kārim lā iptēu u allā awīlim [ša]knāku. t[up]pam ša Ālim dannam ukaʾʾal ša adi Kaneš rāqākuma*⁴⁴² *mamman ištiya lā iparrusu u tuppam šuāti ammala lkūn-pīyama iddinūniššu.* “Several times, I have sent instructions to my representatives, but they did not inform the *kārum*, and I have been taken as a non-gentleman. I bear a strong tablet from the City (stating) that I have no business with Kaneš and no one will/must set off with me, they also gave said tablet to me[?] in accordance with lkūn-pīya.”

The author takes umbrage because he was unable to rely on the assistance of his representatives while away. Probably, *allā awīlim [ša]knāku* means that this has caused harm to his status as *awīlum*. He defends his absence from Kaneš by mentioning a tablet of the City on whose authority he does

⁴³⁹ The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica 2018 s.v. gentleman.

⁴⁴⁰ For gentleman, manners rather than stock as defining characteristic are demanded from the earliest known uses of the term. In the 14th century, Geoffrey Chaucer writes to this extent both in the Tale of Melibee (§61 “And certes he sholde nat be called a gentil man that after God and good conscience, alle thynges left, ne dooth his diligence and bisynesse to kepen his goode name”) and Wife of Bath’s Tale (“But for ye speken of swich gentillesse / As is descended out of old richesse, / That therfore sholden ye be gentil men, / Swich arrogance nis nat worth an hen. / Looke who that is moost vertuous alway, / Pryvee and apert, and moost entendeth ay / To do the gentil dedes that he kan, / Taak hym for the grettest gentil man.” [ll. 1115-1122]). In the 18th century, Richard Steele (1710, 107) advocates: “The courtier, the trader, and the scholar, should all have an equal pretension to the denomination of a gentleman. The tradesman, who deals with me in a commodity which I do not understand, with uprightness, has much more right to that character, than the courtier that gives me false hopes, or the scholar who laughs at my ignorance. The appellation of gentleman is never to be affixed to a man’s circumstances, but to his behaviour in them.”

⁴⁴¹ E.g. UET 5 81, 19; for this observation, see Oppenheim 1954, 12, and with more details, calling *awīlūtum* a “special ethical concept” among private merchants, see Nakata 1971, esp. 93-95.

⁴⁴² Strictly speaking, the spelling *ra-qá-a-ku-ma* (l. 14) would point to a derivation from *raqāʾum* “to hide, to remove oneself” (CAD r s.v. *raqû*). H. Erol ([A]KT 11a, 179) seems to favour deriving it from *rēqum* “distant” which perhaps makes sense more easily than assuming that the author was in hiding. Truer yet to the spelling, *rāqum* “empty” might work, in the meaning of “being without work”, as in BIN 4 38, l. 17: *annakam ana kuātim u iātim ra-qá-ku-ma* (...) “Here, I have nothing to do for you or myself (...)” This is our preferred solution.

not need or should not^(?) go to Kaneš, probably because whatever he might have had to do in Kaneš has already been settled. It was apparently significant that he received the tablet at Ikūn-pīya's behest, why exactly is unclear. In the archive, we know of Ikūn-pīya as one of Šu-Ištar's usual trading partners.⁴⁴³

In the next example, Šalim-Aššur's slave Abu-šalim had given his master's silver to Puzur-Aššur, the son of one of Šalim-Aššur's trade partners.⁴⁴⁴ Abu-šalim is also known from a different context in which he acts to his master's displeasure, perhaps truly misappropriating funds from a wool enterprise in Purušhaddum.⁴⁴⁵ In the present case, Puzur-Aššur is faulted for his handling of misappropriated goods, but Šalim-Aššur is trying to be lenient (if not patronising) with young Puzur-Aššur. In his narration, Šalim-Aššur broaches some important topics about civility among trading colleagues.

(A)KT 6 132, 7-38: *inūmi ana Ālim tur[danni] umma anākuma kaspam ina kaspiya* :⁴⁴⁶ Abu-šal[im] *ippūhim*⁴⁴⁷ *ilqēma ana šiamātim iddinakkum[ma] ina ṭuppi[mka] uddu. kīma kasp[ī ...]-uni inūmi an[a Āl]im [t]alliku aš[b]atk[ama] šībī aškunakkum. umma anākuma kaspam u šiamātišu ana ma[nnim] lā tuššar! ana bāb ilim šērudim azzizma Pūšu-kēn u ebbarūtī uštaḥḥidūnima ulā uštēridka. umma anākuma aḥum u ebrum iāti. ūmam iāti ana lā awīlim talqeannima luqūtam ša ištu Ālim ina kaspiya tušēšīāninni ana Šu-Bēlim u Ennam-Su'en mer'ē Iddin-abim tutaššir. aḥī attā mer'ī attā. ulā ša awātim anāku u attā iḥidma luqūtam ašar taddinu adīnima ana ša kīma iāti din!* "On the day you went down to the City, I said: 'Abu-šalim took the silver from my silver as proxy, and gave it to you for purchases, because your name is indicated on the tablet.' After my silver [...], as you went to the City, I seized you and set witnesses against you. I told you: 'Do not release the silver or the purchases made with it to anyone!' I was ready to lead you down to the Gate of the God, but Pūšu-kēn and my partners beseeched me, so I did not lead you down there. I told myself: 'He is a brother and partner of mine.' Today you treated me as a non-gentleman, when you released the goods, which you had exported from the City with my silver, to Šu-Bēlum and Ennam-Su'en, sons of Iddin-abum. You are my brother, you are my son. I am not a man of

⁴⁴³ Ikūn-pīya appears in (A)KT 11 9, 24, 67, 74, 135, 149. According to H. Erol ((A)KT 11, 19), he could have been Šu-Ištar's nephew.

⁴⁴⁴ For the identification of these people, see the comment in (A)KT 6a, 237.

⁴⁴⁵ For the so-called Ušinalam-affair, see (A)KT 6a, 17-23, and Larsen 2017, 293, esp. with texts (A)KT 6 104, 106, 107, 109, and 110.

⁴⁴⁶ Significantly, this is the only word divider set in the entire letter. We take it to represent emphasis put on *ina kaspiya*, highlighting that Šalim-Aššur had stressed that the silver given to Puzur-Aššur had been his silver.

⁴⁴⁷ It is difficult to determine what *pūḥum* "substitute; exchange" exactly means here. We propose that Šalim-Aššur is stressing that Abu-šalim had only acted as his proxy. What is left unsaid may be that Abu-šalim had given further instructions to Puzur-Aššur about what to do with the goods purchased for the silver without having the authority to do so.

strife. Thus, you too, do still give the goods to my representatives, wherever you handed them over!”

In the end, Šalim-Aššur is still trying to resolve the matter amicably. However, he does not feel taken seriously as a full-fledged member of the merchant circles, an *awilum* to be treated with respect and honesty. For his part, this is something he had evidently done for his younger colleague by trusting in his *awilūtum* and not going through the very formal and public procedures of swearing an oath at the Gate of the God. Šalim-Aššur does however at this point see the need to reprove and patronise Puzur-Aššur by reminding him of his status as a young member of the community, addressing him as *mer’um*. Puzur-Aššur’s age may also be the reason that some of their colleagues originally intervened on Puzur-Aššur’s behalf against going to the Gate of the God. We can imagine that it would have meant a loss of face for someone who was yet to make a name for himself and demonstrate his trustworthiness. The Gate of the God was, after all, the central place for official public legal actions in the *kārum*, such as swearing an oath or mediation.⁴⁴⁸ The positive quality of not being *ša awātim*, rather being someone who settles disputes privately, also appears in (A)KT 8 214 (see above).

Similar concern about the public face of a merchant probably played a role in (A)KT 6 404, already quoted above. Colleagues did not wish to show a disadvantageous letter to the *kārum*.

(A)KT 6 404, 20-25: (...) *kīma ina ṭuppika awātim 2-šitta u 3^{as} dannātim talpulanni*^(mistake for talputanni) *lā nuštašmēši. umma nēnuma surram ē nušalqēšunu!* “(...) because you wrote some harsh words in your text, we did not let them read it. We said: ‘We must not let them take offence!’”

Since it concerns the *kārum* such a thing might have meant economic repercussions if institutional support was consequently lost. Since the *kārum* represents a focal point of the trade it could, however, also affect the image in the wider networks between the traders, if such a misstep of wording a letter in an unreasonable tone, and towards the *kārum* at that, became public.

In most letters, *awilūtum* is used as a pregnant rhetorical means, articulating expectations that the merchants have towards their peers and themselves. From this overt reciprocity, it is often used when asking for favours, as in the next example that wishes for an express letter sent after a caravan already underway.

(A)KT 5 19, 27-38: *Ḫanuba annakam uttazzam umma šūtma adī našpertam ša Kuliya ašammeu ammakam amātim lā uššar. u ša kīma šuāti iqbiūnim. apputtum iḫidma našpertaka*

⁴⁴⁸ Cf. Hertel 2013, esp. 196-202 and 328-330.

aššēr Šu-Suʿen Ḫanuba Puzur-Lama aššēriya u aššēr ellitika ša kīma awīlūtika damiqtam lillikam! ša šērub ellitika u amātika epuš! “Ḫanuba, here, keeps grumbling: ‘Until I read a letter by Kuliya, I will not release the female slaves over there.’ Also his representatives said so. Urgent, do send a letter in a favourable tone as befits your status as gentleman to Šu-Suʿen, Ḫanuba, Puzur-Lama, myself and your caravan! Act so that your caravan and female slaves are brought in (with me?)!”

We are unsure if the adverbial accusative *damiqtam* means that the letter should wholly endorse the author’s claims or that it should perhaps allay the other party’s doubts in a manner possible only for an accomplished *awīlum*.

Magnanimity as concerns granting favours seems, in general, a sought-after quality of an *awīlum*.⁴⁴⁹ In (A)KT 6 241, (A)KT 6 391, and TTC 18 (all quoted above) the authors outright call themselves *awīl gimillim*, gentlemen who not only know of the importance of returning favours but also imply that they have ample means to do so; a virtue and an achievement for an Assyrian trader. For instance, in (A)KT 6 391, the author makes his request *ana mala awīlūtika* “befitting your status as gentleman” already acknowledging that it would be a favour done to him and so later recurs to this point offering that he himself is an *awīl gimillim*.

Considering the sheer frequency of requests started by *iḫid*, it bears no wonder that we can trace substantial social and cultural implications also through this term. In (A)KT 6 141 (see already above), Šalim-Aššur demands of his addressees somewhat forcefully and impatiently – an abstract conception of – *naḫādum*, alongside *awīlūtum*. He uses the typical imperative form of *naḫādum* already at the beginning of that selfsame letter, clearly defining what he expects from the letter as a whole. In his final statement, Šallim-Aššur urges on only one of the letter’s addressees, perhaps his son Ennam-Aššur,⁴⁵⁰ with whom he is dissatisfied, as becomes clear throughout the letter:

(A)KT 6 141, 10-12, 61f.: *iḫdāma kaspam šašqilāma ina panīmma šēbilānim!* (...) [*ana Ennam-Aššur*] *qibīma naḫādka u awīlūtaka ammar.* [...] *-a-ma awīlū anniūtum lū ideū!* “Do have them pay the silver and send it to me at the very next opportunity! (...) Speak [to Ennam-Aššur]: ‘Certainly, I will witness your diligence and gentlemanlike manner. These gentlemen shall know of my? [...]’.”

We see that *naḫādum* connotes much of how trade should be conducted. A transaction is to be done in a diligent, conscientious, and expeditious way.

⁴⁴⁹ Cf. Veenhof 2014, 358.

⁴⁵⁰ Ennam-Aššur is mentioned in the main letter address but within the letter is only referred to in third person in the context of him not yet having sent silver as he should have (see ll. 49-60). Thus, we propose to restore Ennam-Aššur’s name in the broken address line inserted in l. 61.

Status and social recognition obviously affect the social networks of a trader, hence a trader's capacities for gaining profit. Technical terminology of the trade organisation, additionally, points to tangible institutional ramifications. The assemblies of both the trade institutions in Assur, *ālum*, and abroad, *kārum*, consisted of two distinct groups of merchants (*mera ummiānim*) the *awīlū rabbiūtum*, "the big/major gentlemen", and *ṣaḥḥurūtum* "the small/minor gentlemen",⁴⁵¹ in short usually *ālum*, on the one hand, and *kārum ṣaḥḥer rabi*, on the other.⁴⁵² It seems likely that membership in the group of *rabbiūtum* involved or required certain financial obligations/opportunities, called *dātum*, a contribution made to the organisation. As pertains to this specific contribution, eligible men were called *šāqil dātim*, "*dātum* payer", or *awīlum ša nikkassī*, "gentleman of the settlement", since it entailed owning a share in the institutional funds.⁴⁵³

Pūšu-kēn informs two colleagues, Aššur-imittī and Šu-Ḫubur, about his collection of funds for their *dātum* payment. He assembled 28 minas 48 shekels of the 30 minas needed to pay for both their *dātum* payments. After an intermediate part addressed to Šu-Ḫubur alone, dealing with silver handled to the dissatisfaction of Pūšu-kēn, the final part seems to again address both Aššur-imittī and Šu-Ḫubur in matters revolving around *dātum* payments. This part highlights an important social aspect of the *awīlum* status with regard to the elevated position of those who could pay this contribution to the *kārum*.

BIN 4 33, 43-52: *warḥam balṭamma kāram alu?umma umma anākuma annaka[m] awīl lizzizzū. ulā imgurūni u <a>tūrma umma anākuma ana awīl u mišal awīlim lizzizzū. umma šunuma nīnu iṣṣēršunu awīlāni. adi anniātum Uṣur-ša-Ašš[ur] ušašḥir.* "For an entire month, I pressured the *kārum*, saying: 'Let them be responsible for a gentleman's share, here.' They did not agree with me, so I returned, saying: 'Let them be responsible for a gentleman's share and/or half a gentleman's share.' They answered: 'We are more gentleman than them.' For this reason, I have delayed Uṣur-ša-Aššur."

The interpretation of this section hinges on whether we understand *u* in *awīl u mišal awīlim* as "and" or "or". J.G. Dercksen (2004, 203f.) reads "one man and a half", assuming Pūšu-kēn is negotiating a reduction of the payment. In the first instance, this would mean, his two colleagues together pay only one share, that is a reduction by half, and in the second instance they should pay one and half, that is a reduction by a quarter. Instances where a regular *dātum* payer asks for a reduction of the sum to only half a share are also known from OAA 1 1 (*mišal awīl*) or, in an institutional context with the aim of gaining at least half the payment if all is not possible, (A)KT 5 5 ([*dātum*] *ša mišli*). Also

⁴⁵¹ For possible qualities of an *awīlum rabium* and, due to lack of evidence, less so for an *awīlum ṣaḥḥrum*, see Veenhof 2014, 354–356.

⁴⁵² Cf. Larsen 1976, 161–166, 2015, 159–166; Dercksen 2004, 237f.

⁴⁵³ See above, Fn. 130, and Veenhof 1972, 270–288; Dercksen 2004, 191–199.

annakam in the first statement to the *kārum*, in *annaka[m] awīl lizzizzū*, plays into this matter; note that it is not repeated in the second statement. It might mean that he is negotiating this deal only there but not elsewhere. In this regard, the final answer of the *kārum* officials that they view themselves superior remains to us obtuse. Are they making fun of the traders who cannot (or really do not want to) pay the full amount?

We may suggest considering if Pūšu-kēn is not really trying to negotiate the acceptance of his two colleagues into the circle of *dātum* payers in Kaneš, offering that they should each be allowed to contribute “a full share or (at least) half a share”. Recurring to the problem of *annakam*, in this interpretation, it could mean that they should be accepted as *awīlum* in Kaneš too like they are perhaps in Assur. When achieving a full share for (each) of them fails, he negotiates that also only half a share would be acceptable. The negative response of the *kārum* officials would then be that they do not acknowledge Aššur-imittī and Šu-Ḫubur’s status (*awīlūtum*) sufficient. A small caveat in this interpretation must be added regarding Pūšu-kēn’s qualification as intermediary, since he himself considers at the very least Aššur-imittī his superior according to the heading of the letter.

The point in case concerning the social status and its technical and institutional implications stands regardless of the specifics of this passage. The status as *awīlum* of the two concerned parties is questioned and deemed lacking.

The importance of *awīlūtum* in the social world view, is also shown by the fact that for criticising someone’s *awīlūtum* there is an overwhelming tendency towards a modest negation *awīlum lā damqum* “a not good gentleman” over (more specific) *awīlum ḫalpum* “a devious gentleman”, or even plainly spoken *awīlum lamnum* “a bad gentleman”.⁴⁵⁴ The fact that *awīlum ḫalpum* can be isolated as a particular bad quality, shows how earnestness and being straightforward are seen as virtues, while offences against it are particularly to be frowned upon. Of course, this plays very well into the importance of trust in trading ventures.

While *awīlūtum* pertains, broadly speaking, to a trader’s status in the whole mercantile section of Old Assyrian society, *aḫḫūtum* “brotherhood, collegiality” defines a trader’s more intimate relation in his immediate networks. The status of *aḫum* to one another can additionally be reinforced by adding *ebrum* “comrade, friend” (see above).

In between typical instructions about processing trade goods from a shipment, the following short side note can serve as a simple example for the virtue of equality among colleagues.

⁴⁵⁴ Examples in our corpus would be: for *awīlum ḫalpum* TC 3/1 32, 31; TC 3/1 46, 6’f.; for *awīlum lamnum* TPAK 1 11, 17f.

OAA 1 64, 14: *gamram u taššiātīm aḥam ana aḥim lā takabbas!* “Concerning expenses and transport costs do not fleece one colleague over another!”

In the following letter, the author had gone to the sister of another trade partner in order to conclude an unspecified sale. He is recounting how her brother, Aššur-damiq, in the end revoked the agreement. This is judged as something unworthy of a colleague. In the remainder of the letter, the author reports his best efforts for still coming to an agreement with both siblings.

CCT 3 15, 2-16: *aššumi ša Aššur-damiq kīma ērubuni 5 ūmē lā illik awātīm išti aḥātišu agmurma tamgurniātīma kaspam 1 šiqil ša qabā'im aqbi u awātum dannišamma damqā. mamman ina barīni aḥīni awīlum lā damqum. umma šūtma mīššum anāku ana kaspim ēšim lā alqēšunuma mā kaspam mādam iqbī. illikma aḥāssu uštābalkit. (...) “Concerning the matter with Aššur-damiq, not even 5 days passed after I arrived that I concluded the matter with his sister: she agreed with us, and I promised every single shekel of silver there was to promise, and the matter was exceedingly fine. Someone among us, among us brothers/colleagues, however, is not a good gentleman. He said: ‘Why could not I buy them for less silver, alas he promised even more silver.’ He went and had his sister rescind. (...)”*

The criticism of the brother’s quality as *awīlum lā damqum* is at first phrased very delicately, since he is referred to only in a circumlocutory manner as someone among them.

Somewhat heavy-handed, the author of the following letter tries to convince his trade partner not to charge any interest on his debt, since he had just experienced financial losses. According to him, charging interest is not something an *aḥum* would do. He, nonetheless, offers to make the request more palatable with a small gift. The same notion against interest also appears in OAA 1 63 and (A)KT 6 150.

(A)KT 11 113, 28-38: *kīma anāku ana awā[tim] ša bēt abba'īni ašmeuku[nu]ni u attā ana awātīm annītim šim'annima : šibtam iṣṣēriya lā talaqqe u anāku mala kaspim kilišuma immimmā'ema gamālka : ale''e : anāku u attā ša šibtim? u kīma [šibtim] aḥum iṣṣēr aḥim laqā'im 15 šiqil kaspam niqīka Adad-bani mera Pala na[š'akkum]. “Like I listened to you in the matter about our fathers’ houses, you too, listen to me in this matter and do not take any interest from me. Then I can do you any favour whatsoever with all this silver. Are you and I someone who would charge interest? Still, as if colleague would take [interest] from colleague, Adad-bani, son of Pala is br[inging you] 15 shekels of silver for your *niqī'um*-offering.”*

What seems to come from more technical language is the phrase *ana aḥḥūtīm šē'ā'um* “to seek someone for brotherhood/partnership.” As it intimates establishing a closer trade relationship, it is

often used rhetorically for stylising one's behaviour towards another trader. The author in the next example takes great affront at the accusation of *ḥimṭātum*. He refutes this, in the typical fashion of disputes, by a fast array of rhetorical ploys, first an incredulous rhetorical question, the answer as a(n impossible) challenge to prove the claim's truth, followed by a confident hyperbole against the possibility of the claim, and finally a conciliatory note asserting his own desire for a good trade relationship in *aḥḥūtum*, followed by an oath to that effect. The phrase appears in a similar manner also in Innāya 70 and for establishing a mutual partnership – although there seems to be some conniving going on – in (A)KT 8 271.

CCT 2 6, 4-21: *mī[šš]u ša taqbiu ana Ali-aḥim u Kurara umma attāma ṭuppūšu lā ašša ḥim[ṭ]ātīm ištānapparam. ayyum ṭuppī ša ḥimṭātīm ašpurakkunnima tukallūšu? kunukšuma ana ša kīma kuwāti šēbilamma [luk]allimmūnimma luba''išūni ul ša kīma iāti ammakam kallimma luba''išūni. mimma ṭuppī ša uštēnebbalakkunni meḥrīšunu uka''al. iṭṭuppim ṭuppimma uzakka apatte; anāku ana aḥḥūtīm aše''ēka. Aššur Ištar.ZA.AT u ilī abīka liṭṭulā kīma ana aḥḥūtīm aše''euka, abūka kīma iāti uzakka lā ipatteu.* “Why is it that you said to Ali-aḥim and Kurara: ‘As for his tablets, he keeps writing me nothing but heated words.’ Which of my tablets is it that I have sent heated words with and that you possess? Seal it and send it to your representatives, so they show it to me and put me to shame, or show it to my representatives there, so they put me to shame. I keep copies of any tablet I convey to you. Tablet after tablet, I keep you informed; for my part, I seek you for brotherhood. Assur, Ištar.ZA.AT and your father's gods may bear witness that I seek you for brotherhood, even your father does not keep you informed like me.”

Differently in the next letter, the author seems to have slowly grown from a young helper to a full trading partner. In a desperate effort, young Amur-ilī is refuting accusations about losses incurred due to his negligence which are being levelled at him by his (former) boss and addressee Imdī-ilum. Again, after many reproaches and refutations follows the attempt at assuaging the tempers by emphasising the relationship they share. Quite informative for us, Amur-ilī recounts in this the development of his long-standing partnership with the older trader.

KTS 1 15, 28-40: *inūmi šaḥrākunima ayyē lā arradū u irrēška⁴⁵⁵ azzizu mātima bazā'am u šillatam lā arši. ūmam anāku ana ahīka šaḥrim ša kīnātīmma atūruma⁴⁵⁶ u waddi awilūtu niētī. awātīm ša tātawanni ul ša ṭuppika amtiši. ul ša annakam ebbarūti 5 u 6 ana nikkassi uštazz[iz]ūni šunūtima kī'amma lā aḥšu[ḥm]a u riḥibum lišbiti; [iš]tēn attā. ilī tukultī u bāštī*

⁴⁵⁵ We suggest that the erroneous form *irrēš-* instead of genitive *irrēši-* may have to do with the fact that *rēšum* is used only in standard expressions in Old Assyrian and not necessarily perceived as its own word anymore; cf. Kouwenberg 2017, 456–458.

⁴⁵⁶ The subjunctive ending in *atūru* qualifies the statement as an oath, in connection with *ša kīnātīmma*.

abāka lušallimma kurbamma ēn Aššur u ēnēka lāmur! “When I was young and had not experienced transports anywhere but was (already) of assistance to you, I have never made undue demands or accusations. Today I *have become your small brother* in all honesty, and, certainly, we are of the status of gentlemen. I have already forgotten the words you said or wrote in your tablet. Or the fact that 5 or 6 comrades were appointed for the account settlement, I did not deserve them like this, or (if so) may the *riḫībum*-illness⁴⁵⁷ get me; you alone (*would have been enough?*). May my god, my support, my pride, keep your father well, so pray for me so I may see Aššur’s eyes and yours again!”

Amur-ilī had started out as a young assistant, not yet travelling with the older trader, but now sees himself on equal footing. His qualification of *aḫum* with *ṣaḫrum* could either come from the fact that he is still young and has only recently reached the level of a full trade partner, or it is meant as a grievance that he feels himself belittled due to the accusations of misconduct. He underlines in any case that they should behave as per their status as gentlemen. In this capacity, he lists some more grievances offering to not dwell on them, although he feels rightly offended. We might summarise his social assertions that colleagues as *aḫum* should cherish a close and lenient relationship, and as *awīlum* they should still be civil even if a situation escalates.

In conclusion, we see that an *aḫum* should be indulgent and accommodating in trade matters. Such colleagues need to readily share information with one another, treat each other as equals and with candour.

Practically all the above points pertain to the male traders and the networks they build for themselves in pursuit of successful commerce. Women, on the other hand – especially those living in Assur – were more focussed on the wider social sphere of their city, neighbourhoods, and acquaintances. While there is much evidence that they actively engaged in the trade as well, e.g. by selling textiles and giving out credits, there are some marked differences in the values they openly uphold, and at times also explicitly hold their men to, as well as in the rhetoric that subsequently gets informed by this social outlook. Women who lived in Kaneš were, at least in the earlier generations, for the most part, *amtum*-wives, second both in order of marriage and in status. Letters to and by them usually appear more in line with the typical letters of any merchant, constituting reports on trade matters or about collecting and lending money. C. Michel has done extensive analysis on women in Old Assyrian society and collected much evidence to show the great importance that

⁴⁵⁷ This illness is characterised by symptoms of trembling, see Adamson 1990, 28–30 as *raḫību*. CAD R, 81, s.v. *raḫību* lists another Old Assyrian example in CCT 4 38b, l. 29 (see for this letter Innāya vol. I, 132f. fn. 271). Although in broken context, it seems to be used in the same rhetorical fashion as in the above example.

household and house, family, as well as the religious sphere assumed.⁴⁵⁸ We, therefore, limit ourselves to a few pertinent examples for our discussion.

The male merchants liked setting priorities grounded for the most part only in trade matters. Consequently, Ababaya sees ample need to chide her husband, Kuliya, for his superficial selection of trade partners. She would prefer he had chosen based on more substantial aspects in her eyes.

(A)KT 5 11, 5-12: *apputtum, mīnum ša ana Ennānāt-Aššur kaspam tušširú? ana lānišu tatikkil. lā bētam : lā šāram išu u kaspam tuššir!* [ap]puttum ana mera ummiānim [...] Importantly, why is it that you released silver to Ennānāt-Aššur? You trusted in his appearances. He has neither house nor offspring, still you released the silver. Urgent, [give[?] x] to an affiliated trader!”

The next letter is informative in a similar fashion in that Lamassī complains to her husband, Pūšu-kēn, that he should not blindly continue with his commerce but divert his energies into important social tasks in Assur. In order to gain standing in the religious world of Assur, there is the matter of consecrating their youngest daughter. There is also a rivalry in the neighbourhood with Šalim-aḥum’s family owning more houses.

Garelli 1965a no. 25,⁴⁵⁹ 3-11, 30-35: *tašammēma : tanīštum iltemin. aḥum : ana aḥim ana ḥalātīm : izzaz. kutabbītma u alkamma : kuršīka parrir!*⁴⁶⁰ : *šuḥartam ana šūn Aššur šukun*⁴⁶¹! (...) Šalim-aḥum *šīna : bētēn ištu atta : tūšū ētapaš. nīnuma : ana mati neppaš?* “You must have heard that people have turned foul. Brother is ready to devour brother. Be honourable and come and break your fetters! Consecrate the young girl to Aššur! (...) Šalim-aḥum has built two houses since you went away. As for us, when are we going to do that?”

The merchants, in general, seem to have preferred ignoring the religious duties back in Assur in favour of their trade abroad for as long as possible. Women remind them often enough of this fact.⁴⁶²

These differences in social values also nuance the way men and women may argue differently in their letters to each other. In line with the above discussion, the usage of *awīlum* may be a good example. Men and women clearly share this term in their vocabulary and use it in similar but not necessarily identical ways.

⁴⁵⁸ For the present discussion, note especially Michel 2009a, 2020c.

⁴⁵⁹ For the most recent discussion of the text, see Michel 2020c, no. 147.

⁴⁶⁰ Lamassī uses the same phrase also in BIN 6 7, 7.

⁴⁶¹ For the phrase *ana šūn DN šakānum* lit. “to place onto the lap of DN” as the formula for consecration to a deity, see Michel 2009b, 154.

⁴⁶² See Michel 2009b, 146, 2020c, 341.

In the following example, Lamassī is writing to her two brothers, Ennam-Aššur and Ali-aḫum, in the matter of handling the estate after their father's death. The two brothers have begun to fall out, and Lamassī finally reacts to a somewhat desperate letter by Ennam-Aššur ([A]KT 6 233) who had asked for an attorney to be sent to help in the affair.

(A)KT 6 236, 13-29: *lū šittam attūnuma kasap abīni mala awīlūtikunu paḥḥirāma u pūt abīni u bēt abīni ebbibāma šālium iṣṣēr bēt abīni lā išalla! : lā ušteṣṣa'ā! apputtum šumma aḥḥūa attūnu rābiṣum ekkušakkunūti kaspam 10 mana mala awīlūtikunu lū da-pu-ur-tí bēt abīni u bēt abīni ebbubim epšāma u ramakkunu zakkiānim tib'ānimma atalkānimma u išti tamkārī u ummeānī abīkunu zukuā!* "As for the remainder, it is up to you to collect our father's silver as befits your status as gentlemen and clear our father's debts and our father's firm, so no evildoer may do harm to our father's firm. Do not quarrel! Urgent, if you are my brothers – the attorney has been sent off to you – muster 10 minas of silver as befits your status as gentleman to clear the *pay-off*⁴⁶³ of our father's firm and our father's firm (as a whole)!⁴⁶⁴ Also clear yourselves of claims, set out and come, so you can be in the clear also with the merchants and your father's investors!"

Lamassī does not limit *awīlūtum* to the mercantile section of society, that is to successful traders, but expands it to general social norms, perhaps even with a moral undertone about the two brothers' duties as sons. They should act and cooperate just like when their father was still alive (*kīma ša buluṭ abīkunu* [II. 9f.]). There is also no hint that referring to *awīlūtum* could reflect on her, since she has done her part anyway.

We have already explored some differences in the correspondence among men and that among men and women in the chapters above. The choice of rhetoric with women is not so much informed according to considerations of social standing in tighter and wider networks, as it is put on a higher level about propriety in Assyrian society at large. Duties towards the family and its reputation, be they material, social, or religious, are important to women. As becomes especially evident with emotion references, requesting tasks or help – in short talking about what one wants – is worded much more directly. A simple *apputtum* can suffice to stress the importance of a request which really should be evident to the men anyway. Rhetoric is less restricted by navigating the relation of each other's social image. Since most of the correspondence featuring women involves those with family relations, the rhetoric is mostly informed by the image of the (nuclear) family as a unit in relation to society and its norms, as opposed to the relation between the correspondents *vis-à-vis* social norms.

