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Blood Money in the Old Assyrian Colony Period and Two Unpublished Kültepe Texts Regarding Blood Money

HAKAN EROL – KORAY TOPTAŞ*

Abstract

The Kültepe tablets primarily consist of the personal archives of Assyrian merchants and are predominantly commercial and economic in nature. However, these documents also serve as the principal written sources for understanding the social, cultural, legal, and political structures of Anatolia and Northern Mesopotamia during the first quarter of the second millennium BC. This study examines the legal concept of "blood money" (*dāmum*), a compensation mechanism designed to address the financial or moral losses incurred by merchants in cases of homicide involving either an Assyrian or a local during commercial activities. The study explores the conditions under which this practice emerged, the procedural framework governing its implementation, and the variations in its application between Assyrians and the native population. Additionally, the research presents the transliteration, translation, and interpretation of two previously unpublished documents related to blood money.

Keywords: Assyrian Colony Period, blood money, Kültepe, Assyrians, native Anatolians

Öz

Kültepe tabletleri, büyük ölçüde Asurlu tüccarların kişisel arşivlerinden oluşmaktadır ve doğaları gereği, çoğunlukla ticari ve ekonomik niteliktedir. Bununla birlikte, bu belgeler, MÖ II. binyılın ilk çeyreğinde Anadolu ve Kuzey Mezopotamya'nın sosyal, kültürel, hukuki ve siyasi yapısını anlamak için başlıca yazılı kaynaklar arasında yer almaktadır. Bu çalışma, Asurlu veya yerel halktan bir bireyin ticari faaliyetler sırasında öldürülmesi durumunda tüccarların uğradığı maddi veya manevi kayıpları telafi etmeyi amaçlayan bir tazminat mekanizması olan "kan bedeli" (*dāmum*) kavramını incelemektedir. Çalışmada, bu uygulamanın hangi koşullar altında ortaya çıktığı, nasıl uygulandığı ve Asurlular ile yerel halk arasındaki uygulama farklılıkları ele alınmaktadır. Ayrıca, araştırma kapsamında kan bedeliyle ilgili daha önce yayımlanmamış iki belgenin transliterasyonu, çevirisi ve yorumu da sunulmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Asur Koloni Çağı, Kan parası, Kültepe, Asurlular, Anadolu yerlileri

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Introduction

A Semitic community speaking the Old Assyrian dialect of Akkadian founded the city of Assur on the banks of the Tigris River in what is now Northern Iraq. There archaeological evidence dates back to the middle of the third millennium BC but began to appear on the stage of history from the beginning of the second millennium BC.[1] Assur, which existed first under the Akkadian Empire and then under the Third Dynasty of Ur, became an independent city ruled by a wealthy merchant oligarchy after the collapse of the Third Dynasty of Ur. During this period, usually referred to as the Old Assyrian Colony Period, the city of Assur played a critical role as an important trade center in the long-distance trade network in the region for about 250 years.[2] Assyrian merchants established colonies (*kārum*) and stations (*wabartum*) in Central Anatolia and Northern Syria where they conducted a systematic and extensive trade.[3] The center and the most important of these colonies was the ancient city of Kaniš (Kültepe), about 20 km east of modern Kayseri. Kaniš-centered trade in Anatolia was based on two main products: tin and textiles. Ancient Assyrian trade consisted of transporting precious metals, silver, and some gold to Assur, which were received in exchange for large quantities of tin and textiles transported from Assur to Anatolia.[4] The extent and limits of this trade can be learned from more than 23,000 written documents found at Kültepe-Kaniš.[5] The various types of documents, such as letters, contracts, juridical records, notes, and memoranda (from collective records) reflecting the activities of Assyrian merchants, provide valuable data not only on the commercial activities of Assyrian merchants but also on the political, judicial, economic, social, and cultural history of Anatolia and Northern Mesopotamia.

It is clear that many principles of the commercial activities carried out by Assyrian merchants in Anatolia were determined by commercial treaties made between the Assyrians and the city-states of the region. Assyrian merchants encountered various challenges during their commercial activities in Anatolia, with personal and caravan security being among the most pressing concerns. The legal procedures to be followed in cases of fatal incidents were determined through treaties between the Assyrian authorities and the local Anatolian rulers. Within the framework of these agreements, Anatolian kings were obligated to ensure the safety of Assyrian merchants and their goods within their territories, a responsibility that not only safeguarded trade but also entailed legal obligations. According to these treaties, the fundamental principle in cases of loss of life was the identification and prosecution of the perpetrators to uphold justice, along with the payment of "blood money" to the victim's family or legal representatives.[6] The practice of blood money, which has an essential place among the cultural and legal life of Anatolian and Mesopotamian societies during the period of the Assyrian Trade Colonies, is a part of the official or customary law practiced by many societies in the world even today. The term blood money refers to the compensation or payment made by an offender to the family of a deceased individual as a result of causing his / her death, whether intentionally or accidentally, in the form of money or property. This practice, popularly known as blood money, is expressed by the concept of "financial and moral compensation" in modern law.[7]

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1 Larsen 1976, 33; 2015, 83-84.

2 Erol 2018, 47-48.

3 Larsen 2007, 93; 2011, 64.

4 Michel 2017, 80; Veenhof 2010; Larsen 2015, 83-84.

5 Hertel 2013, 1.

6 Günbattı 2005, 760-74; Veenhof 2013, 24-31.

7 Regan and Rohrer 2012, 75-109.

In the Old Assyrian Colony Period, the word "blood" (*dāmum*)[8] is also used for blood money and is usually written in the texts as *dāmē ša PN*.[9] The person mentioned in this phrase is usually the murdered person, i.e., the person for whom blood money is demanded. However, in a few documents, it also refers to the person demanding the blood money (from the murderer).[10] On the other hand, in some documents it is not clear whether the person for whom blood money is demanded is the murderer or the victim.[11] The term *dāmum* for blood money is identified in at least 25 different documents from the Assyrian Trade Colony Period, including the texts published here for the first time. It is generally used with the verbs *tadānum* (to give; to pay), *še'ā'um* (to seek, to investigate, to sue), *apālum* (to give and to satisfy legitimate demands), *šaqālum* (to pay), and *kašādum* (to hold, to reach, to acquire, to collect, and to claim).

This study aims to analyze the practice of blood money in all aspects during the Assyrian Colony Period.[12] For this purpose, the following issues will be addressed: the circumstances in which blood money arose, the principles according to which blood money was applied by Assyrians and Anatolians, and whether the principle of equality was observed when an Assyrian and a native were involved. The study also examines whether the practice was regulated by specific policies and what sanctions were applied when these rules were not followed. Additionally, the circumstances under which the blood-money price was determined and how the litigation processes related to blood money were conducted are explored. However, the vague and inconsistent data collected from the texts often make it difficult to find satisfactory answers to the most of these questions. Along with the analyses on the notion of blood money in the Old Assyrian Colony Period, this study introduces two different Kültepe texts related to blood money: Kt. b/k 580, which belongs to the archive of Amur-Aššur, son of Sukkalliya, and Kt 92/k 278, whose sealed envelope was previously published, but the tablet inside was recently read using high-resolution computed tomography (see note 60 below).

Blood Money in the Assyrian Colony Period

The term *dāmum*, with the meaning of blood money, is found mainly in letters, treaty texts, legal texts, and debt contracts. The matter in the documents is legal in that blood money involves the trial and judgment of the murder case and the transfer of the payment to the family or legal guardian of the victim. Since no text of law from the Old Assyrian Period has survived, it is impossible to say whether the practice of blood money was included in the articles of the law or how the law was reflected in that custom. The phrase in some Old Assyrian documents "according to the judgment of the stela" (*kīma awāt naruā'im*), suggests that there was at least a code of law in Assyria in which the legal rules, at least related to trade, were recorded.[13] However, no traces of such a law code have been found in archaeological studies.

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8 CAD D 75-80.

9 Personal pronouns can also be used instead of personal names.

10 In the phrase, *dāmē ša* Ali-ahum, in AKT VI-c, 526, Ali-ahum is not the one who was killed, but the one who demanded the blood money of his murdered brother Ennam-Aššur.

