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## ASSYRIAN CONTRACTS FROM SULTANTEPE

# By J. J. FINKELSTEIN

THE FOUR TABLETS published here were found in room C II, on the western side of the Assyrian acropolis at Sultantepe, during the excavations of the British Institute and the Turkish Department of Antiquities in 1951.1 Two of these are more or less complete, while two are only fragmentary. It is only in these last two, however, that the dates are preserved; S.U. 51/43 being dated in the eponym of Sharru-nūri, 674 B.C., and S.U. 51/43A in the eponym of Mannu-zirni, 684 B.C.<sup>2</sup> S.U. 51/36 may have had an eponym date at the end of the first line of the left edge, but that part is now lost. S.U. 51/44, contrary to the usual practice with legal documents,3 is undated.

There is no clear indication from the Sultantepe tablets concerning the name of the site in Assyrian times. Although the city of Huzir(i)na is mentioned in line 36 of 51/36 and in a number of colophons on the literary tablets from Sultantepe,4 it has already been pointed out by Gurney 5 that Sultantepe, situated about fifteen miles north of Harran, could not be identical with the city of Huzirina, familiar from the Assyrian royal annals, which was situated at a distance of not more than one day's march to the west of Nasibina (Nisibis); in other words, some 130 miles to the east of Sultantepe. That the site may yet represent another city of the same name, though not unprecedented in Ancient Near Eastern topography, would be a coincidence hardly to be counted on. No city by this name is recorded for this area, which is well documented from the Old Babylonian period to the end of the Assyrian Empire. 6

The population of the site in the Assyrian period, from the evidence

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Anatolian Studies II (1951), pp. 14 f., 26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> ibidem; there has since been an alteration in the numbering so that No. 43 is now the one of 674 B.C. and No. 43A of 684 B.C.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The only undated examples, to my knowledge, are A(ssyrische) R(echts)u(rkunden) 131 and 231.

See now The Sultantepe Tablets, I, p. 6, nos. 64 and 71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Anatolian Studies II, p. 30 f.
<sup>6</sup> The "Harran Census" covers only the area to the south and west of the city (Johns, An Assyrian Doomsday Book, p. 11), which might account for its failure to mention any town with which Sultantepe might be identified. Should it turn out that the site does, in fact, represent another city by the name of Huzirna, or Huzirna, as its coupling with Harran in the last line of the colophon to STT. 64 seems to indicate, then an identification may be possible with the town named Haziri, the second station after Harran in the Old Babylonian itinerary published by Goetze, JCS, VII, pp. 51 ff., col. iii, 8 ff. As the approach to Harran on that itinerary was from Apqum ša Balīḥa (near Tell 'Abyad, cf. ibidem p. 61), that is, from the south, it must be assumed that the caravan proceeded in a leisurely fashion up the Jullāb-Nahr el-Kut valley, stopping at some of the numerous villages along the way (see S. Lloyd and W. Brice, AS. I, p. 81 f.) or making minor detours—one of these being at Sahulda, which should therefore be sought somewhere between Harran and Sultantepe-for we must account for the three days elapsing between Harran and Haziri.

of the personal names in the contracts, appears to be in large measure Aramacan. This situation would agree well with earlier evidence from the Harran "census",<sup>7</sup> the group of tablets relating to the city of Kannu' <sup>8</sup>—which must be sought in the vicinity of Harran—and a group of tablets from Kouyunjik which, on the basis of internal evidence, must also relate to Harran or its environs.<sup>9</sup>

The language and legal formulary of these tablets are for the most part similar to those of the Assyrian documents from Kouyunjik, Nimrud, <sup>10</sup> and Tell Halaf (Assyrian Guzana), <sup>11</sup> the latter site being one also predominantly populated by Aramaeans in the late Assyrian period. There are, however, some noticeable differences, which will be pointed out in the annotations and commentary to the individual texts. 51/44, in addition to its being undated, appears to represent also a type of transaction or agreement unknown among previously published Neo-Assyrian legal texts.

