

# Death of an Old Assyrian Salesman

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## ABSTRACT:

Were it not for the death of the salesman, it would have been an otherwise mundane story. What made *Death of a Salesman* unique, was that it dealt respectfully with the decline of a generation, juxtaposed against the death of one man. It described the daily life of a middle-class American, which has remained in the cultural memory for at least six generations—a story which many could relate to still today. In this same way, the archives of Šalim-Aššur preserve a similar sounding story. Written upon 1,600 clay tablets is the impression of a man who opened new territories with his family’s trade, and who marked a cycle of decline that impacted all subsequent generations. The overarching message confronts the many years of scholarly emphasis of the ‘family model’ to address what has clearly been lacking: the social context that extended beyond the family, which was paradigmatically leveraged by the Assyrians to form a vast hierarchical network of trade. By situating this one family within their extra-familial ties, this paper explores how extended relationships exerted their strong and weak forces in supporting and sustaining the viability of the trade during the Old Assyrian Period (ca. 1950–1750 B.C.E.).

## KEYWORDS:

Old Assyrian Trade network, Šalim-Aššur, network analysis of the family model

“A small man can be just as exhausted as a great man. He works for a company thirty-six years this March, opens up unheard-of territories to their trademark, and now in his old age they take his salary away.” — Linda Loman, wife of Willy Loman (Arthur Miller, *Death of a Salesman*)

## 0. INTRODUCTION

We meet Šalim-Aššur mid-stride in his career, a man engaged in numerous business ventures—most of which appear to be unsuccessful—and encumbered with considerable familial responsibilities, both in Assur and the Anatolian territories. From the remains of his archive, we can surmise that the only way we know of this man’s life is because of a chain of calamities, which necessitated large numbers of tablets to be written in order to avoid financial bankruptcy. In this way, Šalim-Aššur exemplified an Old Assyrian *Everyman*, the same way Willy Loman did; as product of the merchant class, a man who was as much an active participant in the colonial enterprise as he was a stark witness to the decline of his own family’s ventures. And just as every market bubble eventually bursts, Šalim-Aššur’s story stands as a testament to the



inevitability of the old, trite saying, “what goes up, must come down.” After two (or three) generations of unprecedented growth, the earliest Assyrian families were met with one of two outcomes: assimilation or collapse.

While Šalim-Aššur and his family no doubt had many successful ventures, these were apparently carried out without the need for documentation. What remains in his archive is a tragic pattern of deaths followed by lawsuits, and more deaths as the role of *paterfamilias* fell from Šalim-Aššur’s father, to his elder brother, to his own shoulders. Despite the fact that longevity is never the norm in antiquity, with the exception of his father, Issu-arik, who may have lived into his 90s, each of Šalim-Aššur’s sons who were living in Anatolia likely met an untimely death, expedited by being mantled with the heavy weight of their family’s livelihood. The stress this caused the family, and Šalim-Aššur directly, over the subsequent fifteen years is palpable, and unfortunately the pattern repeated, in a more insidious way, after the death of Šalim-Aššur, as sibling rivalry ended in the death of the eldest son, Ennam-Aššur, and a dossier concerning the collection of ‘blood money’ (Larsen 2014). Despite their best efforts to continue in the family tradition, of increasing their influence in the trade networks of the Middle Bronze Age, we see that the far-reaching power and influence of this early Assyrian family of merchants in the Anatolian region comes to an end a mere five years after the death of Šalim-Aššur.

The inquiry pursued throughout this article revolves around the power and influence of a single individual, specifically Šalim-Aššur. By reading the story of one merchant and analyzing the social context surrounding the rise and fall of one salesman, a focused inquiry can unpack the complex hierarchical relationships and influence that the Assyrians and Anatolians exerted upon each other. In addition to the inquiry into certain individuals’ power and ability to compel or force others, I pursue a second question throughout this article relating to a quantitative method: how does network analysis help us define the power dynamics between both individuals and groups?

To answer these questions, the family archives of Šalim-Aššur and his sons stand as examples of this influence. We see how the archives that each family left behind suggest that the second and third generations of Assyrians effectively became Anatolian themselves, after having assimilated in many ways to the local Anatolian culture at Kanesh.<sup>1</sup> This Anatolian cultural influence upon the Assyrians was exhibited in the adoption of Anatolian family members and Anatolian hypocoristics. Collectively, the family archives exhibit the combination of a deeply pragmatic approach to the trade, and what can be characterized as social strategy, at times even scheming, but most often referred to as the family model, which in Old Assyrian communities included an extended family for extensive control over trade.

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1 For this reason, Highcock (2018) is correct in emphasizing that the Old Assyrian “colony” is a misnomer, and should instead be seen as a century of cultural encounters based on an economic incentive that drives these two groups to become one over time.



## 1. THE SALESMAN, ŠALIM-AŠŠUR

Our primary perspective on Šalim-Aššur's narrative comes from the ca. 1,200 tablets found *in situ* in the Šalim-Aššur archive. From the many individuals mentioned therein, we see how his story reflects a tightly-knit reality that resonated with many of the prominent Assyrian families, whose archives provide us with accounts of numerous types of contracts and similar relationships with the local Anatolian neighborhoods.

Extensive lists of people are linked together on these clay annals, from short term-loans with 'working capital' (*be'ulatum*) to long-term contracts with 'joint-stock capital' (*narūqum*), and cross-cultural indentured service agreements with polygamous marriages (*amtum* i.e. 'handmaid, slave-girl; second wife'). From the sum of these individual records, we see how the relationships they forged together provided the Assyrians with a new home advantage, and gave the Anatolians access to the trade (*tamkārūm*) and 'the city' (*ālum*) of Assur, a city-state and kingdom on the verge of becoming an empire.

When read as a narrative, Šalim-Aššur's archive in many ways resembles a microcosm of the Assyrian Empire, with a century of documentation that speaks to the rise and fall of six generations. Beginning with a rapid and steady expansion, between REL 40 to 75, ca. 1932–1897 B.C.E., these initial 30 years of the Šalim-Aššur family describe the growth resulting from this family's drive for greater access to resources and wider reaching influence in the Anatolian bronze circuit. Naturally, the increased access to valuable resources and the proceeds from favorable trade incentivized the Assyrian's presence at Kanesh, as both the number of houses and the size of their families grew dramatically in the second and third generation. However, the estates of the second generation becomes an unbearable burden for the third and fourth generations (REL 76–105, ca. 1896–1869 B.C.E.), which is carried out in subsequent years in the form of financial instability, smaller family sizes, and shortened lifespans often due to unexpected death.

In their drive for endless progress and expansion, the Assyrian families reached the inevitable tipping point in which their multiple estates were too expensive to manage effectively for more than a generation or two. Within each of the Old Assyrian archives, we find evidence of this tipping point, typically at the end of the second generation, after the death of the head of the family. At which point, the call of the creditors and lawyers signals the ensuing decline and demise of the family business.

## 2. THE ŠALIM-AŠŠUR FAMILY ARCHIVE

Šalim-Aššur's father, Issu-Arik son of Ur-SIG<sub>5</sub> (Ur-damqat), was among the first Assyrians to move into Anatolian territory in the Old Assyrian Period. Forgoing an estate among the Assyrian neighborhoods, which we assume was in close proximity to the trade port office (*bīt kārum*), they purchased an estate closer to the Anatolian quarters in Kanesh, and a second home in the outlying trade station of Waršama. Their early presence in the region speaks to their success as a prominent Assyrian



family, who by all measures were independently and interdependently wealthy, and capable of sustaining a large extended family by building strong and weak relationships with the Anatolian communities.

One of the more recent family archives excavated *in situ* and published in its entirety is known as the Šalim-Aššur family archive. Excavated primarily in a single year, in 1994 by Professor Tahsin Özgüç, the archive was located in two rooms within a house complex dated to 1935 B.C.E., the beginning of the Old Assyrian period. Prof. Özgüç shared the house plans and a description of where the archive was discovered with Mogens Larsen, who subsequently edited and published the archive in the series *Ankara Kültepe Tablets* from 2010–2018.<sup>2</sup> The archive clearly identified Šalim-Aššur as the primary owner of the house, which had been emptied with the exception of a large number of tablets discovered in rooms 5 and 6 (see Fig. 1.2):

An archive of 947 tablets and unopened envelopes and pottery were found in these two small rooms. They 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 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. The pottery was set along the base of the walls (nos. 5–6)... Next to the hearth [in room no. 8] were found unbaked tablets evidently left to dry or prepared to be fired.<sup>3</sup>

From this description we obtain a good sense of what was left of the archive: a fairly complete accounting of the early records of the family's legal, social and economic dealings kept in degraded filing cabinets.<sup>4</sup>

With the discovery of such an archive, we have the opportunity to tell the stories of many generations, but what is equally telling is how and when the archive ends. Because of the orderly state of Šalim-Aššur's estate at Kanesh, we can assume that the house was emptied of any valuables before it was consumed by fire along with the

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2 Larsen, Mogens Trolle. *The Archive of the Šalim-Aššur Family, Volumes 1–4*. Kültepe Tabletleri 6a-d. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.

3 Larsen 2010, 3ff. He further suggested that the house “must have had a second story, even though no staircase was found. According to the plan there were three entrances from the street, but the middle one leading directly into the room or courtyard with the fireplace may not have existed. The main entrance was into a long room paved with large stones and with smaller square stones placed along the inner wall to carry wooden pillars. From here one had access to most of the other rooms in the house, including the two archive rooms. However, an independent suite of rooms, nos. 1–3, had direct access from the street and was cut off from the rest of the house. It seems likely that these rooms formed a kind of shop, where the direct commercial activities of the family took place. In the street along the outer wall of the house was a row of large stones forming a kind of pavement” (Larsen 2010, 5).

4 The list includes over 40 different different types of texts, ranging from familial marriages, divorces, and adoptions to business contracts, agreements, and settlements. For more on the documents from the Šalim-Aššur archive, see Larsen AKT 6a-d, 2010–2018.

entire settlement in 1836 B.C.E.<sup>5</sup> This includes any valuable metals, textiles and other goods, mentioned throughout the archive, but also the tablets of greatest value.<sup>6</sup> We can also safely assume that the tablets we have found from Level II were left behind only because they no longer held any commercial efficacy or personal value.<sup>7</sup> While it is clear that the house was used for at least two generations, i.e. by Šalim-Aššur and by his sons Ali-ahum and Ennam-Aššur, Larsen suggests it was likely only used for the purpose of storage during the last years of the Level II settlement (2010, 4).

Whether these remains correspond to the Šalim-Aššur family house or semi-private office and storage, the documents left inside provide us with the details of the family business from a number of generations, perhaps beginning with Šalim-Aššur's father Issu-arik, who was clearly involved in the trade network, as Larsen explains:

The earliest texts stem from the lifetime of Issu-arik, with one document being dated as early as the year KEL 40 or 41, i.e. 1935 BC. It is unclear, however, whether the house had been built at this time, just as we cannot say whether Issu-arik in fact lived in this building. It may be assumed that it had a lifespan of 50–75 years, i.e. roughly from 1900 to 1836 BC, the year when the entire lower town was destroyed by fire (Larsen 2010, 5–6).