11 In KTH 16a *damē ša abīka* refers to Šu-Ištar's brother, so it is not clear whether he is the payer or the demander of the blood money.

12 Although no detailed study has been conducted to date on all aspects of blood-money practice in the Kültepe documents, there are some studies on the subject, mostly in the form of text publications. See Çeçen 1998; Veenhof and Eidem 2008, 210-11; AKT VI-c, p. 31-47; Anderson 2020.

13 Sever 1992, 256-25; Bayram and Kahya 2018, 72; Bayram 1998, 76; Akyüz 2020, 888; Veenhof 2008, 262-63; Hertel 2013, 73-78.

Since we do not have a law text from the Old Assyrian Period, the primary sources of the study are the cuneiform tablets from Kültepe. The Kültepe texts show that in the Old Assyrian Colony Period some differences may have emerged in the resolution of legal matters, depending on whether the litigants were Assyrians or Anatolians. In cases where the defendant and litigant in a legal matter were Assyrians, the case was usually judged by *kārum* courts and Assyrian authorities. However, in cases where one of the parties was Assyrian and the other native,[14] local authorities were usually involved in the lawsuit and played an active role in the administration of justice.[15] Although the written documents indicate that the Assyrians were protected, especially in lawsuits in which natives were one of the litigants, it should be considered that the principles of both Anatolian and Mesopotamian culture were taken into account in legal practices and sanctions. Fales claims that some practices derived from this synthesis survived in Assyrian law in later periods.[16] The documents in which the term *dāmum* occurs with the meaning of blood money also show that sometimes only Assyrian authorities and in some situations both Assyrian authorities and Anatolian kings participated in resolving the cases.

The most remarkable type of texts on the issue of blood money, which appears as *da-me-e/da-me* in the Old Assyrian cuneiform tablets, are the texts of treaties between the Assyrians and the Anatolian kingdoms.[17] The local kings of Anatolia promised the Assyrians the right of residence and protection in *kārus* and *wabartus*, and guaranteed compensation against losses due to robbers and bandits in the lands under the king's control. In addition, Anatolian kings agreed that if an Assyrian was killed in their territory, they would hand over the offender(s) to the Assyrians to be killed.[18]

The treaty between Kaniš and Assur, Kt 00/k 6, states that if an Assyrian is killed in the local authority's territory, that authority must pay a set amount as blood money and hand over the murderer to the Assyrians to be killed: "When the blood of an Assyrian is shed in your city (or) in your country (and) there is a loss, you will give us the specified amount as blood money, and we will kill him (/the murderer). You will not give us another person instead of (the real murderer)."[19] Kt 00/k 10, the treaty between Hahhum and Assur, also has an article that blood money will be paid for the murder of an Assyrian, and the murderers will be handed to the Assyrians to execute them: "[If] there is any loss or bloodshed (/murder) against the Assyrians in your city of Hahhum, in your mountains, or in any other part of your country, you will pay blood money and give us the men who killed him (/the Assyrian), and we will kill them. You will also return the lost (goods) to us in full."[20] Another treaty text from the second layer of Kaniš, Kt n/k 794, contains similar provisions. The treaty with the king of an unnamed city also

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[14] This was usually the lawsuit when an Anatolian committed or participated in a crime against the Assyrians. We can see the practice in such cases in the treaty texts; see Günbattı 2005, Veenhof 2013.

[15] Bayram and Kahya 2018, 72.

[16] Fales 2017, 400.

[17] It should be emphasized that while the treaty documents Kt 00/k 6 and Kt 00/k 10 containing the subject of blood money are dated to layer Ib of Kültepe, the documents we introduce in this article are dated to the second layer. The fact that blood money is mostly mentioned in level 2 documents indicates the continuity of the practice.

[18] Veenhof 1995, 866; Larsen 2015, 152 and 180; Akyüz 2020, 889-90. Both treaties have also been studied in detail by Veenhof and Eidem 2008 and Veenhof 2013 (for the issue of blood money see pp. 42-43, 45-46, 51).

[19] Kt 00/k 6: 39-45) *i-nu-mî : da-mu-u*[*m ša* DUMU] *A-šùr : i-na a-li-kà* [*ú ma-t*]*í-kà : i-né-pu-šu-ni* [*hu-lu*]-*qá-um : i-ba-ší-ú-ni* [*a-n*]*a da-me-e : ší-im-t*[*ám*] [*ta-d*]*á-na-ni-a-tí-ma : ni-du-wa-ak-šu* [*ša*]-ᵍ*ni*ᵍ-*a-am : pu-ha-a*[*m*] *lá ta-dá-na-ni-a-tí* (Günbattı 2005, 762).

[20] Kt 00/k 10: IV. 15'-22') … [*šu-ma*] *: hu-lu-qá-ú-um ú* [*da*]-ᵍ*mu*ᵍ-*ú :* [*i-na*] *a-li-ku-nu : Ha-hi-im* SÁ.[TUᴳ]-ᵍ*ku-nu*ᵍ *: ú ma-tí-ku-nu : i-*ᵍ*ba*ᵍ-*ši da-me : lu* ᵍ*ik-kà-ša*ᵍ-*da-ni : ú a-wi-le-e :* [*ša da*]-*me-šu* [*e*]-*pu-šu-ni* [*a-qá*]-*tí-ni : lu t*[*a-da*]-*na-ni-ma lu* [*ni*]-ᵍ*du*ᵍ-*wa*-[*ak*] *ú : hu-lu-qá-e i-n*[*a ke*]-*na-*ᵍ*tim*ᵍ *: lu tù-ta-ra-ni* (Günbattı 2005, 768-774).

stresses that if an Assyrian is murdered (in the territory of the native), the murderer will be returned to be killed. Perhaps because it was forgotten, there is no mention of the payment of blood money: "If it is committed murder in your country (against an Assyrian), you will give us the murderers, and we will kill them."[21]

Apart from the payment of blood money, another significant aspect of the treaty texts is the provision stipulating that a native who killed an Assyrian was to be handed over to Assur for execution. However, other document types discovered at Kültepe do not provide evidence for the actual enforcement of the clauses concerning the perpetrator's surrender and subsequent execution.[22] In fact, executing the murderer contradicts the fundamental principle of blood money, which serves to compensate for the loss of life and provide satisfaction to the victim's family. However, unlike modern legal interpretations, the treaty provisions indicate that both the payment of blood money – likely by local authorities – and the execution of the perpetrator were enforced simultaneously. This suggests a dual approach to justice that combined financial compensation with punitive measures.

Implementing the blood money provisions in the treaty texts depended on fulfilling several official requirements and procedures. When an Assyrian was killed in the area of an Anatolian king, the matter had to be investigated by Assyrians first. This investigation was basically about the lost goods and the murdered person. Then the Anatolian king was expected to fulfill his responsibilities in terms of providing the value of the lost goods and the blood money. Requests for fulfilling this responsibility were usually conveyed to the king of the country where the incident took place by envoys of the city assembly in Assur or *kārum*, or by representatives of the person claiming the blood money. Document Kayseri 1830 contains an excellent example of this practice. It is a letter from representatives of the *wabartum* of Kuššara to the envoys of the Assyrian city assembly and the *kārum* Kaniš requesting the palace authority in Luhuzattiya to clarify the case of two Assyrians murdered in their country.[23] This request for assistance would probably have included the finding of the perpetrators, compensation for financial losses, and the payment of blood money. Unfortunately, no document has yet emerged to show how the case mentioned in this document was resolved.

Records on Blood Money in the Kültepe Documents

One of the most well-documented cases of blood money involves the murder of Šalim-Aššur's son, Ennam-Aššur, and the subsequent claim for compensation made by Ali-ahum, his brother.[24] The relevant documents come from the extensive archive of Šalim-Aššur and his

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[21] Kt n/k 794: 7-11) … *šu-ma da-mu : i-na ma-tí-kà : i-ta-áb-ší : dá-i-ki lu ta-du-nu-ni-a-tí-ma lu ni-du-ku* (Bilgiç 1992, 64-65; Çeçen and Hecker 1995, 35-36; Michel 2008, 79; Veenhof and Eidem 2008, 178).