S.U. 
$$51/36$$

(1)  $[\ldots ]$  (2)  $[\ldots -b]a$ ? SAL(t[u?]) (3) SUM(an)

(4) [...... GEMÉ?]-šú 3 ru-ṭu (5) šá (1) N[a-šuḥ-gur-ri]-ni (6) up-piš (1) S[i-e-]ra-pi-e (7) DUMU (1) XXX-za-qip-DU Aš [šÀ] (8) 4 GÍN (meš) KUBABBAR AŠ MU. AN? [.NA?] (9) šá-pa-rum? I GÍN (?) TI kas-pu (10) gam-mur ta-ad-din (11) ìR(!) šu-a-tú za-pat (12) šU. TI tu-a-ru (13) di-ni KA. KA (14) la-áš-šú man-nu (15) [šá] GIL-u-ni (16) lu (1) Na-šuḥ-gur-ri-ni (17) [lu] DUMU (meš)-šú u DUMU. DUMU (meš)-šú (18) DIŠ (1) Si-e[-r]a-pi-e (19) di-e-ni KA. KA ub-ta-u (20) 10 MA. NA GUŠKIN a-na (d) XXX (21) SUM (an) kas-pu Aš 10 (meš-t[a?) GUR] (22) IGI (1) Za-bu-ú (lú) ra-a[k?-bu?] (23) IGI (1) Qar-ra-ḥa-a (lú) e-[....] (24) IGI (1) A-sa-ra-a DUMU (1) SAG-(d) A-[a] (25) IGI (1) x-x-ši? A (1) SAG-(d) A-a (26) [IGI (1) ...]-e (27) [...] (uru) Hu-zir(i)-na (28) [IGI (1) ....]-zu (lú) A-šip-ri (29) [IGI (1) ...]-e-Aš-A (30) [(lú) m] u-kil (uru) KASKAL (31) [IGI (1) ...]-i IGI (1) SUḤUŠ-A[N] (32) [IGI (1) ...] x-u-a (33) [....]-ri[-....] (left edge) (34) [ITU N] E?? UD 24. KA[M] x[....] (35) IGI (1) Sa-am-bi-i

Translation:—

 $(l\acute{\mathbf{u}})[\ldots]$ 

[seal of Našuḥ-gurrini (2) . . . .] of the woman being sold.

(4) [....], his [slave-woman?] of three  $r\bar{u}tu$  (5) belonging to Našuḥ-gurrini, (6-7) Si'-rapī, son of Sīn-zākip-kēna acquired for (8) four

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> See Johns, op. cit. pp. 11 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> VS. I, Nos. 84 ff., for transliterations and translation see ARU. p. 402. Also Text No. 2, PSBA. XXX (1908), p. 137. For other literature see Johns, ibid., and L. Gry, Le Muséon 35 (1922), 153 ff., and 36 (1923), 1 ff.

<sup>9</sup> The following tablets, on the basis of internal indications such as Aramaic personal

names, the following tablets, on the basis of internal indications such as Aramaic personal names, theophorous elements such as Si' and Našhu, place names, and stipulation of payment of fines to Sin of Harran, would appear to derive from the Harran area: ARU. 64, 76, 88, 100/100a, 166, 170, 174, 214, 268, 553. There are probably others that should be included in the group, but the relevant indications are either no longer preserved or are not as unambiguous as in those cited here.

Published at intervals in *Iraq* beginning with XII (1950), pp. 184 ff.
 (Die) I(nschriften vom) T(ell) H(alaf), AfO. Beiheft 6 (1940).