⁴⁶³ The word *da-pu-ur-tí* is still unclear, but M.T. Larsen proposes a derivation from *dapārum* D "to satisfy".

⁴⁶⁴ Since *ebbubim* (l. 24) is clearly genitive, we assume that the particle *mala* (l. 22) not only qualifies *awīlūtikunu* but, in a second instance, also following *lū da-pu-ur-tí* (...) *ebbubim* omitting another *mala*.

Old Assyrian epistolography in social context

Wherever the mobile merchants were travelling, they were writing tablets and teaching the next generation thanks to a greatly simplified cuneiform script. Institutions in Assur and abroad had been put into place, agreements with the local cities and towns negotiated. The Assyrian merchants moved in a system uniquely geared towards their trade and keeping the private networks intact that held everything together. It is unsurprising that letter correspondence accommodated this mode of long-distance trade and, in its particular Old Assyrian guise, can be called a phenomenon of the trade. Letters were, after all, an integral part of Old Assyrian trading, constituting the most frequent document type in a trader's archive. The Assyrian traders saw letters as an indispensable tool – perhaps even the most useful one – for organising the many small investments, loans, debts, and, at large, the social networks of their everyday business.

With the commerce essentially private in nature – despite all institutional backing –, faith in the trading community and its networks, that is trust, was the fabric that enabled Assyrian operations over a distance of more than a thousand kilometres – as was the case at many other points in the past, whether it be private associations in ancient Greece, or the medieval traders evidenced in the Cairo Geniza or those on Old Russian birchbark letters. Every facet of Old Assyrian letters represents this socio-economic setup.

Letters were put into envelopes to preserve the integrity of the letter's content, and the envelopes sealed to authenticate the author, already a functional exercise in building trust. The address on the envelopes contained minimal information, giving only the names – often with patronymics – of the correspondents. Successful delivery relied wholly on the community, involving locating the addressee(s) and conveying to them the letters in their envelopes; another instance of the central role of trust at the base of Old Assyrian trade.

The form of the address, both on the envelope and in the letter heading, follows with its hierarchical structure strict social norms. The Assyrians were always and rigorously defining their place in society. This overt demonstration of a social norm, a ritualistic engagement in sacred civility,⁴⁶⁵ in itself fostered network cohesion.

Rhetorically, the economical wording of letters and the structures of argumentation rest on the established business culture, the mutuality of values the traders trusted in, which made trade possible over such long distances. It permits the traders to access specific norms through a set of rhetorical means, stock phrases, figures etc., that fulfil the mutual expectations to a given communicative and socio-economic situation. Persuasion can follow socially validated routes with

⁴⁶⁵ For this concept borrowed from Horgan 2021, see already a good example above *sub* Non-verbal rhetoric.

minimal effort. Any of the not too many stock phrases evoke a piece of knowledge about the complex socio-economic reality the traders operated in and had endowed with certain valence. Details do not need to be elaborated, and overly elaborate rhetorical embellishment is usually unnecessary. That is, in essence, a result of the trust underpinning Old Assyrian trade which pervaded the writing of letters; and this writing of letters, in turn, strengthened a mentality that expedited long-distance trade in close-knit social networks. About half of all letters feature the three most common stock phrases, while less than a third of letters (of which 5% are simply too broken for analysis) do not exhibit any of the discussed stock phrases, most of them being purely informative notifying messages and caravan accounts. The regularity of phrasing observable in any rhetorical situation is in consequence of the merchants' basic approach towards letter communication. This extends even to matters of social hierarchy that is otherwise quite rigid. While hierarchies do have an influence on the choice of rhetorical means, as has been shown, for instance, in the ways of talking about favours, trade matters are of overriding importance and the trading community's norms mitigate even such social distance.

In his synopsis on Old Assyrian Kaneš, M.T. Larsen (2015, 5) recounts an anecdote about his first encounter with a letter written by Aššur-idī, who often appears angry and indignant in his (atypical) texts full of religious fervour, and from whom even his grandchildren eventually fled.⁴⁶⁶ When M.T. Larsen asked his teacher Kemal Balkan about the letter, the latter "shook his head and said with a sad smile: 'This letter was written by a madman – or it could have been a woman'." What Kemal Balkan intuited was that Aššur-idī wrote with an amount of rhetorical elaboration not typical for a merchant writing about matters of trade. In proportion, women needed to discuss more often topics that fell outside the purview of the strictly mercantile world and were not necessarily so wholly integrated in the trade networks as a merchant, who may have seen their purpose of life therein, as to rely blindly on the well-established communicative protocols. Letters by women, which are not purely mercantile letters, could therefore require different rhetorical effort than when a discussion moved solely within the limits of trade relations.

Persuasion in a merchant's letter is aimed less at motivating someone into action in the first place than it attributes (social and mercantile) value to the requests. It not only indicates the degree of importance and urgency the author attaches to the subject matter but also reiterates the value that the requested matter has for the trade networks and acknowledges the mutual expectations of the members of the network.⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁶⁶ See some pertinent examples with their discussions above: OAA 1 35 and OAA 1 37.

⁴⁶⁷ These observations could also be fruitfully contrasted to most corpora of Old Babylonian letters with generally higher rhetorical effort (perhaps except of the letters of long-distance traders from Ur, which we

In short, Old Assyrian merchant letters are a product of long-distance trade in every respect.

General conclusions

Like any part of culture, writing letters takes a material and practical mould that is directly connected to the myriad of interrelated elements of a symbol system in society. With the present work, we offer thick descriptions of the artefacts and social expressions that articulate epistolary culture within the Old Assyrian mercantile society. The Old Assyrian evidence is so vast and focussed, modern studies so varied and mature that we can benefit from good information and conceptualisations for delving deeply into a general system of interpretation for the letters.

We begin our work with important conceptual considerations both explicitly concerning the Old Assyrian period and general theories suitable for the pragmaphilological investigation of letters. Especially ideas from the field of Peircean semiotics seem useful to frame the social interactions, agency, and expectations surrounding epistolography.

A first step towards the object of study may suitably be taken in the realm of materiality, with the shape of a letter and its envelope being intricately linked to the medium of clay. With the abundance of clay in the regions of Assyrian activity, some important factors concerning Old Assyrian cuneiform tablets are the crystalline structure of clay guiding the shape of writing and constraining the shape of tablets, or the drying and shrinkage of clay which require time and planning to ensure swift communication. A parcel would consist of one main letter tablet in portrait format if the letter ran long. Additionally, it could be supplemented with another smaller tablet, called *šibat ṭuppim*. A clay envelope would be wrapped around the tablets to keep them together and to verify the integrity of the message. Surprisingly many envelopes can be found in Old Assyrian archives and many letters were kept unopened.

For the purpose of scientific definition and identification, letters may, however, not be readily distinguishable from other texts by most material aspects alone. Letters really need to be clearly distinguished, first by formal considerations, foremost the address, and then by content. This is unless we find them together with their envelope, since envelopes are more distinct, typically bearing much less (and different) text than envelopes of legal documents.

In connection with the objects' materiality, we also investigate the many ways in which they were sent and ponder on how they may have been received. This immediately prompts considerations about important matters of social relations, as these processes do not seem to have been

hope to investigate in the future). As a simple example, the explicit consequences of not following a request are explained quite frequently, which would be savely omitted in an Old Assyrian letter. For a most recent study on the language of Old Babylonian letters, see Béranger 2024, 258–268.

institutionalised and only worked in specific social setups. Sending and receiving a letter relied to no small degree on the trust merchants had in their peers. Letters could be sent by caravans, regular or express, or individual persons, colleagues, or servants, all depending on the situation and varying by degree of speed and security.

The practice of archiving – by extension the reason why we have so many Old Assyrian letters today – also falls under the wider chapter of materiality. The archiving of letters attests to the value that letters had for the Assyrian merchants beyond their immediate message. Legal weight and record-keeping make letters an important albeit contingent instrument of trade. This is also why the oldest documents in an archive often comprise many letters. We know of many different places in a typical house and containers in which letters could be kept, often in thematic assemblages of texts, concerning a specific matter or person. With better archaeological context many more insights would, however, be possible.

As a next step, the emic terminology concerning letter correspondence is of interest. How did Assyrians refer to different types of letters and to their handling? There are both very general terms for letters and tablets (*ṭuppum*, *našpertum*), and more specific ones for different kinds of messages (*tîrtum*, *zakūtum*). There is also a certain laxity in distinguishing writing and sending a letter to someone, only too understandable to a mind phrasing in English. All our choices of translation are given their due discussion in line with their ‘semantic stretch’. For instance, our choice to translate the term for comprehending a letter, *šamā’um*, as “reading” rather than “listening” merits discussion. Since the transfer of one culture into another needs to be acknowledged in all translation, we see no reason to awkwardly speak of “hearing a letter” in English.

In the next part, we move the discussion to letters as texts and first analyse their textual form. While the form is much less elaborate than in later periods of Mesopotamian history, there is still a clear structure to be discerned. The parts of address, *narratio*, *petitio*, and closing section are well enough defined and can be characterised on their own terms. The address both on the letters and their envelopes is furthermore a wellspring of social information due to its social-hierarchical structure.

A major part of the present work discusses the most frequent rhetorical devices and connected argumentative strategies. Rather than focussing on the peculiar, we choose to analyse the common and discuss the most frequent stock phrases arranged by rhetorical keys, in order to formulate general observations on rhetorical practice in Old Assyrian letters. We can show that any letter correspondence is deeply grounded in the social norms governing the merchant community, and so rhetoric principally gains its validity and persuasive force from social acceptance and expectation. Cladding a letter in a more common, or a rarer form of rhetoric tells a lot about the relationship

between the correspondents and about the situation prompting the letter. The merchants need to find the appropriate language in every situation for maximising persuasiveness but never to the detriment of social cohesion and their trade network. Thus, our analysis aims to gain deeper understanding of the social reality within which Old Assyrian trade was conducted and discussed by way of letters. Overt references to social ties, mostly by kinship terms, basic terms of urgency like *naḥādum* and *apputtum*, framing requests in terms of favours, or referring to emotions feature predominantly in the letters. As a helpful tool, we visualise our quantified data on rhetoric in relation to the social factors of hierarchy and gender, with a variety of graphs. The qualitative variable of social hierarchy is best shown through a mosaic plot, while the interconnections of rhetorical keys within a letter context make for interesting network graphs. Through this combination of graphs, it is possible to gain a more nuanced understanding of unequal relations, both from the vista of low standing towards high and *vice versa*, and of relations among relative peers. For the variable of gender, we combine this aspect with that of social hierarchy in a sunburst graph to visualise how men and women talk to each other.

Although it is our intention to mostly avoid framing our analysis with traditional rhetorical, we could not entirely neglect this approach. As a small detail of this foray, we can illustrate how a specific social situation, that of a grave dispute, is rhetorically navigated in no small part through the rhetorical question.

Furthermore, we reaffirm a holistic view of rhetoric by also considering non-verbal elements. Just as gestures, facial expressions, tone of voice etc. can be employed to additional rhetorical effect in spoken language, so can textual formal aspects in written language. Changing the letter form contrary to expectations, starting it with the *petitio*, is reserved only for specific situations but is then all the more effective. The inversion of social hierarchical order in the letter address has even greater impact, in that it concedes superiority to a normally lower ranking person. Lastly, word dividers or rather punctuation marks have among their many different use cases, which we shall investigate in more detail in a forthcoming study, also a rhetorical one for emphasising a statement.

Finally, all these details constitute a good context to regard social values and mentalities, in general, which are reflected in the modes of writing a letter. Trust and, as one of its vehicles, reputation are necessary constants that pervade letters, not only in explicit discussions about, say, *awīlūtum* but also in the general reasonings for writing a letter. The effect that letters were made to have on Old Assyrian trade and society is phenomenal and unique. The conventions of writing a letter were restricted to an absolute minimum. The socio-economic framework of Old Assyrian epistolography allows for explanations of the circumstances for writing a letter that only provide the barest information needed for fulfilling any given request. Requests need only be nuanced by a limited set

of rhetorical devices, not so much in order to justify a request as in order to give it the desired sense of urgency. The reliance on social norms for justification and validation exemplifies the Old Assyrian trade as an endeavour towards a common goal, of perpetuating trade and profit, for each individual member. While Old Assyrian letters can seem lapidary and terse to some, they exude society.

Appendix: The Corpus

Our corpus comprises 1035 letters and 105 envelopes (58 of which can be connected to known letters; 18 are unopened). The following two tables list them with some additional information, metadata, and contextual details.

Expanded tables with even fuller information about the letters and envelopes are available online at <https://gitlab.com/lapatum/OAepistolography.git>.

The letters

The first table lists the letters arranged by their respective archival editions. If they did not receive an edition number, they are listed by the number in their first publication instead.

Additional information is provided about the archive(s) – and dossiers if applicable – that the letters are attributed to, the correspondents – authors and addressees –, as well as the structure of the letter address, and where the letters have been sent to and from.

Our deliberations about the geographical places where letters might have been sent from and to vary in degrees of certainty. Places in regular typeset are very certain. Places given in italics are inferred with relative certainty. Places with a question mark are considered uncertain.

In a letter and its envelope, it is hardly ever indicated where it has been sent from or to. Various considerations must be taken into account for guessing at the places of correspondence. Inferences about places can be drawn from the content of the letter, contextual information about the archive, and prosopography of the letter correspondents. For instance, the trading activities mentioned in the letters can provide hints, since tin and most textiles are typically acquired in Assur and sent to Anatolia, whereas copper or wool are mostly traded within Anatolia. Certain terminology for movements of goods and persons can be useful, *šēṣuʾum* “to export” usually means exporting from Assur, *elāʾum* “to go up” can mean ascending from the plains of Mesopotamia to the Anatolian highlands, and *vice versa* for *warādum* “to go down”. Knowledge about where a person mostly lived and who a merchant’s representatives in Assur or elsewhere were can also play a part in the inferences.

We quantify some of our observations below. As might be expected, many of the more securely placed letters were sent to Kaneš. The numbers of those sent from Kaneš – Kaneš being at the same time the place of their archaeological findspot – and of those sent to the City of Assur are, however, respectable and noteworthy (as already discussed above). The number of letters written somewhere

in Anatolia is obviously smaller but still roughly comparable to those of the two main places of origin, Kaneš and Assur. Nevertheless, we did not hazard a guess in about 40% of letters.

No. of letters sent	from	to
Kaneš	166	429
City	243	115
Anatolia	136	37
a caravan/ <i>en route</i> between places	11	3
<i>no guess provided</i>	418	424

Table 4: Computation of selected locations where letters were sent to and from. For a full count of every destination and origin (with indications of certainty), see the gitlab repository.

The table online (<https://gitlab.com/lapatum/OAepistolography.git>) provides more bibliographic information, and further notes about rhetorical figures, as well as a list of rhetorical keywords pertaining to each letter.

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 5 1	kt 92/k 221	Kuliya	<i>kārum</i> Kaneš	<i>dātum</i> payers; their envoy; all <i>kārum</i> s (<i>kār</i> <i>kārma</i>); trading stations (<i>wabarātīm</i>)	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš	Anatolia
(A)KT 5 2	kt 92/k 203	Kuliya	<i>kārum</i> Kaneš	<i>dātum</i> payers; their envoy Kuliya; <i>kārum</i> Durḫumit; Ḫattuš; Tamnia; Tuḫpia; until Nenašša	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš	Anatolia
(A)KT 5 3	kt 92/k 200	Kuliya	<i>kārum</i> Kaneš	<i>dātum</i> payers; Kuliya, their envoy; <i>wabartum</i> assembly of Kuburnat; ḫanaknak; Tišmurna	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš	Anatolia
(A)KT 5 4	kt 92/k 224	Kuliya	<i>kārum</i> Kaneš	<i>kārum</i> s and <i>wabartum</i> s until Tuḫpia	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš	Anatolia
(A)KT 5 5	kt 92/k 207	Kuliya	<i>kārum</i> Kaneš	Kuliya; <i>dātum</i> payers; <i>kārum</i> Tegarama; wherever Iddin-Aššur, son of Kukulānum is	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš	Anatolia

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 5 7	kt 92/k 222	Kuliya	Kuliya	Aššur-ṭāb	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	City?
(A)KT 5 8	kt 92/k 209	Kuliya	Kuliya	Iddin-Kūbum; Anaḥ- ilī; Puzur-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	City?
(A)KT 5 9	kt 92/k 211	Kuliya	^{f} Ababaya	Kuliya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	Kaneš?
(A)KT 5 10	kt 92/k 214	Kuliya	^{f} Ababaya	Kuliya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 5 11	kt 92/k 233	Kuliya	^{f} Ababaya	Kuliya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 5 12	kt 92/k 217	Kuliya	Aššur-šad-ilī; ^{f} Ababaya	Kuliya	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 5 13	kt 92/k 199	Kuliya	Aššur-šad-ilī; Amur- Ištar; Ṭāb-šilliAššur; Ilī-anum; Anuppia; ^(f) Ababaya	Kuliya	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	Kaneš
(A)KT 5 14	kt 92/k 216	Kuliya	Aššur-šad-ilī	Kuliya; Aššur-lamassī	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 5 15	kt 92/k 248	Kuliya	Alpili; Aššur-lamassī	Kuliya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Tawinia	Kaneš
(A)KT 5 16	kt 92/k 255	Kuliya	Amur-Ištar	Kuliya; Aššur-ennam; Šalim-Aššur; Amurru-bānī	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	Kaneš
(A)KT 5 17	kt 92/k 236	Kuliya	Asanum	Kuliya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš	
(A)KT 5 18	kt 92/k 204	Kuliya	Asanum	Kuliya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 5 19	kt 92/k 205	Kuliya	Asanum	Kuliya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Hattum	Kaneš
(A)KT 5 20	kt 92/k 251	Kuliya	Aššur-ennam	Ilī-bānī; Kuliya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 5 21	kt 92/k 252	Kuliya	Aššur-ennam	Ilī-bānī; Kuliya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 5 22	kt 92/k 219	Kuliya	Aššur-emūqī	Kuliya; Aššur- lamassī; Aššur- lamassī	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 5 23	kt 92/k 231	Kuliya	ḫunaḫuna	Kuliya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 5 25	kt 92/k 244	Kuliya	Iddin-Suen	Kuliya	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Tuhpia	
(A)KT 5 27	kt 92/k 227	Kuliya	Amur-Ištar	Kuliya	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	Kaneš

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 5 28	kt 92/k 257	Kuliya	[Amur-Ištar]	[Kuliya]	broken	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 5 29	kt 92/k 254	Kuliya	[...]	[Kuliya]	broken		
(A)KT 5 31	kt 92/k 253	Kuliya	Iku-x; Zuzuwa	Ali-abum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 5 32	kt 92/k 256	Kuliya	[^(f) Ababaya]	[Kuliya]	broken		
(A)KT 5 33	kt 92/k 259	Kuliya					
(A)KT 5 76	kt 92/k 289	Kuliya	Aššur-imittī	Kuliya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš	City
(A)KT 5 26B	kt 92/k 190b	Kuliya	Pilaḥ-Ištar	Kuliya; ḥanunu; Ušur-ša-Aššur; Aššur-lamassī	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 5 30B	kt 92/k 191b	Kuliya	Anaḥ-ilī	Atata; ^(f) Kannutum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	Kaneš

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 5 74B	KT 89/k 315b	Kuliya	<i>kārum</i> Kaneš	Kuliya, their envoy; all <i>kārum</i> ; wherever Sukkallia, son of Aššuriš-tikal is staying	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš	
(A)KT 5 75B	kt 92/k 325	Kuliya	<i>dātum</i> payers; Kuliya, envoy of <i>kārum</i> Kaneš and <i>kārum</i> Durḫumit	all <i>kārum</i> s and wabartums until <i>kārum</i> Kaneš	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš i.a.</i>	
(A)KT 5 Addendum	kt 77/k 545; Kayseri 51	Kuliya	Abum-ilī	Nībī-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 6 2	kt 94/k 1733	Šalim-Aššur; Issu-arik dossier	Šalim-Aššur	Issu-arik	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	City?
(A)KT 6 3	kt 94/k 1746	Šalim-Aššur; Issu-arik dossier	Šalim-Aššur	Issu-arik	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	Hahhum
(A)KT 6 12	kt 94/k 1351	Šalim-Aššur; Iddin-abum dossier	Iddin-abum	[...];[...] (his brothers?)	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 13	kt 94/k 1362	Šalim-Aššur; Iddin- abum's dossier	Iddin-abum	Ennam-Aššur; Ali- aḫum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Durhumit</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 14	kt 94/k 1721	Šalim-Aššur; Iddin-abum dossier?	Iddin-abum	^{f} Šalimma; ^{f} Muza; Kadutala	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
(A)KT 6 74	kt 94/k 1136	Šalim-Aššur; Iddin- abum's death dossier	^{f} Šišara; ^{f} Ištar- lamassī	Šalim-Aššur; Aššur- <i>malik</i> , son of Luzina; Ikūn-pīya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 6 75	kt 94/k 839	Šalim-Aššur; Iddin- abum's death dossier	Aššur- <i>malik</i> ; Šalim- Aššur	Šalim-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	
(A)KT 6 76	kt 94/k 841	Šalim-Aššur; Iddin- abum's death dossier	Aššur- <i>malik</i> ; Šalim- Aššur; Iliya	Šalim-Ašur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 109	kt 94/k 842	Šalim-Aššur; Ušinalam	Šalim-Aššur	Amurru-bānī; Aššur-imittī; Šilulu; Šu-Kūbum; Ennam- ilī; Aššur-dān; Ilī- bānī; Enna-Suen; Šar-Adad; Zikiki	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Purušhaddu m	Kaneš
(A)KT 6 110	kt 94/k 917	Šalim-Aššur; Ušinalam	Šalim-Aššur	Envoys of the City; <i>kārum</i> Kaneš	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Purušhaddu m	Kaneš
(A)KT 6 113	kt 94/k 831	Šalim-Aššur; Ibaya's son	Adad-rabi	Šalim-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 114	kt 94/k 1701	Šalim-Aššur; Ibaya's son	Adad-rabi	Šalim-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 115	kt 94/k 840	Šalim-Aššur; Ibaya's son	Adad-rabi	Šalim-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 116	kt 94/k 1300	Šalim-Aššur; Ibaya's son	waklum	<i>kārum</i> Kaneš	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	Kaneš

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 124	kt 94/k 921	Šalim-Aššur; Sadaya's son	Ennam-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 6 125	kt 94/k 1444	Šalim-Aššur; Sadaya's son	Iddin-abum; Itūr-ilī; [PN]; Enaḥ-ilī; Ennam-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš	City
(A)KT 6 126	kt 94/k 612	Šalim-Aššur; Sadaya's son	Šalim-Aššur	Abuwa; Aššur-ṭāb; Adida; Ennam-Aššur; Ali-aḥum; Aluwa	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš	City
(A)KT 6 127	kt 94/ k 1322	Šalim-Aššur; Sadaya's son	Šalim-Aššur	[PN]; Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	Kaneš
(A)KT 6 128	kt 94/k 1383	Šalim-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur	Amurru-bānī; Aššur-imittī; Itūr-ilī; ḥana; Īnaḥ-ilī; Ennam-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	Kaneš
(A)KT 6 129	kt 94/k 1756	Šalim-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur	Amurru-bānī; Šilulu; Kuziziya; Aššur-dān	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	Kaneš?

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 130	kt 94/k 1757	Šalim-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur	Amurrum-bānī; Ennam-Bēlum; Šar- Adad; Panak	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	Kaneš
(A)KT 6 131	kt 94/k 1751	Šalim-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur	Amurrum-bānī; Aššur-imittī; Kuzizia; Ennam-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 6 132	kt 94/k 1754	Šalim-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur	Amurrum-bānī; Aššur-imittī; Šilulu; Aššur-dān; Šar-Adad; Puzur-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	City
(A)KT 6 133	kt 94/k 1443	Šalim-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur	Iddin-abum; Ennānum; Īnaḥ-ilī; Adida; Ennam-Aššur; Ali-aḥum; Amur-Ištar	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	caravan
(A)KT 6 134	kt 94/k 802	Šalim-Aššur	Kurub-Ištar; ḥis caravan	Envoys of the City; travellers	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	caravan	Kaneš?
(A)KT 6 135	kt 94/k 611	Šalim-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur	Kurub-Ištar; Ikūn- pīya; Šu-Ištar; Adida; Amur-Ištar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	Anatolia

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 136	kt 94/k 1169	Šalim-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur	Iddin-abum; Ennānum; Īnaḥ-ilī; Ikūnpia; Šu-Ištar; Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 137	kt 94/k 1422	Šalim-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur	Iddin-abum; Itūr-ilī; Ennānum; Īnaḥ-ilī; Ennam-Ašur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 6 138	kt 94/k 1257	Šalim-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur	Iddin-abum; Itūr-ilī; Ennānum; Īnaḥ-ilī; Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	Kaneš
(A)KT 6 139	kt 95/k 1164	Šalim-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur	Iddin-abum; Ennānum; Īnaḥ-ilī; Man- <i>maḥir</i> ; Ennam- Aššur; Ali-aḥum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 141	kt 94/k 864b	Šalim-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur	Iddin-abum; Ennānum; Īnaḥ-ilī; Man- <i>maḥir</i> ; Ennam- Aššur; Ali-aḥum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	Kaneš
(A)KT 6 142	kt 94/k 1445	Šalim-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur	Iddin-abum; Ennānum; Īnaḥ-ilī; Adida; Ennam-Aššur; Ali-aḥum; Amur-Ištar	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	Kaneš

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 143	kt 94/k 1318	Šalim-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur	Iddin-abum; Itūr-ilī; Īnaḥ-ilī; Ennam- Aššur; Ali-aḥum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City?	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 144	kt 94/k 1686	Šalim-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur	Ali-aḥum; Šēp-lštar; Aššur-kašid	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City?	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 146	kt 94/ k 1301	Šalim-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur	Iddin-abum; Laqepum; Īnaḥ-ilī; Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 6 148	kt 94/k 1001	Šalim-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur	<i>ša kīma iāti; Idnaya;</i> Šu-lštar; Ennam- Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 149	kt 94/k 1238	Šalim-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur	<i>ša kīma iāti; Ennam-</i> Aššur; Ali-aḥum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Tegarama	Kaneš
(A)KT 6 150	kt 94/k 1609	Šalim-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur	<i>ša kīma iāti; Ennam-</i> Aššur; Ali-aḥum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	Kaneš

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 151	kt 94/k 833	Šalim-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur	Aššuriš-tikal; Ennānum; Ennam- Aššur, son of Uzuwa; Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 152	kt 94/k 776	Šalim-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur	Itūr-ilī; Ennānum; Ennam-Aššur; Ali- aḫum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
(A)KT 6 153	kt 94/k 696	Šalim-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur	Šilulu; Ikūn-pīya; Aduda	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 6 155	kt 94/k 1336	Šalim-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur; Ali- aḫum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 6 156	kt 94/k 1608	Šalim-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur; Ali- aḫum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 6 157	kt 94/k 1607	Šalim-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur; Ali- aḫum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 158	kt 94/k 1303	Šalim-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur; Ali- aḫum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 6 160	kt 94/k 889B	Šalim-Aššur	[Šalim-Aššur]	[Ennam-Aššur; Ali- aḫum]	broken		
(A)KT 6 161	kt 94/k 1188	Šalim-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 6 162	kt 94/k 1750	Šalim-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur	Aššur- <i>malik</i> ; Šalim- Aššur; Adad-rabi	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	
(A)KT 6 163	kt 94/k 1310	Šalim-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur	Aššur- <i>malik</i> ; (f)šišara; (f)Ištar- lamassī; Aššur-dān	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	
(A)KT 6 164	kt 94/k 1744	Šalim-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur	(f)šišara; Aduda	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	City
(A)KT 6 165	kt 94/k 1758	Šalim-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur	[PN]; Šalim-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 166	kt 94/k 1130	Šalim-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur; Pūšu- kēn; Sabasia	Iliš-tikal	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	
(A)KT 6 167	kt 94/k 1736	Šalim-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur; Sabasia; <i>tamkārum</i>	Pilaḥ-lštar; Zikiki	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš	City
(A)KT 6 168	kt 94/k 1772	Šalim-Aššur	[šalim-Aššur]		broken	Anatolia	City
(A)KT 6 169	kt 94/k 1173	Šalim-Aššur	[šalim-Aššur]		broken		
(A)KT 6 170	kt 94/k 1402	Šalim-Aššur	Šu-Tammuzi; Adida; Elaya; lamassī	Šalim-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	
(A)KT 6 171	kt 94/k 1118	Šalim-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 6 172	kt 94/k 1446	Šalim-Aššur	Iddin-abum; Itūr-ilī; Īnaḥ-ilī; Ennam- Aššur; Ali-aḥum	Šalim-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 6 173	kt 94/k 1470	Šalim-Aššur	Iddin-abum; Ennānum; Šu-lštar; Ennam-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš	City

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 174	kt 94/k 850	Šalim-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City?	
(A)KT 6 175	kt 94/k 1463	Šalim-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš	
(A)KT 6 176	kt 94/k 1461	Šalim-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur		Anatolia	City?
(A)KT 6 177	kt 94/k 1020	Šalim-Aššur	Wašunalam	Šalim-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Purušhaddu</i> <i>m</i>	
(A)KT 6 178	kt 94/k 1772	Šalim-Aššur	Šu-Kūbum	Amurru-bānī; Šalim-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	caravan	Kaneš?
(A)KT 6 179	kt 94/k 1775	Šalim-Aššur	Abu-šalim	Šalim-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 6 208	kt 94/k 916	Šalim-Aššur; Šalim-Aššur's death dossier	Itūr-ilī	Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Durhumit</i>	

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 208a	kt 94/k 728	Šalim-Aššur; Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	Itūr-ilī	Ennam-Aššur; Ali- aḫum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 6 209	kt 94/k 747	Šalim-Aššur; Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	Ali-aḫum; Amur-Ištar	Ennam-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Durhumit</i>	
(A)KT 6 211	kt 94/k 636	Šalim-Aššur; Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	<i>kārum</i> Kaneš	ubartum ša Kuburnat	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš	Kuburnat
(A)KT 6 212	kt 94/k 644	Šalim-Aššur; Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	<i>kārum</i> Kaneš	ubartum ša Kuburnat	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš	Kuburnat
(A)KT 6 214	kt 94/k 945	Šalim-Aššur	Adida; Ali-aḫum	Ilī-emūqī; Šu- Tammuzi; Abia; Elaya; lamassī	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 215	kt 94/k 1487	Šalim-Aššur; Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	Adida; Ali-aḥum	[?]		Kaneš	City
(A)KT 6 219	kt 94/k 1021	Šalim-Aššur; Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	Ennam-Aššur; Ali- aḥum	Puzur-Adad; Ladia; Ennam-Aššur; Enna- Suen; Aššur-idī; Ikūn-pīya; Lila	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš	City
(A)KT 6 220	kt 94/k 1297	Šalim-Aššur; Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	Ennam-Aššur	Man- <i>maḥir</i> ; Lā-qēp; Ali-aḥum; Šu-līštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Durhumit?	
(A)KT 6 223	kt 94/k 614	Šalim-Aššur; Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	^(f) Ennam-līštar; (piggybaš)k ^(f) Naḥištum	Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 224	kt 94/k 1688	Šalim-Aššur; Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	Ennam-Aššur	Ali-aḫum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 6 225	kt 94/k 1009	Šalim-Aššur; Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	Ennam-Aššur	Kuzizia; Lā-qēp; (f)Anna-anna		Durhumit?	
(A)KT 6 230	kt 94/k 1396	Šalim-Aššur; Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	Ennam-Aššur; Ali- aḫum	Šu-Tammuzi; Elaya; Adida; (f)lamassī; Ennam-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Durhumit	City
(A)KT 6 231	kt 94/k 1134	Šalim-Aššur; Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	Ennam-Aššur	Šu-Tammuzi; Elaya; Aššur- <i>massu</i> ʾī; Kudātum; Adida; (f)lamassī; Ennam- Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 232	kt 94/k 1117	Šalim-Aššur; Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	Ennam-Aššur	Šu-Tammuzi; Elaya; Aššur-massu ^ʾ ī; Adida; Ennam-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	
(A)KT 6 233	kt 94/k 739	Šalim-Aššur; Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	Ennam-Aššur	Aššur-massu ^ʾ ī; (f)lamassī	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	
(A)KT 6 235	kt 94/k 863B	Šalim-Aššur; Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	Šu-Tammuzi; Elaya; Ennam-Aššur; (f)lamassī	Ennam-Aššur; Ali- aḫum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	<i>Durhumit/K aneš</i>
(A)KT 6 236	kt 94/k 772	Šalim-Aššur; Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	(f)lamassī	Ennam-Aššur; Ali- aḫum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	<i>Durhumit/K aneš</i>

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 237	kt 94/k 1626+1627	Šalim-Aššur; Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	^{f} lamassī	Ali-aḥum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	<i>Durhumit/K</i> <i>aneš</i>
(A)KT 6 238	kt 94/k 1337	Šalim-Aššur; Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	^{f} Anna-Anna	Ennam-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	<i>Durhumit</i>
(A)KT 6 239	kt 94/k 1178	Šalim-Aššur; Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	^{f} Anna-anna	Ennam-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	<i>Durhumit</i>
(A)KT 6 240	kt 94/k 1254	Šalim-Aššur; Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	Elali	Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 241	kt 94/k 815	Šalim-Aššur; Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	Enna-šuen; Ennam- Aššur	Ummaza; Tutaya	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš	City
(A)KT 6 242	kt 94/k 720	Šalim-Aššur; Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	[Ennam-Aššur]	?			
(A)KT 6 243	kt 94/k 1135	Šalim-Aššur; Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	Damiq-pī-Aššur	Ali-aḥum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	
(A)KT 6 244	kt 94/k 844	Šalim-Aššur; Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	Atata; Šu-Anum; Dannaya; ^(f) lamassī	Ali-aḥum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 245	kt 94/k 1421	Šalim-Aššur; Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	[PNs]; ^{f} lamassī	Adida; Ababa; Ali- aḫum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	
(A)KT 6 246	kt 94/k 1669	Šalim-Aššur; Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	[PN]	Ali-aḫum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 6 247	kt 94/k 719	Šalim-Aššur; Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	^{f} lamassī	Ali-aḫum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	
(A)KT 6 249	kt 94/k 590B	Šalim-Aššur; Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	Man- <i>maḫir</i>	Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Durhumit?</i> <i>cf. AKT 6</i> <i>251, 18ff.</i>	Kaneš?