Following a patrilineal approach, the archive recounts the business and legal affairs of the sons and grandsons (and sometimes even granddaughters) of Issu-arik, who lived together in and around Kanesh for at least a decade as they contributed to the

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- <sup>5</sup> Larsen adds, "It is not known how long the individual houses were in use, but in most, the plastered walls had received three or four layers of whitewash, indicating a fairly long period of habitation. The houses in level 2 had been burnt in a fire, and it is usually assumed that this happened at one particular moment, when the entire settlement went up in flames, presumably as a result of warfare — and probably at the same time that the palaces on the mound were destroyed by fire" (2015, 41; cf. the letter BIN 6, 23, which Larsen partially translates on p. 139). He goes on to suggest the unlikely possibility that "if the destruction of the palace on the mound and the fire that consumed the lower town were in fact unrelated events, it might be possible to suggest another date for the fire, for instance shortly after year 110, which would allow us to posit a causal relationship between the decline in the documentation and the fire" (69).
- <sup>6</sup> As has been noted (Veenhof 1997, 351–363; 2003a, 87–88, 99; 2013), certain tablets held monetary value to their owners, both evidentiary and intrinsic: "Especially valuable were the sealed debt-notes which were the legal and physical proof of at times substantial debt claims, whose intrinsic value turned them into a kind of 'clay money', usable as security and under certain circumstances transferable by the creditor" (2003a, 99).
- <sup>7</sup> Veenhof discusses a group of texts which fall under this category, and which the Assyrians referred to as 'dead' (*muātum*) tablets. It seems likely that many of the archives which have been found and excavated from Kanesh consisted of texts which were either 'dead' (i.e. their commercial efficacy had lapsed) or were otherwise unimportant for the continuation of commercial trade, whereas the important and viable texts were taken back to Assur. Unfortunately, this supposition cannot be tested at present due to the numerous obstacles in excavating the MBA IIa (OA) levels at Assur. For a very interesting discussion of 'dead' texts, see Veenhof 1987, 46f.



family business. Figure 2.3 brings into focus not only the general lifespan of these merchants' careers, but also highlights the co-occurrence of their deaths, with the older generation dying around REL 90 (ca. 1880 B.C.E.) and the younger generation around REL 105 (ca. 1969 B.C.E.).

Larsen published the full archive in four volumes, with the first focusing on the family members in the textual record: 1) Issu-arik and Šalim-Aššur, and his sons: 2) Ennam-Aššur, 3) Ali-ahum. The last two volumes concern 4) non-family members, and anonymous texts. From the latter two volumes, we learn that the archive held a significant number of tablets which belonged to other families or those which were unable to be determined.

Although we expect that the texts would record a diachronic view of each of these family members, it is very difficult to pinpoint the changing chronological aspect of the archive, since very few of the texts were explicitly dated. However, on the basis of certain events, such as a death in the family, we can include a sequential chronological variable to the network, based on logical interpretations of the series of events and transactions. In this way, events such as the death of Šalim-Aššur are helpful chronological markers and can be used to establish synchronous relationships for homonymous Personal Names (PNs) in an archive which covers over five generations. Then, based on the few dated texts and events attested across the archive, we can situate Šalim-Aššur's family tree on a chronological spectrum, seen in figure 2, which can be used to provide approximate dates for those family members who are not dated explicitly in figure 3.1.

The final volume in the archive, concerning non-family members and anonymous texts, gives us an important insight into the types of relationships which extended beyond the family archive by including a number of tablets (ca. 150) which belonged to other families. These extra-familial dossiers within the archive highlight a potential problem for archival reconstruction, as Larsen explains: „It must be kept in mind ... that a considerable number of documents found in this archive are concerned with persons who were not members of the family, or they are phrased anonymously, so that we are unable to ascertain who was the acting person“ (Larsen 2013, 4). We can assume that this type of practice was common enough throughout the majority of archives at Kanesh, suggesting that despite our best efforts to clearly reconstruct the boundaries of an archive, there will inevitably be an indeterminate subset of the archive which cannot be assigned to the house from which it came.

However, thanks to the controlled excavation of the Šalim-Aššur archive, and the excellent scholarship and publication of the tablets by Larsen, we have a ready group of texts which we can use to reconstruct and disambiguate one corner of the trade network. Such a network will allow us to draw comparisons between the Šalim-Aššur archive and subsets of the network as reflected in certain dossiers. Because our evaluation is empirically rooted in textual analysis, we will move between the statistical graphs and contextual examples to illustrate the role of individuals within specific events and affairs.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> It is important to note that textual analysis and SNA, although some of the newest, are not the only methods which have shown promise for working with the Old Assyrian doc-

### 3. THE ŠALIM-AŠŠUR NETWORK

The Šalim-Aššur family tree, seen in figure 2, reflects one of many different types of links found in the archival records of one of the largest families living in Kültepe. As such, it provides us with a helpful frame of reference, and a benchmark for what to expect when scholars attempt to reconstitute an archive from looted and unprovenanced texts.<sup>9</sup> However, it goes without saying that these were not the only ties which bound this family together, as one can see many times over in figure 4. Each member of this family had multiple types of strong and weak relationships, from their closest partners in trade to the individuals who they may have forgotten, appearing as single mention of a name written on a debt note.

What stands out when we situate the family tree within a vast network of strong relationships and brief acquaintances attested in the Old Assyrian texts as a whole? First, we see a powerful community, exhibited within a complex structural framework. This structure was reinforced by a hierarchical pecking order, as evidenced in the letters they wrote to each other by 1) the formal patterns of address, and 2) the familial terms of endearment and indebtedness (e.g. ‘if you are my brother...’).<sup>10</sup>

From commercial partnerships to marriage contracts, these strong ties formed expansive cliques and extended their influence beyond family ties. This is seen both in terms of the depth and breadth of their connections and interactions across

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uments. In addition to the methods introduced here, a number of additional computational tools (i.e. 3d scanning, XRF, machine learning) have been applied to textual and archaeological research (see Stratford 2015). Further, philological tools and applications also continue to progress; for example, handwriting analysis is proving to be a valuable approach to identifying writing patterns among certain scribes (Kryszat 2004a & 2008; Stratford 2015; Michel 2015), by studying the shape and *Gestalt* of the cuneiform wedges in order to identify distinct hands. The various forms of analysis provide a glimpse into a number of new methods, many of which have yet to be utilized to their fullest, and which may provide us with additional clues for prosopographical disambiguation and archival reconstruction by gleaning greater textual and material context from the tablets themselves.

- 9 For example, see Larsen’s work on the reconstituted Aššur-nādā archive (2002), Michel’s two volumes of two merchants with the same name, Innāya (1991), and Veenhof’s excellent edition of the Elamma archive (2017).
- 10 In Bamman et al. (2013), we discuss how we were able to measure this emic social signal leveraged by the Assyrians over time. The results of this study generated a distribution of ranks for each named entity, which reflected seniority, age, and prestige or proximity to the royal family. In 2018, I continued this study to demonstrate how these results were useful for disambiguating the many homonyms in the archives, using data from ca. 6,000 tablets. Fig. 4 conveys four iterations of the network from the first half of the Šalim-Aššur archive, and Fig. 8 provides an additional iteration of the network using ca. 2,000 letters. All of the network subsets in Fig. 8 are hierarchically ranked, and reflect the nuanced relationships that extend beyond the family, out into the Anatolian communities. For more on the familial terms found in the Old Assyrian texts, see Anderson 2018, 88–91.



family archives.<sup>11</sup> But it was not only the strong ties which ensured success in trade and stability in the region. As we will see in the Ušinalam affair below, the Assyrians used their extended relationships—those removed by two or more degrees of separation—in order to collectively capitalize on lucrative trade deals. In such instances, we see how the family circle could be widened to include friends of friends, which at times even resulted in cliques and cohort groups extending beyond the Assyrian community.

By counting both weak and strong relationships for each member of the Šalim-Aššur family, the network graphs in figure 4 reiterate what Assyriologists have been saying for quite some time now, that the family firm acted as the basic pattern for successful, long-term business by establishing a metric for enabling social mobility through social hierarchy. Once explicit markers for ‘in group’ relationships were codified, this more easily facilitated the establishment of new partnerships, cliques, and cohort groups between the Assyrian and Anatolian families. This observation is explicitly illustrated in the four visualizations of the Šalim-Aššur archive from AKT 6a, 94/k (Larsen 2010), which show each person named in the texts (as nodes) and the relationships between these individuals (as lines or edges).<sup>12</sup>

By modeling all the relationships which the archives reflect, as seen in figure 3.2, we can determine that the increase in the number of connections over time corresponded with the Assyrian assimilation within the Anatolian society. Examples of this can be seen in the dossiers of Šalim-Aššur’s sons, especially Ali-ahum who has many business relationships with the local Anatolians, e.g., selling copper for silver (see AKT 6c, 621 & 622). Although the extensive relationships with the local Anatolian population facilitated greater profits in trade and the growth of Kanesh as a multicultural trade hub, these ties were not strong enough to sustain the Assyrian families long-term, nor were they able to call upon these relationships when they fell upon hard times.

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11 To my knowledge, Larsen (1976, 95) was the first to apply the term ‘family firm’ to the Old Assyrian texts. Yoffee (1995) further explained how the entrepreneurial extension of the family firm allowed for greater freedom from the government: “Assyrian family firms, sometimes in partnerships so as to increase available capital and extend credit, did not profit from the monopolization of any resource; rather, they profited from the organizational know-how of getting goods where they were plentiful and exporting them to where they were scarce” (1393).

12 Within this highly interconnected network, Fig. 4 displays the members of Šalim-Aššur’s family in bold as the most frequently attested PNs. From this we see that the sons (and grandsons) of Issu-arik have the highest degrees in the network, with Šalim-Aššur and Ennam-Aššur at the top of the list. From the latter figure we can also see very quickly which names are attested most frequently, many of which have multiple patronymics. Once we grasp the basic sense of the network, we can then move inward in scale to view different subsets of the archive in greater detail. The complete graph and data for this visualization can be found in my GitHub with the following URL: [<https://github.com/admdrsn/Gephi/>].