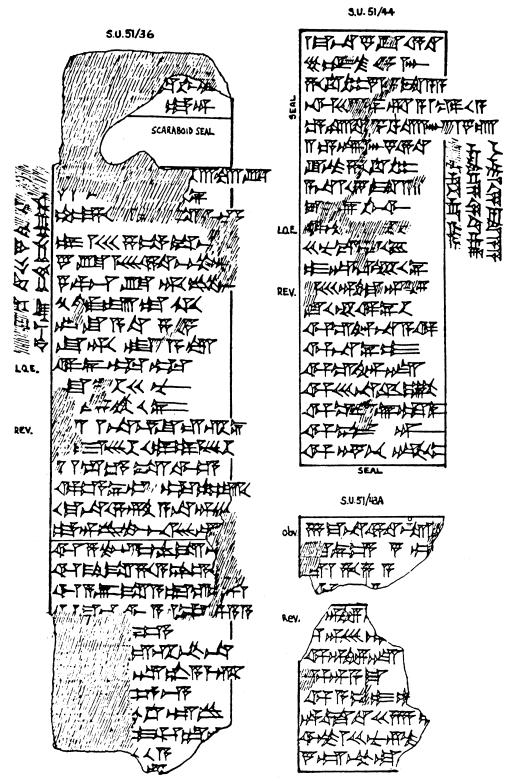


Fig. 1.

shekels of silver . . . (9). . . . He has received (her). The money (10) has been paid in full. (11) That slave(woman) is received with clear title. (12-14) There can be no return or reclamation through law. Whosoever shall contravene, (16) be it Našuḥ-gurrini, (17) his sons or his grandsons, (18-19) (and) seeks reclamation through law against Si'-rapī (20-21) shall pay ten minas of gold to Sīn, and shall [return] the (purchase) money ten-fold.

Witnesses: Zabū the ch[arioteer?] (23) Qarrahā the .[...] (24) Asarā son of Rēš-Aya (25) ... ši son of Rēš-Aya, (26) [....]e (27) [the ... of] Huzir(i)na, (28) [....]zu, the messenger, (29) [..]e-nādin-apli (30) the ... of Harran, (31) [...]i, Išdi-īlu (32) [....].ua (33) [.....] (34) Month of Ab(??) twenty-fourth day .[...] (35) Witness: Sambī the [...]

The document shows the typical formulation for the sale of slaves, omitting only the guarantees against epilepsy or claims by third parties. The terms of the transaction are obscured only by the end of line 8 and the beginning of line 9, for which I can find no parallel in the Assyrian contract literature. The reading of the signs may be in doubt, although they are perfectly preserved. The low sale-price of the slave in question is noteworthy. The average price of a slave in this period was about fifty shekels, 12 but extremely low prices—two and a half shekels in one instance 13—are not unknown. The low price in this case might in some way be connected with the obscure terms in lines 8–9. In that case, the contract does not in fact represent a simple sale, but only one couched in terms of a sale, and representing perhaps the settlement of some previously existing obligation, such as a debt.

#### Notes to Text

- 4. For rūtu as a linear measure cf. Johns, An Assyrian Doomsday Book, p. 80 f. It is a unit that must be less than a cubit; therefore something like the English foot. We must suppose then that the slave in question here is a child.
- 5. The first element of the name is the Aramaic form of Nusku, cf. Johns, op. cit. p. 12, Ungnad, ITH. p. 50, and Tallquist, A(ssyrian) P(ersonal) N(ames), p. 168. For the second element (gur-ri-ni) I can refer only to the obscure epithet of Tešup in the treaty between Suppiluliuma and Mattiwaza: (d)X EN ku-(ur-)/gur-ri in-ni (uru)Ka-hat "Tešup, lord of the g/k. of Kaḥat "(KBo. I 1 rev. 36 f., 54 f.; 3 rev. 23); cf. Weidner, BoSt. 8, pp. 28, 32. The word is probably of Hurrian origin and might represent some divine emblem. It may be noteworthy that Sīn of Harran occurs in the same context, in which the gods of Mitanni are enumerated. The term g/ku(r)ri(n)ni appears then to be at home in this area.
- 6. For the name see APN. p. 195. "Si' is my healer." For Si' as the Aramaic form of Sin see Johns, op. cit. p. 13 f., ITH. 101:15, APN. p. 260.
- 7. The name is not hitherto encountered, to my knowledge, in this precise form, but cf. the names Sīn-zāqip, APN. p. 202, and Nabū-zuqup-kēna, ibid. p. 164.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> For a list of the prices of slaves in the Nineveh tablets, see Johns, ADD. III, pp. 542 ff., and for slaves described in number of rūţu, ibid. 519 ff. See also Mendelsohn, Slavery in the Ancient Near East p. 117 f.
<sup>13</sup> ARU. 53.