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 253	kt 94/k 613	Šalim-Aššur; Šalmi- Aššur's death dossier (?)	Ennam-Aššur	Man- <i>maḥir</i>	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	Durhumit?
(A)KT 6 254	kt 94/k 619	Šalim-Aššur; (Šalim- Aššur's death dossier?)	Alulaya; Amur-Ištar	Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 6 285	kt 94/k 1349	Šalim-Aššur; Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	Ababa	Ṭnaḥ-ilī; Ali-aḥum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Durhumit?	Kaneš?
(A)KT 6 287	kt 94/k 1146B	Šalim-Aššur; Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	Man- <i>maḥir</i> ; Dān- Aššur; Ali-aḥum; Šu- Ištar	Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	Kaneš

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 288	kt 94/k 1606	Šalim-Aššur; Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	Alulaya; Amur-Ištar	Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 6 291	kt 94/k 1346	Šalim-Aššur			broken		
(A)KT 6 293	kt 94/k 587B	Šalim-Aššur; Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	Ennam-Aššur	Enna-Suen; Ilī-bānī	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 6 294	kt 94/k 1133	Šalim-Aššur; Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	Ilī-emūqī; Šu- Tammuzi; abīya; Elaya; ^(f) lamassī	Adida; Ali-aḥum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš	City
(A)KT 6 296	kt 94/k 753	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Ali-aḥum	Ennam-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>
(A)KT 6 297	kt 94/k 1689	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	[...]; Ali-aḥum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	Durhumit?

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 299	kt 94/k 1017	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	^(f) Anna-anna	Ennam-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš	<i>City</i>
(A)KT 6 300	kt 94/k 662	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	^(f) Anna-anna	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš	
(A)KT 6 301	kt 94/k 642	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Aššur-ṭāb	^(f) Anna-anna	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
(A)KT 6 303	kt 94/k 1668	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	Mannum-kī-Aššur; ^(f) Anna-anna	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 304	kt 94/k 650	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	Mannum-kī-Aššur; ^(f) Anna-anna	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 306	kt 94/k 1305	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Abī-...]	[Ennam-Aššur]	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 307	kt 94/k 1269	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	Mannum-kī-Aššur; Nab-Suen; ^(f) Anna- anna; Daraš	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	Kaneš

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 309	kt 94/k 1014	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	Lā-qēp; ^{f} Anna-anna	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	Kaneš
(A)KT 6 310	kt 94/k 1390	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	Lā-qēp; ^{f} Anna-anna	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Anatolia	Kaneš
(A)KT 6 311	kt 94/k 633	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Ennam-aššur	Kukuzia; Lā-qēp; ^{f} Anna-anna	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš	
(A)KT 6 312	kt 94/k 1395	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	[...]	[Ennam-Aššur]; Lā-qēp; ^{f} Anna-anna; Šu-...]	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City?	
(A)KT 6 313	kt 94/k 1242	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur; ^{f} Anna-anna	^{f} Abi-bāštī; Mannumma; Belia; Ennam-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš	
(A)KT 6 314	kt 94/k 682	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	^{f} Anna-anna	^{f} Šāt-Anna; Lulu; Nazi	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš	Durhumit
(A)KT 6 315	kt 94/k 1116	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Ennam-aššur	^{f} Šāt-Anna	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	en route to Durhumit	Durhumit

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 316	kt 94/k 666	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	^(f) Šāt-Anna	Ennam-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 6 317	kt 94/k 638	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	^(f) Šāt-Anna	Ennam-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Durhumit</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 318	kt 94/k 718	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	^(f) Šāt-Anna	Ennam-Aššur; Damiq-pī-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
(A)KT 6 319	kt 94/k 1677	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	^(f) Šāt-Anna	Damqaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	
(A)KT 6 321	kt 94/k 397	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	^(f) La[massi]	En[nam-Aššur]	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 322	kt 94/k 1401	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Damiq-pī-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur; Ali- aḫum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 323	kt 94/k 805	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Damiq-pī-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur; Ali- aḫum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	<i>Kaneš</i>

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 324	kt 94/k 645	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Damiq-pī-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur; Ali-aḫum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 325	kt 94/k 609	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Damiq-pī-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur; Ali-aḫum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 327	kt 94/k 595B	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Damiq-pī-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur; Ali-aḫum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 328	kt 94/k 1317	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Damiq-pī-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur; Ali-aḫum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 329	kt 94/k 1131	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	Damiq-pī-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	Anatolia
(A)KT 6 330	kt 94/k 1106	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	Damiq-pī-Aššur		<i>Kaneš</i>	Anatolia
(A)KT 6 331	kt 94/k 922	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	<i>tamkārum</i>	Ennam-Aššur; Damiq-pī-Aššur; Ali-aḫum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 332	kt 94/k 668	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Belia	Ennam-Aššur; Lā- qēp	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	<i>City</i>
(A)KT 6 333	kt 94/k 1373	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	Amur-šamaš; Aššur- ṭāb; Lā-qēp	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
(A)KT 6 334	kt 94/k 1101	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Lā-qēp	Ennam-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
(A)KT 6 336	kt 94/k 788	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	Alulaya; Dān-Aššur; Lā-qēp	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Katila	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 338	kt 95/k 1247	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Lā-qēp	Ennam-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	<i>City</i>
(A)KT 6 340	kt 94/k 1387	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Ikūn-pīya	Ennam-Aššur; Iddin- abum; Lā-qēp	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Durhumit?	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 341	kt 94/k 771+880	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Ikūn-pīya	Ennam-Aššur; Lā- qēp; Iddin-abum; Adad-pilaḥ	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Durhumit?	<i>Kaneš</i>

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 342	kt)4/k 1302	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur; Iddin-abum; Lā-qēp	Ikūn-pīya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš	Durhumit?
(A)KT 6 343	kt 94/k 620	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Ikūn-pīya	Ibni-ilī; Būr-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
(A)KT 6 344	kt 94/k 1672	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Ikūn-pīya	Ibni-ilī; Bekaya; Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Durhumit	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 345	kt 94/k 1341	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Ikūn-pīya	Šumma-libi-aššur; Ennam-Aššur; Bekaya	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Durhumit	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 346	kt 94/k 790	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	Ikūn-pīya; Erišum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	City?
(A)KT 6 347	kt 94/k 789	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	Ikūn-pīya; Abuwa; Erišum; Kudātum; Šu-lštar; Ennam-Suen	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 348	kt 94/k 1013	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Ikūn-pīya; Dān-Aššur; Šalim-wardi; Šu-Nunu	Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Durhumit?	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 350	kt 94/k 800	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	Aššuriš-tikal; Ikūn-pīya; Iddin-abum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Wahšušana</i>	
(A)KT 6 352	kt 94/k 774	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Ikūn-pīya; Dān-Aššur; Šalim-wardi	Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš	
(A)KT 6 353	kt 94/k 1252	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	Ikūn-pīya; Dān-Aššur; Šalim-wardi; Šu-Nunu		Kaneš	Anatolia
(A)KT 6 354	kt 94/k 941	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Dān-Aššur; Šalim-wardi; Šu-Nunu	Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš	
(A)KT 6 355	kt 94/k 1311	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Ikūn-pīya	Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš	
(A)KT 6 356	kt 94/k 698	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Ikūn-pīya	Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 357	kt 94/k 930	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Ikūn-pīya	Ibni-ilī; Ennam- Aššur; [PN]	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 6 358	kt 94/k 801	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Ikūn-pīya	Ennam-Aššur; Adad- pilaḥ; Šu-Ḫubur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Anatolia	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 360	kt 94/k 687	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Ikūn-pīya	Puzur-Ištar; Ennam- Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City?	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 361	kt 94/k 723	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	Kuzizia; Pilaḥ-Ištar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	Anatolia
(A)KT 6 362	kt 94/k 974	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Kuzizia	Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Anatolia	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 364	kt 94/k 856B	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Kuzizia	Ennam-Aššur; Šu- Bēlum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Anatolia	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 365	kt 94/k 856C	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Kuzizia	Ennam-Aššur; Šu- Bēlum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Anatolia	<i>Kaneš</i>

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 366	kt 94/k 1323	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Kuzizia	Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Wahšušana?	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 367	kt 94/k 1376	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	Kuzizia; Turam-ilī; Man- <i>maḥir</i> ; Šu- Bēlum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
(A)KT 6 368	kt 94/k 952	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	Kuzizia; ^{f} Ištar- lamassī; Nab-Suen; ^{f} Anna-anna; Amur- Ištar; Šalim-wardi; Mannum-kī-ilā	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	Kaneš
(A)KT 6 369	kt 94/k 1266	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	Kuzizia; ^{f} Ištar- lamassī; Nab-Suen; ^{f} Anna-anna; Amur- Ištar; Šalim-wardi; Mannum-kī-ilā	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	Kaneš
(A)KT 6 370	kt 94/k 742	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	Kuzizia; ^{f} Ištar- lamassī; Nab-Suen; ^{f} Anna-anna; Amur- Ištar; Šalim-wardi; Mannum-kī-ilā	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	Kaneš

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 371	kt 94/k 824	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Kuzizia	Kukuwa; Ennam- Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš	City
(A)KT 6 373	kt 94/k 1145B	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Kukuwa; Šu-Ištar	Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Anatolia (not Kaneš)	City?
(A)KT 6 374	kt 94/k 1447	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Kuzizia	Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Purušhaddu m?	
(A)KT 6 375	kt 94/k 589B	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Man- <i>maḥir</i> ; Šukkutum	Ṭnaḥ-ilī; Šu-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City?	
(A)KT 6 377	kt 94/k 601B	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Man- <i>maḥir</i>	Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Anatolia	Kaneš
(A)KT 6 378	kt 94/k 1384	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Man- <i>maḥir</i>	Ennam-Aššur; Lulu	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš?	
(A)KT 6 379	kt 94/k920	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	Ennānum; Kukuwa; Man- <i>maḥir</i> ; (f)Ḥadītum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 380	kt 94/k 847	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	Ennānum; Man- <i>maḥir</i> ; Ali-aḥum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 6 381	kt 94/k 657	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Man- <i>maḥir</i>	ḥanunu; Ennam-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Anatolia	
(A)KT 6 382	kt 94/k 980	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	<i>Kudātum</i> ; Man- <i>maḥir</i>	Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 6 383	kt 94/k 1004	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	Iddin-abum; Itūr-ilī; Ennānum; Ali-aḥum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 6 384	kt 94/k 786	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	Iddin-abum; Itūr-ilī; Kukuwa; Adida; Ali-aḥum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	City
(A)KT 6 385	kt 94/k 694	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Itūr-ilī	Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 6 386	kt 94/k 1374	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Itūr-ilī	Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City?	Kaneš?

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 387	kt 95/k 394	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	Itūr-ilī	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	City?
(A)KT 6 388	kt 94/k 621	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Alulaya; <i>tamkārum</i>	Itūr-ilī	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	City?
(A)KT 6 389	kt 94/k 819	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	Iddin-abum; Itūr-ilī; Ennānum; Īnaḥ-ilī	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City?	
(A)KT 6 391	kt 94/k 637	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	Pilaḥ-lštar; Amur-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	City?
(A)KT 6 392	kt 94/k 626	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Pilaḥ-lštar	Aššur-taklāku; Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
(A)KT 6 393	kt 94/k 1379	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Pilaḥ-lštar	Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 6 394	kt 94/k 1277	Šalim-Aššur; Ennama-Aššur	Pilaḥ-lštar	Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 395	kt 94/k 803	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Alaya; Šēp-Ištar	<i>tamkārum</i>	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
(A)KT 6 397	kt 94/k 1406	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Amur-Ištar	Ennam-aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Wahšušana	
(A)KT 6 399	kt 94/k 596B	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Amur-Ištar	Ennam-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 6 401	kt 94/k 592B	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Aššur- <i>malik</i>	Ennam-Aššur; Ikūnum; Amur-Ištar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 6 402	kt 94/k 977	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Amur-Ištar	Ennam-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Šalatuwar?	Kaneš
(A)KT 6 404	kt 94/k 1180B	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	<i>ša kīma kuāti</i> (representatives)	Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 405	kt 94/k 1190	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Aššur- <i>massu</i> ʾī	Aššur-nādā; Ennam- aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	<i>Kaneš</i>

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 407	kt 94/k 746	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	Aššur-massuṛī; Šu-Kūbum; Aluwa	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City?	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 408	kt 94/k 1123	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	Šu-Tammuzi; Elaya; Aššur-massuṛī; Ennam-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	<i>City</i>
(A)KT 6 409	kt 94/k 727	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	Ilī-mūtappil; Aluwa	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	Purušhaddu m
(A)KT 6 410	kt 94/k 1231	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	Ilī-mūtappil	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	Purušhaddu m
(A)KT 6 414	kt 94/k 593B	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Turam-ilī	Ennam-Aššur; Šu-Kūbum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš?	<i>City</i>
(A)KT 6 415	kt 94/k 629	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Šu-lštar	Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Anatolia?	Anatolia?
(A)KT 6 416	kt 94/k 569	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur; [PN]	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	City?

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 417	kt 94/k 816	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Ilī-bānī; Aššur- <i>massu</i> ʾī; Ennānum; Šu-līstar	Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš?	
(A)KT 6 419	kt 94/k 1181B	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	Mannum-balum- Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 6 422	kt 94/k 616	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Šillī-Adad	Ušuranum; Ennam- Aššur; Ibni-Adad	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 6 423	kt 94/k 634	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Šillī-Adad	Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš	
(A)KT 6 425	kt 94/k 594B	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Amur-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City?	Kaneš?
(A)KT 6 426	kt 94/k 913	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Aššur-šamšī	Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 6 427	kt 94/k 823	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Buzuwa; Tāb- šilliAššur; Ali-abum	Ennam-Aššur; Ali- aḫum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City?	Kaneš?

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 428	kt 94/k 624	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Ennam-Suen	Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 6 429	kt 94/k 938	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	^{f} Ešarra; ^{f} Ab-šalim	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 6 430	kt 94/k 1678	Šalim-Aššur	Ibni-Adad	Ennam-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 6 432	kt 94/k 1419B	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	^{f} Ištar-rabiʿat	Ennam-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 6 433	kt 94/k 1008	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	^{f} Ištar-rabiʿat	Ušuranum; Ennam- Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 6 434	kt 94/k 1735	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Ilī-dān	Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City?	Kaneš?
(A)KT 6 435	kt 94/k 1411	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Ilī-dān	Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City?	Kaneš?

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 436	kt 94/k 817	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Ilī-dān	Kukuwa; Šarra-Suen; Agia; Ennam-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City?	Kaneš?
(A)KT 6 437	kt 94/k 625	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Kukuwa	Amurru-[bānī]; Ennānum; Ennam- [Aššur]	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 6 438	kt 94/k 692	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Iddin-abum	Šumma-libbi-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš?	
(A)KT 6 439	kt 94/k 640	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Iddin-Suen	Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 6 440	kt 94/k 688	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Ilī-bānī	Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 6 442	kt 94/k 862B	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Nab-Suen; Ennam- Aššur	<i>Kudātum</i>	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>
(A)KT 6 443	kt 94/k 1316	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Kuzia	Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 444	kt 94/k 1522	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	Kuzia; Ṭāb-šilliaššur; Šēp-Ištar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	Šalatuwar
(A)KT 6 445	kt 94/k 1426	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Belia	Ennam-Aššur; ^(f) Ištar- bāštī	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 6 446	kt 94/k 630	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Kududu	Muza; Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	Kaneš?
(A)KT 6 447	kt 94/k 1219	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	Kura	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	way to City	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 448	kt 94/k 627	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	[...]	Lulu; Ennam-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Anatolia?	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 449	kt 94/k 1763	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Šalim-Ištar	Aššur-nādā; Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 450	kt 94/k 1610	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Šu-Tammuzi	Ennam-Aššur; Ali- aḫum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 451	kt 94/k 618	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Tutaya	Ennam-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City?	Kaneš?
(A)KT 6 452	kt 94/k 1616	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Enn[am-Aššur]	[...]; Iddin-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 6 453	kt 94/K 806	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Šu-Nunu	Ennam-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 6 456	kt 94/k 853	Šalim-Aššur	[...]	Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 6 457	kt 94/k 798	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	(Ennam-Aššur)				
(A)KT 6 458	kt 94/k 1218	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur					
(A)KT 6 459	kt 94/k 779	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur					

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 730	kt 94/k 1709	Šalim-Aššur	[...]	Amur-šamaš	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 6 731	kt 94/k 1388	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	Ištar-pilaḥ	Amur-šarrassa; Peruwa	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 6 732	kt 94/k 1248	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	^(f) Anaḥ-Ištar	^(f) Ab-šalim	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 733	kt 94/k 1719	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	Aššur-bānī	Aššur-imittī	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 6 735	kt 94/k 1787B	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	Aššur-bānī	Šuppi-numan; ^(f) Ummī-Išḫara; ḫanu	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 6 736	kt 94/k 571	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	Nini	Aššur-damiq	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 6 737	kt 94/k 781	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	^(f) Ab-šalim	Aššur-damiq	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 739	kt 94/k 600B	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	Aššur-gimli	Azu; Ištaḫšušar; Niwala	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 6 740	kt 94/k 1525	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	Kurub-Ištar	Aššur- <i>malik</i>	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 6 741	kt 94/k 1714	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	Šagiš-kēnum	Aššur-mūtappil; Aššur- <i>malik</i>	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 6 742	kt 94/k 1722	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	Akkadiya	Aššur- <i>malik</i>	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 6 743	kt 94/k 1718	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	Aššur-mūtappil	Išdu-ken	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 6 745	kt 94/k 861B	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	^(f) Kurbi-ilī	Aššur-nimrī	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	
(A)KT 6 746	kt 94/k 778	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	^(f) Kurbi-ilī	Aššur-nimrī	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 748	kt 94/k 963	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	Amu-...]	Aššur-...]	broken		
(A)KT 6 749	kt 94/k 912	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	Puzur-Aššur	representatives (<i>ša kīma iāti</i>)	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 6 750	kt 94/k 1526	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	Belulu	Aḥ-šalim	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 6 752	kt 94/k 597B	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	Buburanum	abīya; Aššur-ṭāb	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 6 753	kt 94/k 1720	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	Buzu	Emeni	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 6 754	kt 94/k 1788	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	Damiq-pī-Aššur	Puzur-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 6 755	kt 94/k 1697	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	[...]	Dān-Aššur; [...]	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 756	kt 94/k 1477	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	Puzur-Aššur	Dān-Aššur; Ušmaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 757	kt 94/k 1713	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	^(f) Kakkaba	Ennam-Anum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Anatolia	
(A)KT 6 758	kt 94/k 754	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	Ennānum	Idnaya; Aššur-...]	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 6 760	kt 94/k 1369B	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed		broken		<i>City</i>	
(A)KT 6 761	kt 94/k 631	Šalim-Aššur	^(f) Ayarti	Ennam-Suen	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 6 762	kt 94/k 1232	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	ḫannaya	Aššur-imittī; Kariya	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	<i>City</i>
(A)KT 6 763	kt 94/k 1768	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	[ḫanu]; A-...]	broken			

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 765	kt 94/k 869B	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	^{f} Parrurtum	Iddin-abum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	Kaneš?
(A)KT 6 766	kt 94/k 1712	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	Ikūn-pī-Aššur	Ilia; Kura	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Anatolia	Kaneš?
(A)KT 6 768	kt 94/k 591B	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	Ikūn-pīya	Puzur-šadue	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 6 769	kt 94/k 1524	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	Iluwa	Sueya	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 770	kt 94/k 935	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed (Innaya)	ḫusarum; ^{f} Tarām- kūbī	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 6 771	kt 94/k 1692	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed (Innaya)	Innaya	Aššur-ṭāb; Puzur- Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš?	<i>City</i>
(A)KT 6 772	kt 94/k 1409	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed (Innaya)	Innaya	Zuzu; Puzur-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 773	kt 94/k 1127	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed (Innaya)	Ilī-bānī	Innaya; [...]	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 774	kt 94/k 1213	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	ḫannaya; Abum-ilum	Itūr-ilī	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 6 775	kt 94/k 1762	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	[...]; Kuziziya	[...]	broken	<i>City</i>	Kaneš?
(A)KT 6 776	kt 94/k 1708	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	Aššur-rabi	Luzina; Lipit-Anum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 6 777	kt 94/k 1019	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	Man- <i>maḫir</i>	Bazia; Šu-Ḫubur; Kulma-kulma; Puzur- Ištar	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	Kaneš?
(A)KT 6 780	kt 94/k 610B	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	^{f} Ab-šalim	Mannum-balum- Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	
(A)KT 6 782	kt 94/k 598B	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	Ušur-ša-Aššur	Mannum-kī-Aššur; ^{f} Aḫatum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 784	kt 94/k 1389	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	^{f} Ani-wani	Puzur-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	
(A)KT 6 785	kt 94/k 1612	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	^{f} Ani-wani	Puzur-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 6 786	kt 94/k 1759	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	^{f} Belatum	Šalimma	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	
(A)KT 6 788	kt 94/k 1334B	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	Ennam-Aššur	^{f} Šazuwa; ^{f} Šalimma; ^{f} Tatya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	
(A)KT 6 792	kt 94/k 607B	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	Šu-Bēlum	Ali-aḫum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš	City
(A)KT 6 794	kt 95/k 392	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	Iliya	Šu-Ištar; Urmeša	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 6 795	kt 94/k 999	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	Šu-Ištar	Šumma-libši; Ilī- alum; Amur-Ištar	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 796	kt 94/k 1707	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	Mannum-balum- Aššur	Šu-Ištar; [...]	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	
(A)KT 6 797	kt 94/k 1343	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	Šukkutum	^{f} Uštaḫšušar	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 6 798	kt 94/k 1453	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	Šukkutum	^{f} Tibula; ^{f} Tanušta; ^{f} Aštaḫšušar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 6 799	kt 94/k 1294	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	Šukkutum	^{f} Tanawišti; ^{f} Ištakušar	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 6 800	kt 94/k 1208	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	Šu-Ištar	<i>tamkārum</i>	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 6 802	kt 94/k 910	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	Adaya; Aššur-ṭāb	<i>tamkārum</i>	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 6 803	kt 94/k 1748	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	Amur-Ištar; Ilī-bānī	Itūr-ilī; <i>tamkārum</i>	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 804	kt 94/k 1742	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	<i>tamkārum</i>	Adad-bānī; [...]; Iliš- tikal; Pilaḥ-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	Kaneš?
(A)KT 6 805	kt 94/k 1745	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	[...]; <i>tamkārum</i>	Iliš-tikal; Pilaḥ-lštar	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	
(A)KT 6 806	kt 94/k 1225	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	Šu-lštar	<i>tamkārum</i>	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Anatolia	City?
(A)KT 6 807	kt 94/k 1255	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	Šu-lštar; Lā-qēp	<i>tamkārum</i>	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	Kaneš?
(A)KT 6 808	kt 94/k 1679	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	Puzur-Aššur; Damiq- pī-Aššur	<i>tamkārum</i> ; Zukuwa	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 6 809	kt 94/k 1673	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed	Puzur-Aššur	Zukuwa	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Durhumit	
(A)KT 6 811	kt 94/k 979	Šalim-Aššur; unattributed		broken			

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 6 208b	kt 94/k 1400	Šalim-Aššur; Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	Itūr-ilī	Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 6 302b	kt 94/k 1488B	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	^{f} Anna-anna	Ennam-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	<i>City</i>
(A)KT 6 337b	kt 94/k 959	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Lā-qēp	Ennam-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
(A)KT 8 3	kt 91/k 355	Elamma	Ilia; Aššur-rēšī; Ennam-Aššur; Dadia	Elamma	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	Kaneš
(A)KT 8 6	kt 91/k 533	Elamma	Elamma	Aššur-rēšī	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš	City
(A)KT 8 16	kt 91/k 350	Elamma	Elamma	Ummīani; Ali-aḥum (elder brother); Aššur-rēšī; Dadia; Ennam-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš	City

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 8 17	kt 91/k 352	Elamma	Elamma	Ennam-Aššur; Dadia	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš	City
(A)KT 8 18	kt 91/k 530	Elamma	Elamma	Aššur-rēšī; Dadia; Ennam-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš	City
(A)KT 8 19	kt 91/k 357	Elamma	Elamma; Aššur-dān	Amur-lštar; Aššur- nādā; Kun-ilum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš	
(A)KT 8 20	kt 92/k 145	Elamma	Elamma	Lā-qēp	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš?</i>	
(A)KT 8 21	kt 92/k 148	Elamma	ḫinnaya	Elamma; Aššur-šulūlī	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš	
(A)KT 8 22	kt 91/k 303	Elamma	Aššur- <i>malik</i>	Elamma	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš	
(A)KT 8 23	kt 91/k 354	Elamma	Aššur- <i>malik</i>	Elamma	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš	City

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 8 24	kt 92/k 156	Elamma	[PN]; Aššur-m[...]	Elamma	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 8 25	kt 92/k 160B	Elamma	Aššur-mūtappil	Elamma	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Purušhaddu</i> <i>m</i>	Kaneš?
(A)KT 8 26	kt 91/k 356	Elamma	ḫinnaya	Elamma	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	City?
(A)KT 8 27	kt 91/k 307	Elamma	Ali-aḫum; Aššur-rēṣī; Ennam-Aššur; Dadia	Elamma	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	Kaneš
(A)KT 8 28	kt 91/k 315	Elamma	Īnaḫ-ilī	Elamma; Kurub-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	caravan	Kaneš
(A)KT 8 29	kt 92/k 153	Elamma	Aššur-rēṣī	Elamma	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	caravan	Kaneš
(A)KT 8 30	kt 91/k 349	Elamma	Elamma	Ali-aḫum; ḫinnaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	Kaneš

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 8 31	kt 91/k 445	Elamma	iddin-Aššur	Elamma; Kurub-Ištar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	Kaneš
(A)KT 8 32	kt 91/k 448	Elamma	Iddin-Aššur	Kurub-Ištar; <i>tamkārum</i> (=Elamma)	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	caravan	Kaneš
(A)KT 8 34	kt 91/k 358	Elamma	Ali-aḫum; Dadia; [PN]	Elamma; Kurub-Ištar	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	Kaneš
(A)KT 8 35	kt 91/k 418	Elamma	Ennam-Aššur; Dadia	Elamma	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	Kaneš
(A)KT 8 36	kt 91/k 419	Elamma	Ennam-Aššur; Dadia; ḫinnaya	Elamma	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	Kaneš
(A)KT 8 37	kt 91/k 484	Elamma	Ali-aḫum; Aššur-rēšī; Ennam-Aššur; Dadia	Elamma	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	Kaneš
(A)KT 8 38	kt 91/k 532	Elamma	Ali-aḫum; Aššur-rēšī; Ennam-Aššur; Dadia	Elamma	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	Kaneš