#### 4. THE UŠINALAM AFFAIR

One of the benefits of working within an archive found *in situ* is the ability to more easily identify impactful events, involving multiple tablets in an archive. Based on the reach and ambition of this prominent family in the Old Assyrian society, it is safe to say that the impact of these events described in the Šalim-Aššur archive would have reached the highest institutions of the city of Kanesh, the council of small and large (*kārum Kaniš TUR GAL*).<sup>13</sup> However, unless such events are coupled with the death of a prominent individual, it is often difficult to situate the corresponding texts in chronological sequence. This in turn poses difficulties for measuring the effects upon the local community, let alone the institutions or the trade network more broadly (see Dercksen 1996, Barjamovic et al. 2012). Therefore, in this example I hope to demonstrate how we might measure the impact of a single event in order to utilize the occurrence of such events as a pattern for additional discoveries within the unprovenanced tablets.<sup>14</sup>

The Ušinalam dossier stands out in the archive as a very telling event in which Šalim-Aššur found himself in a disastrous situation and was forced to call upon his own social network in order to save him from financial ruin and an ignominious death. In desperate times, such as this one, the contrast between weak and strong ties becomes most apparent. Within 23 texts, we can identify the primary actors involved in a series of trades between the Assyrian merchants and an influential Anatolian, named Ušinalam.<sup>15</sup> The initial 15 texts are recorded transactions made by Assyrian investors, known as *išurtu*-documents or ‘promissory-notes’.<sup>16</sup> These texts recorded

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- 13 This can first be deduced by the families involved in the affair, seen in figure 7 and my OA Family Trees site (see the following URL: <https://www.lucidchart.com/documents/view/d872b7a3-e0da-4a56-9200-550a72f2026d>). Secondly, figures 6 & 8 demonstrate the widest extent of the network which can be reached in less than six degrees of separation from Šalim-Aššur.
- 14 Based on the assemblages of tablets discussed here, such events are often found in smaller groups of dossiers (ca. 20–50 tablets) which detail a series of complex social, legal, and economic obligations that gave rise to a preponderance of documentation. One such example, which has been central to the reconstitution of another family archive, is the texts surrounding the death of Pūšu-kēn and the turbulent aftermath which his children were forced to reconcile (see Anderson 2018, 78–83 & Fig. 5.1). Within that group of texts we find an administrative order, which reexamines the partnership tablets due to the deaths of Elamma, Iddin-abum and Pūšu-kēn in Durhumid (TPAK 1, 44a+b).
- 15 Ušinalam operated on the same level as the kings of the Anatolian cities mentioned in AKT 1, 78; cf. Kt n/k 504; Kt f/k 183; KTP 4; KTP 14; and proved capable of exerting as much force as the powerful investors in Assur: TC 3, 1; AKT 6a, 90 — 111 & 177 (Larsen 2010; Larsen 2015).
- 16 As Veenhof describes it, the *išurtu*-document „was a clay tablet in the nature of a valid legal document written in cuneiform, which recorded a liability of the same kind as a promissory note called *ṭuppum harmum*. Most *i*.s were records of liabilities by Anatolians or Assyrian palaces, but in rare cases they were also said to be drawn up by Assyrians. It embodies the obligation or promise to pay a certain amount of money/goods (frequently copper), which presupposes a commercial decision. But such a decision was never a matter of one party only and every commercial transaction implied such decisions, whereby both



large amounts of silver as ‘proceeds’ from Ušinalam’s wool (*šim SĪG.HI.A*) in exchange for the promise of copper. From the many Assyrian family trees, featured in figure 6, we can make the observation that the profit on these trades must have been significant enough to have attracted the attention of a number of local Assyrian investors in Kanesh, perhaps creating a supply-demand chain which was unsustainable. The result was that the presumed manager of these trades, Abu-šalim, the servant of Šalim-Aššur, failed to produce the requisite copper from the ‘promissory notes’ (*išurtu*-documents), and likely absconded with the funds. In retaliation, Ušinalam took matters into his own hands and sent his ‘generals’ *šakkanakkū* (wr. *ša-kà-na-ki*) to haul off Šalim-Aššur ‘in fetters’ (*ina maksu’ēm*) to Purušhaddum.<sup>17</sup>

In an attempt to establish the full extent of this event, I recorded all the individuals involved in these trades with Ušinalam in an ego-network, from the most central merchants with the highest frequency of attestations to the more tangential actors mentioned only once in these texts. Figure 7 frames this impact in terms of the Old Assyrian family trees, which I am attempting to reconstruct from the texts as a whole.<sup>18</sup> The individuals who were involved in the Ušinalam affair are highlighted in red. This diagram can then be contrasted with the network graphs (i.e. Figs. 4 & 6), in order to better describe how this one event may have affected the lives of many families. Through the analysis of both their interactions and the presumed chronological boundaries, we can situate the event in time and use the event to establish dates for those individuals who are without dated texts. By combining multiple events in a similar manner, this method allows us to bridge much of the chronological uncertainty involved in PN disambiguation. The resulting chart is useful in at least two ways. First, it helps to determine how far outside the bounds of the family these trades extended. Because the Assyrian families grew quite large, it is often difficult to be sure how many family members are involved in any given transaction. The second use of the chart of family trees, is to map the extent to which the trade with a single Anatolian had the ability to benefit numerous Assyrian families, many of which extended back to the beginning of the Level II period.

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parties agreed (*namgurum*) on the conditions, both quantities and prices, because there were no fixed prices“ (Veenhof 1995, 331). For more on these legally binding promissory notes, see Hertel 2013, 138–142.

<sup>17</sup> See especially AKT 6a, 106 & 110 (cf. 104). Larsen (2010, 192) provides some additional context for the usage of *šakkanakku* by comparing a parallel text (AKT 6a, 109), which in the place of *šakkanakku* reads (ll. 39–40): *ù [tup-pé] a-mì-ú-tim a-ta-ma ta-ša-qal* “He answered: ‘I will not take the *išurtu*-documents, but you must pay (in accordance with) those other tablets.’ Before the envoys of the Kanesh colony and the plenary assembly of the colony at Burušhaddum I said this to Ušinalam, but he refused” (2010, 186 ll. 38–44). Larsen goes on to point out one other instance of the term (wr. *ša-kà-na-kam*) in Kt n/k 1374: 25 (published by Çeçen 1990, 143–144), which was translated as ‘general’ by Dercksen (2004, 71, n. 232), whereupon he explains that “a king [*(rubā’um)*] sends a *šakkanakkum* to Amkuwa in connection with negotiations over the payment of damages for losses” (2010, 192).

<sup>18</sup> For those interested in this ongoing research project on the Old Assyrian family trees, see OA Family Trees (URL: <https://www.lucidchart.com/documents/view/d872b7a3-e0da-4a56-9200-550a72f2026d>).



By understanding the analytical framework provided by network analysis, we can begin to use these structural methods to devise new questions for our texts. Figure 8 shows four different graphs of the same subset of the network, from the Ušinalam dossier. The first graph is the inner subset of figure 6 and confirms Šalim-Aššur's central and most important position. Interestingly, we find no evidence of his eldest son Ennam-Aššur in the Ušinalam dossier and Ali-ahum is only attested in the embargo oath along with twelve others. This is most surprising considering the seriousness of the event, as Šalim-Aššur was detained for a considerable time before he had accrued the purchasing power to free himself. In fact, even after Ušinalam was paid some 15,000 minas of copper, he still chose to detain Šalim-Aššur over the sum of 40 minas of silver (AKT 6a, 110–111). The graph visualization from the merged *epistolary* network shown in figure 8(b) lists the PNs who are removed by only one degree from Ušinalam. We can again compare this network, which was generated from an unsupervised disambiguation, with the unmerged *attestation* network to see how this model merged certain PNs into one node which were different entities, seen in figure 8(c).<sup>19</sup> This comparison is also helpful in showing the generally high rank and position that Šalim-Aššur was accustomed to, and stands in stark contrast to figure 8(d), which reorients the size, color and label based on the subset of nodes for only the actors involved, many of which are clearly directed toward Ušinalam.

After selecting a subset and reorienting these actors based on their new degree and centrality measurements, we witness an almost complete reversal of position and weight for Ušinalam's and Šalim-Aššur's nodes. Enna-Suen son of Iddin-abum also features prominently as a witness in twelve of the transactions and is addressed in a letter from Šalim-Aššur while he is being detained in Purušhaddum.<sup>20</sup> The final graph in figure 8(d) contains the same nodes (under supervised disambiguation), along with the attestations for each PN in the label; however this configuration is not just listed alphabetically and by degree, but arranged in force-directed layout, showing Ušinalam's centrality and all other nodes in relation to him by degree and edge weight.

<sup>19</sup> Note the patronymics for a number of the homonyms listed in figure 8(c) have been merged in the unsupervised *epistolary* network in figure 8(b). This example from the Ušinalam affair illustrates the challenge of comparing networks, and why it is so important to be able to retain a record of the textual sources when using unsupervised methods. But by drawing from the maximum number of nodes for each network, we can then compare the two ego-networks for Ušinalam, and we find that the supervised *attestation* network can be reasonably reduced to 96 nodes (less than 1% of the network), whereas the *epistolary* network exhibits a maximum of 76 nodes (3% of the network).

<sup>20</sup> See AKT 6a, 109. Enna-Suen son of Iddin-abum was the nephew of Šalim-Aššur. He was well connected to certain prominent merchants, including Innāya son of Elāli, who was at one point the NU.BĀNDA or 'steward' of the crown prince, Puzur-Aššur. Enna-Suen was often found working in the vicinity of Purušhaddum. In BIN 6, 110 & Cole 2 (LA County Museum; Michel 1991, 30f. Nr. 14), he is located in Purušhaddum working with Innāya (son of Elāli) and Mannum-balum-Aššur. In CCT 4, 33b, Enna-Suen is in a station near Purušhaddum, known as Šalatuwar, and still in communication with Innāya and Mannum-balum-Aššur.



The comparison of these different networks not only highlights Ušinalam's central position, but also raises new questions. For example, the groups branching out from Ušinalam in figure 8(d) appear to be structural gaps based on subgroups in the network, stemming from different leaders among the Assyrian merchants: Šalim-Aššur, Enna-Suen, Sukkallia and Ilī-ašranni. We can then return to the texts to see how this network structure is reiterated in the relationships between these actors and their respective subgroups.

As seen above, some of the questions which naturally arise when viewing a dossier in the network have to do with the physical reality of what is visualized before us. For example, with such striking discrepancies in the node size (degree) in figures 8a and 8c, we see how the measurements of degree and centrality can be reevaluated within a subset of the network. These two measurements suggest a sense of importance and prestige is often tied together with the degree to which Šalim-Aššur interacted with the most central actors in the social network. The Ušinalam affair acts as a vivid example of what occurs when two ego-networks fail to readjust their own degree of centrality (or self-importance) relative to the other. This betrays a naive assumption which many merchants confronted only too late: that the burden of security and insurance rested primarily on the shoulders of each individual merchant, and only secondarily distributed across their close ties. This must have come as a surprise to Šalim-Aššur, that despite his wealth and numerous estates, he was only a minor entity in Ušinalam's network, and his reliance on his own social network to help release him from Ušinalam's confines clearly tested his patience.

