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Studies on Women at Mari:
Politics and Religion

by

Bernard Frank Batto

A dissertation submitted to The Johns Hopkins University in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Baltimore, Maryland

1972

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Abstract

This study attempts to delineate, on the basis of published Akkadian texts from Mari, the role and status of women in the areas of politics and religion during the Old Babylonian period in the culture of the Middle Euphrates kingdom of Mari. The position of women at Mari is shown to conform to, perhaps even surpass, the high status women enjoyed elsewhere in the OB period of Mesopotamian history.

Part One deals with women in politics and examines the lives and roles of the queen, the secondary wives of the king, the harem, the kings' daughters and other important ladies. The conclusion is drawn that women can and do exercise important administrative positions. Under Zimri-Lim, at least, it was the royal policy to actively use the women of the royal family in the governing of the realm. The queen served as deputy-king in the absence of the king; the secondary wives also had administrative roles. Zimri-Lim made it a policy to give his daughters in marriage to vassal kings on the frontiers of his kingdom in an attempt to secure his borders; these daughters also played important roles in their respective vassal states.

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Part Two deals with priestesses and women in other religious functions, both public and private. Successive chapters are devoted to the ugbabtum, the nadītum, the šugītum, the qadištum, the kezertum and the various kinds of prophetesses and prophetic activity by women. Considerable information is available for certain priestesses, in particular the nadītum, as exemplified in the person of the princess Erišti-Aja, and certain of the ugbabātum. In the area of prophecy women seem to enjoy unusual prominence in divining the will of the god(s). A final chapter analyses the role of women in prayer and sacrifice.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer wishes to thank Professor Herbert B. Huffmon of Drew University, who first introduced him to the study of Akkadian and the Mari texts, for generously making available his extensive files on the personal names found in the Mari texts. Thanks are also due to Dr. Jack Sasson of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill for a number of helpful suggestions, in particular concerning the letters of Erišti-Aja (ARM X 36-43). Finally the author wishes to acknowledge the inestimable contributions of Professors J. J. M. Roberts and Jerrold S. Cooper, who have served as advisors in the writing of this dissertation, for their constant help and innumerable suggestions for improvements. The writer, however, must bear the responsibility for any errors and shortcomings in this work.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A. Text Sigla for Mari Materials*

A.15	Text published by Dossin, RA 42, 128f.
A.455	Unpublished text, tr. by Dossin, "Prophétisme," Rencontre XIV, 79-80.
A.1270	Text published by Dossin, RA 64, 99-100.
A.2925	Unpublished text, tr. by Dossin, "Prophétisme," Rencontre XIV, 78.
A.4260	Unpublished text, tr. by Dossin, ibid., 85.
A.4634	Text published by Dossin, RA 64, 43.
B 6	Text published by Finet, AIPHOS 15, 17-32.
C	Text published by Birot, RA 50, 68-72.
"Lods"	Text published by Dossin apud A. Lods, "Une tablette inédite de Mari intéressante pour l'historie ancienne du prophétism sémitique," Studies in Old Testament Prophecy Presented to Professor Theodore H. Robinson, ed. H. H. Rowley (New York, 1950), 103-10.

*Quotations from Archives royales de Mari (ARM/ARMT) are cited by volume and number, e.g. VI 23.16 = ARM vol. VI, no. 23, line 16. Note, however, that a reference such as Bottéro, ARMT VII, 263 refers to the discussion of the editor given on page 263 of the appropriate volume.

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B. Bibliographical Abbreviations

ABL	R. F. Harper, Assyrian and Babylonian Letters (Chicago, 1892-1914).
ABPh	A. Ungnad, Altbabylonische Briefe aus dem Museum zu Philadelphia (Stuttgart, 1920).
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung.
AHw	W. von Soden, ed., Akkadisches Handwörterbuch, Unter Benutzung des lexikalischen Nachlasses von Bruno Meissner (1868-1947) (Weisbaden, 1959-).
AIPHOS	Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves.
ANET	J. B. Pritchard, ed., Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament, 3rd edition (Princeton, 1969).
ARM	Archives royales de Mari (= TCL, 22-) (Paris, 1946-).
ARMT	Archives royales de Mari (Texts in transliteration and translation). (Paris, 1950-).
ArOr	Archiv Orientální.
AS	Assyriological Studies.
BagM	Baghdader Mitteilungen.
BARB	Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique. Classe des lettres, Series 5.