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 8 39	kt 92/k 142	Elamma	Illia; Aššur-rēšī; Ennam-Aššur; Dadia	Elamma	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	Kaneš
(A)KT 8 40	kt 92/k 143	Elamma	Ennam-Aššur; Dadia	Elamma	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	Kaneš
(A)KT 8 41	kt 91/k 487	Elamma	[PN]; Pūšu-kēn; [PN]; Aššur-r[...]	[PNs]	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	
(A)KT 8 42	kt 92/k 144	Elamma	Lā-qēp; Šu-Aššur	Elamma	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš	Anatolia
(A)KT 8 47	kt 91/k 291	Elamma	Aššur-imittī	Elamma	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš?</i>	
(A)KT 8 48	kt 91/k 343	Elamma	[PN}	[Elamma]	broken		
(A)KT 8 79	kt 91/k 317	Elamma	Elamma	Aššur-rēšī; Eannam- Aššur; Dadia; Ataya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	City

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 8 80	kt 91/k 344	Elamma	Elamma	Aššur-ṭāb	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš	
(A)KT 8 81	kt 91/k 289	Elamma	Elamma	Ennam-Aššur; Dadia; ḫinaya; Iddin-abum; Akua; Ataya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš	City
(A)KT 8 82	kt 91/k 434	Elamma	Elamma; Kurub-Ištar	Dada; Īnaḫ-ilī	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš	
(A)KT 8 83	kt 92/k 152	Elamma	Aḫu-waḡar	Elamma	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš	
(A)KT 8 84	kt 92/k 161	Elamma	Aḫu-waḡar	Elamma	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš	
(A)KT 8 85	kt 91/k 295	Elamma	Aššur-nādā; Aššur- imittī	Elamma	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš?</i>	
(A)KT 8 86	kt 91/k 330	Elamma	Aššur-rēʾī	Elamma	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 8 87	kt 92/k 151	Elamma	Aššur-rē'ī	Elamma	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	caravan	Kaneš
(A)KT 8 88	kt 91/k 313	Elamma	Aššur-ṭāb	Elamma	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 8 89	kt 91/k 384	Elamma	Belanum; ḫinnaya	Elamma	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš	City
(A)KT 8 90	kt 91/k 527	Elamma	Ennam-Aššur; Dadia	Elamma	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	Kaneš
(A)KT 8 91	kt 91/k 427	Elamma	Iddin-abum	ḫinnaya; Elamma	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Durhumit?</i>	
(A)KT 8 92	kt 91/k 430	Elamma	Iddin-Aššur	Elamma; Ali-aḫum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 8 93	kt 91/k 296	Elamma	Ištar-pilaḫ	Elamma	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš?</i>	

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 8 94	kt 92/k 186	Elamma	Kun-ilum	Elamma; Kurub-Ištar	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 8 95	kt 91/k 327	Elamma	^(f) Ner ^ʔ <i>amtum</i>	Elamma	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	Kaneš
(A)KT 8 96	kt 91/k 531	Elamma	Puzur-Anna	Elamma	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš	
(A)KT 8 97	kt 91/k 459	Elamma	Šu-Bēlum	Elamma	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	Kaneš
(A)KT 8 105	kt 91/k 485	Elamma	Aḫu-waqar; Aššuriš- tikal	Elamma	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	Kaneš
(A)KT 8 165	kt 91/k 508	Elamma	^(f) Ummi-Išḫara	Pilaḫ-Ištar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	Kaneš
(A)KT 8 166	kt 91/k 368	Elamma	Belanum; ^(f) Lamassutum	Šamaš-bānī; Pilaḫ- Ištar	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš	

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 8 167	kt 91/k 416	Elamma	Belanum	Ennam-Aššur; Iddin-aššur; Pilaḥ-Ištar	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 8 169	kt 91/k 367	Elamma	Šu-Išḫara	Pilaḥ-Ištar; Ušur-ša-Aššur; Abu-šalim	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 8 170	kt 91/k 365	Elamma; Aššur-ṭāb's death dossier	Aššur-ṭāb	Lullu; Ennam-Aššur; Abu-šalim	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 8 180	kt 91/k 423	Elamma; Ištar-lamassī's death dossier	^{f} Lamassutum; Puzur-Aššur; Ennam-Aššur	Ataya; Ir'am-Aššur; ^{f} Ummī-Išḫara; ^{f} Šīmat-Ištar	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš	City
(A)KT 8 181	kt 91/k 425	Elamma; Ištar-lamassī's death dossier	[PNs]	^{f} Šīmat-Ištar			City

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 8 189	kt 91/k 290	Elamma; Ir'am-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	Ir'am-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	
(A)KT 8 190	kt 91/k 366	Elamma; Ir'am-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	Ir'am-Aššur; Šamaš- bānī	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 8 191	kt 91/k 407	Elamma; Ir'am-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur	Ir'am-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 8 194	kt 92/k 174	Elamma; Ir'am-Aššur	Dān-Aššur; Ennam- Suen	Ir'am-aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Wahšušana	
(A)KT 8 195	kt 91/k 455	Elamma	Ir'am-Aššur	Ikūn-pī-Aššur; Lam[assutum?]; Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš	
(A)KT 8 206	kt 91/k 385	Elamma; Šalimma	^{f} Ummi-Išḫara	^{f} Lamassutum; ^{f} Šalimma	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	Kaneš
(A)KT 8 208	kt 91/k 499	Elamma; Šalimma	^{f} Šalimma	Šu-Ištar; Aššur-imittī	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	Kaneš

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 8 211	kt 92/k 102	Elamma; Ennam-Suen	Iddin-Suen	Ennam-Suen	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 8 212	kt 92/k 112	Elamma; Ennam-Suen	Iddin-Suen	Ilī-bānī; Abila; Ennam-Suen	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 8 213	kt 92/k 116	Elamma; Ennam-Suen	Iddin-Suen	Ennam-Suen	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 8 214	kt 92/k 94	Elamma; Ennam-Suen	Šarrum-ken	Aššur-nādā; Suen- ilšu; Ennam-Suen	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	
(A)KT 8 215	kt 92/k 139	Elamma; Ennam-Suen	Šu-lštar	Kukua; Ennam-Suen; Ušur-ša-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš	
(A)KT 8 216	kt 92/k 181	Elamma; Ennam-Suen	Šu-lštar	Ennam-Suen	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš	
(A)KT 8 217	kt 92/k 120	Elamma; Ennam-Suen				Kaneš	

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 8 218	kt 92/k 101	Elamma; Ennam-Suen	Iddin-Suen	Asq[udum]; Abila	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 8 219	kt 92/k 182	Elamma; Ennam-Suen	Aššur-imittī	Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 8 220	kt 92/k 175	Elamma; Ennam-Suen	Aššur-imittī; Akua	Ilī-bānī; Suen-ilšu	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 8 224	kt 92/k 187	Elamma; Ennam-Suen	Āl-ṭāb	Aššur-šamšī; Ennam-Suen	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš	
(A)KT 8 235	kt 91/k 551	Elamma; Šu- Ištar	Šu-Ištar	Puzur-Aššur; Idnaya; Ikūn-pī-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 8 236	kt 91/k 536	Elamma; Šu- Ištar	Šu-Ištar	Puzur-Aššur; Ikūn-pī- Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 8 237	kt 91/k 549	Elamma; Šu- Ištar	Šu-Ištar	Kudadum; ḫumadašu; Abamuli	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš	

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 8 238	kt 91/k 540	Elamma; Šu- Ištar	A-mur-lu-sú- <i>ma</i> ; Šuli; Šillī-Ištar	Šu-Ištar	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 8 239	kt 91/k 541	Elamma; Šu- Ištar	Iliš-tikal	Šu-Ištar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 8 240	kt 91/k 534	Elamma; Šu- Ištar	Zuba; Mataga-x; Šamaš-bānī	Šu-Ištar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 8 252	kt 91/k 501	Elamma	Aššur- <i>malik</i>	Āl-ṭāb; Ennam-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 8 253	kt 91/k 375	Elamma	Kasubēlī	Aršiaḥšu; Peruwa	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 8 254	kt 91/k 308	Elamma	Lalia	Aššur-ennam; Dadaṣa	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 8 255	kt 91/k 363	Elamma	Šu-Kūbum	Aššur-ṭāb	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 8 256	kt 91/k 422	Elamma	Arunaḥšu	Bazia	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 8 257	kt 91/k 529	Elamma; Ennam- Aššur(?)	Išme-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur; Aššuriš-tikal, [...]- num; Ennānum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 8 258	kt 91/k 490	Elamma	Amur-Aššur	Kun-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Anatolia	
(A)KT 8 259	kt 91/k 552	Elamma	[...]	Libaya	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 8 260	kt 92/k 178	Elamma	Išme-Aššur	Nab-Suen; Ennam- Aššur; Suen-rēʾī	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	
(A)KT 8 262	kt 91/k 412	Elamma	^{f} Iamassī; ^{f} Aḥ-bāštī	Puzur-Anna	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	
(A)KT 8 263	kt 91/k 543	Elamma	^{f} Šāt-Tašmetim	Puzur-Anna; Šu-Suen	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 8 264	kt 91/k 310	Elamma	Šuli	Saktaya	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 8 266	kt 91/k 297	Elamma	Aššur-rabi	LUGĀl-Suen	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 8 268	kt 91/k 550	Elamma	Puzur-Anna; Aššur-rabi	Šu-Bēlum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš	
(A)KT 8 269	kt 91/k 372	Elamma	Ikūn-pīya	Šu-Aššur; Dumana	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 8 270	kt 91/k 415	Elamma	Abu-šalim	Šu-Aššur; Mannu-kī-abīya; Ilī-pī-ušur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 8 271	kt 91/k 539	Elamma	Abduata	Unapše	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 8 272	kt 91/k 467	Elamma	[...]	[...]-Aššur; Šumī-abīya	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 8 273	kt 91/k 545	Elamma	Adad-ṣulūlī	[...]			
(A)KT 8 274	kt 92/k 5	Elamma	[...]	[...]	broken		
(A)KT 8 275	kt 91/k 331	Elamma					
(A)KT 8 276	kt 91/k 500	Elamma					
(A)KT 8 277	kt 91/k 507	Elamma					
(A)KT 8 285	kt 91/k 509	Elamma	<i>kārum</i> Kaneš	travellers (ālikū)	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš	
(A)KT 11 1	kt 92/k 389	Šu-lštar	<i>kārum</i> Kaneš	Šu-lštar; Šu-lštar's caravan	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	caravan
(A)KT 11 2	kt 92/k 541	Šu-lštar	representatives (<i>ša</i> <i>kīma</i> : kunūti)	Šu-lštar; Dadaya; Su'en-damiq	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 11 3	kt 92/k 669	Šu-lštar	representatives (<i>ša</i> <i>kīma</i> ku[nuti])	Šu-lštar; D[adaya]?	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 11 4	kt 92/k 686	Šu-lštar	representatives (<i>ša kīma</i> kunūti); Šarra-Su'en	Šu-lštar; [...]	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 11 5	kt 92/k 372	Šu-lštar	Aššur-bānī; MEnnānum; Dadiya	Aššur- <i>malik</i> ; Šu-lštar	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 11 6	kt 92/k 529	Šu-lštar	Aššur-bānī; Menanum	Šu-lštar	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 11 7	kt 92/k 422	Šu-lštar	Luznia	Šu-lštar; Puzur-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 11 8	kt 92/k 511	Šu-lštar	Aššur- <i>malik</i> ; Ali- aḫum	Šu-lštar	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 11 9	kt 92/k 314	Šu-lštar	Dadaya	Šu-lštar; Aššur-rabi	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 11 10	kt 92/k 509	Šu-lštar	Dadaya	Šu-lštar; Aššur-rabi	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 11 11	kt 92/k 329	Šu-lštar	representatives (<i>ša kīma kuāti</i>); Dadaya	Šu-lštar; Dadaya's representatives (<i>kīma Dadaya</i>)	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 11 12	kt 92/k 510	Šu-lštar	Dadaya; Damiq-pī- Aššur	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>
(A)KT 11 13	kt 92/k 304	Šu-lštar	Damiq-pī-Aššur	Šu-lštar; Dadaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	
(A)KT 11 14	kt 92/k 381	Šu-lštar	Damiq-pī-Aššur	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	<i>City?</i>
(A)KT 11 15	kt 92/k 530	Šu-lštar	Adada; Damiq-pī- Aššur; Lā-qēp; Bazia	the merchant (<i>tamkārum</i>)	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 11 16	kt 92/k 508	Šu-lštar	Lā-qēp	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 11 17	kt 92/k 349	Šu-lštar	Lā-qēp	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 11 18	kt 92/k 352	Šu-lštar	Lā-qēp	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	<i>City</i>
(A)KT 11 19	kt 92/k 559b	Šu-lštar	Lā-qēp	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	
(A)KT 11 20	kt 92/k 373	Šu-lštar	Ennam-Aššur	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City/en route</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 11 21	kt 92/k 401	Šu-lštar	Aššur-idī; Ennam- Aššur	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Hurama	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 11 22	kt 927/k 359	Šu-lštar	Iliya	Šu-lštar; Dadaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	
(A)KT 11 23	kt 92/k 330	Šu-lštar	Ali-aḫum	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	<i>City</i>
(A)KT 11 24	kt 92/k 804	Šu-lštar	Ikūn-pīya	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 11 25	kt 92/k 641	Šu-lštar	Šu-Suʾen	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	<i>City</i>
(A)KT 11 26	kt 92/k 363	Šu-lštar	Aššur-rabi	Šu-lštar; Dadaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 11 27	kt 92/k 535	Šu-lštar	Aššur-rabi; LugĀl-Suʾen; Bazia	Šu-lštar; the merchant (<i>tamkārum</i>)	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	<i>City</i>
(A)KT 11 28	kt 92/k 333	Šu-lštar	Šu-lštar	Ikūn-pīya; Dadaya; Lā-qēp; Aššur-imittī	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 11 29	kt 92/k 625	Šu-lštar	Ilī-imittī	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	
(A)KT 11 30	kt 92/k 331	Šu-lštar	Ilī-imittī	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	<i>City?</i>
(A)KT 11 31	kt 92/k 391	Šu-lštar	Ilī-imittī	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 11 32	kt 92/k 390	Šu-lštar	Ilī-imittī	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	
(A)KT 11 33	kt 92/k 335	Šu-lštar	Ilī-imittī	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	City?
(A)KT 11 34	kt 92/k 424	Šu-lštar	Ilī-imittī	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Marithum	City?
(A)KT 11 35	kt 92/k 503	Šu-lštar	Ilī-imittī	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	Kaneš?
(A)KT 11 36	kt 92/ 684	Šu-lštar	Ilī-imittī	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 11 37	kt 92/k 696	Šu-lštar	Ilī-imittī	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	
(A)KT 11 38	kt 92/k 671	Šu-lštar	Mannum-balum- Aššur; Bulum-bānī; Ilī-imittī	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 11 39	kt 92/k 679	Šu-lštar	Mannum-balum- Aššur; Aḫ-šalim; Bēlum-bānī; Šarra- Suʾen; Ilī-imittī	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	Kaneš?
(A)KT 11 40	kt 92/k 325	Šu-lštar	Mannum-balum- aššur; Šumma-libbi- Aššur; Bēlum-bānī; Ilī-imittī	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	Kaneš?
(A)KT 11 41	kt 92/k 407	Šu-lštar	Mannum-balum- Aššur; Aḫ-šalim; Bēlum-bānī	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	Kaneš?
(A)KT 11 42	kt 92/k 351	Šu-lštar	Mannum-balum- Aššur	Šu-lštar; Luzina	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 11 43	kt 92/k 379	Šu-lštar	Mannum-balum- Aššur	Šu-lštar; Šu-Suʾen; Aššur-rabi	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	Kaneš?
(A)KT 11 44	kt 92/k 672	Šu-lštar	Mannum-balum- Aššur; Aḫ-šalim; Ilī- imittī	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	Kaneš?

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 11 45	kt 92/k 513	Šu-lštar	Mannum-balum- Aššur; Aḥ-šalim; Ilī- imittī	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	Kaneš?
(A)KT 11 46	kt 92/k 428	Šu-lštar	Mannum-balum- Aššur; Ilī-imittī	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Šalatuwar	Kaneš?
(A)KT 11 47	kt 92/k 651	Šu-lštar	Mannum-balum- Aššur	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	Kaneš?
(A)KT 11 48	kt 92/k 643	Šu-lštar	Bēlum-bānī	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	Kaneš?
(A)KT 11 49	kt 92/k 814	Šu-lštar	Bēlum-bānī	Šu-lštar; Elali	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 11 50	kt 92/k 301	Šu-lštar	Bēlum-bānī; Enlil- bānī; Ilī-imittī	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	Kaneš?
(A)KT 11 51	kt 92/k 322	Šu-lštar	Bēlum-bānī; Enlil- bānī; Ilī-imittī	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 11 52	kt 92/k 540	Šu-lštar	Bēlum-bānī; Šarra-Suʿen; Ilī-imittī	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	Kaneš?
(A)KT 11 53	kt 92/k 319	Šu-lštar	Šarra-Suʿen; Ilī-imittī	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš	City
(A)KT 11 54	kt 92/k 673	Šu-lštar	Šarra-Suʿen; Ilī-imittī	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	Kaneš?
(A)KT 11 55	kt 92/k 467	Šu-lštar	Šarra-Suʿen	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	Kaneš?
(A)KT 11 56	kt 92/k 652	Šu-lštar	Šarra-Suʿen	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 11 57	kt 92/k 830	Šu-lštar	Šarra-Suʿen	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	
(A)KT 11 59	kt 92/k 677	Šu-lštar	Bazia; Ilī-imittī	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 11 61	kt 92/k 306	Šu-lštar	Bazia	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	City?
(A)KT 11 61	kt 92/k 500	Šu-lštar	Bazia	Šu-lštar; Enlil-bānī	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Karahna	Kaneš?
(A)KT 11 62	kt 92/k 364	Šu-lštar	Aššur-rabi; Šarra-Su'en	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	
(A)KT 11 63	kt 92/k 411	Šu-lštar	Aššur-rabi	Šu-lštar's representatives (<i>ša</i> <i>kīma</i> Šu-lštar)	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	City?
(A)KT 11 64	kt 92/k 444	Šu-lštar	Aššur-rabi	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	City?
(A)KT 11 65	kt 92/k 815	Šu-lštar	Aššur-rabi	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 11 66	kt 92/k 376	Šu-lštar	Aššur-rabi	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 11 67	kt 92/k 334	Šu-lštar	Dadaya	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	<i>City</i>
(A)KT 11 68	kt 92/k 300	Šu-lštar	Dadaya	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	City?
(A)KT 11 69	kt 92/k 382	Šu-lštar	Dadaya	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Purušhaddu</i> <i>m</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 11 70	kt 92/k 327	Šu-lštar	Dadaya; Su'en- damiq	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 11 71	kt 92/k 406	Šu-lštar	Dadaya; Su'en- damiq	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 11 72	kt 92/k 1000	Šu-lštar	Dadaya; Su'en- damiq	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 11 73	kt 92/k 542	Šu-lštar	Enlil-bānī	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 11 74	kt 92/k 521	Šu-lštar	Enlil-bānī	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 11 75	kt 92/k 697	Šu-lštar	Enlil-bānī	[Šu-lštar,] son of Aššur-bānī	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 11 76	kt 92/k 423	Šu-lštar	<i>Kudātum</i>	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	Kaneš?
(A)KT 11 77	kt 92/k 412	Šu-lštar	<i>Kudātum</i>	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 11 78	kt 92/k 466	Šu-lštar	<i>Kudātum</i>	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	Kaneš?
(A)KT 11 79	kt 92/k 522	Šu-lštar	<i>Kudātum</i>	Šu-lštar; Ennam- Su'en	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City?</i>	Kaneš?
(A)KT 11 80	kt 92/k 343	Šu-lštar	Iliya	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 11 81	kt 92/k 386	Šu-lštar	Iliya	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>
(A)KT 11 82	kt 92/k 365	Šu-lštar	Iddin-abum	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	City
(A)KT 11 83	kt 92/k 538	Šu-lštar	Iddin-abum	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	City
(A)KT 11 84	kt 92/k 371	Šu-lštar	Šu-Suʾen	Buzutaya; Šu-lštar; Ikūn-pī-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
(A)KT 11 85	kt 92/k 369	Šu-lštar	Šu-Suʾen; Luzina	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	City
(A)KT 11 86	kt 92/k 323	Šu-lštar	^(f) Ummatiya	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	
(A)KT 11 87	kt 92/k 528	Šu-lštar	^(f) Hadītum; ^(f) Šīmat- lštar	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	<i>Kaneš</i>

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 11 88	kt 92/k 655	Šu-lštar	^{f} Ḫadītum; ^{f} Šīmat-lštar	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 11 89	kt 92/k 670	Šu-lštar	^{f} Ḫadītum; ^{f} Šīmat-lštar	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	
(A)KT 11 90	kt 92/k 995	Šu-lštar	^{f} Ḫadītum; [^{f} Šīmat-Aššur]	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 11 91	kt 92/k 506	Šu-lštar	Aššur-taklāku; Bēlum-bānī; Ilī-imittī	Šu-lštar; Ilī-wedaku	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
(A)KT 11 92	kt 92/k 366	Šu-lštar	Šalim-Aššur	Šu-lštar; Aššur-rabi	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	
(A)KT 11 93	kt 92/k 678	Šu-lštar	Adadaya; Pilaḫaya	Šu-lštar	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	Kaneš?
(A)KT 11 95	kt 92/k 421	Šu-lštar	Lā-qēp	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	Kaneš?

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 11 96	kt 92/k 674	Šu-lštar	Ali-aḫum	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 11 97	kt 92/k 487	Šu-lštar	Ennam-Aššur	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	Kaneš?
(A)KT 11 98	kt 92/k 377	Šu-lštar	Ennam-Su'en	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	Kaneš?
(A)KT 11 99	kt 92/k 317	Šu-lštar	Ušur-ša-Aššur	Šu-lštar; Ennam-Su'en	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	
(A)KT 11 100	kt 92/k 486	Šu-lštar	Šu-Laban; Ušur-ša-Aššur; Luzina	Šu-lštar	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš?	
(A)KT 11 101	kt 92/k 501	Šu-lštar	Buzutaya	Šu-lštar	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	<i>Hahhum</i>
(A)KT 11 102	kt 92/k 495	Šu-lštar	Aššur-imittī	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	Kaneš?

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 11 103	kt 92/k 292	Šu-lštar	Aššur-nimrī	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 11 104	kt 92/k 296	Šu-lštar	Šuli	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	
(A)KT 11 105	kt 92/k 309	Šu-lštar	Aššur-malik	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 11 106	kt 92/k 313	Šu-lštar	Aḥu-waqar; Šu- Ḫubur; Ilī-wedaku; Išar-bēlī	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	Kaneš?
(A)KT 11 107	kt 92/k 425	Šu-lštar	Asanum	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 11 108	kt 92/k 437	Šu-lštar	Šu-Bēlum	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 11 109	kt 92/k 489	Šu-lštar	Šumī-abīya	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	City?

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 11 110	kt 927k 640	Šu-lštar	Šumma-libba-Aššur	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	
(A)KT 11 111	kt 92/k 416	Šu-lštar	Amur-lštar	Šu-lštar	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 11 112	kt 92/k 665	Šu-lštar	[...]-Aššur; Aḫ-šalim	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City?	Kaneš?
(A)KT 11 113	kt 92/k 399	Šu-lštar	Aḫ-...	Šu-lštar; Enlil-bānī	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	
(A)KT 11 114	kt 92/k 698	Šu-lštar	Adadaya; Aššur-bānī; Aššur-lamassī	[...]	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 11 115	kt 92/k 430	Šu-lštar	Šu-lštar	Ilī-alum; Adadaya; Pilaḫaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	City
(A)KT 11 116	kt 92/k 318	Šu-lštar	Šu-lštar	Šu-Laban; Innaya; Aḫu-waqar; Ummaza	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City?	<i>Kaneš</i>

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 11 117	kt 92/k 799	Šu-lštar	Šu-lštar	Šu-Laban; Innaya; [...]	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	City?
(A)KT 11 118	kt 92/k 1001	Šu-lštar	Šu-lštar	Šu-Laban; Innaya; Aḥu-waqar; Ennam- Su'en	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
(A)KT 11 119	kt 92/k 393	Šu-lštar	Šu-lštar	Innaya; Dadaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Anatolia	Kaneš
(A)KT 11 120	kt 92/k 360	Šu-lštar	Šu-lštar	Aššur-bānī	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Anatolia	Kaneš
(A)KT 11 121	kt 92/k 520	Šu-lštar	Šu-lštar	Aššur-imittī	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City?	Anatolia
(A)KT 11 122	kt 92/k 326	Šu-lštar	Šu-lštar	representatives (<i>ša</i> <i>kīma iāti</i>)	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Anatolia	Kaneš
(A)KT 11 123	kt 92/k 527	Šu-lštar	Šu-lštar	Dadaya; Enlil-bānī; Lā-qēp; Aššur- lamassī; Aššur-imittī	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Anatolia	Kaneš

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 11 124	kt 92/k 536	Šu-lštar	Šu-lštar	representatives (<i>ša kīma iāti</i>); <i>Lā-qēp</i> ; Ennam-Aššur; Aššur-lamassī; Aššur-imittī	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 11 125	kt 92/k 483	Šu-lštar	Šu-lštar	Ummaza; Ilī-wedaku	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	<i>City</i>
(A)KT 11 126	kt 92/k 821	Šu-lštar	Šu-lštar	Ummaza; ^{f} Azu	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 11 127	kt 92/k 302	Šu-lštar	Šu-lštar	^{f} Azu	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 11 128	kt 92/k 385	Šu-lštar	Šu-lštar	^{f} Azu	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Anatolia?</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
(A)KT 11 129	kt 92/k 358	Šu-lštar	Šu-lštar	^{f} Azu; Kururu	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
(A)KT 11 130	kt 92/k 502	Šu-lštar	[Šu-lštar]	Dadaya; ^(f) Azu	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	Kaneš?
(A)KT 11 131	kt 92/k 488	Šu-lštar	Šu-lštar	^(f) Azu; Iliya	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
(A)KT 11 132	kt 92/k 367	Šu-lštar	Šu-lštar; Aššur-rabi	Ennam-Suʾen; Šu- Kūbum; Kura	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 11 133	kt 92/k 321	Šu-lštar	Aššur-idī; Šu-lštar	Mannum-kī-abīya; Aššur-imittī	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
(A)KT 11 134	kt 92/k 807	Šu-lštar	Aššur-[idi], Šu-lštar	representatives	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
ATHE 27		Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum	Ennam-Aššur; Iddin- Adad	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš?	
ATHE 28		Imdī-ilum	Šalim-Aššur; Imdī- ilum; Pūšu-kēn; Ilī- bānī	Kuziziya	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
ATHE 46		Imdī-ilum	Iddin-Aššur	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
ATHE 59		Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum	Īnaḥ-ilī; Puzur-Ištar	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
ATHE 60		Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum	Ennam-Bēlum; ḥuraṣanum; Iddin- Adad; Amur-ilī	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš?	
ATHE 61		Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum; Iddin- Aššur	Ušur-ša-Ištar	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
ATHE 62		Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum; Ennam- Bēlum; Aššur-ṣulūlī	Puzur-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
ATHE 63		Imdī-ilum	Puzur-Aššur	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Wahšušana?	<i>Kaneš</i>
BIN 4 5	NBC 1698	Imdī-ilum	Iddin-Adad; Annali; Puzur-Ištar	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
BIN 4 27	NBC 1687	Imdī-ilum	Ali-aḫum; Imdī-ilum; Puzur-Aššur	Šalim-aḫim; Pūšu- kēn	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	<i>City</i>
BIN 4 30	NBC 1674	Imdī-ilum	Pūšu-kēn	Imdī-ilum; [...]; <i>tamkārum</i>	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City?	Kaneš?
BIN 4 33	NBC 1691	Imdī-ilum	Pūšu-kēn	Aššur-imittī; Šu- Ḫubur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
BIN 4 56	NBC 1716	Imdī-ilum	Ennam-Bēlum	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	City?
BIN 4 66	NBC 1696	Imdī-ilum	Šumī-abīya	Apilama; Ennam- Bēlum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	Kaneš?
BIN 4 84	NBC 3687	Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum	Puzur-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš?	
BIN 4 87	NBC 1893	Imdī-ilum	Buzutaya; Ennum- Bēlum	Pūšu-kēn	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	<i>City</i>

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
BIN 6 12	NBC 1645	Imdī-ilum	Idnaya	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
BIN 6 27	NBC 3829	Imdī-ilum	Amur-ilī	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	
BIN 6 29	NBC 3984	Imdī-ilum	Aššur-imittī; Šu-lštar; Ennānum; Pupurānum	Imdī-ilum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	
BIN 6 34	NBC 4071	Imdī-ilum	Aššur-imittī	Pūšu-kēn; Imdī-ilum; Šu-Bēlum; Šalim- Aššur; Ušur-ša-lštar; Anaḥ-ilī	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
BIN 6 39	LB 1290; NBC 4049	Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum; Ali-aḥum	Amur-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	<i>City</i>
BIN 6 39	NBC 4049	Imdī-ilum	Amur-lštar	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	<i>Kaneš?</i>

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
BIN 6 74	NBC 4000	Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum	Ennam-Aššur; Iddin-Adad	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš?	
BIN 6 76	NBC 6603	Imdī-ilum	Amur-Ištar	Imdī-ilum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	Kaneš?
BIN 6 79	NBC 6607	Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum; Pūšu-kēn	Šu-Ḫubur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
BIN 6 80	NBC 6613	Imdī-ilum		broken			
BIN 6 133	NBC 3958	Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum	Amur-Ištar; [...]; Ušur-ša-Aššur; Ušur- ša-Ištar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
BIN 6 201	NBC 6600	Imdī-ilum	representatives (<i>ša</i> <i>kīma kuāti</i>); [...]- Aššur	[...]	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
BIN 6 267	NBC 6583	Imdī-ilum	Ikūn-pīya	Puzur-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
CCT 2 6	BM 113269	Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum	Alulu; Ali-aḫum; Aššur-ṭāb; Iddin- Adad	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
CCT 2 7	BM 113322	Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum	Aššur-imittī; Šu-Ištar; Šu-Ḫubur; Ennānum; Pupurānum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City?	<i>Kaneš</i>
CCT 2 11a	BM 113552	Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum	Ikūn-pīya; Aḫu- waqar; Puzur-Ištar	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
CCT 2 23	BM 113299	Imdī-ilum	Amur-Ištar; Ušur-ša- Aššur; Ušur-ša-Ištar	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
CCT 2 35	BM 113266	Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum; Pūšu-kēn; Aššur-šulūlī; Ušur-ša- Ištar	Aššur-imittī; Ennam- Bēlum; Ennānum; Pupurānum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
CCT 2 42	BM 113551	Imdī-ilum	Aššur-imittī; Ennam- Bēlum	Imdī-ilum; Aššur- šulūlī	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	<i>Kaneš</i>
CCT 2 44a	BM 113403	Imdī-ilum	Aššur-imittī	Pūšu-kēn	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
CCT 2 49a	BM 113419	Imdī-ilum	Amur-Ištar	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	
CCT 2 50	BM 113345	Imdī-ilum	Puzur-ilī	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
CCT 2 11b- 12a	BM 113418	Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum	Puzur-ilī	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
CCT 2 22b- 23a	BM 113556	Imdī-ilum	Šu-Ḫubur; sons of Aššur-imittī	Buzutaya; Pūšu-kēn; Imdī-ilum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	Kaneš?
CCT 2 46b+47a	BM 113580	Imdī-ilum	Puzur-Ištar	Kuziziya; Usanum; Aššur-ṭāb	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
CCT 2 5b	BM 113570	Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum	Pūšu-kēn	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
CCT 2 8-10	BM 115041	Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum	Ennam-Bēlum; ḫurašanum; Amur-ilī	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
CCT 3 1	BM 113336	Imdī-ilum	Elamma; Imdī-ilum	Amur-Ištar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Anatolia	<i>Kaneš</i>
CCT 3 2a	BM 113328	Imdī-ilum	Ali-aḫum; Amur-Ištar	Imdī-ilum; Aššur-ṭāb	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
CCT 3 11	BM 113324	Imdī-ilum	Ennānum; Beliya	Imdī-ilum; Ennam-Bēlum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
CCT 3 15	BM 113304	Imdī-ilum	Ennam-Bēlum	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
CCT 3 16a	BM 113462	Imdī-ilum	Buziya; Ennam-Bēlum	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
CCT 3 21a	BM 113389	Imdī-ilum	Šu-Ḫubur	Imdī-ilum; Pūšu-kēn; Amur-šamaš; Zuppa	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	
CCT 3 34a	BM 113378	Imdī-ilum	Šu-Laban	Imdī-ilum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
CCT 3 40a	BM 113615	Imdī-ilum	Kurara	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Zalpa	Kaneš?
CCT 3 45	BM 113517	Imdī-ilum	Ali-aḫum	Imdī-ilum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	Kaneš?
CCT 3 46	BM 113497	Imdī-ilum	Ennānum; Pupurānum	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	
CCT 4 18a	BM 115169	Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum	Puzur-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	caravan en route
CCT 4 27a	BM 113297	Imdī-ilum	Uzua	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
CCT 4 28a	BM 113307	Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum	^(f) Ištar-bāštī; Amur-ilī	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	Kaneš?
CCT 4 44a	BM 113412	Imdī-ilum	Usanum; Addu	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
CCT 4 47a	BM 113559	Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum	Amur-Ištar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	Anatolia
CCT 4 50a	BM 113257	Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum	Ennam-Aššur; Iddin-Adad	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
CCT 4 10b	BM 115122	Imdī-ilum	Aššur-rēšī; Amur-Ištar	Imdī-ilum; Buziya	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	Kaneš?
CCT 4 16b	BM 115157	Imdī-ilum	Šu-Ištar	Qatatum; Puzur-Ištar; Puzur-Ištar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Anatolia?	Anatolia?
CCT 4 18b	BM 115168	Imdī-ilum	Ennam-Bēlum	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
CCT 4 22b	BM 113287	Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum	Ennam-Bēlum; Itūr-ilī; Aḥu-waqar; Amur-ilī	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City?	Kaneš?
CCT 4 26b	BM 115185	Imdī-ilum	Ennam-Aššur	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	Kaneš?