[22] The unpublished letter Kt b/k 471, about the robbery of an Assyrian caravan, states that the thieves were handed over to the Assyrians to be killed after negotiations with the king of the local palace where the incident took place. There is no article in the treaty texts stating that the thieves would be handed over to the Assyrians to be killed. Therefore, this document shows that not only murderers but also looters could be punished with death.

[23] Kayseri 1830: 5-21) *a-na-kam [n]i-iš-me-ma* 2 DUMU *A-šur i-na ma-at Lu-hu-za-tí-a* de_8*-ku a-na* É.GAL^{lim} *né-li-ma um-ma né-nu-ma i-na ma-tí-kà* [2] DUMU *A-šur* de_8*-ku [nu]-a-e iš-pu-ur-ma i-na e-ba-ar* [*L*]*u-hu-za-tí-a ša-dí e-lu-tí ša a-ki ša* de_8*-ku a-wi-li ša* de_8*-ku-*<*ni*> *lá ni-de*$_8$ *a-wi-lu i-na mu-ší-im* de_8*-ku i-na-ša-ni-im* u_4*-mi-im sí-kà-tí-šu-nu* ("Here we heard that two Assyrians had been murdered in the land of Luhuzattiya. We went up to the palace, and we said: 'Two Assyrians were murdered in your country.' (The king) sent the natives because (the men) were killed ... in the high mountains outside Luhuzattiya. We do not know (who the men were). The men were murdered at night (and) on the second day they (/the natives) had a *sikkatum*- organization"); Hecker 1996, 150-151).

[24] For the sequence of events see AKT VI-c, p. 4-7 and Anderson 2020, 18-19.

family, unearthed in 1994. There are about a dozen documents written in response to the robbery and murder of Ennam-Aššur, son of Šalim-Aššur, not all of which mention blood money. However, most deal with the legal issues surrounding it.[25] Ennam-Aššur was killed in a country called Tawniya, and his brother then began an uphill struggle to obtain his blood money. The data flow and the process regarding his death are as follows: Ennam-Aššur's murder is mentioned in AKT VI-c, 523, a letter written by Enna-Suen to Ali-ahum for a debt of 17 talents of fine copper. This is probably the first archival reference to his death. AKT VI-c, 524 is the text of a contract signed by Itūr-ilī and Ennam-Aššur before the event that would lead to his murder. According to this document, Ennam-Aššur is recorded as having received Itūr-ilī's iron for sale. Unfortunately, Ennam-Aššur did not return from this trip. In a letter to his representatives in Assur, AKT VI-c, 525, Ali-ahum mentions that his brother was murdered because of Itūr-ilī's iron and that Damiq-pī-Aššur had an unsuccessful mission to the Tawniya king to investigate the matter. He then demands that a successful attorney be hired, noting that Itūr-ilī had provoked the lawsuit. AKT VI-c, 529 is the second part of the document regarding the hiring of a lawyer. After this, Ali-ahum himself assumed the role of Kaniš *kārum*'s envoy[26] so he negotiated with the king of Tawniya to investigate his brother's murder, but to no result. When he returned, he probably told Itūr-ilī in the *kārum* that his brother had been killed because of his iron and asked him to investigate the murder (or blood money), but he received a negative answer.[27] AKT VI-c, 527 shows that Ennam-Aššur succeeded in selling the iron of Itūr-ilī to the king in the Kingdom of Tawniya. Shortly after this trade, Ennam-Aššur must have been robbed and murdered.[28] AKT VI-c, 530 records that, due to the negative attitude of the Tawnian king, the *kārum* of Kaniš suspended the trade of Assyrian merchants with that city until the Tawnian authorities resolved the case.[29] In the following lines of the document, Itūr-ilī demands that the lawsuit be discussed in the Kaniš *kārum* and testified before the dagger of the god Aššur. Ali-Ahum is annoyed by his request because he is worried that Itūr-ilī is influential in the *kārum* and that the assemblies in the *kārum* will act in his favor.[30]

AKT VI-c, 528 proves Itūr-ilī's position and influence in this case. In this contentious and challenging situation, Itūr-ilī prevented the case from being resolved and blocked Ali-ahum and his family from meeting with the *kārum* authorities.[31] The documents then describe the difficulties Ali-ahum encountered in his legal struggle against Itūr-ilī.[32] Unfortunately, no document has so far emerged to reveal the outcome of this lawsuit. The attempts of Itūr-ilī, the owner of the iron that caused Ennam-Aššur's death, to obstruct the case raise questions. But his role in this murder and the blood money issue cannot be explained based on the available data. When the negotiations with the Tawniya king failed, Ali-ahum seemed to have turned to Itūr-ilī. Itūr-ilī's emergence as the main rival should probably not be interpreted as his personal involvement in the murder. However, the identity and ethnic affiliation of the murderer remain in the dark.[33] It is not clear how this lawsuit was concluded, since the document pro-

25 AKT VI-c, nos. 523-33.

26 AKT VI-c, no. 526.

27 AKT VI-c, no. 527.

28 AKT VI-c, p. 19.

29 AKT VI-c, no. 530: 1-9.

30 AKT VI-c, no. 530: 10-32.

31 AKT VI-c, no. 528

32 AKT VI-c, no. 531; AKT VI-c, no. 532; AKT VI-c, no. 533.

33 Itūr-ilī became Ali-ahum's target because he owned iron that Ennam-Aššur had sold to the king of Tawniya. Ennam-Aššur was to sell the iron and secure Lā-qēp's 22 minas of silver debt to him. What is difficult to understand

duction related to Ali-ahum also seems to have ended abruptly three years after his brother's death. The different dynamics of the Ennam-Aššur's lawsuit and the fact that influential people were against the case can be seen as the biggest obstacle to a solution. This blood-money lawsuit may indicate that powerful Assyrian merchants in Anatolia were able to influence the assemblies in favor of their own interests. Thus, in some cases, there was no independent or fair judgment in the *kārum*s.

Certain key aspects of this lawsuit warrant a more detailed examination. The *kārum* administration dispatched envoys, along with Ali-ahum, to the Kingdom of Tawniya to investigate the circumstances surrounding Ennam-Aššur's death and to demand blood money. According to AKT VI-c, 527, the envoys of the Kaniš *kārum* asked the king of Tawniya to investigate the blood (i.e., murderers and blood money) of their brother Ennam-Aššur who was murdered in his territory. The part of the document containing the king's statements is damaged, but it seems that the king did not accept any further responsibility, stating that he had already spent about five minas of silver on the affair.[34] This example indicates the responsibility of the Anatolian king in the case of a murder in his country and shows that he was the one who was personally appealed to for a solution. However, the developments in this case also provide an essential example of the sanctions an Anatolian king would face if he failed to fulfill his responsibility.[35] According to AKT VI-c, 530, the *kārum* office made a decision for the kingdom of Tawniya, which did not accept responsibility for the search for Ennam-Aššur's blood money. According to this decision, no Assyrian would set foot in Tawniya territory and meet the demands of the Tawniya king until the Tawniya local administration resolved the issue of Ennam-Aššur's blood money.[36] In this case, the terms of a possible treaty between the Assyrian authorities and the local king were not complied with, and Assyria imposed sanctions.

The letter AKT VI-a, 146 from the same archive, sent by Šalim-Aššur to Iddin-abum, Lā-qēpum, Enah-ilī, and Ennam-Aššur, states that the *kārum* Kaniš sent Qarwaya and Pūšu-kēn as envoys to Purušhattum because of the blood money and missing silver of Ali-ahum's son (probably his grandson[37]).[38] When an Assyrian was murdered, probably in Purušhattum, the Assyrian authorities took action and sent envoys to the Purušhattum to investigate the murder and demand blood money. Since the document is damaged, we cannot fully know

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here is that Itūr-ilī assumed the debt obligation of Lā-qēp, between whom there was no established relationship. Ali-ahum, therefore, blamed Itūr-ilī for the disappearance of the money because he was the guarantor of the debt. Precisely how Itūr-ilī's attempt to undermine the blood money feud process relates to this situation is not possible to understand from the available documentation (AKT VI-c, 4-7 and 33.).