Through the complex task of establishing an accurate prosopography, I hope to have shown the advantages that the network affords in reconstructing the events and interactions between individuals and across the society as a whole. Until the individuals in *old texts* are properly disambiguated, and ideally, organized into their respective archives and dossiers, each new study will likely be missing important aspects that an aggregated approach could provide, but by using a structured network to test and generate hypotheses on the individual level, we can work together with greater transparency and reproducibility in the process of prosopographical disambiguation. This task reaches beyond the scope of the present article, and will no doubt require a team of experts to closely examine and test such hypotheses. But once we understand the extent of the ties and relationships as they extended across the Old Assyrian social network, with a text database linked to an unambiguous prosopography, this in turn will unfold a brilliant narrative framework, allowing us to view the wealth of textual material in sequential, even chronological clusters of events. We can then ask very pointed questions of the hierarchical relationships and roles exhibited in the network as a whole and articulate answers in statistical measurements. As we will see below, network analysis also allows us to more accurately control for the many relationships found not only in the archives of the most prominent merchants alive in the Level II period, but also among the lesser-known Anatolians and local merchant families living in Kanesh in the Level Ib period.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> There is a subset of Old Assyrian texts included in this study which date to the period known as Level Ib, beginning in REL 140, ca. 1835 B.C.E., some 50 years after the death of

## 5. ŠALIM-AŠŠUR'S DEATH AND LATENT SIBLING RIVALRY

With an understanding of how interconnected merchants were to one another (see Figs. 4–7), it is not surprising that the death of even a single merchant often resulted in a series of legal battles and financial instability, which trickled out into the entire network. Such events no doubt formed the backdrop to the hoards of tablets left behind in the Šalim-Aššur archive, which largely comprise letters, legal briefs, and disputes. These letters were often exchanged between family members as they attempted to resolve these affairs, by reclaiming debts owed and liquidating assets in order to reach financial solvency and resume their commercial activities in the market. For a personal note, we turn to the letters of the family members, and we find that the effects of such events gave rise to a preponderance of documents in the family archive. In figure 5, we find that even within the subset of documents dealing exclusively with the death of family members, almost every prominent individual from the network is attested and involved to some degree.

One such group of 60 texts was found within the dossier belonging to Ennam-Aššur, which records many personal aspects of the lengthy legal proceedings following the death of his father, Šalim-Aššur. They reveal the complex social and cultural aftermath encumbering the family following the death of such a prominent merchant. For example, in a series of documents we read multiple attestations of this very sequence of events following the death of Šalim-Aššur's brother, Iddin-abum.<sup>22</sup> This pattern, in which the representatives of a creditor 'come calling' (*šisi-ma < šasā'im* "to call") to settle accounts with the next of kin, often resulted in extreme measures being taken, including their house being 'sealed', and the handmaid (*amtum*) and servants being taken as collateral, even against relatively small debts of silver (e.g., 17 minas, in AKT 6a, 49–50) and gold (e.g., 10 minas, in AKT 6a, 191). Because these documents of testimonial disputations are undated, we do not know how much time transpired before Šalim-Aššur's legal team, including Akuza son of Šu-Anum, was able to resolve these issues.

Following the death of the *paterfamilias*, a new 'father' had to be named. That title was passed down to the eldest son, Ennam-Aššur, who received a letter in Kanesh from his two brothers, Ali-ahum and Amur-Ištar, who were with their father in Durhumit when he died. The letter makes clear that he is their new *paterfamilias*: "Sadly, our father has died. It is not Šalim-Aššur who is our father, it is you who are our father. Take care of our father's instructions and clear up the affairs" (Larsen's translation in AKT 6a, 209–Kt 94/k 747).<sup>23</sup> After having been given the news of

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the most prominent Assyrian families in Kanesh, which as Fig. 3.2 has shown, correlate with the largest Assyrian population growth at Kanesh between REL 75–105, ca. 1897–1869 B.C.E.. There has also been some headway made in describing the neighborhoods of the Anatolian inhabitants of Kanesh; see the 2013 dissertation of Xiaowen Shi entitled, *Anatolians as seen through the Old Assyrian texts*.

<sup>22</sup> AKT 6a, 24–25, 40, 41–42, 48, 49–50, 191a–b.

<sup>23</sup> AKT 6a, 209 ll. 5–10: *lá li-bi i-li-ma a-bu-ni : me-et lá šál-ma-A-šur a-bu-ni a-ta a-bu-ni a-ma-kam a-na tí-ir-tí a-bi4-ni i-hi-<sup>r</sup>id<sup>1</sup>-ma za-ki-i*.



his father's death, Ennam-Aššur had little time to mourn, as he was met with the messy aftermath. First, the family's assets were frozen, which often entailed lawyers (*rābišum*) and lenders arriving at the family home in order to lock and seal the house and take their second wives (*amtum*) as collateral for their debts.

In AKT 6a, 230 & 231, Ennam-Aššur wrote two letters to his father's representatives in Assur requesting that they send a copy of his father's testament, for which they had acted as witnesses. Therein, he also divulged the dire state of affairs this once well-to-do family was facing as large sums of copper were seized by his father's investors: "My dear fathers and lords, the investors are pressuring us here and they have seized the assets that my father left" (Larsen 2010, 377).<sup>24</sup> Subsequently, in a legal dispute (AKT 6a, 264) we see that Ennam-Aššur and his brother, Ali-ahum, were repeatedly 'seized' (i.e. subpoenaed, deposed, summoned in person) by the attorney of Šalim-Aššur, Ababa, ordering them to collect all of their father's assets and deliver them to Aššur. However, his sons quickly found themselves at an impasse, as Ennam-Aššur and his brother were detained in their attempt to obtain Šalim-Aššur's assets in Durhumit, some 40 talents of 'washed copper' (URUDU *masī'um*).<sup>25</sup>

Clearly, the burden of saving Šalim-Aššur's estate was an insurmountable obligation for Šalim-Aššur's children, and in particular for the oldest son, Ennam-Aššur. He wrote numerous letters to little or no avail as he attempted to save his father's house in Kanesh and his assets in Durhumit. To make matters worse, the sibling rivalry only escalated, and the desperate nature of their condition may be seen in their many personal exchanges from the letters; for example AKT 6a, 233 we read Ennam-Aššur's plea to his sister, Lamassī, in which he asked: "have I not exerted myself to the utmost night and day?" (Larsen 2010, 380).

Unfortunately, the role of *paterfamilias* proved to be too heavy a burden for Ennam-Aššur. His health declined after his father's death, and while in a lowly state he too met an untimely fate, most likely due to actions taken by his brother, Ali-ahum. From the dossier edited in AKT 6c, we discover the detailed aftermath of a complex arrangement in which Ali-ahum took responsibility for his brother's 'blood money' (*damê*).<sup>26</sup> We learn that he was robbed and murdered after conducting business with the king of Tawniya (AKT 6c, 527).<sup>27</sup> The final text in this series of events is a letter from Lamassī to Ali-ahum, who compels her brother to "come and clear the affairs of your paternal house." She continues, "Why do you not send me a single shekel of

<sup>24</sup> AKT 6a, 231 ll. 24–27: *a-ba-ú-a bé-lu-a a-tù-nu a-na-kam um-me-a-nu ú-nu-ú-ni ú bu-lá-tí ša a-bi-i e-zi-bu i-ša-áb-tù*.

<sup>25</sup> For a discussion of the meaning of 'washed copper,' see Dercksen 1996; Veenhof 1972, 100 n. 169f.; Veenhof et al. 2008, 126.

<sup>26</sup> AKT 6c, 525 (Kt 94/k 775): 18–20 "I take responsibility. I shall have the man extradited. Since he did not acquire my brother's blood-money, and since he bothered (me) with the silver of my father's house for two years and my brother surely was killed because of his iron."

<sup>27</sup> Larsen elaborates on this interesting family feud in AKT 6c, 2014, pp. 3–6. See texts: AKT 6c, 523–533; AKT 6a, 209 and AKT 6a, 294 (Kt 94/k 1133), which can be dated approximately to REL 107, ca. 1867 B.C.E.

silver in my name in a shipment? If you are truly my brother — as for me, whom can I look to apart from you? Conditions are harsh in the city.”<sup>28</sup>

Despite Ali-ahum’s wicked attempts to collect the inheritance for himself, the legal affairs which were only exacerbated by the loss of Ennam-Aššur, were likely enough to bring down the business in Kanesh. The remaining documents of the archive recount personal trials of the children of Šalim-Aššur and their cousins, as the family struggled to survive. What we have are frantic forms of communication, like AKT 6a, 533, that speak to this ‘harsh time’ (*dannūtum*) for Šalim-Aššur’s family. What is missing are the tablets which held any value, and we presume that these were taken back to Assur following the collapse of the Assyrian trade hub at Kanesh.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS: DEATH OF A SALESMAN & COLLAPSE OF A NETWORK

Within the remains of this archive we see that the salesman Šalim-Aššur was selling more than tin and textiles: he was selling an ideology of trust. This trust was not insured by word alone, but by an extensive safety net that ensured the family business was backed by wealthy creditors and investors from Assur. From the muddled Ušinalam affair, we learn that this was an unspoken guarantee that was taken at face value by the prominent Anatolians with whom Šalim-Aššur did business.

However, such social safety nets depended on long lifespans of the *paterfamilia* and stable family relationships. In the absence of these factors, the prevailing narrative of the family archive of Šalim-Aššur is that the weight of Assyrian colonial expansion was unbearable, even for these prominent families. The economic freedoms evidenced in this family’s archive were the product of well connected networks. These complex relationships lasted more than a lifetime, but apparently no more than six generations. From the physical trade ports ‘quays’ (*kārum*) and outer stations (*wabārtum*) where they lived, to the social networks which they repeatedly recorded, all of which were dependent upon person-to-person agreements, and therefore too fragile to be sustained across more than a couple generations, as figures 3.1 and 3.2 collectively convey. While this is quite literally the case with the Šalim-Aššur archive, it proves to be the predominant story of the Old Assyrian archives as a whole as well.

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28 Although we do not know what led to the decline in documentation, the few bits of textual evidence suggest more than just a return to the city of Assur. In AKT 6c, 533 (kt 94/k 1350), a letter from Šalim-Aššur’s daughter, Lamassī, written to her brother, Ali-ahum, we read that despite the fact that her father provided her with an estate, maintaining it was too difficult, and as a result she is living in an empty house, starving with nothing to eat (see Larsen 2014, 47). Larsen also notes that this letter was sent after the so-called ‘blood money’ affair, i.e. Ennam-Aššur’s death, and that the ‘hardship’ of which Lamassī speaks could be in reference to the financial aftermath of the death of two such prominent merchants, he writes: “the unresolved matter of the inheritance of Šalim-Aššur could have created severe problems for the people living in Assur” (2014, 47).



Like Willy Loman, in *Death of a Salesman*, Šalim-Aššur can be thought of as the quintessential salesman for his generation, following the rapid growth in trade between the Assyrian and Anatolians in Kanesh. But unfortunately, the pattern persists with the American play, in that the only ‘peace’ offered Šalim-Aššur was in the form of his community with social safety nets, consistently groomed, weighed and measured across a lattice of familial terminology (Bamman et al 2013). Such formalities indicate a relational substrate often observed in more formal institutions, e.g., not unlike the ‘brothers’ and ‘sisters’ in religious communities.<sup>29</sup> And like these very institutions today, they extend from the lowest member right to the top of the ruling classes. With long-distance ties stretching out to the numerous peripheral hubs of trade, such as Kanesh, these Old Assyrian salesmen facilitated access to a rich market full of craft specialization and precious metals, otherwise controlled by families of the royal elites, whose power extended beyond family ties across syndicates of commercial ventures and pyramid schemes.