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
CCT 4 27b	BM 113303	Imdī-ilum	Ennam-Aššur	Imdī-ilum; Šu-Bēlum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
CCT 4 28b	BM 113311	Imdī-ilum	Iddin-Adad	Amur-ilī	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	
CCT 4 30b	BM 113337	Imdī-ilum	Iddin-Adad	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	Kaneš?
CCT 4 8b	BM 115104	Imdī-ilum	Āl-ṭāb	Imdī-ilum; Šumī-abīya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	Kaneš?
CCT 5 49c	BM 115136	Imdī-ilum	Šu-Laban; Dadiya	Imdī-ilum; Pappalum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
CCT 6 12a	BM 113305	Imdī-ilum	Amur-Ištar	Imdī-ilum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	Kaneš?
CCT 6 37a	BM 115268	Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum	Amur-Ištar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
CCT 6 18c	BM 115283	Imdī-ilum	Ikūn-pīya	Imdī-ilum; Lā-qēp; Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
CCT 6 19b	BM 115231	Imdī-ilum	Amur-Ištar; Puzur- [...]	Imdī-ilum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
CCT 6 43b	BM 115190	Imdī-ilum	Aššur-imittī; Šu-Ištar; Ennānum; Pupurānum	Imdī-ilum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>
ICK 1 82	Kultépé 82	Imdī-ilum	Puzur-Aššur; Puzur- Anna	Imdī-ilum; <i>tamkārum</i>	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
ICK 1 84	Kultépé 84	Imdī-ilum	Aššur-taklāku	Imdī-ilum; Pūšu-kēn; Buziya; Šu-Kūbum; Aššur-nādā; Ennam- Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
ICK 1 85	Kultépé 85	Imdī-ilum	Aššur-šulūlī	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
ICK 1 135	Kultépé 135	Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum	Puzur-Aššur; Aḫ- šalim	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
ICK 1 182	Kultépé 182	Imdī-ilum	waklum	<i>kārum</i> Kaneš	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	Kaneš
ICK 1 192	Kultépé 192	Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum	Aššur-imittī; Šu-līstar; Pupurānum; Ennānum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City?	
ICK 51	Kultépé 51	Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum; Ennam- Bēlum; Aššur-šulūlī	Puzur-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	<i>City</i>
ICK 52	Kultépé 52	Imdī-ilum	Puzur-Aššur	Imdī-ilum, Ennam- Bēlum; Aššur-šulūlī	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	Kaneš
ICK 184	Kultépé 184	Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum; Aššur- šulūlī	Ennam-Bēlum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš	<i>City</i>
Innāya 1; BIN VI 90	NBC 3700	Innaya, son of Elāli	^{f} Tarām-kūbī	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
Innāya 2	BM 113618	Innaya, son of Elāli	^{f} Tarām-kūbī	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
Innāya 3	BM 113329	Innaya, son of Elāli	^{f} Tarām-kūbī	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
Innāya 4	BM 113366	Innaya, son of Elāli	^{f} Tarām-kūbī	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 5	BM 113277	Innaya, son of Elāli	^{f} Tarām-kūbī	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
Innāya 6		Innaya, son of Elāli	^{f} Tarām-kūbī		broken		
Innāya 7; BIN 4 91	NBC 3757	Innaya, son of Elāli	Ikūn-pīya; Ikūn- pīya(?); ^{f} Tarām-kūbī	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
Innāya 8; BIN 6 46	NBC 3748	Innaya, son of Elāli	Ikūn-pīya; ^{f} Tarām- kūbī	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
Innāya 9; BIN 4 233	NBC 3736	Innaya, son of Elāli	Mannum-balum- Aššur	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 10; VAS 21 45	VAT 13477	Innaya, son of Elāli	Mannum-balum- Aššur	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 11; BIN 6 110	NBC 3882	Innaya, son of Elāli	Mannum-balum- Aššur	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 12	BM 113317	Innaya, son of Elāli	Mannum-balum- Aššur	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 13	BM 13350	Innaya, son of Elāli	Mannum-balum- Aššur	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 14; Cole 2	(Los Angeles County Museum)	Innaya, son of Elāli	Mannum-balum- Aššur	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 15; Sch 19	-	Innaya, son of Elāli	Mannu-balum- Aššur; Puzur-Aššur	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Anatolia	<i>Kaneš</i>

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
Innāya 16; BIN 6 115	NBC 3931	Innaya, son of Elāli	Mannum-balum- Aššur; Bēlum-bānī; Sukkallum	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 17; KUG 37	Gießen 37	Innaya, son of Elāli	Mannum-balum- Aššur; Bēlum-bānī; Ilī-bānī	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Wahšušana	Kaneš
Innāya 18; CCT 3 33a	BM 113361	Innaya, son of Elāli	Ilī-bānī	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Anatolia	Kaneš
Innāya 19; ICK I 159	Kultépé 159	Innaya, son of Elāli	Ilī-bānī	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Wahšušana	Šalatuwar
Innāya 20; TTC 10	AO 10369	Innaya, son of Elāli	Ilī-bānī	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Anatolia	Kaneš
Innāya 21; TC 2 27	AO 8697	Innaya, son of Elāli	Titaya	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Timelkia	Kaneš
Innāya 22	-	Innaya, son of Elāli	Šu-Suen	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kuburnat	Kaneš

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
Innāya 23	-	Innaya, son of Elāli	Šu-Suen	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš	<i>Kaneš</i>
Innāya 24	BM 113346	Innaya, son of Elāli	Enlil-bānī	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
Innāya 25	Ka 338	Innaya, son of Elāli	Enlil-bānī; Puzur- Ištar	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 26; TC 1 20	AO 7150	Innaya, son of Elāli	Enlil-bānī	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 27; TC 3 70	AO 8222	Innaya, son of Elāli	Enlil-bānī	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 28; TC 3 72	AO 8223	Innaya, son of Elāli	Enlil-bānī; Aššur- taklāku	Innaya; representatives of the <i>tamkārum</i>	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	
Innāya 29; TC 3 71	AO 12132	Innaya, son of Elāli	Ikūn-pīya; Enlil-bānī; Aššur-taklāku	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City?	<i>Kaneš</i>

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
Innāya 30	BM 113376	Innaya, son of Elāli	Ennānum; Enlil-bānī	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 31	K.T. 143	Innaya, son of Elāli	Ennānum	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Hazulia	<i>Kaneš</i>
Innāya 32; VS 26 23	VAT 13549	Innaya, son of Elāli	Ennānum	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 33; ICK 1 90	Kultépé 90	Innaya, son of Elāli	Puzur-Aššur	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 34	K.T. 51	Innaya, son of Elāli	Puzur-Aššur	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 35; TC 2 25	AO 8696	Innaya, son of Elāli	Puzur-Aššur	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Hahhum</i>	Kaneš?
Innāya 36; TC 2 26	AO 8695	Innaya, son of Elāli	Puzur-Aššur	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš	

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
Innāya 37; TC 3 74	AO 8239	Innaya, son of Elāli	Puzur-Aššur	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kuššara?	<i>Kaneš</i>
Innāya 38; VAS 26 51	VAT 13533	Innaya, son of Elāli	Puzur-Aššur	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
Innāya 39; TC 2 29	AO 8700	Innaya, son of Elāli	ḥanunu; Saḥa; Puzur-Aššur	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City?</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
Innāya 40; CCT 2 47b	BM 113397	Innaya, son of Elāli	Aššur-rēšī	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
Innāya 41	BM 113438	Innaya, son of Elāli	Aššur-rēšī	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
Innāya 42	BM 119404	Innaya, son of Elāli	Aššur-rēšī	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>en route from Zalpa to Tegarama</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
Innāya 43; KTS 1 37a	K.T. 157	Innaya, son of Elāli	Aššur-rēšī	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia?</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
Innāya 44; BIN 6 97	NBC 3731	Innaya, son of Elāli	Būr-Aššur	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
Innāya 45	BM 113600	Innaya, son of Elāli	Būr-Aššur	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 46; TC 1 9	AO 7058	Innaya, son of Elāli	Būr-Aššur	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	leaving for Purušhaddu m Anatolia	<i>Kaneš</i>
Innāya 47	BM 113334	Innaya, son of Elāli	Elali	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Hahhum	<i>Kaneš</i>
Innāya 48	BM 115102	Innaya, son of Elāli	Elali	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 49	BM 119409	Innaya, son of Elāli	Elali	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Anatolia	Kaneš
Innāya 50; VAS 26 66	VAT 13525	Innaya, son of Elāli	Šu-Ištar; Elali	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Anatolia	Kaneš

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
Innāya 51; RA 59 31		Innaya, son of Elāli	Damiq-pī-Aššur	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
Innāya 52; JCS 14 3		Innaya, son of Elāli	Enna-Suen	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	
Innāya 53; BIN 4 77	NBC 1713	Innaya, son of Elāli	Puzur-ilī; Enna-Suen	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	Kaneš?
Innāya 54	BM 119414	Innaya, son of Elāli	Attorney (rābišum); Ali-aḥum	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
Innāya 55; BIN 4 219	NBC 4047	Innaya, son of Elāli	Ali-aḥum; Puzur-Ištar	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	en route from City?	<i>Kaneš</i>
Innāya 56; CCT 4 8a	BM 115105	Innaya, son of Elāli	Abaya	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Anatolia?	<i>Kaneš</i>
Innāya 57	BM 113367	Innaya, son of Elāli	Apatananum	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
Innāya 58; BIN 4 223	NBC 3679	Innaya, son of Elāli	Aḫ-šalim	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš	
Innāya 59	BM 113490	Innaya, son of Elāli	Aššur-imittī	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Anatolia	Kaneš?
Innāya 60	BM 113537	Innaya, son of Elāli	Aššur-ṭāb	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City?	<i>Kaneš</i>
Innāya 61; TC 3 75	AO 8221	Innaya, son of Elāli	Dadaya	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Naduhtum	Kaneš?
Innāya 62; TC 2 30	AO 8698	Innaya, son of Elāli	Nania	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	
Innāya 63; CCT 6 2a	BM 113627	Innaya, son of Elāli	<i>kārum</i>	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 64; TC 2 28	AO 8699	Innaya, son of Elāli	Danya; Aššur-šamšī; Irnuʾid; Ṭāb-šillī- Aššur	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
Innāya 65; KTS 2 52	Ka. 1102	Innaya, son of Elāli	Šumma-libbi-Aššur	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	
Innāya 66; TC 3 78	AO 8262	Innaya, son of Elāli	Ikūnum; Aššur- lamassī; Iddin- Kūbum	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
Innāya 67; TC 3 77	AO 9248	Innaya, son of Elāli	Pilaḥ-Ištar	Innaya	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
Innāya 68; KTS 2 58	Ka. 1108	Innaya, son of Elāli	Nimar-Ištar	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 69; VAS 26 68	VAT 13481	Innaya, son of Elāli	Šu-Suen	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	City?
Innāya 70	Nesr. C 25	Innaya, son of Elāli	[...]-Suen	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
Innāya 71; VAS 26 5	VAT 13550	Innaya, son of Elāli	Amur-Ištar	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Anatolia?	<i>Kaneš</i>

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
Innāya 72; TTC 11	AO 10370	Innaya, son of Elāli	Mannum-balum- Aššur	Innaya; Luzina; Zukua	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	City
Innāya 73	BM 113623	Innaya, son of Elāli	Mannum-balum- Aššur	Innaya; Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Anatolia	
Innāya 74; TC 1 33	AO 07316	Innaya, son of Elāli	Aššur-ṭāb	Niwaḥšušar; Kani; Mannum-balum- Aššur; Innaya	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
Innāya 75	BM 115063	Innaya, son of Elāli	Mannum-balum- Aššur	Innaya; Luzina; [...]; Zukua; Kura; Šu- Kūbum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Anatolia	Anatolia
Innāya 76; CCT 2 34	BM 113413	Innaya, son of Elāli	Šu-Kūbum	Pūšu-kēn; Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	<i>Kaneš</i>
Innāya 77; BIN 6 91	NBC 3706	Innaya, son of Elāli	Šu-Kūbum	Pūšu-kēn; Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City?	<i>Kaneš</i>
Innāya 78; VAS 26 67	VAT 9244	Innaya, son of Elāli	Šu-Kūbum	Pūšu-kēn; Innaya; Kilia; Bannum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City?	<i>Kaneš</i>

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
Innāya 79	Kayseri 90	Innaya, son of Elāli	Šu-Kūbum	Pūšu-kēn; Innaya; Kilia	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 80; Nesr. C 24	Winkenbach 3	Innaya, son of Elāli	Iddin-Kūbum	Innaya; Kura	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 81; BIN 6 54	NBC 3779	Innaya, son of Elāli	Alulaya; Šumum-libši	Innaya; Enlil-bānī	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 82; CCT 6 18c	BM 115283	Innaya, son of Elāli	Ikūn-pīya	Imdī-ilum; Lā-qēp; Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 83	BM 120509	Innaya, son of Elāli	Amur-Aššur	Innaya; Ennam- Suen, son of Ilī-alum; Aššur-nādā	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 84	Ka 327	Innaya, son of Elāli	Enlil-bānī	Innaya; Aššur-nādā; Amarum; Ikūn-pīya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City?	Kaneš?
Innāya 85; BIN 6 131	NBC 3768	Innaya, son of Elāli	no author	Innaya; Amarum		City	Kaneš

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
Innāya 86		Innaya, son of Elāli	[...]; Ilī-bānī	Innaya; [...]	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 87		Innaya, son of Elāli	Šalim-Aššur	Innaya; Hušārum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 88	BM 115157	Innaya, son of Elāli	hušarum	Innaya; Aššur-ṭāb	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 89; CCT 4 14b	BM 115147	Innaya, son of Elāli	Damiq-pī-Aššur	Innaya; Atida	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	
Innāya 90		Innaya, son of Elāli	Innaya	representatives (<i>ša kīma iāti</i>); ^{ff} Tarām- kūbī	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	<i>City</i>
Innāya 91; BIN 4 98	NBC 4042	Innaya, son of Elāli	Innaya	Būr-Aššur; Ilī-bānī	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City?	Kaneš?
Innāya 92; CCT 6 4c	BM 113368	Innaya, son of Elāli	Innaya	Būr-Aššur; Šuenna	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
Innāya 93; TC 1 57	AO 7339	Innaya, son of Elāli	Innaya	Šu-Suen	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
Innāya 94; TC 1 54	AO 7465	Innaya, son of Elāli	Innaya	Šu-Suen; Ikūn-pīya	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	City?
Innāya 95		Innaya, son of Elāli	Innaya	Šu-Bēlum; Ilī-...; Ikūn-pīya; representatives (<i>ša</i> <i>kīma iāti</i>)	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
Innāya 96	BM 120504	Innaya, son of Elāli	Innaya	Ennam-Aššur; Ikūn- pīya; Šu-Ḫubur; Šukittum; Aššur- nādā; Kuzizi	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
Innāya 97	BM 113354	Innaya, son of Elāli	Innaya	Puzur-Aššur; Elali	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
Innāya 98	Ka. 423	Innaya, son of Elāli	Innaya	Ennam-Suen; [PN]; Puzur-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	City?

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
Innāya 99; BIN 6 99	NBC 3734	Innaya, son of Elāli	Innaya	Idin-Kūbum; Aššur- taklāku; Aššur-rēšī; Titaya	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
Innāya 100	Kayseri 69	Innaya, son of Elāli	Innaya	Enlil-bānī; Aššur- rabi; Aššur-talaku	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
Innāya 101; CCT 6 3a	BM 113607	Innaya, son of Elāli	Innaya	Šumma-libba-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
Innāya 102; KTS 2 3	Ka. 162	Innaya, son of Elāli	Innaya	Šu-Anum; Ilī-bānī; Šalim-Ištar; Ilušu- rabi; Kasuwa	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
Innāya 103		Innaya, son of Elāli	Innaya	Ennānum; Suen- nādā; Kibal	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
Innāya 104; BIN 6 75	NBC 4045	Innaya, son of Elāli	Innaya; <i>tamkārum</i>	Šu-Kūbum; Abaya; Innaya's representatives (<i>ša kīma</i> Innaya); Aššur- imittī; Irnuid; the <i>tamkārum</i> 's representatives (<i>ša kīma tamkārim</i>)	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 105; TC 3 41	AO 8234	Innaya, son of Elāli	Pūšu-kēn; Innaya	Šu-Kūbum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 106; TC 3 79	AO 9259	Innaya, son of Elāli	Innaya; Nannia; Aššur-massuṛī	Aššur-malik; Ilia; Ammaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	Anatolia, maybe not Kaneš
Innāya 107; TC 3 42	AO 8232	Innaya, son of Elāli	Šu-Kūbum	Pūšu-kēn; Ilia	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 108; ATHE 31		Innaya, son of Elāli	Šu-Kūbum	Pūšu-kēn	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
Innāya 109; ATHE 36		Innaya, son of Elāli	Aššur-nādā	^(f) Abaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 110; TC 3 51	AO 9266	Innaya, son of Elāli	Ennum-Bēlum	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 111; ICK 1 85	Kultépé 85	Innaya, son of Elāli	Aššur-šulūlī	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 112; KTB 6		Innaya, son of Elāli; Imdī-ilum	Aššur-šulūlī	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 113; ICK 1 116	Kultépé 116	Innaya, son of Elāli	Aššur-nādā	Amur-ilī; Šu-Anum; Aššur-rēʾī; Enna- baŠāt	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	Anatolia
Innāya 114	Adana 237k	Innaya, son of Elāli	Ilu-bānī	Suen-nādā	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Anatolia	
Innāya 115; TuM 1 5c	HS 360	Innaya, son of Elāli		broken			

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
Innāya 116; BIN 4 45	NBC 1664	Innaya, son of Elāli	Sue'a	Puzur-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 143; BIN 6 49	NBC 3753	Innaya, son of Amuraya	ḫannan-nārum; Aššur-imittī	Innaya	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
Innāya 144; BIN 6 50	NBC 3759	Innaya, son of Amuraya	ḫanna-nārum	Innaya	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš	City
Innāya 145; BIN 4 217	NBC 3717	Innaya, son of Amuraya	[...]	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 146; BIN 6 123	NBC 4044	Innaya, son of Amuraya	Aššur-mūtappil; Dadia	Innaya	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš	City
Innāya 147	BM 113398	Innaya, son of Amuraya	Azumannum; Aššur- <i>malik</i>	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	City
Innāya 148	BM 113494	Innaya, son of Amuraya	Lulu	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
Innāya 149	BM 113452	Innaya, son of Amuraya	Dān-Aššur	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Anatolia?	
Innāya 150; CCT 6 25a	BM 115246	Innaya, son of Amuraya	Sukkallum	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	City
Innāya 151; TC 3/1 73	AO 8224	Innaya, son of Amuraya	Pappilum	Innaya	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	Anatolia
Innāya 152		Innaya, son of Amuraya	Puzur-ilī	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kuburnat	Kaneš
Innāya 153; BIN 6 196	NBC 3912	Innaya, son of Amuraya	Puzur-ilī	Innaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 154; HUCA 32, 34 no. 15		Innaya, son of Amuraya	Ušur-ša-Aššur	Mannum-kī-Aššur; Innaya; Būr-Suen; Amurru-enam	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	Kaneš?
Innāya 155	BM 113306	Innaya, son of Amuraya	Ušur-ša-Aššur	Mannum-kī-Aššur; Innaya; ṭāb-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
Innāya 156; KUG 38	Giessen 38	Innaya, son of Amuraya	Šalim-Aššur	Innaya; Ennam- Aššur; Mannum-kī- Aššur; Šu-Suen; Aššur-bēl-awatim	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	
Innāya 157; VS 26 44	VAT 13518	Innaya, son of Amuraya	Lulu	Ennam-Suen; Innaya; Iddin-šamaš; Mannum-kī-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Durhumit	
Innāya 158; BIN 6 96	NBC 3730	Innaya, son of Amuraya	Šu-Suen	Innaya; Bel-Anum; Ilī-bānī; Nazi	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Anatolia?	Anatolia?
Innāya 159; ICK 1 13	Kultépé 13	Innaya, son of Amuraya	Aššur- <i>malik</i>	Innaya; Īnaḥ-ilī; Aššur-taklāku; Galgalia; Nazi	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 160; VS 26 14	VAT 13475	Innaya, son of Amuraya	Aššur- <i>malik</i>	Innaya; Kulumaya; Dadaya; Azutaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 161; TC 3 76	A 09294	Innaya, son of Amuraya	^{f} Šāt-Aššur	Innaya; Šu-lštar; Kulumaya; Aššur- nādā	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš	

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
Innāya 162; BIN 4 89	NBC 3914	Innaya, son of Amuraya	Šu-lštar	Innaya; Īnaḥ-ilī; Puzur-Aššur; Puzur- Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 163; BIN 4 218	NBC 4006	Innaya, son of Amuraya	ḫannan-nārum	Innaya; Izizzam-ilī	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
Innāya 164; ICK 1 103	Kultépé 103	Innaya, son of Amuraya	Šu-Anim	Innaya; ṭāb-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	
Innāya 165; TC 1 45	AO 7460	Innaya, son of Amuraya	Šu-Bēlum	Innaya; Aššur- taklāku	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City?	
Innāya 166	Ka. 295	Innaya, son of Amuraya	Šu-Anum	Innaya; Usanum; Ušur-ša-lštar; Aššur- šamši u Aššur-tukulti	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 167; BIN 4 220	NBC 4043	Innaya, son of Amuraya	ḫuṣarum	Itūr-ilī; Innaya; Aššur-taklāku	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	City
Innāya 168	BM 113327	Innaya, son of Amuraya	Šu-Suen	Šu-laban; Innaya; Luzia	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
Innāya 169; VS 26 69	VAT 13507	Innaya, son of Amuraya	Šu-Suen	Šu-laban; Innaya; Luzina	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 171; BIN 6 109	NBC 3787	Innaya, son of Amuraya	Innaya	Ḫanan-nārum; Aššur-mūtappil; Ušur-ša-Aššur; [PN]	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	
Innāya 172		Innaya, son of Amuraya	Innaya	Ḫanan-nārum; Šu- Kūbum; Ušur-ša- Aššur; Dadia; Ilī- alim; [PN]	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 173; KTS 2 49	Ka. 1099	Innaya, son of Amuraya	Innaya	Aššur-bānī; ḫannan- nārum; Šu-Kūbum; Dadia; Aššur-imittī	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš	City?
Innāya 174; CCT 6 3c(?)	BM 115255	Innaya, son of Amuraya	Innaya	ḫannan-nārum; iddin-abum; Nazi	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 175	Kayseri 70	Innaya, son of Amuraya	Innaya	ḫannan-nārum; Lipit-Anum; Nab- Suen; Šu-IIIil	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
Innāya 176	BM 113500	Innaya, son of Amuraya	Innaya	Šu-līstar; Nazi; Dān- Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
Innāya 177		Innaya, son of Amuraya	Innaya	Puzur-Suen; Ennam- Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	
Innāya 178		Innaya, son of Amuraya	Innaya; Rabi-kī-iliya; Nazi	Aššur- <i>malik</i>	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
Innāya 179; BIN 6 72	NBC 3862	Innaya, son of Amuraya	Innaya; [PN]; Ikūnum	Ḫuṣārum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
Innāya 180; BIN 4 87	NBC 1893	Innaya, son of Amuraya	Buzutaya; Ennam- Bēlum	Pūšu-kēn	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
Innāya 181; TC 3 55	AO 9298	Innaya, son of Amuraya; Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum	Ennam-Bēlum; Itūr- ilī; Aḫu-waqar; Amur-ilī	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
Innāya 182; TC 1 21	AO 7070	Innaya, son of Amuraya	Puzur-Aššur	Aššur-imittī; Ilī-šudu; Buzazu; Waqurtum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
Innāya 183; BIN 4 55	NBC 1705	Innaya, son of Amuraya	Šu-Suen	^(f) ḫattitum; Ša- šamaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City?	
Innāya 184; BIN 6 178	NBC 3833	Innaya, son of Amuraya	[...]	Puzur- [...]	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 185	Kt n/k 79	Innaya, son of Amuraya	Ušanum	Iddin-abum; Ennam- Suen; Ušur-ša-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
Innāya 250; TC 3/1 44	AO 9264	Innaya; Imdī-ilum	Pūšu-kēn; Puzur- Tiamtim; Innaya	Iddin-Aššur; Adad- bānī; Aššur-imittī; Ikūn-pī-Aššur; Puzur- lštar; Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	Kaneš
JCS 15/4 42		Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum	Amur-ilī	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	Kaneš
KTH 11		Imdī-ilum	Aššur- <i>malik</i> ; Asû; Iddin-Adad	Imdī-ilum; Pūšu-kēn; Aššur-šulūlī	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
KTS 1 15	K.T. 133	Imdī-ilum	Amur-ilī	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Anatolia	
KTS 1 16	K.T. 87	Imdī-ilum	Šu-lštar	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	Kaneš
KTS 1 17	K.T. 85	Imdī-ilum	Uzua	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Purušhaddu</i> <i>m</i>	Kaneš?
KTS 1 18	K.T. 136	Imdī-ilum	Amur-lštar; Uzua	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
KTS 1 19	K.T. 98	Imdī-ilum	Aššur-damiq; Ilī- [...]	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Anatolia	Kaneš?
KTS 1 20	K.T. 5	Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum	Amur-ilī	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš?	
KTS 1 21a	K.T. 150	Imdī-ilum	Alili; Ikūn-pīya; Šu- Ḫubur	Pūšu-kēn; Imdī-ilum; Kurub-lštar	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
KTS 1 14c	K.T. 15	Imdī-ilum	ḫinaya	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
KTS 1 19b	K.T. 86	Imdī-ilum	Imdīlum	Puzur-Ištar	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
KTS 1 21b	K.T. 149	Imdī-ilum	Šu-Ḫubur; Aššur- imittī's sons	Buzutaya; Pūšu-kēn; Imdī-ilum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
KUG 33		Imdī-ilum	Aššur-taklāku	Puzur-...]	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	
KUG 36	Gießen 36	Imdī-ilum	Ennam-Bēlum	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
KUG 45	Giessen 45	Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum	[...]	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
KUG 46		Imdī-ilum		broken	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
KUG 49	Gießen 49	Imdī-ilum	Kurara	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
LB 1275	BM 113297	Imdī-ilum	Uzua	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
LB 1295		Imdī-ilum	Puzur-Adad	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
LB 1296		Imdī-ilum	Šīmat-Aššur	Imdī-ilum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
MAH 19609		Imdī-ilum	Ušur-ša-lštar	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
MAH 10823+Sch. 23	MAH 10823+Sch. 23	Imdī-ilum	Iddin-Aššur; Adad- bānī; Aššur-imittī; Ikūn-pī-Aššur; Puzur- lštar; Imdī-ilum	Pūšu-kēn; Zupa; Aššur-šulūlī; Innaya; Pilaḫ-lštar	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	<i>Kaneš</i>

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
OAA 1 1; CCT 5 6a	BM 119412	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Ali-aḥum; Elamma; Pūšu-kēn; Aššur- taklāku	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	Kaneš
OAA 1 2; Pa. 5	L 29-558	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Amur-Ištar; Ali- aḥum; Ilī-alum; Aššur-taklāku	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	Kaneš
OAA 1 3	RC 1749B	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Ali-aḥum; Aššur- nādā; Ilī-alum; Aššur-taklāku	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	Kaneš
OAA 1 4	(only transliteratio n by Landsberger)	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Ali-aḥum; Aguza; Aššur-nādā; Ilī-alum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	Kaneš
OAA 1 5	BM 115074	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Ilī-sukkal; Aššur- taklāku	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	Kaneš
OAA 1 6; TC 3 95	AO 8242	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Puzur-Ištar; Asqudum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	Kaneš?
OAA 1 7	BM 113286	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā			