34 AKT VI-c, no. 527.

35 Veenhof and Eidem 2008, 210.

36 AKT VI-c, 530: 1-10) *a-wa-tim a-ni-a-tim* IGI *kà-ri-im iq-bi : kà-ru-um dí-nam i-dí-in-ma a-dí da-mu : ša* DUMU *Ša-lim-A-šùr i-kà-šu-du-ni : e-ba-ar Ta-wi-ni-*ᵀ*a*ᵀ *: ma-ma-an : ú-lá i-kà-ba-as ù a-na e-ri-iš-tí-šu lu i-na ra-bi-ú-tim lu i-na ṣa-hu-ru-tim ma-ma-an ú-lá i-za-az* ("These words he spoke before the colony. The colony passed a verdict to the effect that until they collect the blood money for Šalim-Aššur's son, no one may *forgive* the colleague from Tawniya, and no one, either among the great men or among the small men, may carry out his wishes").

37 Larsen suggests that the murdered person could not have been the son of Ali-ahum, the son of Šalim-Aššur, i.e., his grandson. If so, there should be more references in the archive (Larsen AKT VI-a, p. 261). However, if it is considered that only family members or the owner of a slave had the right to claim blood money, it is possible that the son of Ali-ahum here is the grandson of Šalim-Aššur, or that a different family is relevant.

38 AKT VI-a, 146: 5-12) [*i*]*-nu-mì Qá-ar-w*[*a-a ù*] *Pu-šu-ke-en*$_6$ *kà-ru-u*[*m...*] *a-na ší-ip-ru-tim a-šu-*[*mí*] *da-me ša* DUMU *A-lá-h*[*i-im*] *ù* KÙ.BABBAR *bu-lu-qá-e a-na* [*P*]*u-ru-uš-ha-tim iš-pu-ru* [*i*]*-na pu-ùb-ri-im me-er-*[*e...*] ᵀ*ú*ᵀ*-ša-zi-iz* [...] ("When the colony sent Qarwaya and Pūšu-kēn as envoys to Purušhattum because of the blood money of Ali-ahum's son and the lost silver, I had the sons of ... stand up in the assembly...").

the developments in the matter. Moreover, since there is no other record of this case in the archive, we cannot learn how the case was concluded.

In contrast to the case of Ennam-Aššur, the data from the Kültepe tablets show that blood money problems were largely resolved. Some examples show that blood-money cases required complex procedures and that the collection of blood money was sometimes subject to judicial decisions involving the city assembly.[39] Kt b/k 162a/b and b/k 180 found during the 1949 excavations at Kültepe are related to the blood money of Aššur-rabi's son Ennamaya. Kt b/k 180, which appears to be a *waklum* letter, records that the issue of Ennamaya's blood money was decided in the city assembly and that Aššur-rabi, namesake of his grandfather and son of the murdered Ennamaya, will send a lawyer to Kaniš. Then Ennamaya's blood money should be paid to Aššur-rabi's son (Su'en-taya).[40] The witnessed record Kt b/k 162a/b shows that this decision of the Assyrian city assembly was implemented. According to the document, Aššur-rabi's son Su'en-taya brought the relevant (decision) document of Assur's assembly to Kaniš and, in agreement with Ennam-Aššur, collected the blood money of his grandfather Ennamaya on behalf of his father Aššur-rabi in front of witnesses.[41] Ennam-Aššur, with whom Su'en-taya made a deal for his grandfather's blood money, was an Assyrian and most probably the murderer of Ennamaya or a relative of the murderer. In this circumstance, both the murderer and the victim were Assyrians. Unfortunately, neither document records how much silver was collected as blood money or whether there was any punishment for the murder except blood money.

Another blood-money case involving the city assembly (*bēt ālim*) of Assur occurs in AKT IX-a, 25 in the Buzutaya archive found during the 1950 Kültepe excavations. In the letter to his father Buzutaya, Aššur-emūqī reported the decision of Assur's assembly regarding the blood money of Aššur-nādā's son. The document states that Buzutaya will swear that he did not take the blood money of Aššur-nādā's murdered son and that Aššur-nādā's other sons and daughter will not object to Buzutaya regarding the blood money.[42] Another document in the archive of Buzutaya related to the murder (and blood money) of Aššur-nādā's son is the damaged AKT IX-a, 22. This also reports the extraordinary events, possibly resulting in the deaths of five or six Assyrians, at the palace of Purušhattum. In his letter sent to five different individuals, Buzutaya states that he received the (decision) document of the *kārum* of Purušhattum and the documents of his witnesses' testimony concerning the murder or blood money of Aššur-nādā's son and his own servant who were killed perhaps due to unrest in the city. After investigating,

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39 Veenhof and Eidem 2008, 210.

40 Kt b/k 180: 1-13) [*um-ma wa-ak-lúm-ma a-na kà-ṛ*]*i-im* [*Kà-ni*]-*iš*^{ki} [*qí*]-*bí-ma a-lu-um : dí-nam i-na ha-am-ri-im i-dì-in-ma A-šùr*-GAL DUMU *En-nam-/a ra-bi*$_4$*-ṣa-am : a-na Kà-ni-iš : i-ša-pár-/ma da-me : ša En-nam-a-/ma me-er-i-šu i-*[*ša-qí-il*$_5$] ("*Waklum* (says) to the *kārum* of Kaniš: 'The city gave the judgment in the (sacred) *hamrum*-room, and Aššur-rabi, son of Ennamaya will send his attorney to Kaniš, and the blood money of Ennamaya will be paid to his son'"; Çeçen 1998, 292).

41 Kt b/k 162b: 1-7) *a-na da-me-e ša E-na-ma-a* DUMU *A-šùr*-GAL *ṭup-pá-am ša a-lim*^{ki} *Sú-e-ta*$^{!}$*-a ub-lá-ma a-wa-tí-šu ig-mur-ma ni-iš a-lim*^{ki} *ni-it-ma-ma* ("Su'en-taya brought the tablet of the city concerning the blood money of Ennamaya, the son of Aššur-rabi, and settled his matter, and we swore in the presence of the city; Çeçen 1998, 293-94).

42 AKT IX-a, 25: 3-21) *a-na-kam* DUMU *A-šur-na-da a-lim*^{ki} *im-hu-ur-/m*[*a*] IGI *a-lim*^{ki} *i-na ha-am-ri-im ni-tù-ú-ma a-lúm*^{ki} *: dí-nam i-dí*$^{!}$*-ma Bu-zu-ta*<<*-ta*>>*-a i-na Kà-ni-iš*^{ki} *i-na* GÍR *ša A-š*[*ur*] *a-na da-me ša* DUMU ⌜*A*⌝-[*šur-na-da*] KÙ.BABBAR *lá il*$_5$*-qé-ú-*[*ma*] *da-me : lá ik-*[*ta-lá-ni*] *i-ta-ma-ma ma-ru A-šur-na-da ù* DUMU.SAL *A-šur-na-*[*da*] *a-na da-me a-na Bu-zu-t*[*a-a*] *lá i-tù-ru* ("Here, the son of Aššur-nādā applied to the City (Assembly). We spoke before the City Assembly in the (sacred) *hamrum* room. The City Assembly decided (like this): Buzutaya will swear before dagger of Aššur in Kaniš that he did not take silver for the blood money of Aššur-nādā's son and did not keep the blood money, and Aššur-nādā's (other) sons and daughter (also) will not (legally) object to Buzutaya for the blood money").

he proved the murder.[43] Since the following lines of the document are damaged, we do not know whether the developments related to this murder were recorded. However, he probably wants the documents of the *kārum* and the city assembly to be copied and sent to him.