- 8-9. The end of line 8 and the beginning of line 9 are incomprehensible to me. I know of no instance where šapārum stands for šapartum in the sense of "pledge", if that is what is involved here.
- 11. The last sign is definitely pat and not rip (KAL). The indication is that r in final position was at this period elided in pronunciation. The phenomenon is duplicated in precisely the same circumstances in ARU. 57:10 and 463:10 and thus hardly to be attributed to scribal error. Note also bi-la-šu $\langle -nu \rangle$  for birtašunū, ND 2079 (Iraq XVI, 1954, Pl. V):5, in context similar to S.U. 51/44:10, and the spelling of the name of the eponym Mannuzirni as (1) Ma-an-zi-ni-e, ND 2340 (ibid. p. 46). This reading at the same time confirms the fact that the person sold in this transaction is a female, despite the writing of ir at the beginning of the line. For my rendering of the verbs together as a single action, as with gammur-taddin of the previous line, and the verbs dini-dabābi in lines 13 and 19, as cases of hendiadys, see Speiser,  $\mathcal{J}CS$ . VIII (1954), 100 n. 5.
- 21. The space at the end of the line does not permit restoration of the expected full formula: ana bēlišū utār.
- 22. The name Zabū, or Ṣabū, would appear to be the same as that of the third king of the First Babylonian Dynasty, which is not considered to be West Semitic. But the name might perhaps be compared with  $Zabb\bar{a}$ , BE. X 58:15, ZB, Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* II, p. 9, and ZBW, ibid. 211a5. The restoration of rakbu at the end of the line is uncertain; raksu or  $rak\bar{a}su$  "Schliesser" (Weidner in ITH. No. 26:4; ARU. 195:28) are equally possible.
- 23. The name is Aramaic "the bald one". See also Qarḥā, APN. p. 183, and in the Babylonian Murashu documents, BE. IX, p. 68; X, p. 71.
- 24. The first name is probably Aramaic, with the meaning "prince (?)", see Dalman, Aram.-Neuheb. Handwörterbuch p. 32.
- 30. The reading is somewhat doubtful; the mukīl, as far as I know, is found in the Assyrian titulary only in conjunction with apāte/appāni "reinsman" (of a chariot team), but also an important administrative official, cf. Klauber, LSS. V/3 p. 114. It is just barely possible that this is the office intended, with the second part of the title omitted.
- 35. This name appears to be Kassite. It occurs as the name of a horse in BE. XIV, 12:2, cf. Balkan, Die Sprache der Kassiten p. 12, and the related name Sa(m) bihari is found both as the name of a horse and of a person, ibid. pp. 76, 125 f.

# S.U. 51/44

#### Translation: -

r mina and 4 shekels of silver (2) 50 imēr of barley (3) the obligation due to Ištar-emuqaya (4) which is charged against Šarru-lūdāri son of Rēšua. (5) A document applying to fields, . . (documents?) applying to a house,

(6) 2 documents applying to silver, (7) in place of the obligation (8) to Ištar-emuqaya (9) he has conveyed. (10) There is peace between them. (11) Whosoever in the future shall act in violation, may Sīn, Bēlit, and Adad be his plaintiffs. Witnesses: Si'-nādi, Nanī, Si'-erība, Sin-nādin-āḥi, Qaqqassa(??)-māḥiṣ (?), Išdi-īlu, Aššur-mīta-bal-liṭ.

Should Istar-emuqaya . . (23) 1 (?) biltu of silver, (24) [...] shall

not .[. . .].