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
OAA 1 8	Cole 8 (unpublished; Los Angeles County Museum)	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 9; KUG 27	Gießen 27	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 10; Pa. 39	L 29-602	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 11; Pa. 14	L 29-568	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 12; KUG 48	Gießen 48	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 13	BM 115049	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
OAA 1 14; TC 3 93	AO 8628	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 15; TC 3 94	AO 8243	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	Kaneš
OAA 1 16	BM 113314	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 17; TC 1 29	AO 7153	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Aššur</i>
OAA 1 18; TC 1 18	AO 7067	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur	Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	Kaneš
OAA 1 19	BM 115050	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 20; Pa. 10	L 29-563	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
OAA 1 21; BIN 6 30	NBC 3909	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 22; CCT 3 6b	BM 113481	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 23; C 17 (Landsberge r transliterati on)		Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Ali-aḫum; Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā; Šu-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 24; TC 1 8	AO 7057	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 25; Pa. 13	L 29-567	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 26; TC 3 92	AO 9251	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
OAA 1 27; KTB 1		Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 28; KTB 2		Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 29; KTH 2		Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 30; Sadberk 19	ARK.449- 11796	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 31	BM 113509	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 32; TC 3 89	AO 9274	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā; Ilī-alum; Aššur-taklāku	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 33	BM 113335	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā; Ilī-alum; Aššur-taklāku	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
OAA 1 34; Pa. 6	L 29-559	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā; Ilī-alum; Aššur-taklāku	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 35; CCT 3 5b	BM 113365	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā; Ilī-alum; Aššur-taklāku	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 36; TC 3 91	AOL 9262	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā; Aššur- taklāku	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 37; CCT 4 2b	BM 115064	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā; Aššur- taklāku	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 38; KUG 28	Gießen 28	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā; Aššur- taklāku	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 39	BM 113313	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā; Aššur- taklāku	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 40; TC 3 88	AO 8245	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā; Ilī-alum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
OAA 1 41; TC 3 87	AO 7711	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Ilī-alum; Aššur- taklāku	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 42; TC 1 47	AO 7458	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Aššur-taklāku	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 43	K.T. 110	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-idī	Aššur-taklāku	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 44	BM 115114	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā	Aššur-idī	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	<i>City</i>
OAA 1 45	BM 113315	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā	Aššur-idī	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	<i>City</i>
OAA 1 46	Sé 15	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā	Aššur-idī	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	<i>City</i>
OAA 1 47; TC 1 2	AO 7051	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā	Aššur-idī	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	<i>City</i>

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
OAA 1 48; TC 1 15	AO 7064	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā	Aššur-idī	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	<i>City</i>
OAA 1 49	LB 1231 (Veenhof's transliteratio n)	Aššur-nādā; Aššur-idī	Aššur-nādā	Aššur-idī	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	<i>City</i>
OAA 1 50	BM 113279	Aššur-nādā	Aššur-nādā	^{f} Šišaḥšušar	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Anatolia	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 51	RC 1749 C	Aššur-nādā	Aššur-nādā	^{f} Šišaḥšušar	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
OAA 1 52; TC 2 47	AO 8717	Aššur-nādā	Aššur-nādā	^{f} Šišaḥšušar	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
OAA 1 53	private	Aššur-nādā	Aššur-nādā	^{f} Šišaḥšušar; Aššur- nemedi	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš	

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
OAA 1 54; VS 26 19	VAT 9263	Aššur-nādā	Aššur-nādā	Aššur-taklāku; (f)Šišaḥšušar	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš	
OAA 1 55	RC 1749 D	Aššur-nādā	Aššur-nādā	Aguza; (f)Šišaḥšušar; Aššur-šamšī	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Wašhania?	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 56	K.T. 89	Aššur-nādā	Aššur-nādā	Aguza; Ušur-ša- Aššur; (f)Šišaḥšušar	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
OAA 1 57	K.T. 90	Aššur-nādā	Aššur-nādā	Iddin-Suen; (f)Šišaḥšušar	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
OAA 1 58; VS 26 20	VAT 13532	Aššur-nādā	Aššur-nādā	Ali-aḥum; Ememe; (f)Šišaḥšušar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
OAA 1 59	BM 113260	Aššur-nādā	Aššur-nādā	Ali-aḥum; Ememe; Aššur-taklāku	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 60	BM 113279	Aššur-nādā	Aššur-nādā	Ali-aḥum; Emema; Aššur-taklāku	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
OAA 1 61; BIN 4 49	NBC 1654	Aššur-nādā	Aššur-nādā	Ali-aḥum; Emem; Aššur-taklāku	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 62; BIN 4 52	NBC 1688	Aššur-nādā	Aššur-nādā	Ali-aḥum; Aššur- taklāku	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
OAA 1 63	K.T. 134	Aššur-nādā	Aššur-nādā	Ali-aḥum; Šu-Aššur; Zuba; Ilī-alum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
OAA 1 64; BIN 4 64	NBC 1661	Aššur-nādā	Aššur-nādā; Ilī-alum	Aššur-taklāku	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>
OAA 1 65	BM 113369	Aššur-nādā	Aššur-nādā	Zuba; [PN]; Ušur-ša- Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš?	City?
OAA 1 66; ATHE 37		Aššur-nādā	Aššur-nādā	Ilī-alum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Uršu	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 67	BM 113281	Aššur-nādā	Aššur-bēl-awatim; Šu-Aššur; Aššur-nādā	Iddin-Suen; Amria; Šarra-Suen; Aššur- rē?; Puzur-Anna	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Kaneš?	

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
OAA 1 68; ATHE 36		Aššur-nādā	Aššur-nādā	^(f) Abaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	
OAA 1 69; ATHE 35		Aššur-nādā	Aššur-nādā	Šu-Kūbum; Aššur- pilaḥ	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	<i>City?</i>
OAA 1 70	K.T. 42	Aššur-nādā	Aššur-nādā	Amur-lštar; Šu-Anim	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
OAA 1 71; (A)KT 1 17	Ank. 2806	Aššur-nādā	Aššur-nādā	Ikūn-pīya; Ennam- Aššur; Šumī-abia	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
OAA 1 72; BIN 4 88	NBC 3914	Aššur-nādā	^(f) Šarrat-lštar	Aššur-nādā	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 73; (A)KT 1 15	Ank. 4668	Aššur-nādā	^(f) Šišaḥšušar	Aššur-nādā	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
OAA 1 74; TTC 14	AO 10373	Aššur-nādā	Ilī-alum	Aššur-nādā	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	Uršu?

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
OAA 1 75	RC 1749 E (transl. Veenhof)	Aššur-nādā	Ilī-alum	Aššur-nādā	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	Hahhum?
OAA 1 76; C 18 (transl. Landsberger)		Aššur-nādā	Ilī-alum	Aššur-nādā; Iddin- Suen	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
OAA 1 77	BM 15142	Aššur-nādā	Ilī-alum	Aššur-nādā; Iddin- Suen	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
OAA 1 78; Pa. 8	L 29-561	Aššur-nādā	Ilī-alum	Aššur-nādā; Ušur-ša- Aššur; Iddin-Suen	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Durhumit</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 79; VS 26 29	VA9232	Aššur-nādā	Ilī-alum	Aššur-nādā; Ušur-ša- Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Šalatuwar	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 80; KTB 4		Aššur-nādā	Ilī-alum	Ali-aḫum; Aššur- nādā; Iddin-Suen	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
OAA 1 81; Sadberk 21	ARK.451- 11798	Aššur-nādā	Ilī-alum	Amur-Ištar; Aššur- nādā	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
OAA 1 82		Aššur-nādā	Ilī-alum	Aššur-nādā; Aššur- taklāku	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 83; KTB 3		Aššur-nādā	Aššur-taklāku	Aššur-nādā	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
OAA 1 84		Aššur-nādā	Aššur-taklāku	Aššur-nādā	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
OAA 1 85; TC 1 27	AO 7151	Aššur-nādā	Aššur-taklāku	Aššur-nādā	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 86; Pa. 30	L 29-589	Aššur-nādā	Aššur-taklāku	Aššur-nādā	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Durhumit?	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 87	BM 115173	Aššur-nādā	Aššur-taklāku	Aššur-nādā	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
OAA 1 88; BIN 4 71	NBC 1734	Aššur-nādā	Aššur-taklāku	Aššur-nādā	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
OAA 1 89	BM 115194	Aššur-nādā	Ušur-ša-Aššur; Aššur-taklāku	Aššur-nādā	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Anatolia	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 90; KUG 30	Gießen 30	Aššur-nādā	Aššur-taklāku	Aššur-nādā; Ušur-ša- Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
OAA 1 91; TC 3 90	AO 8244	Aššur-nādā	Aššur-taklāku	Aššur-nādā; Ušur-ša- Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 92; KUG 29	Gießen 29	Aššur-nādā	Ušur-ša-Aššur	Aššur-nādā	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
OAA 1 93; CTMMA 1 81	MMA 1983.135.6	Aššur-nādā	Aššur-bēl-malkim	Aššur-bēl-awātīm; Ali-aḥum and Alili's representatives; ḫinaya; Aššur-nādā	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Uršu	<i>Kaneš</i>

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
OAA 1 94; BIN 4 60	NBC 3670	Aššur-nādā	Iddin-Suen	Ali-aḫum; Aššur- nādā	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Timelkia	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 95; TC 1 4	AO 7053	Aššur-nādā	Eddin-Aššur	Ali-aḫum; Aššur- nādā	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
OAA 1 96	K.T. 141	Aššur-nādā	Ali-aḫum	Aššur-nādā	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Anatolia	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 97; Pa. 17	L 29-572	Aššur-nādā	Ali-aḫum	Aššur-nādā	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
OAA 1 98	K.T. 101	Aššur-nādā	Ali-aḫum	Aššur-nādā; Puzur- Anna	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City?	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 99; TC 2 31	AO 8702	Aššur-nādā	Ali-aḫum	Aššur-nādā; Puzur- Anna	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
OAA 1 100	K.T. 137	Aššur-nādā	Ali-aḫum; Zuba	Aššur-nādā	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
OAA 1 101; TTC 2	AO 10361	Aššur-nādā	Šu-lštar	Ali-aḥum; Aššur- nādā	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
OAA 1 102; Pa. 3	L 29-556	Aššur-nādā	Šarra-Adad	Aššur-nādā	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	en-route from the City	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 103	K.T. 116	Aššur-nādā	Ennānum	Aššur-nādā	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	
OAA 1 104	K.T. 92	Aššur-nādā	Kukkulānum	Aššur-nādā	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 105; CCT 4 4	BM 115068	Aššur-nādā	Kurub-lštar	Aššur-nādā; Kukkulānum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 106	BM 115144	Aššur-nādā	Kurub-lštar	Aššur-nādā	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 107; TC 1 11	AO 7060	Aššur-nādā	Kurub-lštar	Aššur-nādā	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
OAA 1 109; BIN 4 92	NBC 4008	Aššur-nādā	Lā-qēp; Asqudum; Kurub-lštar	Aššur-nādā	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Anatolia	
OAA 1 110	VAT 09225	Aššur-nādā	Šalim-aḥum	Lā-qēp; Aššur-nādā	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	Kaneš
OAA 1 111	BM 115141	Aššur-nādā	Aššur-kašid	Aššur-nādā; Zikur-ilī	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	Kaneš
OAA 1 112; TC 3 96	AO 9523	Aššur-nādā	Aššur-kašid	Aššur-nādā	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	Kaneš
OAA 1 113; TTC 27	AO 10386	Aššur-nādā; Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum	Aššur-nādā	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
OAA 1 114; BIN 4 64	NBC 1661	Aššur-nādā	Iddin-lštar	Aššur-nādā	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Durhumit	Kaneš
OAA 1 115; KTH 1		Aššur-nādā	Iddin-lštar	Aššur-nādā	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Durhumit	Kaneš

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
OAA 1 116; CCT 3 16b	BM 113481	Aššur-nādā	Iddin-lštar	Aššur-nādā	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Durhumit</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 117	BM 115199	Aššur-nādā	Iddin-lštar	Aššur-nādā	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
OAA 1 118	BM 115056	Aššur-nādā	Iddin-lštar	Aššur-nādā	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Durhumit</i>	<i>Kane</i>
OAA 1 119; BIN 4 54	NBC 1700	Aššur-nādā	ḫinnaya	Aššur-nādā	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 120	BM 113473	Aššur-nādā	ḫinnaya	Aššur-nādā	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Anatolia?</i>	<i>Kaneš?</i>
OAA 1 121; KTH 8		Aššur-nādā	ḫinnaya	Aššur-nādā; Dān- Aššur; ḫadanu	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 122; TTC 17	AO 10376	Aššur-nādā	ḫinnaya	Aššur-nādā; Dān- Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
OAA 1 123	K.T. 124	Aššur-nādā	ḫinnaya	Aššur-nādā	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	<i>City</i>
OAA 1 124; Pa. 50	L 29-620	Aššur-nādā	ḫinnaya	Aššur-nādā	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
OAA 1 125; (A)KT 1 12		Aššur-nādā	Elamma	Aššur-nādā; Iddin- abum; Aššur-lamassī	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Anatolia	
OAA 1 126	BM 115061	Aššur-nādā	Kuzazum	Aššur-nādā; Ilī-alum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
OAA 1 127; Pa. 24	L 29-581	Aššur-nādā	Izimea	Aššur-nādā; Šamaš- tappā'ī	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Anatolia	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 128; TTC 23	AO 10382	Aššur-nādā	Karubua	Aššur-nādā; Šu-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Anatolia	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 129	BM 119416	Aššur-nādā	Kuzallum	Aššur-nādā; Ištar- pilaḫ	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Anatolia	<i>Kaneš</i>

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
OAA 1 130; KTH 3		Aššur-nādā	Pilaḥ-Ištar	Aššur-nādā	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Badna	<i>Kaneš</i>
OAA 1 131; BIN 4 225	NBC 4005	Aššur-nādā	Kurara	Iddin-Suen; Aššur- nādā; Ennam-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
OAA 1 132; VS 26 1	VAT 9223	Aššur-nādā	Adad-šulūlī	Aššur-nādā; Šumma- libbi-Aššur; Alulaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	
OAA 1 133; TC 1 12	AO 7061	Aššur-nādā	Ilī-alum	Ali-aḥum; Aššur- taklāku	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
OAA 1 134	HG 75	Aššur-nādā	Aššur-taklāku	^(f) Ištar-ummi; ^(f) Ša- Aššur- <i>mada</i>	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	<i>City</i>
OAA 1 135	BM 120515	Aššur-nādā	Aššur-šulūlī; Ikūn- pīya; Aššur-ṭāb; Ilabrat-bānī; Iddin- Ištar; Ennam-Aššur; Abu-šalim	Elamma's shareholders (<i>ummeānū</i> Elamma); Elamma's representatives (<i>ša</i> <i>kīma</i> Elamma)	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
OIP 27 62	Beloit College Art Hall No. 608	Imdī-ilum	Amur-Ištar	Imdī-ilum; Pūšu-kēn; Ikūnum; Iddin-abum; ḥadaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	
TC 1 5	AO 7054	Imdī-ilum	^(f) Tarām-kūbī; ^(f) Šīmat-Aššur	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
TC 1 16	AO 7065	Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum	Annali; Aššur-idī; Amur-ilī	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City?	<i>Anatolia</i>
TC 1 24	AO 7073	Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum	Puzur-Ištar; Aššur- ṭāb; Laliya	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	<i>City</i>
TC 1 53	AO 7466	Imdī-ilum	Aḥ-šalim	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
TC 2 22	AO 8680	Imdī-ilum	Kurub-Ištar	Imdī-ilum; Pūšu-kēn	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>
TC 2 35	AO 8705	Imdī-ilum	Ušur-ša-Aššur	Šalim-Aššur; Imdī- ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
TC 2 36	AO 8707	Imdī-ilum	Uzua	Imdī-ilum		<i>Anatolia</i>	Kaneš?
TC 2 37	AO 8716	Imdī-ilum	Aḥ-šalim	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
TC 2 38	AO 8706	Imdī-ilum	Buziya	Aššur-imittī; Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
TC 2 40	AO 8712	Imdī-ilum	Ennam-Bēlum	Aššur-imittī; Aššur- šulūlī; Aššur-ṭāb	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	City?
TC 2 45	AO 8709	Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum	Aššur-taklāku; [...]	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	Anatolia?	City?
TC 3/1 32	AO 9357	Imdī-ilum	Šalim-Aššur	Pūšu-kēn	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	<i>City</i>
TC 3/1 45	AO 9379	Imdī-ilum	Kutallanum	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
TC 3/1 46	AO 9291	Imdī-ilum	Aššur-ṭāb	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
TC 3/1 47	AO 9260	Imdī-ilum	Āl-ṭāb	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
TC 3/1 48	AO 9267	Imdī-ilum	Amur-Ištar	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
TC 3/1 49	AO 8235	Imdī-ilum	Addu	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Anatolia	
TC 3/1 50	AO 8236	Imdī-ilum	Puzur-Ištar	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Anatolia	
TC 3/1 51	AO 9266	Imdī-ilum	Ennam-Bēlum	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
TC 3/1 52	AO 9258	Imdī-ilum	Ennam-Bēlum	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
TC 3/1 53	AO 7709	Imdī-ilum	Ennam-Bēlum	Imdī-ilum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
TC 3/1 54	AO 09279	Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum	Aššur-imittī; Ennam-Bēlum; Pilaḥ-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	
TC 3/1 56	AO 9287	Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum	lštar-bāštī	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	Kaneš
TC 3/1 57	AO 8263	Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum	lštar-bāštī; Amur-ilī	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
TC 3/1 58	AO 9270	Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum	Ušur-ša-Aššur	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	Anatolia
TC 3/2 118	AO 9257	Imdī-ilum	[...]	Amur-ilī; lšme-Suʾen	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
TC 3/2 130	AO 9249	Imdī-ilum		broken			

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
TPAK 1 1	kt 90/k 140	Aššur- mūtappil	Aššur-bānī	Aššur-mūtappil	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
TPAK 1 2	kt 90/k 223	Aššur- mūtappil	Aššur-bānī	Aššur-mūtappil	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
TPAK 1 3	kt 90/k 137	Aššur- mūtappil	Aššur-bānī	Aššur-mūtappil; Aššur-našir	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	
TPAK 1 4	kt 90/k 128	Aššur- mūtappil	Aššur-bānī	Aššur-mūtappil; Aššur-našir; Aššur- rēʾī	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	Kaneš?
TPAK 1 6	kt 90/k 114	Aššur- mūtappil	Aḫatum; Aššur-rabi	Aššur-bānī; Aššur- mūtappil; Aššur-rēʾī	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>
TPAK 1 7	kt 90/k 136	Aššur- mūtappil	Aššur-rēʾī	Aššur-mūtappil	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Durhumit	<i>Anatolia</i>
TPAK 1 8	kt 90/k 125	Aššur- mūtappil	Ištar-tulissu	Aššur-mūtappil; Šalim-Aššur; Irʾana, wardum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
TPAK 1 9	kt 90/k 141	Aššur- mūtappil	Ušur-piya	Aššur-mūtappil	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>	Anatolia
TPAK 1 10a	kt 90/k 127	Aššur- mūtappil	Aduda	Ennam-Aššur; Aššur- mūtappil	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
TPAK 1 11	kt 90/k 113	Aššur- mūtappil	Aššur-ennam	Anuppi-lštar; Aššur- mūtappil; Ennanātum	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš	
TPAK 1 14	kt 90/k 123	Aššur- mūtappil	Aššur-idī	Aššur-mūtappil; ṭāb- Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Kaneš?	
TPAK 1 16	kt 90/k 126	Aššur- mūtappil	Aššur- <i>malik</i>	Aššur-mūtappil	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
TPAK 1 17	kt 90/k 329	Aššur- mūtappil	aššur-šulūlī	Aššur-mūtappil	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
TPAK 1 20	kt 90/k 121	Aššur- mūtappil	<i>tamkārum</i>	Aššur-mūtappil	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City?	Kaneš?

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
TPAK 1 21a	kt 90/k 324a	Aššur- mūtappil	representatives (<i>ša kīma kuāti</i>)	Aššur-mūtappil	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
TPAK 1 22	kt 90/k 159	Aššur- mūtappil	Aššur-mūtappil	representatives (<i>ša kīma iāti</i>)	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	<i>Kaneš</i>
TPAK 1 23	kt 90/k 152	Aššur- mūtappil	Aššur-mūtappil	representatives (<i>ša kīma iāti</i>); Apil-ken	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	Kaneš?
TPAK 1 24	kt 90/k 333	Aššur- mūtappil		broken	City		
TPAK 1 26	kt 90/k 131	Šumī-abīya	Amur-Ištar	Šumī-abīya	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	<i>Kaneš</i>
TPAK 1 27	Kt 90/k 169	Šumī-abīya	Amur-Ištar	Šumī-abīya	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	<i>Kaneš</i>
TPAK 1 28	Kt 90/k 174	Šumī-abīya	Abī-Aya	Šumī-abīya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	City	

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
TPAK 1 29	kt 90/k 153	Šumī-abīya	Abī-Aya	Mannum-kī-Aššur; Puzur-Aššur; Šumī- abīya; Aššur-nādā	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
TPAK 1 30	kt 90/k 332	Šumī-abīya	Abī-Aya	Mannum-kī-Aššur; Puzur-Aššur; Šumī- abīya; Elali; [PN]	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
TPAK 1 32	kt 90/k 236	Šumī-abīya	Kuzum	Šumī-abīya; ^(f) Maka	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
TPAK 1 33	kt 90/k 116	Šumī-abīya	Aššur- <i>malik</i>	Šumī-abīya; Amur- šamaš; Lulu; Šarrabunuwa; Šarrabunuwa's colleagues	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>	
TPAK 1 34	kt 90/k 158	Šumī-abīya	Nimar-Ištar; Šumī- abīya; Iddin-Suen; ḫanu			<i>Kaneš</i>	
TPAK 1 35	kt 90/k 173	Šumī-abīya	Šalim-aḫum; Šupiaš'ue	Šumī-abīya	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
TPAK 1 36	kt 90/k 163	Šumī-abīya	Šumī-abīya	Šalim-aḫum; <i>amtum</i>	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
TPAK 1 37	kt 90/k 218	Šumī-abīya	Šumī-abīya	Šalim-aḫum; <i>amtum</i>	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
TTC 18	AO 10377	Imdī-ilum	Išme-Aššur	Imdī-ilum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>		
TTC 30	AO 10389	Imdī-ilum	Puzur-Aššur	Imdī-ilum; Ennam- Aššur; Aššur-šulūlī	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>	Anatolia	
	L 29-571	Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum	Amur-Ištar	<i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i> <i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i>		
	Bursa 3776 + KTS 2 36	Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum	Aššur-imittī; Šu-Ištar; Ennānum; Pupurānum	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City?	Kaneš
	L 29-579	Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum	Aššur-ṭāb	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	City	Anatolia

Text No.	Museum/ Excavation No.	Archive	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Sent from	Sent to
	LB 1202	Imdī-ilum	Imdī-ilum	Ilī-ašranni; Ikūn-pīya; Aḥu-waqar; Iddin- Adad; Aššur-ṭāb; Annali; Puzur-Ištar	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Anatolia</i>
	L 29-569	Imdī-ilum	Ḫinaya; addressee's representatives (<i>ša</i> <i>kīma kuāti</i>); Puzur- Aššur	Pūšu-kēn	<i>umma</i> Author- <i>ma</i> <i>ana</i> Addressee <i>qibīma</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Kaneš</i>

The envelopes

Most of the envelopes that could be attributed to an archive necessarily come from controlled excavations. The mass of envelopes makes up c. 10% of that of the letters, 15% when considering only the evidence from excavated archives. C. 55% of envelopes can be connected to a letter in the corpus. C. 17% are unopened. These relatively high numbers concerning letter envelopes begs the question whether letters were usually kept together with their envelopes or whether the number of envelopes that had originally never been opened would be much higher than indicated here. They may very well have broken only accidentally. Uninscribed clay pieces that constituted envelopes would have barely been registered during excavation and hardly found entry into textual studies.

The table arranges the envelopes by their object identifiers and attribution to an archive. As far as possible, the corresponding letter to an envelope is given, which is surprisingly often possible, not least to the philological effort of the respective editors in deciphering the imprints of the letters on the inside of their envelopes. Indeed, if not found together *in situ* and having received consecutive excavation numbers, the most secure mode of identifying the corresponding letter lies in the imprint of the letter's text on the inner side of the envelope.

Authors and addressees are listed separately, followed by the address structure dependent on social hierarchy (KIŠIB Author - *ana* Addressee or *ana* Addressee – KIŠIB Author). It is noteworthy that the address sometimes is written from the perspective of the correspondents, i.e. in first or second person (explicitly in [A]KT 5 74A, [A]KT 6 390, [A]KT 6 403, [A]KT 6 463, TPAK 1 31), at other times, however, from an outside perspective, i.e. in third person (explicitly in [A]KT 11 178, Innāya 140a, Innāya 140b, OAA 1 134).

The surface content of the envelope, especially regarding seal impressions, is briefly described and potential short messages on the envelope are paraphrased.

Lastly, additional information regarding the material state of the envelope and other miscellaneous notes are given.

Text no.	Museum/ Exc. no.	Archive	corresp. letter	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Description/ paraphrase	Notes
(A)KT 5 34	Kt 92/k 262	Kuliya					two times same seal	fragmentary -- imprint (of a tablet supplement) on reverse
(A)KT 5 26A	Kt 92/k 188+kt 92/k 190a	Kuliya	(A)KT 5 26B	Pilaḥ-Ištar, son of Aššur-nādā	Kuliya, son of Ali- abum; Ḫanunu, son of Ennam-Aššur; Ušur-ša-Aššur, son of Puzur-Aššur; Aššur-lamassi, son of Aššur-nādā	<i>ana</i> Addressee KIŠIB Author	seven times Pilaḥ-Ištar's seal	
(A)KT 5 30A	Kt 92/k 191a	Kuliya	(A)KT 5 30B	Anaḥ-ilī, son of Ṭab-šilli-Aššur	Atata, son of Mannum-balum- Aššur; ^(f) Kannutum, son of Ennam-Suen	<i>ana</i> Addressee KIŠIB Author	seven times Anah-ilī's seal	

Text no.	Museum/ Exc. no.	Archive	corresp. letter	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Description/ paraphrase	Notes
(A)KT 5 74A	Kt 92/k 315a	Kuliya	(A)KT 5 74B	<i>kārum</i> Kaneš	Kuliya, the datum payer, our envoy (<i>šiprini</i>); every <i>kārum</i> (<i>kār kār[ma]</i>); wherever Sukkaliya, son of Aššuriš-tikal is staying; the assembly (<i>šaḥer rabi</i>)	KIŠIB Author <i>ana</i> Addressee	six different seals, two times the first one	
(A)KT 5 75A	Kt 89/k 325	Kuliya	(A)KT 5 75B	<i>dātum</i> payers; Kuliya, messenger of <i>kārum</i> Kaneš and <i>kārum</i> Durḫumit	every <i>kārum</i> (<i>kār kār[ma]</i>) and <i>wabartums</i> until <i>kārum</i> Kaneš	KIŠIB Author <i>ana</i> Addressee	4[+1?] different seals, two times the second seal	
(A)KT 6 140	kt 94/k 864A	Šalim-Aššur	(A)KT 6 141				three times Šalim-Aššur's seal -- (no text)	fragment -- perhaps correspondi ng to (A)KT 6 141 due to exc.-no. K 864b
(A)KT 6 147	kt 94/k 1645	Šalim-Aššur		Šalim-Aššur	Iddin-Abum; Ennānum; (...)	KIŠIB Author <i>ana</i> Addressee		fragmentary

Text no.	Museum/ Exc. no.	Archive	corresp. letter	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Description/ paraphrase	Notes
(A)KT 6 152a	kt 94/k 1644	Šalim-Aššur	(A)KT 6 152	Šalim-Aššur			Šalim-Aššur's seal	
(A)KT 6 154	kt 94/ k 1147	Šalim-Aššur		Šalim-Aššur/Issu- arik	Ennam- Aššur/Uzuwa; Ḫannaya; Iddin- Kubum; Aššur- imittī/Dudiki; Ennam-Aššur; Ali- aḫum	KIŠIB Author <i>ana</i> Addressee	seal of Šalim- Aššur/Issu- arik	
(A)KT 6 159	kt 94/k 889A	Šalim-Aššur	(A)KT 6 160	Šalim-Aššur	Ennam-Aššur; Ali- aḫum	KIŠIB Author <i>ana</i> Addressee	two times Šalim-Aššur's seal -- message: a kettle of 20 minas [...]	imprint on reverse helps with reading letter (A)KT 6 160. -- topically linked to (A)KT 6 156
(A)KT 6 180	kt 94/k 599	Šalim-Aššur		Man-maḫir	Šalim-Aššur	Addressee <i>ana</i> KIŠIB Author		unopened envelope

Text no.	Museum/ Exc. no.	Archive	corresp. letter	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Description/ paraphrase	Notes
(A)KT 6 181	kt 94/k 606	Šalim-Aššur		Man-maḥir	Šalim-Aššur	Addressee <i>ana</i> KIŠIB Author	two times Man-mahir's seal -- message: 1 1/2 mina of copper added to their account	unopened envelope
(A)KT 6 209a	kt 94/k 902	Šalim-Aššur, Šalim- Aššur's death	(A)KT 6 209	Ali-aḥum; Amur- Ištar	Ennam-Aššur	Addressee <i>ana</i> KIŠIB Author	Amur-Ištar's seal	imprint on reverse -- perhaps Amur-Ištar's seal (Anatolian style)
(A)KT 6 210	kt 94/k 896	Šalim-Aššur, Šalim- Aššur's death	(A)KT 6 211	<i>kārum</i> Kaneš	<i>ubartum</i> ša Kuburnat	KIŠIB Author <i>ana</i> Addressee	two times same seal	imprint on reverse
(A)KT 6 234	kt 94/k 863A	Šalim-Aššur, Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	(A)KT 6 235	Šu-Tammuzi; Elaya; Ennam- Aššur/Elamma; Lamassi	Ennam-Aššur		two times same seal	

Text no.	Museum/ Exc. no.	Archive	corresp. letter	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Description/ paraphrase	Notes
(A)KT 6 236a	kt 94/k 1141	Šalim-Aššur, Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	(A)KT 6 236a	^{f} Lamassi	Ennam-Aššur; Ali- aḫum, sons of šalim-Aššur	KIŠIB Author <i>ana</i> Addressee		imprint on reverse -- (sealed envelope opened in May 2008)
(A)KT 6 239a	?	Šailm-Aššur, Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	(A)KT 6 239	^{f} Anna-anna	Ennam-Aššur			imprint on reverse
(A)KT 6 248	kt 94/k 590A	Šalim-Aššur, Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	(A)KT 6 249	(Man-maḫir)			Man-mahir's seal -- no text at all	
(A)KT 6 256	kt 94/k 1179A	Šalim-Aššur	(A)KT 6 257					fragment
(A)KT 6 266	kt 94/k 584A	Šalim-Aššur	(A)KT 6 266				two times same seal	fragment
(A)KT 6 280	kt 94/k 1370A	Šalim-Aššur	(A)KT 6 281				two different seals	fragment