VS 26, 2 is another document that shows how the process regarding cases of blood money proceeded. In this letter of Adad-ṣulilī to Puzur-Aššur, Irma-Aššur, and Adad-dāmiq, he instructs that the documents of witness testimony regarding the death of a *child* Hananarum (an employee or a slave) in a fight be taken at the gate of the gods and that a document of the testimony be sent to him. In the following lines of the text, he states that he will sue the unnamed person who caused the child's death for blood money.[44]

Ikūn-pīya states in his letter, VS 26, 26, to Pūšu-kēn and Aššur-nīšu that his servants were killed in a town called Titatum and that his copper was stolen. He is now waiting in Tuhpiya for the blood money and his stolen copper.[45] The reason for his wait in Tuhpiya must be the expectation that the local king, who may had dominion over the town of Titatum,[46] will resolve the matter and pay him the blood money for his servants and return his copper.

While the treaty texts establish legal obligations ensuring the payment of blood money for Assyrians killed by locals, with local kings playing a role in compensating the losses, they do not specify the procedures to be followed when an Anatolian is killed by an Assyrian. Moreover, the published Kültepe texts provide only limited data on the procedure to be followed in such a case. The *waklum* letter published by Ridder and Kryszat, called Tablet Liepsner, may provide some clues on this topic.[47] In this document, the Anatolian king and the Assyrian city council get involved in the issue of the payment of blood money for the Anatolians killed by the Assyrians. The case is then taken to a diplomatic level. In the face of this case, the Assyrian king advises the Assyrian merchants to pay the local Anatolian authorities.[48] Due to its fragmentary condition, it is difficult to fully understand the document. Nevertheless, this text can be interpreted as an attempt to protect the rights of Anatolian people within the framework of yet undiscovered other treaties between the Assyrians and native Anatolians.

Another document among the tablets unearthed at Kültepe may also point to the position of local kings in cases where the culprit is Assyrian. In Kt h/k 18, Ennam-Aššur, author of the

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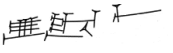
43 AKT IX-a, 22: 4-9) … *a-šu-mì da-me-e ša ṣú-ha-ri-a ù* DUMU *A-šur-na-/da ṭup-pá-am ša kà-ri-im Pu-ru-uš-/ha-tim ˹ù˺ ṭup-pé-e ša ší-bi*$_4$*-a* [*a*]*l-qé-ma : ú-kà-al : ki-ma da-me-/e* [ ] *áš-e-ú-ma da-me-e ú-kal-/lim* ("I received and keep the tablet of the *kārum* of Purušhattum and the tablets of my witnesses concerning the murder [or blood money] of my servant and the son of Aššur-nādā. When I investigated the murder, I found out [.....] that it [was] a murder").

44 VS 26, 2: 1-15) *a-na Puzur*$_4$*-A-š*[*ur*] *Ir-ma-A-šur ù* ^{d}[I]M.SIG$_5$ *qí-bi-ma um-ma* ^{d}IM-*ṣú-lu-li-ma a-ma-kam ší-bé ša ṣú-ha-ra-am Ha-na-na-ra-am té-ri-ša-ni-ma ik-lu-ú-šu-ma i-na er-ni-tim uš-mì-tù-šu šé-ri-da-ma ba-áb* DINGIR *ṭup-pá-šu-nu-ú bi-ir-ma-ma té-er-ta-ak-nu li-li-kam a-wi-lam a-na da-me ṣú-ha-ri-im* [*a-š*]*é-e-šu ša ṣú-ha-ra-am* [*i-na e*]*r-ni-tim* [*uš-mì-tù*]*-ú* …. ("To Puzur-Aššur, Irma-Aššur and Adad-damiq! Thus says Adad-ṣulūli: 'Concerning what you have requested of me, send witnesses (who will testify) that he detained the servant Hananārum and caused his death during the struggle. At the gate of the god, enclose (/seal) their document and let your message reach me here. Since the man caused his death during the fight, I will prosecute him for the blood money of the servant"; cf. Lewy 1950, 3).

45 VS 26, 26: 11-14) *a-du-um* URUDU^{i}*-a ù da-me ša ṣú-ha-ri-a i-na Tù-ùh-pí-a wa-áš-ba-ku* ("I am in Tuhpiya (because of) my copper and the blood money of my servant.)

46 Barjamovic 2011, 308-9.

47 Although Ridder and Kryszat transcribed the signs  as *ú-da-par*?, they also stated that *ú da-me* could be considered as well (Ridder and Kryszat 2023, 57). Since the document is very damaged and the Assyrians killed more than one native, the *ú* in this phrase could be understood as the conjunction "and" and the reading *ú da-me* (and blood money) would also be a good option.

48 Ridder and Kryszat 2023, 51-55.

letter, stated: "As for me, I overspent due to the decisions of the palace and blood money."[49] We do not know the background of blood money mentioned in the document. However, it is most likely that the local court made some decisions for the native(s) killed by the Assyrians, and Ennam-Aššur spent too much money for blood (money). This indicates that the local authority was able to force the Assyrians to pay blood money in the event that Anatolians were killed by the Assyrians.[50] In this case, when an Assyrian merchant caused the death of a native, the Anatolian king must have played a key role in obtaining the blood money from the Assyrians. This example may suggest that these treaty texts contained binding clauses for both parties. However, certain circumstances, such as internal disturbances and rebellions, could lead to the suspension of these treaties. This assumption can be supported by CCT 4, 30a. This letter from Elāli to Innāya mentions the unstable situation and rebellion in Hahhum. As a result of the revolt, the king tried to suppress by shedding blood and suspending the treaties with Assyria.[51]

If both parties to a blood money dispute were Assyrians, the parties usually tried to resolve the matter through legal proceedings in the *kārum*s. There is some evidence that when a blood money lawsuit was heard and settled, the *kārum* and *wabartum* offices had the right to intervene to secure the resulting legal payment. This thesis is based on the evidence in KTH 16a. According to the document, the Šalatuwar *wabartum* confiscated some goods as payment for blood money. The document contains the following statements:

> The *wabartum* of Šalatuwar held 9 (pieces of) *kutānu*-textiles and 3 minas of tin and they said: 'We have confiscated it (because of) your brother's blood money'. They did not confiscate anything (as) blood money. Let them ask Ištar-pālil there. Because they did not keep any of my brother's blood money and took the tin and textiles for themselves (by force), apply to the *kārum* and have them return the tin and textiles to me.[52]

It is not clear whether the phrase "your brother's blood money (*dāmē ša ahīka*)" refers to "the blood money owed by his brother" or "the payment resulting from his murder." However, Šu-Ištar objected to confiscating his own textiles and tin, saying they had kept the tin and textiles for themselves. This causes us to think of the blood money that Šu-Ištar's brother was obliged to pay. The leading case that concerns us in this document is that the *wabartum* of Šalatuwar confiscated the tin and textiles for the blood money. This information suggests that the *kārum*s and *wabartum*s could take the initiative in collecting payment in blood-money cases.

One of the questions about blood money is whether there was a standardized amount of blood money paid for the murdered person. The documents are not very illuminating on this point. Only the Liepsner tablet, mentioned above, in a significantly damaged condition, and Kt b/k 258 contain information on the amount of blood money. According to the Liepsner tablet, which is a *waklum* letter, the Assyrians killed at least six natives, one of whom was a

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[49] Kt h/k 18: 7-10) *a-na-ku i-na ni-ki-ša-tim ša* É.GAL^{lim} *ú da-me-e : gam-ra-am : ma-dam ag-mu-ur-ma* (Karaduman 2008, 64).

[50] Karaduman 2008, 64-65; Veenhof 2015, 266.

[51] Michel 1991, 71, no. 47.