Bezold, Glossar = C. Bezold, Babylonisch-Assyrisches Glossar (Heidelberg, 1926).

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BiOr — Bibliotheca Orientlis

Bottéro, Histoire = J. Bottéro, "La femme dans l'Asie occidentale ancienne: Mésopotamie et Israël," in P. Grimal (ed.), Histoire mondiale de la femme. Préhistoire et antiquité (Paris, 1965), 153-247.

BWL — W. G. Lambert, Babylonian Wisdom Literature (Oxford, 1959).

CAD — A. L. Oppenheim, et al., eds., The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (Chicago, 1956-).

CAH — Cambridge Ancient History, 3rd edition (Cambridge, 1970-).

CH — Codex Hammurapi.

"Cloister" — R. Harris, "The Organization and Administration of the Cloister in Ancient Babylonia," JESHO 6, 121-57.

CRAIB — Comptes rendus... Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.

CT — Cuneiform texts from Babylonian tablets (, etc.,) in the British Museum.

Dossin, "Prophétisme" = G. Dossin, "Sur le prophétisme à Mari," Rencontre XIV, 77-86.

Ellermeier, Prophetie = F. Ellermeier, Prophetie in Mari und Israel (Herzberg, 1968).

GAG — W. von Soden, Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik (Roma, 1952).

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Huffmon, APNM = H. B. Huffmon, Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts: A Structural and Lexical Study (Baltimore, 1965).

HUCA Hebrew Union College Annual.

Finet, L'Accadien = A. Finet, L'Accadien des Lettres de Mari (Bruxelles, 1956).

Fish, Letters = T. Fish, Letters of the First Babylonian Dynasty (Manchester, 1936).

JBL Journal of Biblical Literature.

JCS Journal of Cuneiform Studies.

JESHO Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient.

JNES Journal of Near Eastern Studies.

KAR E. Ebeling, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts, Band I (= WVDOG 28, Leipzig, 1919).

Kupper, "Baḫdi-Lim" = J.-R. Kupper, "Baḫdi-Lim, préfet du palais de Mari," BARB XL, 572-87.

MAM A. Parrot, et al., Mission archéologique de Mari (Paris, 1956-).

MSL B. Landsberger, et al., Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon (Roma, 1937-).

"Nadītu" R. Harris, "The nadītu-Woman," in Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim (Chicago, 1964), 106-247.

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Or	Orientalia.
PBS	Publications of the Babylonian Section, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.
PICO	Proceedings of the . . . International Congress of Orientalists.
RA	Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale.
RB	Revue biblique.
Rencontre	Compte rendu de la . . . Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale.

Renger, Priestertum = J. Renger, "Untersuchungen zum Priestertum in der altbabylonischen Zeit," I = ZA N.F. 24, 110-88; II = ZA N.F. 25, 104-230.

RHA	Revue Hittite et Asianique.
RLA	E. Ebeling and B. Meissner, eds., Reallexikon der Assyriologie (und vorderasiatischen Archäologie) (Berlin/Leipzig, 1932-).

Römer, Frauenbriefe = W. H. Ph. Römer, Frauenbriefe über Religion, Politik und Privatleben in Mari: Untersuchungen zu G. Dossin, Archives Royales de Mari X (Paris 1967) (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1971).

SM	A. Parrot, ed., Studia Mariana (Documenta et Monumenta orientis antiqui, IV, Leiden, 1950).
SRT	E. Chiera, Sumerian Religious Texts (Upland, Pa., 1924).

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TC	Tablettes Cappadociennes (1 = TCL 4; 2 = TCL 14; 3 = TCL 19-21).
TCL	Musée de Louvre, Département des Antiquités Orientales, Textes cunéiformes.
UCP	University of California Publications in Semitic Philology.
UET	Ur Excavations, Texts (London, 1928-).
UF	Ugarit-Forschungen.
VAB	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek.
VAS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin.
VT	Vetus Testamentum.
VTS	Vetus Testamentum, Supplements.
YOS	Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts.
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete / Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie.