Text no.	Museum/ Exc. no.	Archive	corresp. letter	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Description/ paraphrase	Notes
(A)KT 6 286	kt 94/k 1146A	Šalim-Aššur, Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	(A)KT 6 287	Man-maḥir; Dan- Aššur, son of Puzur-Aššur; Ali- aḥum, son of Puzur-Aššur; Šu- Ištar, son of Šukkutum	Ennam-Aššur, son of šalim-Aššur	KIŠIB Author <i>ana</i> Addressee		corresponds to (A)KT 6 287 (kt 94/k 1146B)
(A)KT 6 292	kt 94/k 587A	Šalim-Aššur, Šalim- Aššur's death dossier	(A)KT 6 293				two different seals -- no text	
(A)KT 6 298	Kt 94/k 1150	Šalim-Aššur; Ennam- Aššur		^{f} Anna-anna	Ennam-Aššur, son of šalim-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee KIŠIB Author	one time Anna-anna's seal	unopened envelope
(A)KT 6 302A	Kt 94/k 1488A	Šalim-Aššur, Ennam- Aššur	(A)KT 6 302B	^{f} Anna-anna			one time part of Anna- anna's seal	fragmentary
(A)KT 6 308	Kt 94/k 1658	Šalim-Aššur, Ennam- Aššur	(A)KT 6 309	Ennam-Aššur	Lā-qēp; ^{f} Anna-anna		one time Ennam- Aššur's seal	fragmentary -- imprint on reverse

Text no.	Museum/ Exc. no.	Archive	corresp. letter	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Description/ paraphrase	Notes
(A)KT 6 320	Kt 94/k 1640	Šalim-Aššur, Ennam- Aššur		^{f} Lamassi	Ennam-Aššur; Ali- aḫum	KIŠIB Author <i>ana</i> Addressee	one time part of Lamassi's seal	fragmentary -- imprint on reverse mentions their father Šalim- Aššur's death
(A)KT 6 326	Kt 94/k 595A	Šalim-Aššur, Ennam- Aššur	(A)KT 6 327				one time part of Damiq-pī- Aššur's seal	very fragmentary -- imprint on reverse
(A)KT 6 339	kt94/k 1434	Šalim-Aššur, Ennam- Aššur	(A)KT 6 340	Ikūn-pīya, son of Aššur-bānī	Ennam-Aššur; Iddin- abum; Lā-qēp	KIŠIB Author <i>ana</i> Addressee	one time Ikūn-pīya's seal	fragmentary -- imprint on reverse
(A)KT 6 349	kt 94/k 1536	Šalim-Aššur, Ennam- Aššur	(A)KT 6 348		Ennam-Aššur	KIŠIB Author <i>ana</i> Addressee	one time seal of [broken name]	fragmentary -- imprint on reverse
(A)KT 6 363	kt 94/k 856A	Šalim-Aššur, Ennam- Aššur	(A)KT 6 363	Kuzizia	Ennam-Aššur, son of šalim-Aššur; Šu- Bēlum	KIŠIB Author <i>ana</i> Addressee	one time Kuzizia's seal	fragmentary

Text no.	Museum/ Exc. no.	Archive	corresp. letter	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Description/ paraphrase	Notes
(A)KT 6 372	kt 94/k 1145A	Šalim-Aššur, Ennam- Aššur	(A)KT 6 373	Kukuwa; Šu-lštar	Ennam-Aššur	KIŠIB Author <i>ana</i> Addressee	two different seals	
(A)KT 6 376	kt 94/k 601A	Šalim-Aššur, Ennam- Aššur	(A)KT 6 377	Man-maḥir	Ennam-Aššur	KIŠIB Author <i>ana</i> Addressee		
(A)KT 6 390	kt 94/k 604	Šalim-Aššur, Ennam- Aššur	(A)KT 6 391	Ennam-Aššur, son of Šalim-Aššur	Pilaḥ-lštar, son of Aššur-re'i; our Amur-lštar (<i>niā'um</i>)	<i>ana</i> Addressee KIŠIB Author	eight times Ennam- Aššur's seal	
(A)KT 6 398	kt 94/k 596A	Šalim-Aššur, Ennam- Aššur	(A)KT 6 399	Amur-lštar	Ennam-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee KIŠIB Author	Amur-lštar's seal -- message about 3 minas of copper, 2 shekels of silver [...]	fragment
(A)KT 6 400	kt 94/k 592A	Šalim-Aššur, Ennam- Aššur	(A)KT 6 401	Aššur-malik, son of Ikun-pia	Ennam-Aššur; Ikunum, son of Elali; Amur-lštar, son of [...]	<i>ana</i> Addressee KIŠIB Author	Aššur-malik's seal	

Text no.	Museum/ Exc. no.	Archive	corresp. letter	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Description/ paraphrase	Notes
(A)KT 6 403	kt 94/k 1180A	Šalim-Aššur, Ennam- Aššur	(A)KT 6 404	your represen- tatives (<i>ša kīma kuāti</i>)	Ennam-Aššur	KIŠIB Author <i>ana</i> Addressee	at least two different seals (one of Alulaya). -- message from Aššur-massu'i saying that he placed [...] and Ennam- Aššur should send [...]	
(A)KT 6 412	kt 94/k 588A	Šalim-Aššur, Ennam- Aššur		Turam-ilī	Ennam-Aššur/Šalim- Aššur; Šu- Kubum/Ennam- Anum	KIŠIB Author <i>ana</i> Addressee	two times Turam-ilī's seal -- imprint on reverse: -- (addressed specifically to Ennam-Aššur) -- about silver and gold?, mentioning Šu-Kubum's caravan.	fragmentary -- does not belong to (A)KT 6 688 (kt 94/k 588B), a letter to Ali- ahum and Ikun-pī- Aššur by Alidi.

Text no.	Museum/ Exc. no.	Archive	corresp. letter	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Description/ paraphrase	Notes
(A)KT 6 413	kt 94/k 593A	Šalim-Aššur, Ennam- Aššur	(A)KT 6 414	Turam-ilī	Ennam-Aššur; Šu- Kubum, son of Ennam-Anum	KIŠIB Author <i>ana</i> Addressee	two times Turam-ilī's seal	
(A)KT 6 418	kt 94/k 1181A	Šalim-Aššur, Ennam- Aššur			[Ennam-Aššur]			fragmentary -- according to M.T. Larsen, Ennam- Aššur's seal is not on it, so he must be the addressee, thus it does not belong together with (A)KT 6 419 (kt 94/k 1181B)
(A)KT 6 424	kt 94/k 594A	Šalim-Aššur, Ennam- Aššur	(A)KT 6 425				one seal in Old Assyrian style	fragmentary

Text no.	Museum/ Exc. no.	Archive	corresp. letter	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Description/ paraphrase	Notes
(A)KT 6 431	kt 94/k 1419A	Šalim-Aššur, Ennam- Aššur	(A)KT 6 432	^{f} lštar-rabi'at	Ennam-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee KIŠIB Author	One seal with inscription (^d UTU / ^d A-a)	same seal also on (A)KT 1 58 belonging to either Aššur- dan or Cilli- Adad
(A)KT 6 441	kt 94/k 862A + 1635	Šalim-Aššur, Ennam- Aššur	(A)KT 6 442	Kudātum	Nab-Suen; Ennam- Aššur	KIŠIB Author <i>ana</i> Addressee	three seals, one time Nab- Suen's, two times Ennam- Aššur's	
(A)KT 6 454	kt 94/k 1648	Šalim-Aššur, Ennam- Aššur		[...]	Ennam-Aššur, son of šalim-Aššur; Ali- aḫum, son of šalim- Aššur	KIŠIB Author <i>ana</i> Addressee	three different seals, one time Ṭab-cilli- Aššur's	very fragmentary
(A)KT 6 455	kt 94/k 1148	Šalim-Aššur, Ennam- Aššur		[^{f} Anna-anna]	Ennam-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee KIŠIB Author	one time Anna-anna's seal	unopened envelope
(A)KT 6 460	kt 94/k 1636	Šalim-Aššur		Alulaya	Ennam-Aššur	KIŠIB Author <i>ana</i> Addressee	one time (part of) Alulaya's seal	fragmentary

Text no.	Museum/ Exc. no.	Archive	corresp. letter	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Description/ paraphrase	Notes
(A)KT 6 461	kt 94/k 1695	Šalim-Aššur, Ennam- Aššur		[Ennam-Aššur]			one time (part of) Ennam- Aššur's seal	
(A)KT 6 462	kt 94/k 1639	Šalim-Aššur, Ennam- Aššur		[Ennam-Aššur]	Mannum-kī-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee KIŠIB Author	one time (part of) Ennam- Aššur's seal	fragmentary -- imprint on reverse
(A)KT 6 463	kt 94/k 877	Šalim-Aššur, Ennam- Aššur		Ennam-Aššur	my repre-sentatives (<i>ša kīma iāti</i>); Belanum	<i>ana</i> Addressee KIŠIB Author	Ennam- Aššur's seal	
(A)KT 6 727	kt 94/k 1416	Šalim-Aššur, unattributed		Abela	Ilī-bānī; Kililzum	KIŠIB Author <i>ana</i> Addressee	one time Abela's seal	unopened envelope
(A)KT 6 728	kt 94/k 1417	Šalim-Aššur, unattributed		Adida	Bēlum-bānī; Anupiya; Aluwa	KIŠIB Author <i>ana</i> Addressee	one time Adida's seal (with inscription Adida, son of Warad-ilišu)	unopened envelope
(A)KT 6 729	kt 94/k 1278	Šalim-Aššur, unattributed		Amur-lštar	Kalamur	KIŠIB Author <i>ana</i> Addressee	one time Amur-lštar's seal	unopened envelope

Text no.	Museum/ Exc. no.	Archive	corresp. letter	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Description/ paraphrase	Notes
(A)KT 6 734	kt 94/k 1787A	Šalim-Aššur, unattributed	(A)KT 6 735	Aššur-bānī	Šuppi-numan, son of Mala[...]; [...]	KIŠIB Author <i>ana</i> Addressee	one time Aššur-bānī's seal	fragmentary
(A)KT 6 738	kt 94/k 600A	Šalim-Aššur, unattributed	(A)KT 6 739	Aššur-gimli	Azu; Ištaḫšu; Niwala	KIŠIB Author <i>ana</i> Addressee	seal of Aššur- gimli	-- judging from the seal on (A)KT 1 75, Aššur- gimli was a member of the <i>kārum</i> Kaneš
(A)KT 6 744	kt 94/k 861A	Šalim-Aššur, unattributed	(A)KT 6 745?				one seal	fragment
(A)KT 6 747	kt 94/k 1414	Šalim-Aššur, unattributed		Puzur-Aššur	Anu-[...]-an	KIŠIB Author <i>ana</i> Addressee	one time Puzur-Aššur's seal	unopened envelope
(A)KT 6 751	kt 94/k 597A	Šalim-Aššur, unattributed	(A)KT 6 752	Buburanum	Abīya, son of Bebe; Aššur-ṭāb	KIŠIB Author <i>ana</i> Addressee	Buburanum's seal -- broken message with invocation of relation to pay heed to the letter	fragmentary

Text no.	Museum/ Exc. no.	Archive	corresp. letter	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Description/ paraphrase	Notes
(A)KT 6 759	kt 94/k 1369A	Šalim-Aššur, unattributed	(A)KT 6 760?				one seal impression	fragmentary
(A)KT 6 764	kt 94/k 869A	Šalim-Aššur, unattributed	(A)KT 6 765	Parrurtum	Iddin-abum, son of Narmea	KIŠIB Author <i>ana</i> Addressee	Parrurtum's seal	
(A)KT 6 767	kt 94/k 591A	Šalim-Aššur, unattributed	(A)KT 6 768	[Ikūn-pīya?]			seal inscription Ikun-pī- Ištar/Aššur- bānī	fragmentary
(A)KT 6 779	kt 94/k 610A	Šalim-Aššur, unattributed	(A)KT 6 780?				one seal	fragmentary
(A)KT 6 781	kt 94/k 598A	Šalim-Aššur, unattributed	(A)KT 6 782	Ušur-ša-Aššur, son of Šu-Kubum	Mannum-kī-Aššur, son of Aššur-ṭāb; Aḫatum, daughter of Šinanatum	<i>ana</i> Addressee KIŠIB Author	Ucur-ša- Aššur's seal	

Text no.	Museum/ Exc. no.	Archive	corresp. letter	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Description/ paraphrase	Notes
(A)KT 6 783	kt 94/k 1418	Šalim-Aššur, unattributed		Kunila	Nini; Ilabrat-bānī	<i>ana</i> Addressee KIŠIB Author	Kunila's seal -- message saying important (apputtum) to pay heed to the letter's message.	unopened envelope
(A)KT 6 787	kt 94/k 1334A	Šalim-Aššur, unattributed	(A)KT 6 788		Šazuwa; Šalimma; Bitaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee KIŠIB Author		fragmentary
(A)KT 6 789	kt 94/k 603	Šalim-Aššur, unattributed		Sakliya	Šu-Anum, son of Ḫadaya	<i>ana</i> Addressee KIŠIB Author	Sakliya's seal with inscription Ahu-waqar, son of Ilī- kummir	unopened envelope
(A)KT 6 790	kt 94/k 605	Šalim-Aššur, unattributed		Šu-Bēlum, son of Iddin-abum	Ikunum, son of Šamaš-bānī; Iništarum; Aluwa	KIŠIB Author <i>ana</i> Addressee	Šu-Bēlum's seal	unopened envelope

Text no.	Museum/ Exc. no.	Archive	corresp. letter	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Description/ paraphrase	Notes
(A)KT 6 791	kt 94/k 607A	Šalim-Aššur, unattributed	(A)KT 6 792	Šu-Bēlum, son of Kuziziya	Ali-aḫum, son of Adad-ellat, grandson of Ataya;	KIŠIB Author <i>ana</i> Addressee	Šu-Bēlum's seal -- message saying to pay heed to the letter and leave instructions with Azu.	
(A)KT 6 793	kt 94/k 583	Šalim-Aššur, unattributed	(A)KT 6 794	Amur-Ištar	Šu-Enlil; Azu	<i>ana</i> Addressee KIŠIB Author		unopened envelope
(A)KT 6 801	kt 94/k 602	Šalim-Aššur, unattributed		<i>tamkārum</i> ; Elali	Inib-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee KIŠIB Author	seal -- message asking why he never sends any notice	unopened envelope --
(A)KT 6 806a	kt 94/k 1161	Šalim-Aššur, unattributed	(A)KT 6 806				Šu-Ištar's seal	fragmentary -- imprint on reverse
(A)KT 6 810	kt 94/k 1651	Šalim-Aššur, unattributed					Iddin-abum's seal -- broken message	fragmentary

Text no.	Museum/ Exc. no.	Archive	corresp. letter	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Description/ paraphrase	Notes
(A)KT 6 337A	kt 94/k 1643	Šalim-Aššur, Ennam- Aššur	(A)KT 6 337B				one time part of Lā-qēp(?)'s seal	very fragmentary -- -- imprint on reverse
(A)KT 8 163	kt 91/k 9 468	Elamma			Lamassutum	<i>ana</i> Addressee KIŠIB Author	four times seal of [broken name] -- message speaking about copies (mehrums) [...] that the addressee sent...	large fragmentary envelope
(A)KT 8 261	Kt 92/k 167	Elamma		Wardum, son of Kuzia	Nabi-Suen; Ennam- Aššur; Libūr-bēlī, son of Asqūdia	<i>ana</i> Addressee KIŠIB Author	two times Wardum, son of Kuzia's seal	unopened envelope
(A)KT 8 265	Kt 91/k 404			Aššur-idī	Suaya; Ennam-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee KIŠIB Author	four times Aššur-idī's seal	unopened envelope

Text no.	Museum/ Exc. no.	Archive	corresp. letter	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Description/ paraphrase	Notes
(A)KT 8 25A	kt 92/k 160A	Elamma	(A)KT 8 25B	Aššur-mūtappil	Elamma		two times Aššur- mūtappil's seal -- no text	seal = CS 739, also on kt n/k 1906A
(A)KT 11 170	kt 92/k 568	Šu-lštar	(A)KT 11 38	Mannum-balum- Aššur [...]; Bēlum- bānī [...]; Ilī-imittī	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee KIŠIB Author	three times different seals	fragmentary
(A)KT 11 171	kt 92/k 571	Šu-lštar		Bēlum-bānī; Asanum; Ilī-imittī	Šu-lštar	<i>ana</i> Addressee KIŠIB Author	two times different seals	fragmentary
(A)KT 11 172	kt 92/k 572	Šu-lštar		Mannum-[balum- Aššur]; Aḥ-šalim; Ilī-imittī	Ennam-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee KIŠIB Author	three different seals two times each	
(A)KT 11 173	kt 92/k 579	Šu-lštar	(A)KT 11 13	Damiq-pī-Aššur, son of Warad-ilišu	Šu-lštar, son of Aššur-bānī; Dadaya, son of Aššur-imittī	<i>ana</i> Addressee KIŠIB Author	two times Damiq-pī- Aššur's seal	fragmentary
(A)KT 11 174	kt 92/k 601	Šu-lštar	(A)KT 11 14	Damiq-pī-Aššur, son of Warad-ilišu	Šu-lštar, son of Aššur-bānī	<i>ana</i> Addressee KIŠIB Author	one time Damiq-pī- Aššur's seal	

Text no.	Museum/ Exc. no.	Archive	corresp. letter	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Description/ paraphrase	Notes
(A)KT 11 175	kt 92/k 587	Šu-lštar		Šu-Ḫubur	Šu-lštar, son of Aššur-bānī	<i>ana</i> Addressee KIŠIB Author	two times Šu- Hubur's seal	fragmentary
(A)KT 11 176	kt 92/k 594	Šu-lštar		Lipit-lštar, son of Dagan-malkum	Šu-lštar, son of Aššur-bānī	<i>ana</i> Addressee KIŠIB Author	two times Lipit-lštar's seal	fragmentary
(A)KT 11 177	kt 92/k 602	Šu-lštar		Šarra-Su'en	Šu-lštar, son of Aššur-bānī	<i>ana</i> Addressee KIŠIB Author	one time Šarra-Su'en's seal	fragmentary
(A)KT 11 178	kt 92/k 621	Šu-lštar		Aššur-malik	Šu-lštar, ḫis brother (<i>aḫišu</i>)	KIŠIB Author <i>ana</i> Addressee	two times Aššur-malik's seal	fragmentary
(A)KT 11 179	kt 92/k 623	Šu-lštar		Dadaya, son of Aššur-imittī; Su'en-damiq, ḫis brother (<i>aḫišu</i>)	Šu-lštar, son of Aššur-bānī	<i>ana</i> Addressee KIŠIB Author	two times one seal	fragmentary

Text no.	Museum/ Exc. no.	Archive	corresp. letter	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Description/ paraphrase	Notes
(A)KT 11 180	kt 92/k 832	Šu-lštar		Šarra-Su'en [...]; [Ili]-imittī	Šu-lštar, son of Aššur-bānī	<i>ana</i> Addressee KIŠIB Author	three times two different seals	H. Erol restores Aššur-imittī instead, there are, however, several letters in the archive co- authored by Šarra-Su'en and Ili-imittī
(A)KT 11 181	kt 92/k 833	Šu-lštar		[Su'en]-damiq, son of Aššur- imittī	Šu-lštar, son of Ašš[ur-bānī]	<i>ana</i> Addressee KIŠIB Author	two times Su'en-damiq's seal	
(A)KT 11 182	kt 92/k 836	Šu-lštar	(A)KT 11 61	Bazia, son of Asqūdum	[šu-lš]tar, son of Aššur-bānī	<i>ana</i> Addressee KIŠIB Author	four times Bazia's seal	
Innāya 141	ICK 1 48A	Innaya, son of Elali	BIN 6 99?		Innaya [...]; Iddin- Kubum [...]; Aššur- taklāku [...]; Aššur- reši [...]		one seal	fragmentary

Text no.	Museum/ Exc. no.	Archive	corresp. letter	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Description/ paraphrase	Notes
Innāya 140a	ICK 1 45A	Innaya, son of Elali		Innaya, son of Elali; Aššur- taklāku, ḥis son (ṣuḥarišu)			three times Innaya's seal	fragment
Innāya 140b	ICK 1 43A	Innaya, son of Elali		Innaya, son of Elali; Aššur- taklāku, ḥis son (ṣuḥarišu)			one time Innaya's seal	-- Same as Innaya 140a
OAA 1 93		Aššur-nādā	OAA 1 93	Aššur-bel-malkim	Aššur-bēl-awātim; Ali-aḥum's and Alili's representatives; Ḫinnaya; Aššur-nādā	<i>ana</i> Addressee KIŠIB Author	Aššur-bel- malkim's seal	
OAA 1 134	HG 75	Aššur-nādā	OAA 1 134	Aššur-taklāku, son of Aššur-idī	^{f} lštar-ummi, ḥis <i>amtum</i> -wife (<i>amtišu</i>); ^{f} ša-Aššur- mada	<i>ana</i> Addressee KIŠIB Author	Aššur- taklāku's seal - - message saying importantly (<i>apputtum</i> <i>apputtum</i>), to not make any trouble	

Text no.	Museum/ Exc. no.	Archive	corresp. letter	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Description/ paraphrase	Notes
TPAK 1 5	kt 90/k 98	Aššur- mūtappil		Aššur-bānī	Aššur-mūtappil; Aššur-re'i	KIŠIB Author <i>ana</i> Addressee	seven times Aššur-bānī's seal	
TPAK 1 12	kt 90/k 104	Aššur- mūtappil		Buzutaya, son of Lā-qēp	Ikun-pī-Aššur, son of Ilia; Ṭab-šilli-Aššur, son of Papalum; Aššur-mūtappil, son of Iddin-abum; Šuli	<i>ana</i> Addressee KIŠIB Author	four times Buzutaya's seal -- address to Ikun-pī- Aššur/Ilia, Ṭab-cilli- Aššur/Papalu m; Aššur- mūtappil/Iddi n-abum and Šuli -- sealed by Buzutaya/Lā- qēp	unopened letter
TPAK 1 13	kt 90/k 100	Aššur- mūtappil		Iddin-abum, son of Šu-lštar; Aššur- mūtappil, son of Iddin-abum; Šamaš-damiq, son of Aššur- malik	Šalim-Aššur, son of Inna-Sîn	<i>ana</i> Addressee KIŠIB Author	seven times Šalim-Aššur's seal	unopened envelope

Text no.	Museum/ Exc. no.	Archive	corresp. letter	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Description/ paraphrase	Notes
TPAK 1 15	kt 90/k 99	Aššur- mūtappil		Ṭab-Aššur, son of Uze	Aššur-mūtappil, son of Iddin-abum; Atata, son of Ušur- ša-Aššur	<i>ana</i> Addressee KIŠIB Author	seven times Ṭab-Aššur's seal	unopened envelope
TPAK 1 18	kt 90/k 101	Aššur- mūtappil		Šu-lštar	Nab-Suen, son of Abī-ilī; Šumī-abīya, son of Puzur-lštar; Aššur-imittī, son of Kurub-lštar; Aššur- mūtappil, son of Iddin-abum	<i>ana</i> Addressee KIŠIB Author	seven times Šu-lštar's seal	unopened letter
TPAK 1 19	kt 90/k 215	Aššur- mūtappil			Šumī-abīya; Aššur- mūtappil, son of Iddin-abum		three times two different seals	fragment

Text no.	Museum/ Exc. no.	Archive	corresp. letter	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Description/ paraphrase	Notes
TPAK 1 25	kt 90/k 258	Aššur- mūtappil					message complaining that he does not read his letter, and some silver was lost. Aššur- mūtappil should give them the letter about Šamaš-bānī's debt against Ipqum.	fragment
TPAK 1 31	kt 90/k 257	Šumī-abīya		Aššur-rēši, son of Innaya	Aššur-nādā, son of Amur-lštar; Šumī- Abīya, son of Puzur- lštar; Šupianika, son of Puzur-lštar; our (<i>niā'im</i>) Wardum	KIŠIB Author <i>ana</i> Addressee	four times Aššur-rēši's seal -- message saying to pay heed to the letter's message and not act on their own.	fragmentary

Text no.	Museum/ Exc. no.	Archive	corresp. letter	Author	Addressee	Address hierarchy	Description/ paraphrase	Notes
TPAK 1 38	kt 90/k 211	Šumī-abīya			Inaḥ-ilī, son of Šu-Aššur; [PN], son of Ennam-Suen; [PN], son of Šamaš-bānī; [Šumī]-abīya, son of Pu[zur-Ištar]		two times seal	fragmentary
TPAK 1 10b	kt 90/k 319	Aššur-mūtappil	TPAK 1 10a	Aduda, son of Aššur-malik	Ennam-Aššur, son of A[...]; Aššur-mūtappil, son of Iddin-abum	<i>ana</i> Addressee KIŠIB Author	one time Aduda's seal - - message saying to pay heed to the letter with invocation of relation	
TPAK 1 21b	kt 90/k 324b	Aššur-mūtappil	TPAK 1 21a	[...], son of Ikūn-pīya; Šu-Bēlum, son of Bēlum-bānī; Ennat-Aššur, son of Titinatal	Aššur-mūtappil	KIŠIB Author <i>ana</i> Addressee	four different seals -- broken message with apputtum?	fragmentary

Glossary

For especially pregnant or technical terms, we attach a short glossary of proposed translations with short notes for explanation and contextualisation wherever needed. Any translation depends on context. References to the pages where each entry is discussed at more length (mostly in footnotes) are also given.

<i>abum</i> : "father; boss"	98, 103, 104
<i>adi mala u šinīšu</i> : (lit.) "once or twice" with a generalised meaning as "several times"; for more emphasis the phrase can also involve other ordinals	137, 138, 139, 140
<i>adīni</i> : "until now; still"	109
<i>aḫātum</i> : "sister"	99, 110
<i>aḫum</i> : "brother, colleague"	98, 100, 101, 102, 196
<i>ālikum</i> : "travellers"	37
<i>amārum</i> : (with tablets) "to check, have a look at"	71
<i>annama</i> : "as soon as", an emphatic temporal conjunction	109
<i>anni</i> : emphatic "now"; also in the form <i>annīma</i>	105
<i>apputtum</i> : "urgent; important"	120, 121
<i>awīlum</i> : "gentleman"	190, 191, 194, 196
<i>awīlūtum</i> : "status as a gentleman, gentlemanly manner"	193, 194, 196
<i>bāʾānim</i> : (interjection) "Come on!"	159
<i>bātiqum</i> : "express caravan"	39
<i>beʾālum</i> : "to have disposition over sth."; in negation "to not keep/spare sth."	42
<i>bēltum</i> : "lady"	112
<i>bēlum</i> : "lord"	99, 105, 106, 108
<i>bērum</i> : "the distance of a double-hour", i.e. the distance walkable in 1/12 th of a day.	20
<i>bēt Ālim</i> : "City hall"	20
<i>bēt wabrim</i> : "inn"	36
<i>bēʾulātum/bûlātum</i> : "working capital"	41
<i>ebrum</i> : "friend, comrade"	113
<i>ella/utum</i> : "regular caravan"	35
<i>emārum ṣallāmum</i> : "black-breed donkey"	48
<i>ēnam patāʾum</i> : "(lit.) to open someone's eyes" meaning "to make someone('s eyes) beam (with joy)"	157
<i>gamālum</i> : <i>gimillam šakānum/tadānum</i> and <i>gamālum</i> "to do a favour"; <i>gamālam leʾāʾum</i> "to be able to do/return favours"	127, 129, 130, 131

<i>ḥimittum/ḥimṭātum</i> or <i>awātum ḥa/imṭātum</i> : "heated words"; words written with undue agitation and emotionality, a socially reprehensible occurrence	159
<i>ikribum</i> : "votive offering", be it from an initial temple loan or a fund dedicated to a deity by the merchants themselves	26
<i>ina libbim šakānum</i> : "to take something to heart, to let something weigh on one's mind"	155
<i>kārum</i> : As <i>kārum</i> is an essential, far-reaching term in Old Assyrian trade, we may prefer to leave it untranslated. There are two distinct meanings of <i>kārum</i> . First, pertaining to the organisation of the trade as the largest institution outside of Assur, <i>kārum</i> could perhaps be translated as "trade institution" or "trade association", avoiding undesired connotations of the traditional translation as "trade colony". Second, pertaining to the urban space where Assyrian traders lived and perhaps also conducted business within Anatolian cities, <i>kārum</i> could perhaps be translated as "merchant quarters"	1, 10, 26, 126
<i>kaspum</i> 1 <i>šiqil</i> : "every single shekel of silver; at least/even just one shekel of silver", mostly used with <i>kaspum</i> but really can be used with any commodity; with negation "not even one shekel of silver"	122, 123, 124, 126
<i>kēnum</i> : (with <i>tamkārum</i> or <i>ummiānum</i> or similar) "trustworthy"	9
<i>lā libbi ilima</i> : "unfortunately, sadly"	144
<i>lākidum</i> : "runner"	45
<i>lapātum</i> : "to write"	66
<i>libbam rašā'um</i> : "to gather courage, to take heart"	157, 158
<i>libbam tadānum</i> : "to encourage, to give courage, to cheer up"	156, 157, 158
<i>libbum lamānum</i> : "to be upset, to be angry"; a negative emotion typically caused by a specific person's wrongdoing. Simimlar <i>lumun libbim rašā'um</i> and D-stem <i>libbum lammunum</i> , the latter perhaps expressing a stronger nuance.	149, 150, 151, 152, 153
<i>libbum marāšum</i> : "to worry, to be troubled, to be concerned, to be annoyed"; the basic negative emotion in a situation	146, 147, 148, 149
<i>libbum parādum</i> : "to be anxious, to be nervous, to fret"; stronger than <i>libbum marāšum</i>	154, 155
<i>maknukum</i> : "sealed room"	53
<i>maškattum</i> : "claimed goods/shipment; investment claim"	41, 126
<i>maššartum</i> : "strongroom"	53
<i>mer'um</i> : "son"	100, 108, 109
<i>nadādum</i> D: "to search thoroughly"	37
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Abbreviations

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(A)KT 3 = Bilgiç, Emin; Günbattı, Cahit (1995): Ankaraner Kültepe-Texte III. Texte der Grabungskampagne 1970. Deutsche Übersetzung von Karl Hecker. With assistance of Karl Hecker. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag (Freiburger altorientalische Studien. Beihefte: Altassyrische Texte und Untersuchungen, 3).

(A)KT 4 = Albayrak, İrfan (2006): Kültepe Tabletleri IV. (Kt. o/k). Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi ((A)KT, 4).