[52] KTH 16a: 23-28) ⌜9⌝ TÚG *ku-ta-ni ù* 3 *ma-na* AN.NA^{ki} *wa-bar-tum ša Ša-lá-tù-/ar iṣ-ba-at um-ma šu-nu-ma da-me-/e ša a-hi-kà ni-ik-šu-ud mì-ma da-me-e lá ik-šu-du a-ma-kam Ištar-pá-li-il$_5$ lu-ša-i-*[*ʾ*]*u ki-ma da-me-e ša* ⌜*a-hi*⌝*-a mì-ma lá ik-šu-du-ni-ma* AN.NA *ù* TÚG.HI.A *: a-na ra-mì-ni-šu-nu : it-bu-lu-ni a-ma-kam kà-ra-am mu-ùh-ra-ma* AN.NA^{ki} *ú* TÚG.HI.A *lu-ta-e-ru-/nim*

kaššum-officer, and paid a great deal of money ([x] mina 15 shekels + 1 mina gold?). Since the document is very damaged, we do not know precisely how much was paid. But it is noteworthy that the payment was made to the local authorities and not to the victims' families. The other reference to the amount of blood money is Kt b/k 258a/b, which records a silver loan to the *kārum* office of Amur-Aššur, one of the owners of the 1949 archive. This was done in behalf of Ennam-Aššur, presumably the owner of the other extensive archive of the same year, for the cost of the blood money of Zaniwata, probably a native.[53] The amount of debt in the document is 1 mina 1/3 shekel of *amurrum* silver. However, it is not known whether this amount was paid in full for the blood money or if it included also expenses.[54] Of course, when lawsuits of blood money are considered to involve a judicial process and intermediary institutions, it is not surprising that a cost involved. And this cost may be added to the total amount. Another document on the collection of blood money is TC 2, 12. The document includes the following statements: "I said thus: 'Whatever Ennam-Aššur, the son of Qarriya, received as blood money (for the servant's blood money), even if it is 1 shekel, take the silver (from him) and send it here'"[55] Unfortunately, the amount of blood money collected by Ennam-Aššur, one of the owners of the 1949 archives, for a murdered slave or employee is not recorded. These documents are insufficient to show whether the amount paid in blood money was standardized or not. Moreover, in both cases of the amount of blood money paid, it is the natives who are killed. Therefore, we do not know whether there was a difference in the amount of blood money paid to natives and Assyrians. In addition, the social status of the murdered person, whether native or Assyrian, must also be an essential factor in determining the amount of blood money. Therefore, there was no standardization in the amount paid in blood-money cases. The determining factor in the amount of blood money must be related to the ethnicity of the murder victim, his status in society, his wealth, and the influence of the family or his guardian claiming the blood money.

Two Unpublished Documents from Kültepe on Blood Money

The Kt b/k (1949) archive is one of the richest archives that sheds light on the custom of blood money. In the 1949 texts, we encounter this concept (*dāmum*) in a total of five documents. While four of these documents are related to blood money, one is about murder. Kt b/k 162b, 180, and 258b on blood money were published by Çeçen.[56] While the documents published by Çeçen belong to the Qarriya archive, the document numbered Kt b/k 580 is published by us here for the first time, and it belongs to Amur-Aššur's archive. Another document evaluated for the first time in our study is the tablet inside an unopened envelope numbered Kt 92/k 278. This belonged to Kuliya's archive found during the 1992 excavation season.

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53 Kt b/k 258b: 1-14) 1 ⅓ *ma-na* KÙ.BABAR *a-mu-ra-am i-ṣé-er A-mur-A-šùr kà-ru-um i-šu : iš-tù ha-muš-tim ša* MAR.TU-*ba-ni ù A-šùr-na-da* 1 ½ GÍN.TA *i*-ITU.1.KAM-*im a-na 1 ma-na-im ú-ṣa-áb* KÙ.BABBAR *gam-ru-um ša da-me-e ša* ⌜*Za*⌝*-ni-wa-/ta a-šu-mì En-um-A-šùr e-pu-ul* ("Amur-Aššur has 1 ⅓ mina of *amurrum* silver of the *kārum* on him. From the week of Amurru-bāni and Aššur-nādā, he will add 1 ½ shekel [interest] to 1 mina per month. (The *kārum*) gave the silver, the cost of Zaniwata's blood money, on behalf of Ennam-Aššur"' Çeçen 1998, 295).

54 Veenhof and Eidem 2008, 101, n. 439.

55 TC 2, 12: 5-10) *um-ma a-na-ku-ma* KÙ.BABBAR 1 GÍN *ša da-me ša ṣú-ha-ri-im ma-lá En-um-A-šur* DUMU *Qá-ri-/a il*$_5$*-qé-ú li-qé-ma šé-bi*$_4$*-lam* (Van der Meer 1931, no. 61: o. 5-10; Lewy 1930; KTH, p. 28).

56 Çeçen 1990, 1998.

Kt b/k 580 (153-568-64) (figs. 1-8)

This judicial document concerns a debt settlement between Šalim-Aššur and Bēlum-bāni that is probably paid from the blood money collected for a murder and loss of goods. The black-colored tablet, measuring 4.8 x 4.8 x 1.8, was found during the 1949 excavations.

Obv. 1 *Šál-ma-A-šur ù Be-lu-ba-/ni*
2 *iṣ-bu-tù-ni-a-tí-ma*
3 *a-wa-tí-šu-nu ni-iq-mu-ur-/ma*
4 *a-na* ⌜50⌝ *ma-na* URUDU
5 *ša š*[*u-nu-t*]*í* <*ša*> ⌜*me-ra*⌝*-a*
6 *Šál-m*[*a-A*]*-šur : ih-li-qú-*[*ni*]
7 ⌜*Be-lu*⌝*-ba-ni a-na* ⌜*Šál*⌝*-ma-*⌜*A*⌝*-/šur*
8 [*ú*]*-lá i-tù-a-ar*
9 ⌜4⌝ GÍN [KÙ.BAB]BAR
Lo.e.10 ⌜*Šál*⌝*-ma-*⌜*A-šur*⌝ *a-na*
11 ⌜*Be*⌝*-lu-ba-ni i-dá-an*
Rev. 12 *a-na mì-ma dá-me-e*
13 *ša a-hu-ru Be-lu-ba-*[*ni*]
14 ⌜*ú*⌝*-lá i-*⌜*tù*⌝*-a-ar*
15 İGİ *A-*⌜*dá*⌝*-dí-a* İGİ *Puz*u[r_4]*-/A-šur*
16 İGİ DİNGİR*-ba-ni*
17 İGİ *A-šur-i-mì-*⌜*tí* İGİ *Ba*⌝*-ba*⌝*-zu-/a*
18 *a-na a-wa-*⌜*tim*⌝
19 ⌜*a*⌝*-ni-a-t*[*im*] ⌜*ni-iš*⌝
U.e. 20 *a-li-im*
21 *it-mu-ú*

Translation:

[1-3)] Šalim-Aššur and Bēlum-bāni appointed us (as judges / arbitrators), and we solved their case, [4-8)] as follows: Bēlum-bāni will not object to Šalim-Aššur for the 50 minas of copper that belongs to them (jointly), which the son of Šalim-Aššur lost.[9-11)] Šalim-Aššur will give Bēlum-bāni 4 shekels of silver.[12-14)] Bēlum-bāni will not object to any remaining blood money.[15-17)] Witnessed by Adadia, son of Puzur-Aššur, by Ilī-bāni, by Aššur-imittī, by Babazua.[18-21)] Upon these statements, they swore the oath of the city (assembly).

Notes:

I. 5: *me-ra-a*: The structural form of *mar'um* "son" is usually found in Kültepe texts as "*me-ra*" without the final "*-a*" being lengthened (plene spelling). As it appears in this document, it has previously appeared in CCT 5 31b: 2: *me-ra-a A-šur*-DÙG.

l. 17: Babazua is an uncommon name in the Kültepe texts. It is mentioned four times so far in the published documents. He is the son of Šu-Anum in AKT VI-d, 844: 1 and TC I, 81: 28; and the father of Aššur-rabi in Prag I, 734: 7, and among the witnesses in these documents too.