The document apparently concerns the settlement of a debt, probably after litigation, with a declaration of the satisfaction of both parties, and the invocation of the gods as plaintiff should either party violate the terms of the agreement. In form, the document is of the same type as ARU. 650, ITH. 106 and 110, although the present text is more abbreviated and includes no specific penalty for breach. The terms of the agreement, however, appear to have no parallel in the Neo-Assyrian legal documents known thus far. If the document has been interpreted correctly it appears that the creditor is being given deeds to certain real estate, or documents representing claims against such real estate, which the debtor had previously held against some third party. These the creditor will presumably hold henceforward against this other party. Arrangements of this type are found among the Middle Assyrian contracts from Aššur 14 and Šibanibe (Tell Billa). 15

#### Notes to Text

- 3. For the name see APN. p. 106.
- 4. sag-u-a In view of the writing sag, it is not clear whether to understand the name as "My head" or "My slave", or whether to read the sign phonetically and to interpret the name as "My joy", which would, in fact, give better sense. cf. Stamm, ANG. p. 263. The name would in any case appear to be Akkadian.
- 5. On egirtu in general see Landsberger, MAOG. IV, 316. The use of the term in the meaning "legal document" is rare in Akkadian and is in all likelihood a borrowing from Aramaic. Note especially the Aramaic endorsement on ADD. 25 = ARU. 268—a text which probably originated in the Harran area—'grt ksp', which is identical with line 6 of our text. For other uses of the term 'grt' in the meaning "contract" see the Talmudical lexicons and Delaporte, Epigraphes Araméens p. 38.
- 6. It is not clear whether the two  $egir\langle \bar{a}te \rangle$  of silver are in addition to those listed in the previous line, or whether they are only the summary of that line, that is: "2 documents involving money (due from the fields and house)." In the latter case the end of line 5 should perhaps be read: *išten šá bīti*; the scribe may have started to write *šá*, but seeing that he omitted the Diš, started over again without properly erasing the first *šá*.
- 9-11. For similar phrascology see ARU. 650:6 f.; ITH. 106:14 f.; 107:7 f.; 110:12 f. In line 9 the traces do not support the reading ma-hi-ir šal-lim, which would also require that Ištar-emuqaya be the subject; this is ruled out by the previous line.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> KAJ. 161, 163, cf. Koschaker, Neue Keilschristliche Rechtsurkunden aus der El-Amarnazeit p. 152, and discussion p. 42 f.

<sup>15</sup> Billa 9, cf. JCS. VII, p. 125.

- 14. bēl dīni is the opponent in a lawsuit; the term is identical with ba'al dīn in Rabbinic usage, cf. further, Johns, ADD. III, p. 333 f. "Gerichtsherr(en)," ITH. p. 55, is inexact.
- 16. The name is Aramaic, occurring also in the Tell Halaf texts, ITH. 106:13 and note. Cf. also the name of Palmyrene goddess NNY', Ephemeris I, p. 342, and the name NNY, Lidzbarski, Handbuch p. 323.
- 19. This is the only reading of the name that suggests itself to me, unsatisfactory as it is, especially as the text gives no hint that the bearer of the name is a woman. For KA. KAK =  $mah\bar{a}su$  see SL. No. 15: 185.
- 22 f. It is not clear what the final clause stipulates. It may refer to the amount of money Ištar-emuqaya will collect on the documents he had just acquired.

The lines of the text directly relating to the nature of the transaction are destroyed, rendering a translation unprofitable. The brevity of the document suggests that it was a simple loan.

### Notes to Text

- 2. The preservation of URU makes the restoration of Gargamiš certain. No other city weight-standard is found in the Neo-Assyrian documents. When not specified, the weight is presumed to be the regular standard (60 shekels to the mina), while the Carchemish standard was half that (30 shekels), cf. Johns, ADD. II, pp. 267 ff.
- 3. The name is very likely  $H\bar{a}z\bar{a}-\bar{e}l$ , presumably the same individual mentioned in 51/43: 2. It need nardly be pointed out that this name is Aramaic.
- (rev.) 4. The theophorous element may represent the god 'Ammā (Akkadian Hammu) to be found in the name Bir-Ammā in 51/43:5.
  - 5. Probably a West Semitic hypocoristic.