When compounded by multiple deaths within a mere three- to five-year timespan, it is clear that the aftermath had a paralyzing impact for the family firm, with aftershocks of rescinded credit and bankruptcies. However, as figure 3.2 indicates, Šalim-Aššur’s family was not the only one affected. Oddly enough, two other prominent merchants also died in the same year as Šalim-Aššur, in REL 105.<sup>30</sup> Their deaths alone would have been enough to cause these tumultuous waves of instability in the market, as a large number of relationships (i.e. edges) were severed and never recovered. No doubt, the social ramifications of the loss of such a tightly woven society would have been palpable in the neighborhoods and markets at Kanesh.<sup>31</sup>

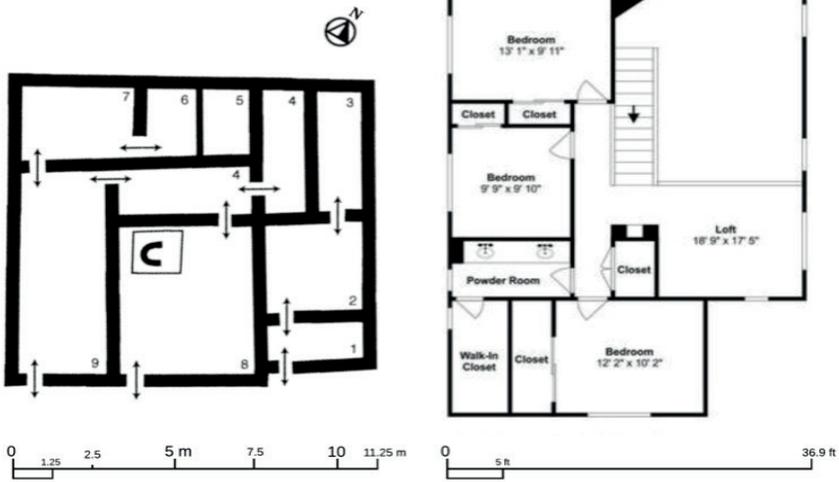
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<sup>29</sup> Such (institutional) relationships form what are called weak ties, which build local bridges, in this case, connecting the Assyrians and Anatolians by one degree of separation. Grannovetter (1973) explains the concept in social science of a bridge as “a line in a network which provides the *only* path between two points.... A bridge between A and B provides the only route along which information or influence can flow from any contact of A to any contact of B.” For more on comparative work within social science using network analysis, see Padgett’s famous work on 14th century C.E. Florentine trade, and how similar marriage contracts were used to build more robust bridges, spanning various demographics at the time. See Padgett 2009, Padgett & Ansell 1993; Grannovetter 1973, 1364.

<sup>30</sup> The merchants Imdī-ilum, Pūšu-kēn and Šalim-Aššur all died within a year of each other. This odd occurrence has necessitated a more in-depth study, which I am undertaking currently. I hope to further delineate how these families were connected and interdependent for their collective success and solvency. This can already be seen to some degree in the list of Assyrians to whom Šalim-Aššur wrote, in order to escape the clutches of Ušinalam.

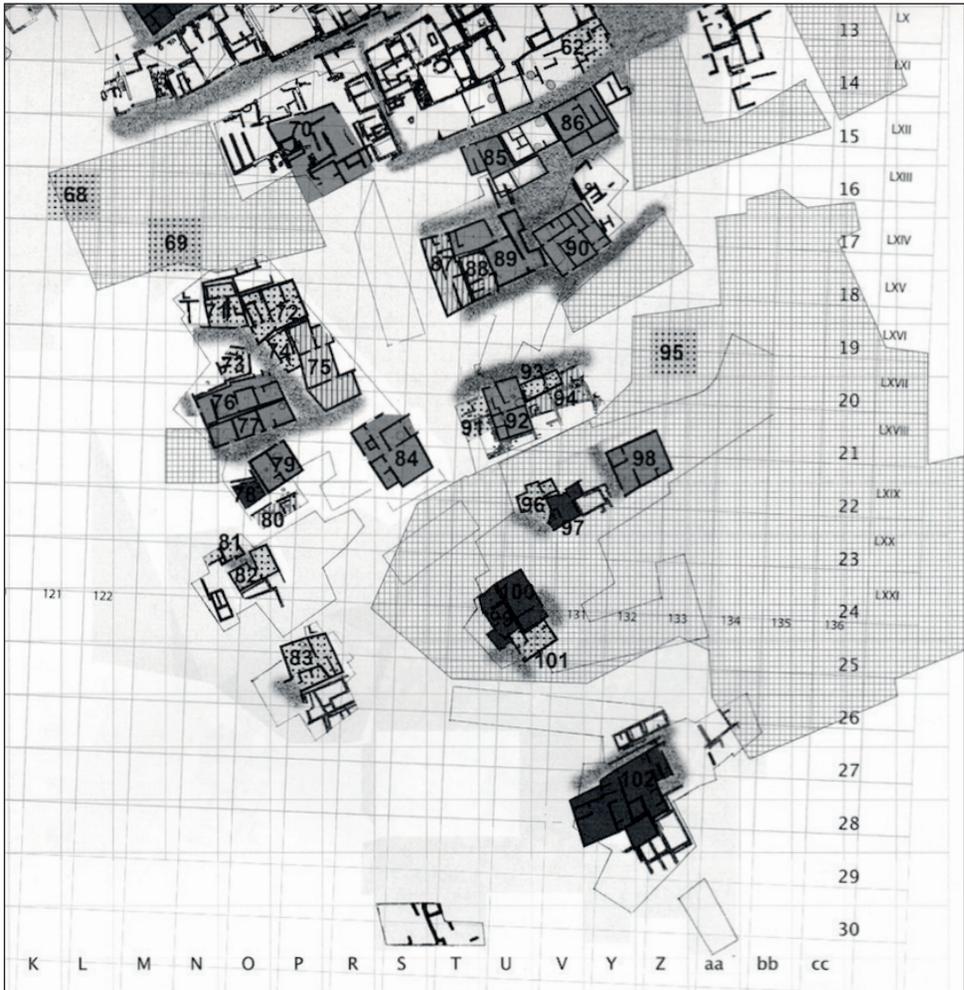
<sup>31</sup> Previous scholarship has already provided a focused study on the decline in documentation in the years REL 108–112 (ca. 1866–1862 B.C.E.). This study adds scale to the impact of this decline, which can be contrasted chronologically in Fig. 3.2, and measured socially based on the Old Assyrian family trees in Fig. 7.

FIGURES



**FIGURE 1.1.** The Plan of the Šalim-Aššur Family House (with comparison).

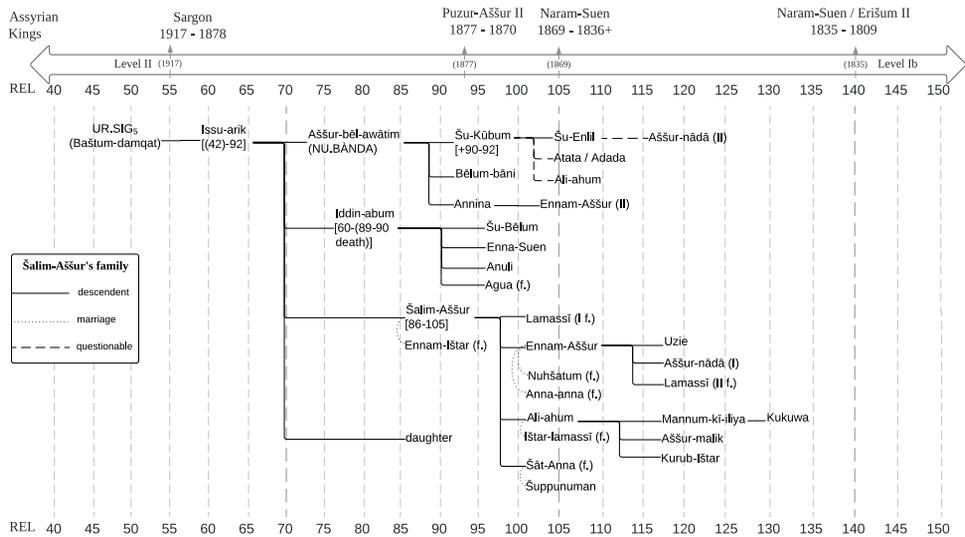
With a total area of 115.5 m<sup>2</sup>, the base floor plan was close to 1,300 square feet, and that is without being able to measure the second floor (Larsen 2010, 5). The comparison shown here is a close equivalent in feet, and includes room for a staircase, which we assume existed although no trace has yet been found. The above picture of the same quarter in which Šalim-Aššur's house was found (taken by myself when I visited Kültepe in 2015).



**FIGURE 1.2.** The Southeast Quarters of Kanesh (Šalim-Aššur's House, Nr. 90)

This plan of the lower town at Kanesh shows the houses of both the Assyrian and Anatolian merchants in the remains of a neighborhood. While we do not yet know many of the names of the inhabitants of these houses, the following numbers are for those which have been determined based both on the textual record and excavation records by Prof. Bedřich Hrozný (1927, 1952) and Prof. T. Özgüç (see Hertel 2014, 44–51).

70: Enna-Suen; 76: Ali-ahum I; 77: Buzutāya; 78: Šarnikan s. Arruba; 79: Ṭāb-ahum; 84: Uzua; 89: Ušup-iškum ? Ennam-Aššur ? Enna-Suen ?; 90: Šalim-Aššur s. Issu-arik; 93: (Lā-qēp II ?); 97: Šarabunuwa; 98: Ali-ahum II (?); 99: Galulu; 100: Šakdunuwa; 102: Peruwa



**FIGURE 2.** Šalim-Aššur’s Family Tree

The family tree is redrawn and amended in a chronological sequence of eponyms, following Larsen 2010, 7. The REL years are collocated with dates for the Assyrian kings (see Larsen 2015, xi-xii). The numbers in brackets are based on dated texts for the given entity, and numbers within parentheses are approximations from the prosopography. Dotted lines represent marriage ties. Broken lines reflect my proposed additions to the published family trees (see Larsen 2010, 7; Larsen 2015, 288). To support these additions, I provide the textual evidence for selected family members below. For more details see Anderson 2018 & OA Family Trees (URL: <https://www.lucidchart.com/documents/view/d872b7a3-eoda-4a56-9200-550a72f2026d>).

**Textual Attestations of Selected Family Members:**

**Agua (f.):** AKT 6a, 77 — Kt 94/k 576; AKT 6a, 21-22 — Kt 94/k 1274.

**Ali-ahum:** AKT 6a, 269 — Kt 94/k 1137.

**Anna-anna (f.):** AKT 6a, 239 — Kt 94/k 1178.

**Anuli:** AKT 6a, 72-73 — Kt 94/k 1039; AKT 6a, 74 — Kt 94/k 1136.

**Aššur-bēl-awātīm:** AKT 6a, 19-20 — Kt 94/k 1275; AKT 6a, 21-22 — Kt 94/k 1274; AKT 6a, 255 — Kt 94/k 766; AKT 6a, 284 — Kt 94/k 1192; AKT 6a, 3 — Kt 94/k 1746; AKT 6a, 40 — Kt 94/k 1006; AKT 6a, 41-42 — Kt 94/k 1037; AKT 6a, 46 — Kt 94/k 1144; AKT 6a, 47 — Kt 94/k 950; AKT 6a, 76 — Kt 94/k 841; AKT 6a, 70 — Kt 94/k 953; AKT 6a, 71 — Kt 94/k 1731; AKT 6a, 72-73 — Kt 94/k 1039; AKT 6a, 77 — Kt 94/k 576; AKT 6a, 80-81 — Kt 94/k 1027.