(A)KT 5 = Veenhof, Klaas Roelof (2010): Kültepe Tabletleri V. The Archive of Kuliya, Son of Ali-abum (Kt. 92/k 188-263). Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi ((A)KT, 5).

(A)KT 6(a-e) = Larsen, Mogens Trolle (2010): Kültepe Tabletleri VI-a. The Archive of the Šalim-Aššur Family. Volume 1: The First Two Generations. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi ((A)KT, 6a). + Larsen, Mogens Trolle (2013): Kültepe Tabletleri VI-b. The Archive of the Šalim-Aššur Family. Volume 2: Ennam-Aššur. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi ((A)KT, 6b). + Larsen, Mogens Trolle (2014): Kültepe Tabletleri VI-c. The Archive of the Šalim-Aššur Family. Volume 3: Ali-ahum. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi ((A)KT, 6c). + Larsen, Mogens Trolle (2018): Kültepe Tabletleri VI-d. The Archive of the Šalim-Aššur Family. Volume 4: Texts concerning non-family members. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi ((A)KT, 6d). + Larsen, Mogens Trolle (forthcoming): Kültepe Tabletleri VI-e. The Archive of the Šalim-Aššur Family. Volume 5: Anonymous Texts and Fragments. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi ((A)KT, 6e).

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(A)KT 11(a) = Erol, Hakan (2018): Kültepe Tabletleri XI-a. I. Cilt: Šu-ištar'a Ait Belgeler. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi ((A)KT, 11a).

Ank. = tablets kept in the Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Museum of Anatolian Civilizations), Ankara

ATHE = Kienast, Burkhardt (1960): Die altassyrischen Texte des orientalischen Seminars der Universität Heidelberg und der Sammlung Erlenmeyer-Basel. Berlin: De Gruyter.

BIN 4 = Clay, Albert T. (1927): Letters and Transactions from Cappadocia. New Haven: Yale University Press (BIN, 4).

BIN 6 = Stephens, Ferris J. (1944): Old Assyrian Letters and Business Documents. New Haven: Yale University Press (BIN, 6).

CCT 2 = Smith, Sidney (1924): Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum. Part II. London: The Trustees of the British Museum (CCT, 2).

CCT 3 = Smith, Sidney (1925): Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum. Part III. London: The Trustees of the British Museum (CCT, 3).

CCT 4 = Smith, Sidney (1927): Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum. Part IV. London: The Trustees of the British Museum (CCT, 4).

CCT 6 = Garelli, Paul; Collon, D. (1978): Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum. Part VI. London: The Trustees of the British Museum (CCT, 6).

CMK = Michel, Cécile (2001): Correspondance des marchands de Kaniš au début du IIe millénaire avant J.-C. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf (LAPO, 19).

FAOS 19 = Kienast, Burkhardt; Volk, Konrad (1995): Die sumerischen und akkadischen Briefe des III. Jahrtausends aus der Zeit vor der III. Dynastie von Ur. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag (FAOS, 19).

- GAG = Soden, Wolfram von (1995): *Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik*. 3., ergänzte Auflage. With assistance of Werner R. Mayer. Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico.
- Innāya* = Michel, Cécile (1991b): *Innāya dans les tablettes paléo-assyriennes*. I. Analyse. 2 volumes. Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations. + Michel, Cécile (1991): *Innāya dans les tablettes paléo-assyriennes*. II. Edition des textes. 2 volumes. Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- Imdīlum* = Ichisar, Metin (1981): *Les archives cappadociennes du marchand Imdilum*. Paris: Editions A.D.P.F. (Recherche sur les grandes civilisations, 3).
- JCS 15/4 = Civil, Miguel (1961): *Texts and Fragments* (42). Cappadocian letter from the private collection of Mr. H. Lawrence Herring, New York. copied by M. Civil. In *JCS* 15 (4), p. 127.
- KTb = Lewy, Julius (1929): *Die Kültepetexte der Sammlung Rudolf Blanckertz*, Berlin. Berlin: Heintze & Blanckertz.
- KTh = Lewy, Julius (1930): *Die Kültepetexte aus der Sammlung Frida Hahn*, Berlin. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
- KTP = Stephens, Ferris J. (1927): *The Cappadocian Tablets in the University of Pennsylvania Museum*. In *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research* 11 (2), pp. 101–136.
- KTS 1 = Lewy, Julius (1926): *Die altassyrischen Texte vom Kültepe bei Kaisarije*. Konstantinopel: Antike Museen zu Stambul (KTS, 1).
- KUG = Hecker, Karl (1966): *Die Keilschrifttexte der Universitätsbibliothek Giessen*. Gießen: Universitätsbibliothek.
- L 29 = *Texts from the University Museum Philadelphia* published in Lewy, Hildegard (1968): *Old Assyrian Texts in the University Museum*. Philadelphia, Pa. In *HUCA* 39, pp. 1–33., and Lewy, Hildegard (1969-1970): *Old Assyrian Texts in the University Museum*. Philadelphia, Pa. In *HUCA* 40-41, pp. 45–85.
- MAD 3 = Gelb, Ignace Jay (1957): *Glossary of Old Akkadian*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press (MAD, 3).
- OAA 1 = Larsen, Mogens Trolle (2002): *The Aššur-nādā Archive*. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten (OAA, 1).
- OAB = Michel, Cécile (2003): *Old Assyrian Bibliography of Cuneiform Texts, Bullae, Seals and the Results of the Excavations at Aššur, Kültepe/Kaniš, Acemhöyük, Alişar and Bogazköy*. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten (OAAS, 1).
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- OAB 2 = Michel, Cécile (2011a): *Old Assyrian Bibliography* 2. August 2006 - April 2009. In *AfO* (52), pp. 416–437.
- OAB 3 = Michel, Cécile (2015b): *Old Assyrian Bibliography* 3. May 2009 - June 2015. In *AfO* (53), pp. 525–559.
- OAB 4 = Michel, Cécile (2021): *Old Assyrian Bibliography* 4. July 2015 - December 2019. In *AfO* (54), pp. 637–665.
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- Prag I = Hecker, Karl; Kryszat, Guido; Matouš, Lubor (1998): *Kappadokische Keilschrifttafeln aus den Sammlungen der Karlsuniversität Prag*. Praha: Filozofická Fakulta Univerzity Karlovy.
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- TC 2 = Thureau-Dangin, F. (1928): *Tablettes cappadociennes*. Deuxième série. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner (TCL, 14).

TC 3/1-3 = Lewy, Julius (1935): Tablettes cappadociennes. Troisième série. Première partie. Tablettes Nos 1 à 81. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner (TCL, 19). – Lewy, Julius (1936): Tablettes cappadociennes. Troisième série. Deuxième partie. Tablettes Nos 82 à 195 (Lettres, rapports et notes anonymes). Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner (TCL, 20). – Lewy, Julius (1937): Tablettes cappadociennes. Troisième série. Troisième partie. (Documents de comptabilité et documents juridiques) Tablettes Nos 196 à 276 et Empreintes de cachets Nos 1 à 113. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner (TCL, 21).

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TPAK 1 = Michel, Cécile; Garelli, Paul (1997): Tablettes paléo-assyriennes de Kültepe. Volume 1. (Kt 90/k). Paris: Boccard.

TTC = Contenau, G. (1919): Trente tablettes cappadociennes. Paris: Librairie Geuthner.

UET 5 = Figulla, Hugo H.; Martin, William J. (1953): Letters and Documents of the Old-Babylonian Period. London: The Trustees of the British Museum (UET, 5).

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Figures



Figure 1: A letter together with its *šibat tuppim* and two pieces of the envelope (Kt 93/k 55+120+240+831). Join and photo courtesy C. Michel, Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara.



Figure 2: Letter AO 8303B and its envelope AO 8303A (TC 3/2 128A+B) (<https://cdli.ucla.edu/P357694> [last access 20/01/2022]) © Musée du Louvre.



Figure 3: Clay bulla (kt 87/k 329) with textile imprint, concerning a letter/letters (*našpartum*) dealing with lapis lazuli, written by Anina, son of Aššur-bēl-awātīm, to Puzur-lštar, son of Imdi-ilum and the archive holder (*ana šēr ... iāti*); see Özgüç and Tunca 2001, 285. Photo courtesy C. Michel, Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara.

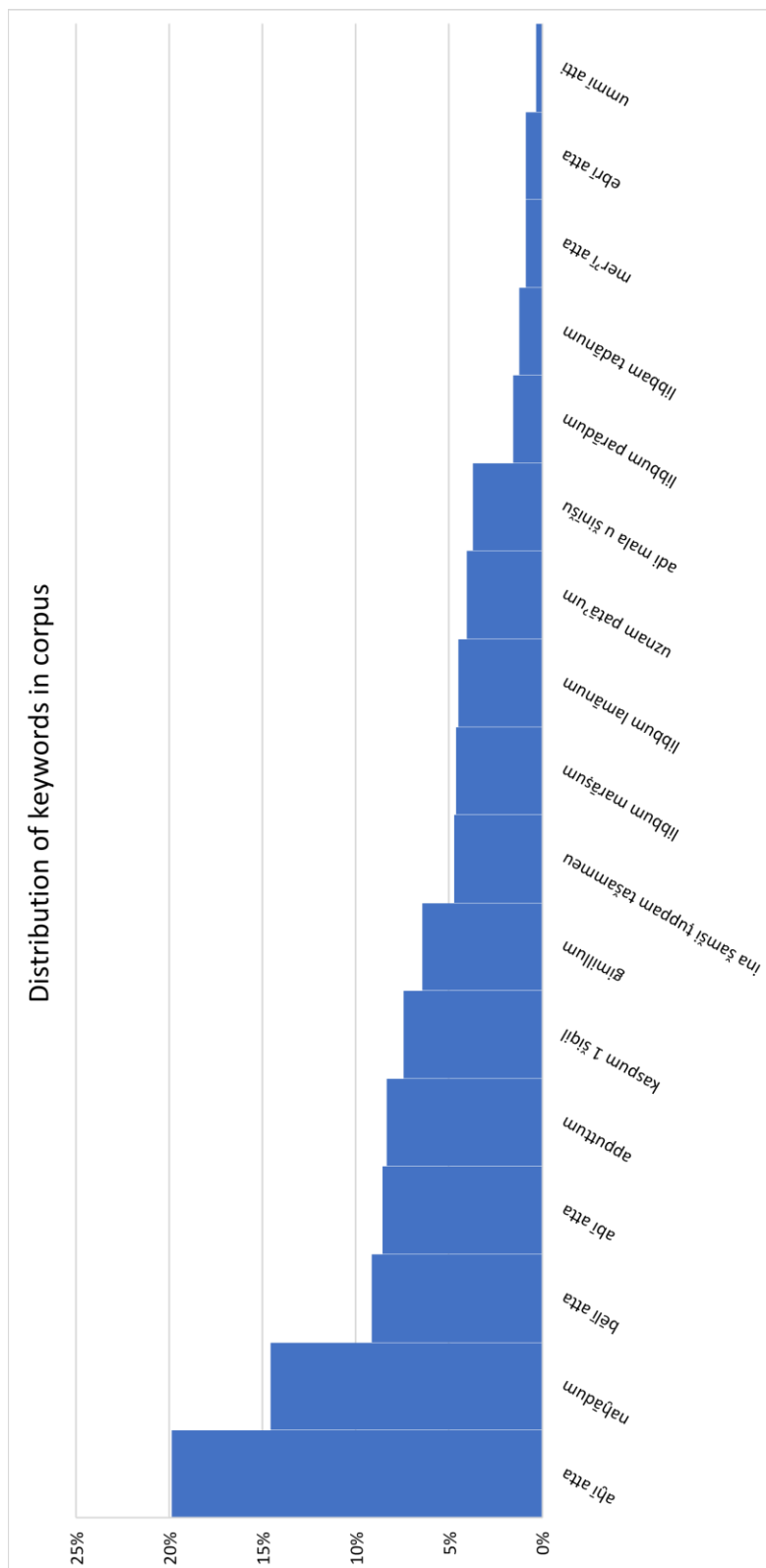


Figure 4: Percentual distribution of individual keywords in our corpus.

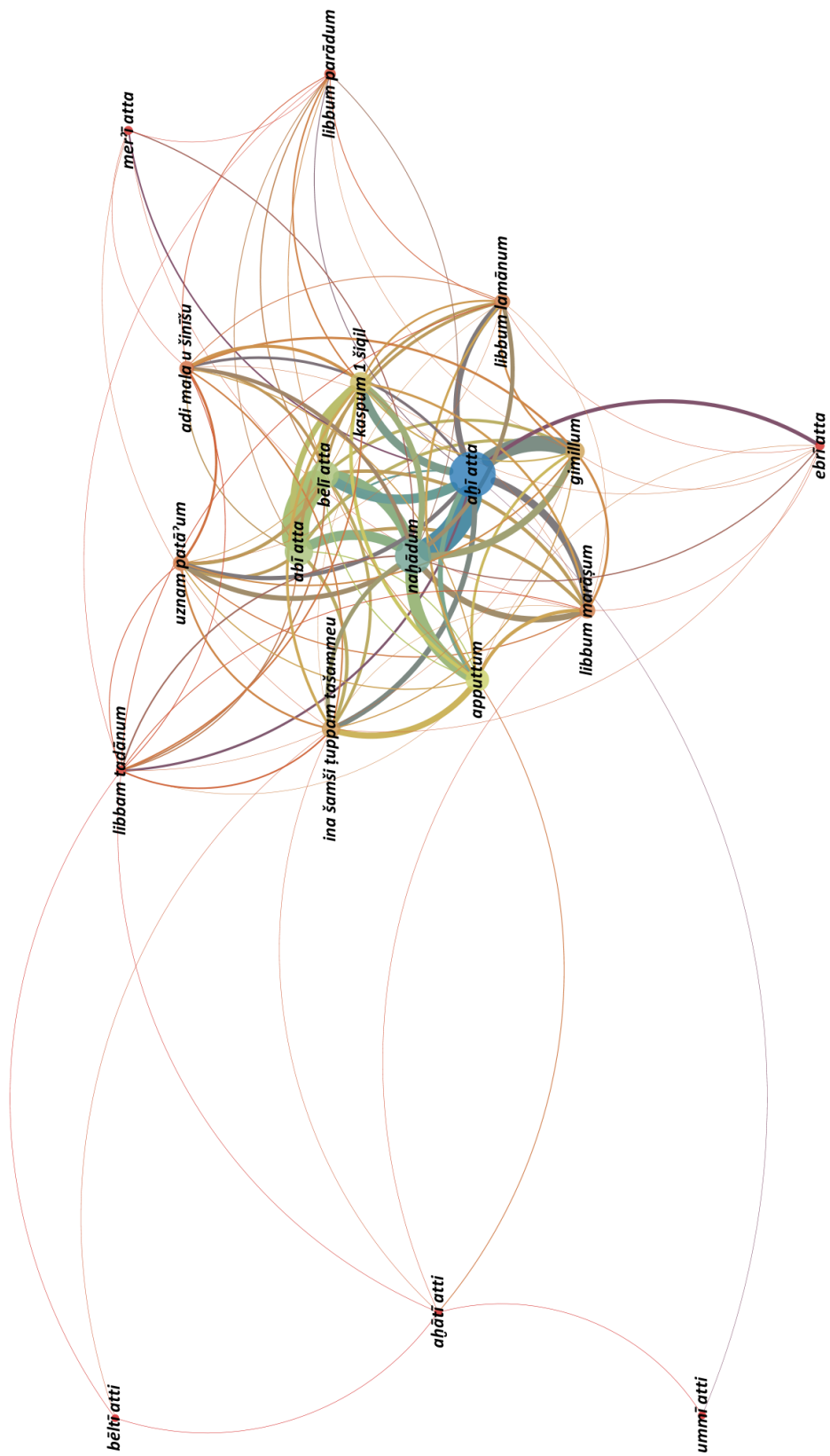


Figure 5: Network of rhetorical keywords per letter.

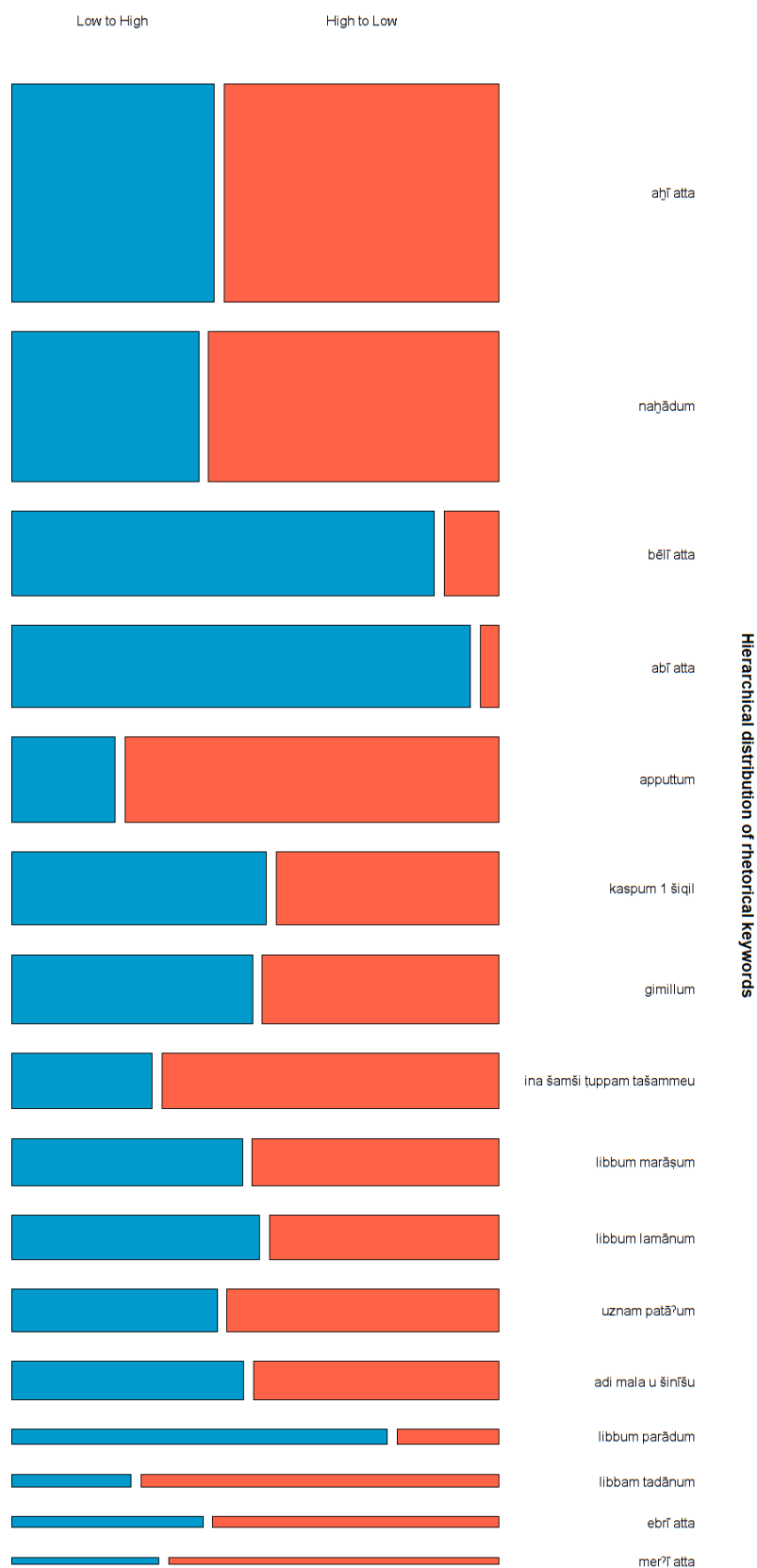


Figure 6: Mosaic plot comparing the distributions of keywords between letters from authors of lower social rank (“Low to High”) and letters from authors of higher social rank (“High to Low”). The quantity of key words of “Low to High” were calculated in proportion to “High to Low” to account for unequal amounts of letters (at an approximate ratio of “High to Low” : “Low to High” = 3:5).

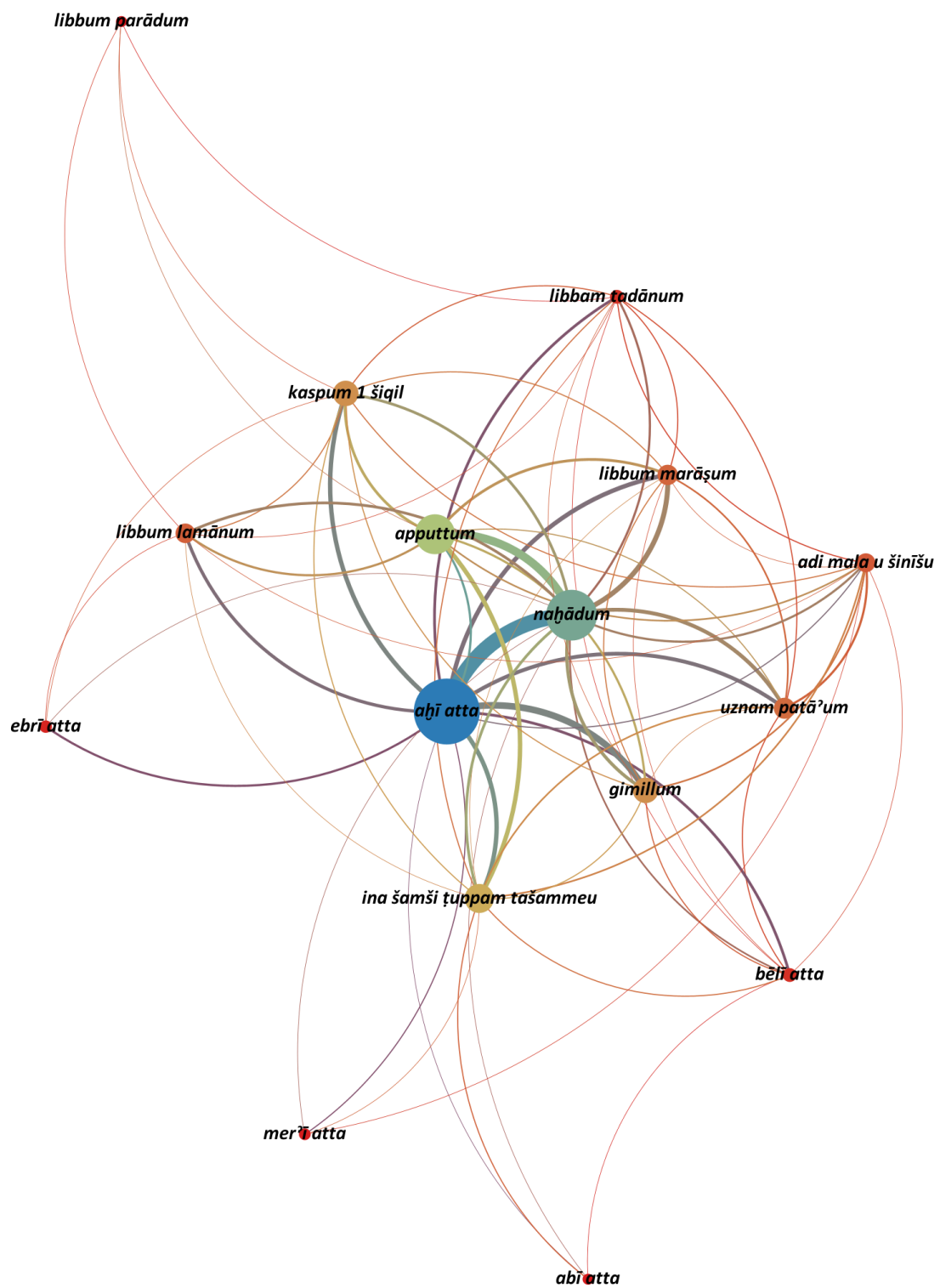


Figure 7: Network of rhetorical keywords in letters sent from authors of a social rank higher than their addressees.

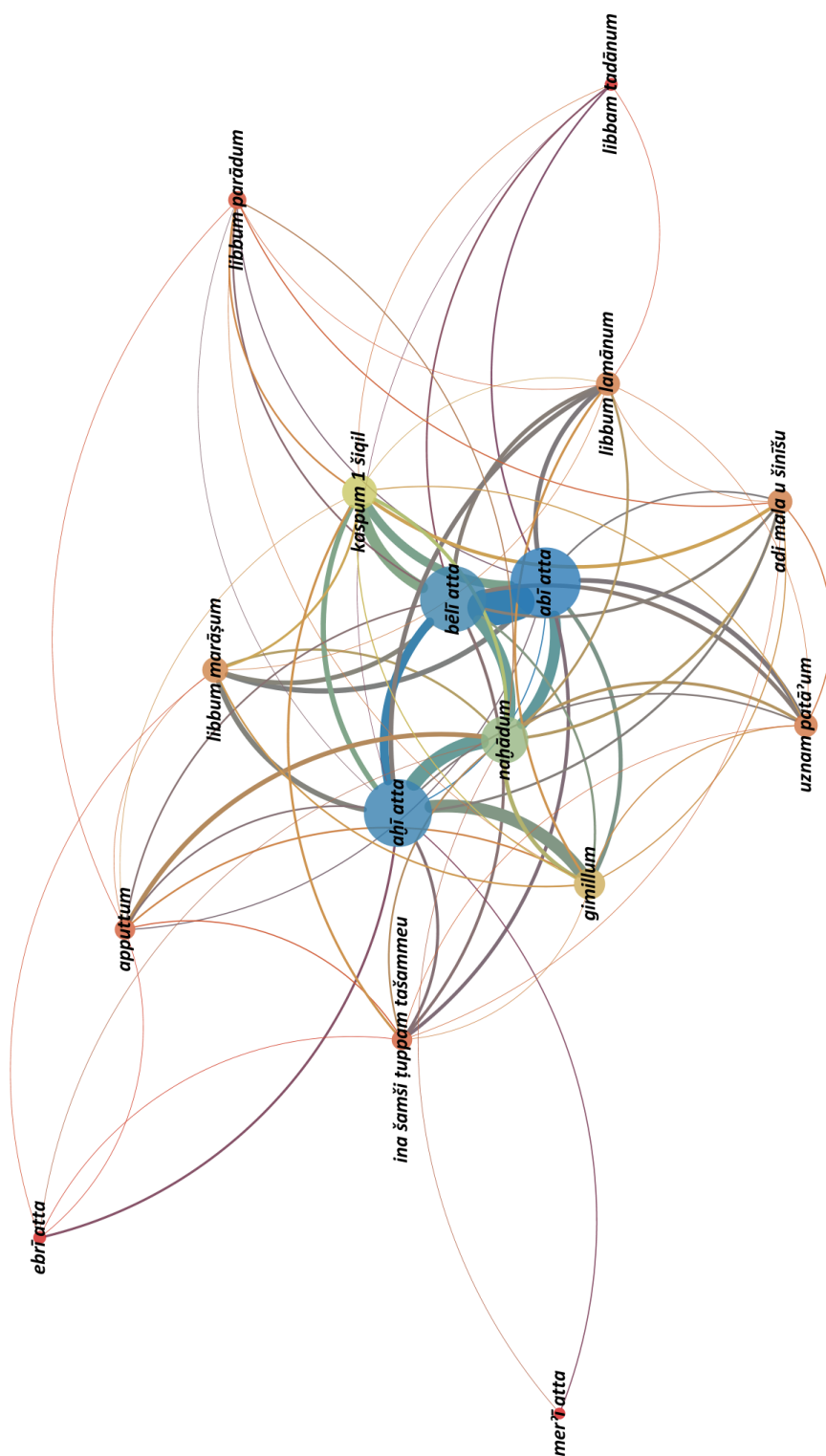
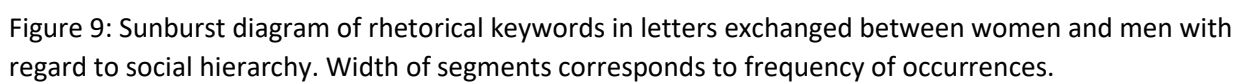


Figure 8: Network of rhetorical keywords in letters sent from authors of social rank lower than their addressees.



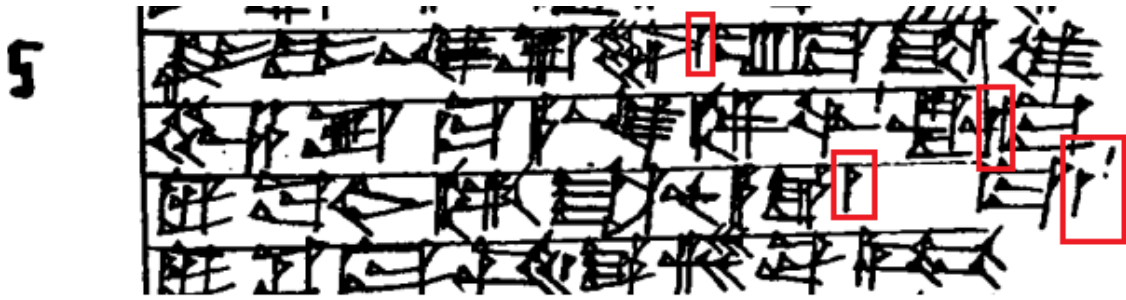


Figure 10: Lines 5-7 of KUG 12 (detail of K. Hecker's copy). 'Word dividers' that warrant discussion are marked in red boxes.

Abstract

The present thesis represents a corpus-based approach to the letter correspondence of Old Assyrian long-distance traders utilising mixed qualitative and quantitative methods. The study begins with a synopsis of the material aspects of letters and envelopes, their sending and receiving as well as their modes and reasons for archiving. An overview of the emic Old Assyrian terminology regarding letter correspondence follows. We discuss the textual form of the letters, before delving into the contents. Building on this contextualisation of correspondence, we elaborate on rhetoric as persuasion as encountered in the letters. Cultural keys, stock phrases and non-verbal devices are the main subjects of discussion. Relative quantification of rhetorical elements enables an analysis of their social relevancy. We conclude with a socio-economic contextualisation of letter correspondence.

Zusammenfassung

Die vorliegende Arbeit behandelt die briefliche Kommunikation der altassyrischen Händler in ihrer vielfältigen Ausgestaltung anhand corpusbasierter, gemischt qualitativer und quantitativer Methoden. Zunächst ist die Materialität der Briefe und deren Umschläge Thema: Wie wurden Briefe versendet und empfangen? Wie und warum wurden sie archiviert? Die emische altassyrische Terminologie rund um Briefkorrespondenz wird hier eingeschoben. Den Blick auf den Brief als Text gerichtet folgt zunächst eine Beschreibung des Formulars. Somit soll ein guter epistolographischer Kontext herausgearbeitet werden, um eine rhetorische Untersuchung der Händlerbriefe anhand kultureller Stichwörter, stehender Wendungen sowie non-verbaler Mittel nach ihrer quantitativen Relevanz anzuschließen. Eine Einordnung der Briefkorrespondenz in das sozio-ökonomische Umfeld des altassyrischen Fernhandels schließt die Arbeit ab.