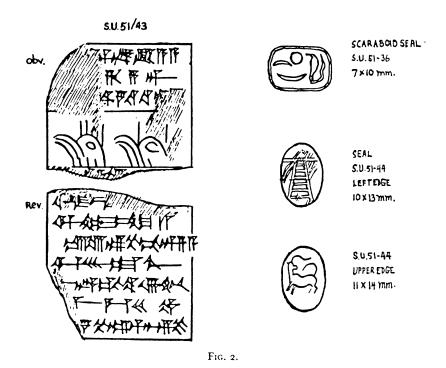
## S.U. 51/43

[su-pur(?)] (I)(iti)KIN-a-a (2) [...(I)]Ha-za-AN (3) [...(l]ú)šá-pir UD x (rest of obverse and top of reverse lost) (rev. I') IGI [(I)]Lip(?)-x[...] (2') IGI (I)Bir-Am-ma-a (3') TA ŠÀ (URU)Kur-bi-īl-a-a (4') IGI (I)XXX-AD-PAP (5') [A]Š? ITI GUD UD. I6. KAM (6') [l]im-me (I)MAN-ZALAG (7') šá-kìn (URU)Bar-ḥal-zi

Nothing is preserved of the lines which would have revealed the nature of the document. The incision of the two bird-heads in the space normally reserved for the seals calls for some comment. It is, of course, well-known that fingernail (supru) marks are often impressed on private legal documents of this period and it is known, too, that such marks were actually left by an instrument rather than by the very fingernails of the contracting parties.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> See in general G. Boyer, Symbolae . . . Koschaker pp. 208 ff.

The technique of the incisions in the present instance is exactly the same as in the numerous cases where the design is meant to render nothing more than the impressions of a fingernail. The representational drawing which in this case has developed out of this technique, however, is to my knowledge



unprecedented. The only explanation I can offer for this phenomenon is that the scribe who wrote this document, very likely being an Aramaean, must have somehow confused in his mind Akkadian supru with Aramaic

sipar, sipra "bird".

## Notes to Text

- 1. Ululaya, "Born in Elul," very common in this period, cf. APN. p. 239.
- 2. cf. note to 51/43A:3.
- 3. The title probably pertains to the individual named in the preceding line. The exact nature of the duties of this "scribe" may have been defined by the last two unread signs.
  - 2'. The name is Aramaic, "Son of Ammā," cf. APN. p. 64.
- 3'. The town or village is named for an individual. In this case the theophorous element should probably be construed as the vocative, thus: "Bless (me), O my god," see further Stamm, ANG. p. 204 and fn. 1. The same name is found in precisely the same spelling in the tablet published by Johns in PSBA. XXX (1908), p. 111 f. On the case, line 6 f., a parcel of land is described as ina KA x uru suhur (1) Kur-bi-il-a-a suhur (1) Man-ni-i" by the . . . gate of the city bordering on K. and bordering on M." The tablet is not worded as fully as the case and omits uru in the line corresponding to the one quoted from the case. Both tablet and case appear to be carelessly written, but it is nevertheless possible that the place referred to is identical

with the one mentioned in our text. This would tend then to confirm the long-standing hypothesis that Johns' texts (see also *ibidem* pp. 137 ff.) and the Kannu' texts derive from the West Mesopotamian area (for references see the general remarks above).<sup>17</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Mr. Briggs Buchanan has been most kind in communicating the following remarks about the seals on the tablets published here:—

<sup>&</sup>quot;S.U. 51/36: This impression appears to be that of a pseudo-hieroglyphic inscription of the type common in the Levant in the 1st millennium B.C. It could have been made by a scarab or a tabloid.

S.U. 51/44 (upper edge): The style of the animal in this impression is quite common in Neo-Assyrian glyptic. Cf., for example, two impressions from Nimrud, both dated c. 650 B.C. Iraq XVII (1955), pl. XXVI, 3 (ND3464), pl. XXVIII, 1 (ND3421).

S.U. 51/44 (left edge): It is hard to say what is represented in this impression, possibly an arrangement of symbols, possibly a schematic human figure with long robe and headdress. Both subjects are well attested in Neo-Assyrian stamp seals.

It is probable that both of the above impressions were made by scaraboids."