**Aššur-malik:** AKT 6a, 277 — Kt 94/k 1011.

**Aššur-nādā (I):** AKT 6a, 184 — Kt 94/k 615; AKT 6a, 190 — Kt 94/k 1438; AKT 6a, 251 — Kt 94/k 1023.

**Aššur-nādā (II):** AKT 6a, 82-83 — Kt 94/k 1046; AKT 6a, 84 — Kt 94/k 957.

**Atata / Adada:** AKT 6a, 120 — Kt 94/k 813.

**Enna-Suen:** AKT 5, 21 ((grand-)son of Issu-arik); AKT 6a, 56 — Kt 94/k 1015; AKT 6a, 59 — Kt 94/k 955; AKT 6a, 90 — Kt 94/k 1093; AKT 6a, 97 — Kt 94/k 1191; AKT 6a, 101 — Kt 94/k 1233; AKT 6a, 132 — Kt 94/k 1754; BIN 6, 110 (Michel no. 11); TC 3, 234. Dercksen notes: „Enna-Suen son of Iddin-abum (\*3) occurs as a witness in KEL 96/VII (TC 3, 234:3), about 40 years before his eponymate“ (2004, 59).

**Ennam-Aššur (II):** AKT 6a, 111 — Kt 94/k 1267.



**Iddin-abum:** AKT 6a, 24-25 — Kt 94/k 1050; AKT 6a, 28-29 — Kt 94/k 1025; AKT 6a, 32-33 — Kt 94/k 1033; AKT 6a, 45 — Kt 94/k 1276; AKT 6a, 67 — Kt 94/k 1047; AKT 6a, 61-62 — Kt 94/k 1029; AKT 6a, 46 — Kt 94/k 1144; ICK 1, 36a-b; ICK 1, 143.

**Kukuwa:** See Larsen 2015, 288.

**Kurub-Ištar:** AKT 6a, 142 — Kt 94/k 1445.

**Lamassī (I f.):** AKT 6a, 223; AKT 6a, 233; AKT 6a, 247\*.

**Lamassī (II f.):** See Larsen 2015, 288.

**Mannum-kī-iliya:** See Larsen 2015, 288.

**Nuhšatum (f.):** AKT 6a, 223 — Kt 94/k 614; daughter of Šu-Hubur (Veenhof 2015).

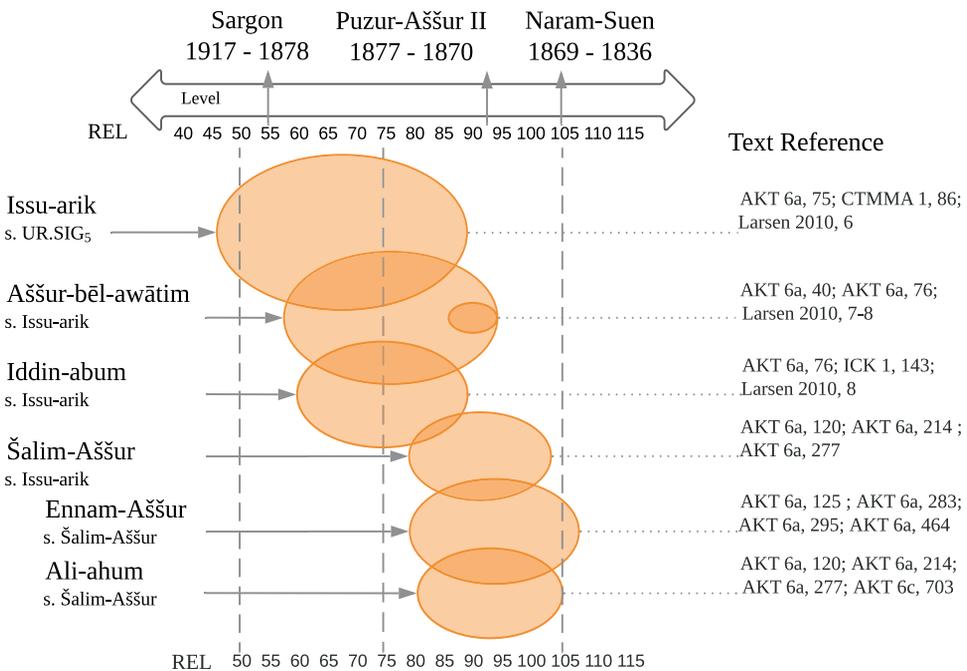
**Šāt-Anna (f.):** AKT 6a, 174 — Kt 94/k 850.

**Šu-Bēlum:** AKT 6a, 56 — Kt 94/k 1015; AKT 6a, 60 — Kt 94/k 948; AKT 6a, 63 — Kt 94/k 946; AKT 6a, 64 — Kt 94/k 951; AKT 6a, 66 — Kt 94/k 1048; AKT 6a, 67 — Kt 94/k 1047; AKT 6a, 70 — Kt 94/k 953; AKT 6a, 77 — Kt 94/k 576; AKT 6a, 82-83 — Kt 94/k 1046; AKT 6a, 84 — Kt 94/k 957; AKT 6a, 132 — Kt 94/k 1754.

**Šu-Enlil:** AKT 6a, 43-44 — Kt 94/k 1041.

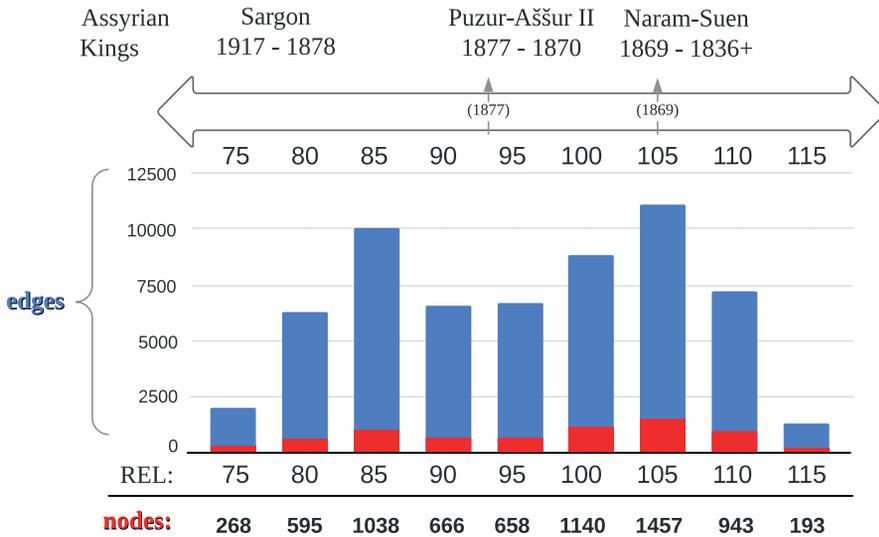
**Šu-Kūbum:** AKT 3, 23; AKT 6a, 46 — Kt 94/k 1144; AKT 6a, 47 — Kt 94/k 950; AKT 6a, 71 — Kt 94/k 1731; AKT 6a, 75 — Kt 94/k 839; AKT 6a, 76 — Kt 94/k 841; TC 3, 187; WAG 48-1465.

**Uzie:** AKT 6a, 289 — Kt 94/k 1261.



**FIGURE 3.1.** Chronological Diagram of the Šalim-Aššur Family

Maintaining the same chronological sequence as shown in Figure 2, this figure charts in concentric circles the period of dated texts we have for each of the members of the family. Because we do not have birth records for any of these individuals, we can only plot their activity or careers, rather than the length of their lives. The inner circle for Aššur-bēl-awātīm indicates the majority of the dated texts fall at the end of his career. Note that the end of the archive corresponds with the collapse of the Level II settlement in 1869 B.C.E., REL 105 (see Barjamovic et al. 2012, 65).



**FIGURE 3.2.** Chronological Chart of the Dated Šalim-Aššur Archive +

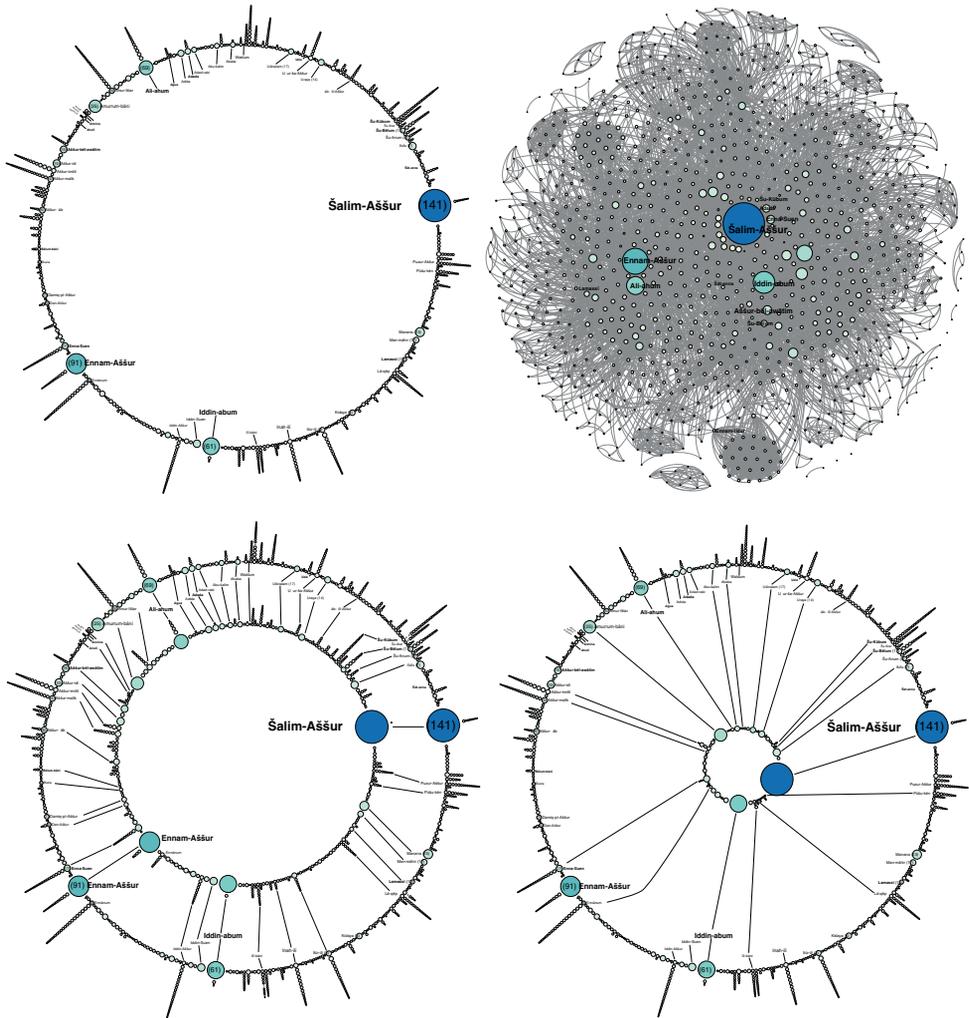
By focusing on a narrower slice of the same chronology from the figures above, we see here how the number of people (i.e. nodes) rises and falls over time, as attested in the Šalim-Aššur archive. While the number of nodes for each sequence of five years is somewhat indicative of the ups and downs described by previous scholarship (Barjamovic et al. 2012), the more telling aspect, which has so far gone untold is the fluctuation of relationships (i.e. edges) over time. These numerous edges are counts of both the weak and strong ties, based on co-mentions in a tablet, as recorded in the Šalim-Aššur archive and their connections which extend beyond the archive as well, in the ca. 500 texts dating between 75–115, listed below; for the model see the following URL: [https://github.com/admndrsn/Gephi/blob/master/SalimAssurArchive\(2.5\).graphml](https://github.com/admndrsn/Gephi/blob/master/SalimAssurArchive(2.5).graphml).