Comment:

According to the document, Šalim-Aššur collected blood money belonging to an unnamed person and probably the cost of the goods lost during this incident. In exchange for 50 minas of copper that Šalim-Aššur and Bēlum-bāni jointly owned among the goods lost by Šalim-Aššur's son, Šalim-Aššur paid 4 shekels of silver for Bēlum-bāni's share from the blood money he collected. He also stated that Bēlum-bāni would not object to the remaining blood money. This information may indicate that the blood money included not only the payment for the life of the deceased but also damages for lost goods. What is unclear in the document is the identity of the victim. It

does not seem possible that Šalim-Aššur in the text is the owner of the Kt 94/k archive because his son Ennam-Aššur, who was murdered and is associated with numerous documents regarding blood money, lived longer than his father, Šalim-Aššur. After Šalim-Aššur's death, Ennam-Aššur took responsibility for the family firm. When he was murdered, his brother Ali-ahum took over the firm.[57] This information makes it impossible to identify the person here is Šalim-Aššur, the owner of the Kt 94/k archive. On the other hand, the mention in the document of the goods lost by Šalim-Aššur's son does not necessarily imply that he was murdered and his goods plundered. Therefore, the person on whose death the blood money was collected may not have been Šalim-Aššur's son. Blood money could also have been collected for the goods lost in a caravan led by one of his sons and for the murder of one of his family members or employees in the caravan. Considering this option, perhaps the situation in this document can be related to the above-mentioned letter, AKT VI-a, 146[58] in which Šalim-Aššur's son Ali-ahum writes to his representatives in Kaniš to inquire about the blood money of his son and grandson. Unfortunately, we do not have strong evidence to support this suggestion.

Kt 92/k 278[59]

The document is an unopened envelope of a letter from Kuliya, son of Ali-abum, to Puzur-Aššur, son of Ahu-waqar.

Obv. 1 KIŠIB *Ku-li-a*
2 DUMU *A-lá-bi$_4$-im*
Cylinder Seal Impression (of Kuliya)
3 *a-na Púzur-A-šur*
4 DUMU *A-hu-wa-qar*

Translation:

[1-4)] The seal of Kuliya, son of Ali-abum, to Puzur-Aššur, son of Ahu-waqar.

Kt 92/k 278 - Tablet Inside the Envelope[60] (figs. 9-12)

This letter written by Kuliya to Puzur-Aššur records the efford of Kuliya to get the blood money of Puzur-Aššur's brother.

Obv. 1 *um-ma Ku-li-a-ma*
2 *a-na Púzur-A-šur qí-bi-ma*
3 *ki-ma na-áš-pé-er-tí*
4 *ta-áš-me-ú* : *té-eb-a-ma*
5 *a-na Tù-ùh-pì-a*
6 *ku-uš-da-ni-ma a-wa-tí*
7 *ša* É *Lá-qé-ep*
8 *lá-al-qé-ma ú iš-tí-/kà*
9 *a-na Ša-na-hu-tim*
10 *a-lá-kà-ma da-me-e*

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57 AKT VI-c, 31-47.

58 AKT VI-a, no. 146

59 The unopened envelope was previously published in Erol 2012.

60 This tablet inside its envelope numbered Kt 92/k 278 was read on 3 October 2024, thanks to three-dimensional images taken with a computed tomography device developed within the framework of the project "RFA 09: Reading Closed Cuneiform Tablets Using High-Resolution Computed Tomography (2020-2025)" supported by the Center for the Studies of Manuscript Cultures, University of Hamburg. We would like to thank the project's principal investigators, Christian G. Schroer, Cécile Michel, and Stephan Olbrich, and its other members, Andreas Beckert, Samaneh Ehteram, Katrin Zerbe, Mathias Bohn, and Philippe Paetzold. They worked on some of the unopened envelopes preserved in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara, thus enabling us to read the tablet inside this unopened envelope, the publication rights to which we hold.

Lo.e. 11 *ša a-hi-kà* : *a-na-ku-/ma*
Rev. 12 *a-kà-ša-ad*
13 *a-na-kam* : *ṣú-ha-ru*
14 *ha-ra-šu-nu i-tal-ku-ma*
15 *ma-ma-an i-ša-ha-tí-a*
16 *lá-šu* : *a-sú-re*
17 *ar-hi-iš* : *e lá*
18 *ta-li-kam-ma*
19 *li-ba-kà*
20 *e im-ra-aṣ*

Translation:

1-11) To Puzur-Aššur thus says Kuliya: Get up and reach (pl.) to Tuhpiya as soon as you hear my message, and I shall take the decision of my matter (concerning) the firm of Lā-qēpum, so that I will go with you to Šinahhuttum and I myself will collect the blood money of your brother (for you). 11-16) Here, the servants have gone on a (commercial) expedition, and there is no one with me. 16-20) Do not fail to come here immediately so that you will not be upset.

Notes:

l. 4, 5, 6, 14: In the screenshots obtained through 3D imaging technology, some signs on these lines are not visible due to the sticking of the tablet to its envelope, leaving no gap between them. Consequently, while the screenshots may give the impression that the tablet is damaged and the signs are illegible, the 3D imaging application enables the decipherment of nearly all the signs on the tablet.

l. 6: *a-wa-tí*: This term could be both *awātum*,[61] meaning "word, matter, case" and *awītum*,[62] meaning "shipment of merchandise evaluated in tin." Since the word is used in our text with the verb "to take," and the expression *awātam laqā'um*[63] is frequently found in Old Assyrian texts in the sense of "to take / obtain the decision of a case," it is more appropriate to take the term in the sense of "word, matter, case."

l. 9: *Ša-na-hu-tim*: The place name, which is recorded as Šinahuttum in more than a dozen Kültepe texts, is first mentioned as Šanahuttum in this text. Unless the first syllable was written as *ša* instead of *ší* due to a scribal error, the city name was also pronounced in a way similar to that in later Hittite sources (usually Šanahwitta).[64]

Comment:

What is interesting in Kuliya's letter to Puzur-Aššur is that he states he will go to Šinahuttum to collect the blood money of Puzur-Aššur's brother. Therefore, we are confronted with a new blood-money case that we did not know before in the Kültepe documents. However, the text does not provide any other information except that Kuliya mentions that he will go to Šinahuttum with Puzur-Aššur and try to collect the blood money. This limited information suggests that Puzur-Aššur's unnamed brother was murdered in Šinahuttum. According to the envelope of the text, Puzur-Aššur, the letter's recipient, is the son of Ahu-waqar. He appears to have been a transporter or a merchant (traveling agent) of Kuliya, and their close relationship is clearly visible in Kuliya's archive.[65] We do not know the identity of the murdered brother of

61 CAD A/II, 29a.

62 CAD A/II, 523b.

63 CAD A/II, 39a

64 For detailed information on possible location of Šinahuttum, a *wabartum* center in the northeast of central Anatolia, according to Old Assyrian and Hittite texts, see Barjamovic 2011, 286-91.

65 For the relationship between Kuliya and Puzur-Aššur, son of Ahu-waqar, and the references to Puzur-Aššur in the documents of Kuliya's archive, see AKT V, 27-28.

Puzur-Aššur or who killed him. But it seems likely that the murder took place in an area under the administration of the city of Šinahuttum, possibly by natives. The archive of Ali-abum's son Kuliya was published by K. R. Veenhof in volume 5 of the AKT series (AKT V). According to the information in the archive, which dates to the end of the second stratum of the lower town, Kuliya served in various roles as an envoy of the *kārum* of Kaniš and had a high position and influence within the colonial administration. In this respect, he sent a letter of reply to Puzur-Aššur who may had asked for his help previously in collecting the blood money from the natives. He promised to collect the blood money for him, perhaps using his position of power on his behalf. However, there is no other information about the murder of Puzur-Aššur's brother and the blood money related to this case in the documents published so far.