The edges count the largest possible degree, or number of links between each entity in the Old Assyrian social network as attested in the following texts (see Anderson 2018). It is remarkable that there is a surge in the number of edges leading up to Puzur-Aššur’s death, and reaches its maximum at the coronation year of Naram-Suen. The subsequent steep decline, as reflected in the network, is primarily due to a lack of documentation at Kültepe-Kaneš, which in turn may be reflecting a multifaceted collapse in socio-economic stability (see Barjamovic et al. 2012).

- AAA 1, 3; AKT 1, 11; AKT 1, 19; AKT 1, 2; AKT 1, 53; AKT 1, 73; AKT 1, 74; AKT 2, 18; AKT 2, 20; AKT 2, 51; AKT 2, 6; AKT 3, 13; AKT 3, 28; AKT 3, 43; AKT 3, 44; AKT 3, 73; AKT 3, 74; AKT 3, 87; AKT 4, 25; AKT 4, 26; AKT 4, 4; AKT 4, 5; AKT 4, 7; AKT 5, 3; AKT 5, 37; AKT 6a, 104 — Kt 94/k 1139; AKT 6a, 104 — Kt 94/k 1139; AKT 6a, 105 — Kt 94/k 1045; AKT 6a, 106 — Kt 94/k 943; AKT 6a, 107 — Kt 94/k 1049; AKT 6a, 109 — Kt 94/k 842; AKT 6a, 110 — Kt 94/k 917; AKT 6a, 113 — Kt 94/k 831; AKT 6a, 114 — Kt 94/k 1701; AKT 6a, 115 — Kt 94/k 840; AKT 6a, 116 — Kt 94/k 1300; AKT 6a, 117 — Kt 94/k 1152; AKT 6a, 118 — Kt 94/k 1256; AKT 6a, 119 — Kt 94/k 1262; AKT 6a, 120 — Kt 94/k 813; AKT 6a, 121 — Kt 94/k 725; AKT 6a, 122 — Kt 94/k 820; AKT 6a, 123 — Kt 94/k 743; AKT 6a, 125 — Kt 94/k 1444; AKT 6a, 126 — Kt 94/k 612; AKT 6a, 127 — Kt 94/k 1322; AKT 6a, 127a — Kt 94/k 939; AKT 6a, 164 — Kt 94/k 1744; AKT 6a, 17–18 — Kt 94/k 1028; AKT 6a, 182 — Kt 94/k 1265; AKT 6a, 188 — Kt 94/k 1382; AKT 6a, 191 — Kt 94/k 582; AKT 6a, 193 — Kt 94/k 954; AKT 6a, 199 — Kt 94/k 735; AKT 6a, 207 — Kt 94/k 1458; AKT 6a, 208 — Kt 94/k 916; AKT 6a, 208a — Kt 94/k 728; AKT 6a, 208b — Kt 94/k 1400; AKT 6a, 209 — Kt 94/k 747; AKT 6a, 211 — Kt 94/k 636; AKT 6a, 212 — Kt 94/k 644; AKT 6a, 213 — Kt 94/k 1460; AKT 6a, 214 — Kt 94/k 945; AKT 6a, 215 — Kt 94/k 1487; AKT 6a, 216 — Kt 94/k 787; AKT 6a, 217 — Kt 94/k 1375; AKT 6a, 219 — Kt 94/k 1021; AKT 6a, 220 — Kt 94/k 1297; AKT 6a,

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221 — Kt 94/k 1397; AKT 6a, 222 — Kt 94/k 1399; AKT 6a, 224 — Kt 94/k 1688; AKT 6a, 227 — Kt 94/k 770; AKT 6a, 228 — Kt 94/k 849; AKT 6a, 229 — Kt 94/k 827; AKT 6a, 230 — Kt 94/k 1396; AKT 6a, 231 — Kt 94/k 1134; AKT 6a, 232 — Kt 94/k 1117; AKT 6a, 233 — Kt 94/k 739; AKT 6a, 234-235 — Kt 94/k 863; AKT 6a, 236 — Kt 94/k 772; AKT 6a, 237 — Kt 94/k 1626-1627; AKT 6a, 238 — Kt 94/k 133; AKT 6a, 240 — Kt 94/k 1254; AKT 6a, 241 — Kt 94/k 815; AKT 6a, 242 — Kt 94/k 720; AKT 6a, 243 — Kt 94/k 1135; AKT 6a, 244 — Kt 94/k 844; AKT 6a, 247 — Kt 94/k 719; AKT 6a, 250 — Kt 94/k 748; AKT 6a, 251 — Kt 94/k 1023; AKT 6a, 255 — Kt 94/k 766; AKT 6a, 257 — Kt 94/k 1179; AKT 6a, 258 — Kt 94/k 1170; AKT 6a, 259 — Kt 94/k 1227; AKT 6a, 260 — Kt 94/k 1250; AKT 6a, 261 — Kt 94/k 1228; AKT 6a, 263 — Kt 94/k 1304; AKT 6a, 264 — Kt 94/k 1171; AKT 6a, 267 — Kt 94/k 584; AKT 6a, 268 — Kt 94/k 1162; AKT 6a, 269 — Kt 94/k 1137; AKT 6a, 270 — Kt 94/k 1241; AKT 6a, 271 — Kt 94/k 1264; AKT 6a, 272 — Kt 94/k 1614; AKT 6a, 273 — Kt 94/k 1534; AKT 6a, 275 — Kt 94/k 1007; AKT 6a, 277 — Kt 94/k 1011; AKT 6a, 278 — Kt 94/k 1324; AKT 6a, 279 — Kt 94/k 745; AKT 6a, 281 — Kt 94/k 1370; AKT 6a, 282 — Kt 94/k 1214; AKT 6a, 283 — Kt 94/k 927; AKT 6a, 284 — Kt 94/k 1192; AKT 6a, 285 — Kt 94/k 1349; AKT 6a, 286-287 — Kt 94/k 1146; AKT 6a, 288 — Kt 94/k 1606; AKT 6a, 289 — Kt 94/k 1261; AKT 6a, 290 — Kt 94/k 1168; AKT 6a, 294 — Kt 94/k 1133; AKT 6a, 295 — Kt 94/k 1217; AKT 6a, 40 — Kt 94/k 1006; AKT 6a, 41-42 — Kt 94/k 1037; AKT 6a, 43-44 — Kt 94/k 1041; AKT 6a, 45 — Kt 94/k 1276; AKT 6a, 46 — Kt 94/k 1144; AKT 6a, 47 — Kt 94/k 950; AKT 6a, 48 — Kt 94/k 1044; AKT 6a, 49-50 — Kt 94/k 1051; AKT 6a, 53 — Kt 94/k 944; AKT 6a, 54 — Kt 94/k 1043; AKT 6a, 55 — Kt 94/k 1062; AKT 6a, 56 — Kt 94/k 1015; AKT 6a, 57-58 — Kt 94/k 1052; AKT 6a, 59 — Kt 94/k 955; AKT 6a, 60 — Kt 94/k 948; AKT 6a, 61-62 — Kt 94/k 1029; AKT 6a, 63 — Kt 94/k 946; AKT 6a, 64 — Kt 94/k 951; AKT 6a, 65 — Kt 94/k 1010; AKT 6a, 66 — Kt 94/k 1048; AKT 6a, 67 — Kt 94/k 1047; AKT 6a, 70 — Kt 94/k 953; AKT 6a, 72-73 — Kt 94/k 1039; AKT 6a, 74 — Kt 94/k 1136; AKT 6a, 75 — Kt 94/k 839; AKT 6a, 76 — Kt 94/k 841; AKT 6a, 77 — Kt 94/k 576; AKT 6a, 80-81 — Kt 94/k 1027; AKT 6a, 82-83 — Kt 94/k 1046; AKT 6a, 84 — Kt 94/k 957; AKT 6a, 85 — Kt 94/k 765; AKT 6a, 86 — Kt 94/k 1671; AKT 6a, 87 — Kt 94/k 732; AKT 6a, 88 — Kt 94/k 570; AnOr 6, 22; ATHE 1; ATHE 2; ATHE 21; ATHE 24; ATHE 5; BIN 4, 103; BIN 4, 104; BIN 4, 106; BIN 4, 109; BIN 4, 110; BIN 4, 112; BIN 4, 115; BIN 4, 147; BIN 4, 153; BIN 4, 160; BIN 4, 170; BIN 4, 195; BIN 4, 196; BIN 4, 21; BIN 4, 27; BIN 4, 35; BIN 4, 96; BIN 6, 109; BIN 6, 119; BIN 6, 173; BIN 6, 178; BIN 6, 188; BIN 6, 220; BIN 6, 3; BIN 6, 38; BIN 6, 57; BIN 6, 59; BIN 6, 66; BIN 6, 8; Brussel O 3684; CCT 1, 17b; CCT 1, 2-3; CCT 1, 22a; CCT 1, 4; CCT 1, 48; CCT 1, 49b; CCT 1, 5a; CCT 1, 5b; CCT 1, 8c; CCT 1, 9b; CCT 2, 11a; CCT 2, 31a; CCT 3, 41b-42a; CCT 4, 31b; CCT 4, 40b-41a; CCT 5, 10b; CCT 5, 11d; CCT 5, 14a; CCT 5, 15c; CCT 5, 18a; CCT 5, 20d; CCT 5, 21a; CCT 5, 21c; CCT 5, 22a; CCT 5, 23a; CCT 5, 24a; CCT 5, 2b; CCT 5, 42b; CCT 5, 43; CCT 5, 8a; CCT 6, 15a; CCT 6, 17a; CCT 6, 20c; CCT 6, 44f; CCT 6, 9a; Cole 9 — OAA 1, 156; CTMMA 1, 84; CTMMA 1, 91; Dalley 6; Dalley 7; Dalley 8; ICK 4 - I 633; ICK 1, 142; ICK 1, 175; ICK 1, 182; ICK 1, 186; ICK 1, 187; ICK 1, 60; ICK 2, 124; ICK 2, 128a-b; ICK 2, 129; ICK 2, 131; ICK 2, 139; ICK 2, 148 + ICK 2, 149; ICK 2, 43; ICK 2, 45; ICK 2, 47; ICK 3 — KKS 18a+b + ICK 2, 3; ICK 3 — KKS 26a+b; ICK 3 — KKS 30a+b; ICK 4 — I 437; ICK 4 — I 443; ICK 4 — I 489; ICK 4 — I 501; ICK 4 — I 511; ICK 4 — I 580; ICK 4 — I 583; ICK 4 — I 652; ICK 4 — I 680; ICK 4 — I 684; ICK 4 — I 744; ICK 4 — I 763; JCS 14, 5; Kayseri 22; Kayseri 309 — TTAED 4, 1; Kayseri 70; Kt 92/k 328; Kt 92/k 332; Kt 92/k 336; Kt 92/k 426; Kt 92/k 543; Kt 93/k 145; Kt 99/k 13; Kt a/k 1258a-b; Kt a/k 440; Kt a/k 497a-b; Kt a/k 933a+b; Kt b/k 136; Kt c/k 1010; Kt c/k 202; Kt c/k 241; Kt c/k 246; Kt c/k 263; Kt c/k 267; Kt c/k 278; Kt c/k 282; Kt c/k 283; Kt c/k 384; Kt c/k 453; Kt c/k 581; Kt c/k 839; Kt c/k 847b; Kt c/k 90; Kt e/k 95; Kt k/k 108; Kt k/k 70; Kt n/k 1374; Kt n/k 1429; Kt n/k 1716a-b; Kt n/k 504; Kt o/k 196a-c; Kt r/k 16; KTB 11; KTB 18; KTB 3; KTB 4; KTH 16a; KTH 20; KTH 32; KTH 33; KTH 7; KTK 10; KTK 20 — Golenischeff 14; KTP 25; KTS 1, 29b; KTS 1, 49b; KTS 1, 57e; KTS 2, 1; KTS 2, 42; KUG 12; KUG 13; KUG 14; KUG 15; KUG 35; KUG 48; KUG 5; L 13\_EL 282; OIP 27, 55; OIP 27, 56; OIP 27, 57; OIP 27, 58; OIP 27, 59; OIP 27, 60; OIP 27, 62; OrNS 50, 3; OrNS 50, 4; PAOAT 7; POAT 2; POAT 7; RA 59, 36 (13); RA 60, 123; RA 60, 123 (MP 1); RA 60, 128; RA 80 — TTC 4; RA 81, 83; Sadberg — ARK 166-9474; Schmidt 2 — EL 246; SMEA 4; TC 1, 111; TC 1, 21; TC 1, 30; TC 1, 77; TC 1, 79; TC 2, 46; TC 2, 54; TC 2, 77; TC 3, 20; TC 3, 211; TC 3, 213; TC 3, 231; TC 3, 233; TC 3, 248; TC 3, 249; TC 3, 270; TC 3, 273; TC 3, 274; TC 3, 87; TC 3, 91; TC 3, 99; TMH 1, 13a; TMH 1, 13b; TMH 1, 14d-15a; TMH 1, 23a+b; TMH 1, 9b; TPAK 1, 169; TPAK 1, 186; TPAK 1, 189; TPAK 1, 190; TPAK 1, 94; VS 26, 1; VS 26, 112; VS 26, 114; VS 26, 119; VS 26, 120; VS 26, 13; VS 26, 57; VS 26, 93; WAG 48-1465.

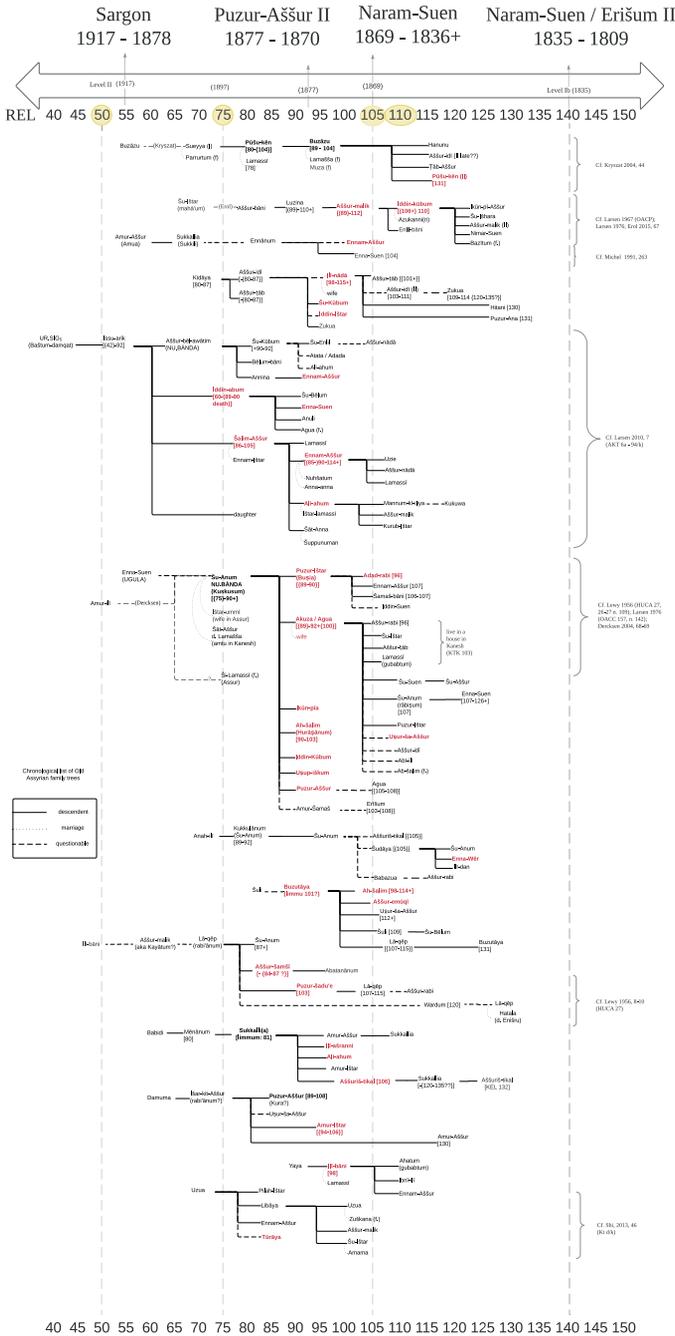


**FIGURE 4.** The Šalim-Aššur Networks

The four network visualizations above display 1,075 individuals (i.e. nodes) and their 6,891 relationships (i.e. edges). The size of the node and its color is based on the count of each relationship between each person named in the texts (some of which were merged and counted in parentheses). The top right graph layout is based on centrality (i.e. Fruchterman Reingold). The complete graph data for this visualization can be found on my GitHub using this URL: [<https://github.com/admndrsn/Gephi>]. The three radial layout network visualizations are from the same graph database (2.5), and show 1,075 nodes for each of the PNs attested in the AKT 6a, vol. 1 (Larsen 2010). The bottom two subsets (seen in Figs. 5 & 6) reflect the family members involved in the aftermath of the 1) death of their parents and siblings (left) and the Ušinalam Affair (right). The nodes are ordered alphabetically (counterclockwise) and nodes on the radial axis are ordered by degree.







**FIGURE 7.** The Assyrian families involved in the Ušinalam affair  
 Within the Šalim-Aššur archive we see a subset of the network through the reconstructed family trees. The names in red indicate those nodes explicitly involved in the Ušinalam affair (AKT 6a, 90-111 & 177). For more details see Anderson 2018 & OA Family Trees (see the following URL: <https://www.lucidchart.com/documents/view/d872b7a3-e0da-4a56-9200-550a72f2026d>).

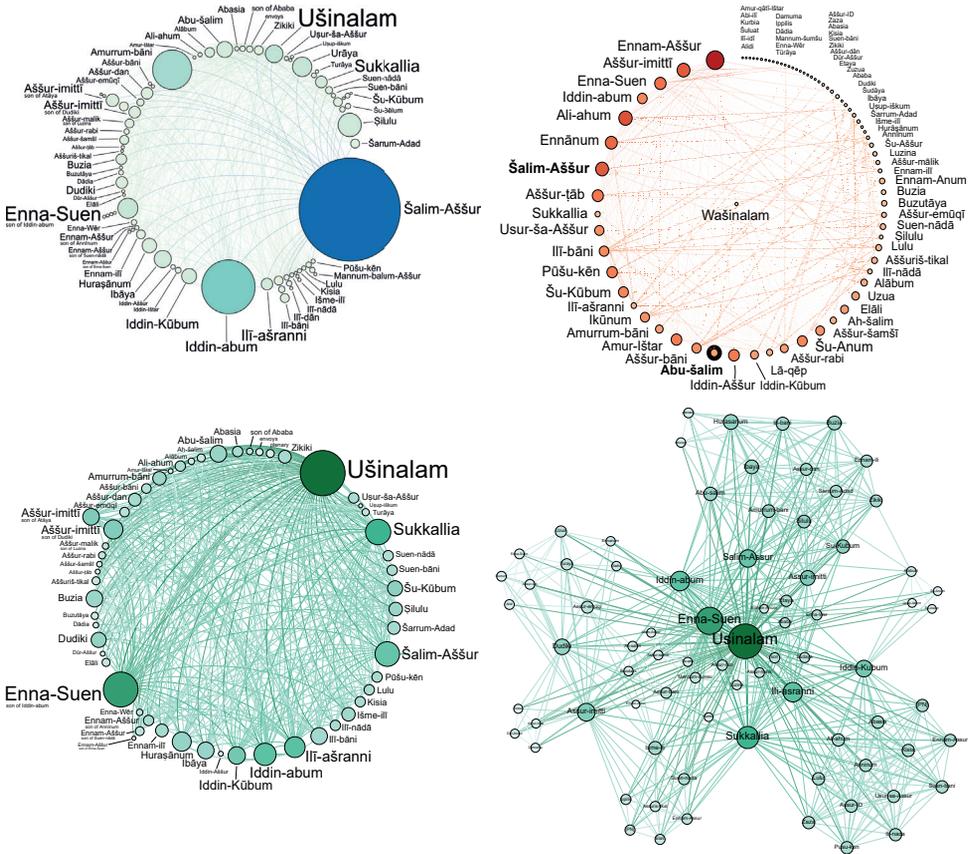


FIGURE 8. Four views of the Ušinalam affair

Within the Šalim-Aššur archive we see here different glimpses of a subset of the network, which depicts only those nodes explicitly involved in the Ušinalam affair (AKT 6a, 90–111 & 177). The first graph (a: top, left) continues with the subset shown in Fig. 6 and includes 87 nodes and 495 edges. The second graph (b: top, right) is an ego-network of Ušinalam from the unsupervised disambiguation (76 nodes, 3% of the network), arranged by centrality, with node size and color showing degree. The third graph (c: bottom, left) is the subset of nodes from the Ušinalam affair from the supervised disambiguation in the *attestation* network, displaying 57 nodes and 410 edges, and the fourth graph (d: bottom, right) is the same set of nodes in a centrality layout, with the number of attestations following the labels. Node color and size are based on eigenvector centrality, as are the labels.



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