Conclusion

The issue of blood money in the Kültepe documents is considered as a legal procedure. The provisions in treaty texts stipulating that compensation must be paid for murdered Assyrians suggest that this custom was also present in Mesopotamia. Several clauses in Mesopotamian law codes further confirm the existence of blood money in the region.[66] The implementation of this legal mechanism can be more clearly observed in personal documents and certain court records. Notably, records from the Neo-Assyrian period[67] demonstrate that the tradition persisted in Mesopotamia over time. The practice continued not only in Mesopotamia but also in Anatolia. Although the laws of the Hittites, the most important representative of Anatolian culture, generally include the principle of "blood for blood" in the case of murder, that is, the murderer pays the penalty with his life, there are also legal articles that prove the existence of the practice of blood money. Article 5 of the Hittite Laws states that if a Hittite merchant is killed in a foreign country, 4,000 shekels of silver will be paid.[68] This article is similar to the concept of blood money in the treaty texts of the Assyrian trade colonies. In addition to the articles of law, another important document that provides evidence for the application of blood money among the Hittites is the Edict of Telepinu. Article 49 of this document states that in case of murder, the decision of the heir of the murdered, i.e., the "lord of the blood,"[69] will be based on the decision of the heir of the murdered. If he says, "let him die," he will be killed, and if he says, "let him pay indemnity / compensation," he will pay indemnity / compensation.[70] This evidence sheds light on the continuity of the custom of blood money in Anatolia. The point discussed here is whether blood money was of Mesopotamian origin and whether it was practiced in Anatolia when the Assyrian merchants arrived here. The fact that there is no documentary evidence of such a case between two Anatolians does not allow us to comment on the issue. The only basis for this may be the demand for blood money from the Assyrians in case of the murder of an Anatolian. Anatolians may have been influenced by the Assyrian

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66 The Code of Lipit-Ištar includes a provision that anyone who strikes a woman and causes the death of her unborn child must pay blood money for the baby (Lipit-Ištar, Article d.). In the Code of Hammurabi, the death penalty was usually imposed, especially for the murder of a free man (Article 229). In the case of blood money, social status was usually decisive. Article 116 of the Code of Hammurabi stipulates that in the case of the death of a slave seized against a debt or the death of the debtor's son after a beating, blood money is paid for the slave. However, in the case of the death of a child, the murderer's child is killed. In the Middle Assyrian Laws, the practice of blood money was not observed, and the rule of tit for tat was applied in case of killing someone.

67 Akyüz 2020, 895-900; Radner 2005, 45.

68 Hoffner 1997, 19.

69 Korošec 1931, 38, suggests that the expression "lord of the blood (*ešhanaš išhaš*)" in Hittite texts refers to the person who has the right to the blood and demands the blood money.

70 Hoffmann 1984, 52-53.

demand for blood money when an Assyrian was murdered and may have similarly demanded blood money when an Anatolian was murdered by an Assyrian. The fact that the practice was observed by both civilizations in the following periods leads us to think that this practice continued to exist in a synthesized form by carrying the traces of Anatolian and Mesopotamian cultures.[71] The Islamic belief of *diyya* shows that the custom of blood money has persisted in both regions, thus continuing to play a determining role.[72] It should be noted that the practice of blood money was not exclusive to Mesopotamia and Anatolia since traces of it can be found in Europe too.[73]

Important information on the custom of blood money comes from the treaty texts. However, these treaty texts reveal the practice in cases where Assyrians were the victims of murder. Texts Kt 00/k 6 and Kt 00/k 10 state that the native who committed the murder is to be handed over to the Assyrians to be killed, and that blood money is to be paid. Although there is a provision for the surrender of the murderer, no such application is found in any other document. In fact, the extradition of the murderer is contrary to the nature of blood money.

Some documents prove that in the case of murder, the rights of the natives were also protected, and blood money was paid. Tablet Liepsner[74] is crucial since it shows that the Anatolian king and the Assyrian king were involved in the case of murdered Anatolians and that the murderers had to pay large amounts of blood money to the local authorities. Anatolian kings especially faced sanctions when the treaty texts were not respected. AKT VI-c, 530 shows that trade relations with Tawniya, the country of the Anatolian king who did not fulfill his obligation in the case of blood money, were suspended. Since blood money was a legal matter, it was usually resolved and settled through official channels such as the *kārum* and *wabartum*. The *kārum* and *wabartum* could assume responsibility for allocating the payment according to the decision. There was no standardization in the payment amount in the practice of blood money. The information in the documents is insufficient to shed light on this subject. We can assume that factors such as a person's ethnicity, social status, and influence in the community were influential in determining the amount of blood money.

71 Fales 2017, 400, suggests that some of the practices resulting from this synthesis survived in later Assyrian law.

72 Döndüren 2022, 1-10; Kamali 2019, 213-24; Hardy 1963.

73 In the West, ancient Greek law provides significant evidence regarding the practice of blood money compensation; see Pepe 2015, 45-67; Avramović 2017, 723-56.

74 Ridder and Kryszat 2023, 52-53.

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FIG. 1 Obverse and right edge of Kt b/k 580.

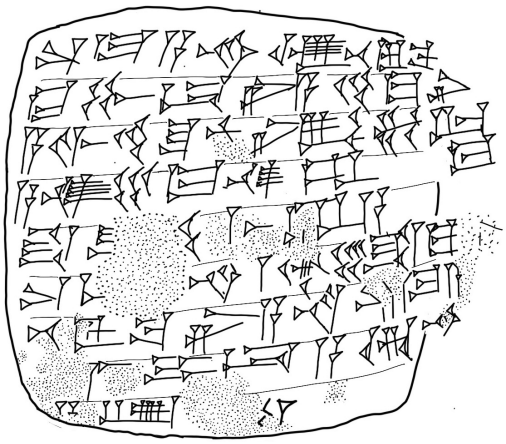

FIG. 2 Obverse copy of Kt b/k 580.

FIG. 3 Low edge of Kt b/k 580.

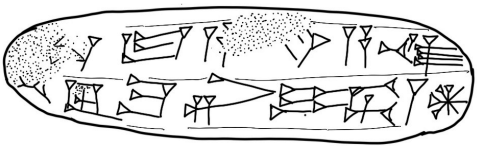

FIG. 4 Low edge copy of Kt b/k 580.

FIG. 5 Reverse of Kt b/k 580.

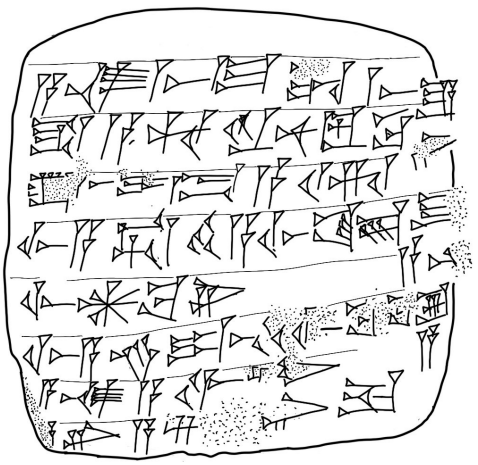

FIG. 6 Reverse copy of Kt b/k 580.

FIG. 7 Upper edge of Kt b/k 580.

FIG. 8 Upper edge of Kt b/k 580.

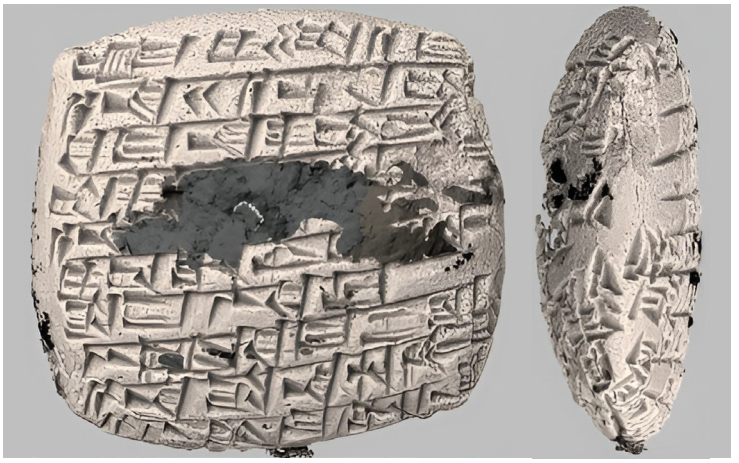

FIG. 9 Obverse and right edge of Kt 92/k 278*.

FIG. 10 Low edge of Kt 92/k 278.

FIG. 11 Reverse of Kt 92/k 278.

FIG. 12 Upper edge of Kt 92/k 278.

* Images of the tablet inside the sealed envelope were taken using a computerized tomography device.