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Introduction

Interest in the history of woman has never been greater than it is today. Nevertheless it is more by accident than by design that these studies on women at Mari appear at this time. The recent publication of the feminine correspondence from Mari[1] has provided important new materials for an investigation of the role and status of women in the Old Babylonian period. Moderns will perhaps conclude that the women of Mari were subjugated to the male elements of that society according to the familiar and ubiquitous pattern. However viewed from the standpoint of ancient Mesopotamian society, the woman of Mari, like her counterpart in Babylonia, was already much "liberated."

The study of women's role in Mesopotamia has been slighted in the past. The field is not completely baren, of course. Especially noteworthy are the legal studies by A. van Praag[2] and P. Koschaker,[3] the valuable studies on specific classes of women by Landsberger,[4] and Rivkah Harris' prolific writings on the nadītu-woman.[5] Bottéro has recently contributed a good, though brief and popular essay on the woman in ancient Mesopotamia.[6] Never-

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theless, a careful, in-depth study of women in ancient Mesopotamia--as for most other social institutions of that culture--has yet to be written. The present studies are intended to provide additional building blocks to the materials which must be assembled before such a study can be done. The scope of this study is, of course, very narrow, being restricted to the Middle Euphrates kingdom of Mari in the Old Babylonian period, as evidenced by the epigraphic remains preserved from that site. Furthermore, only the role of women in the areas of politics and religion, taking the terms in their widest sense, have been included. (The author hopes, at a future date, to expand his investigation to include other aspects of women's role at Mari.) The two areas selected for study are, relatively speaking, well documented at Mari. This must not be construed to mean that we possess evidence for the political and religious activities of woman from all levels of Mari society. As might be expected of tablets found for the most part in the royal archives, the majority of these documents deal with persons from the upper echelons of the society and it is primarily with the grand ladies of Mari that we must reckon. Because the texts represent the views of the "aristocracy," the evidence for the lower classes will be one-sided and distorted. Within these limitations, the role and status of women in the areas of politics and religion can be defined with some degree of accuracy.

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The Mari documents of the OB period fall within a very brief span of time. With but a few exceptions they come from the reigns of the Assyrian sub-king Jasmaḫ-Addu (1790-1779 B.C.) and the local dynast, Zimri-Lim (1779/8-ca. 1745 B.C.)[7] The homogeneity of these texts[8] offers a rare opportunity to reconstruct an accurate picture of the position of woman within that society. Mosaics constructed out of information collected from widely differing locales and times may yield neat and detailed scenes, but their accuracy is necessarily distorted by the juxtaposition of such disparate elements. However, when one limits himself to evidence drawn from a single period and restricted locale, he often pays for this accuracy by a loss of detail. Some areas can be sketched but vaguely because of the paucity of evidence, while other areas must be left completely blank. On the other hand, certain aspects may be overdrawn due to the one-sided character of the preserved materials.

Moreover, much of our source material is in the form of letters. Letters are almost always difficult to understand and interpret. Besides the normal philological problems and the cultural gap involved in any translation, the task of translating letters is compounded by not knowing the circumstances which gave birth to the correspondence. Thus the researcher must see beyond the lines in his attempt to reconstruct the background and the situation

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which governed the relationship between the ancient writer and his correspondent.[9] Occasionally we are fortunate enough to have more than one letter dealing with a single incident. In such cases the chances of correctly interpreting the letter are significantly increased.

Another hazard confronting the modern interpretor is confusion of an individual with an institution. Letters more often than not reflect the personality and the particular situation of the writer. Without additional evidence it is often difficult to decide whether they also are witness to a universal situation or institution within the culture.

Fully conscious of these and other pitfalls, the author has preferred to sin on the side of conservatism. He has refrained in the main from drawing in extraneous materials in his reconstructions. Likewise, he has declined to speculate on what is not given in the texts, preferring to stress what can be stated positively. This standard has not been a rigid rule, however. The reader will readily observe cases where it has been set aside in favor of a tempting hypothesis. The author believes that by these methods he has presented an accurate, if somewhat circumscribed, picture of women in the areas of politics and religion.

It has already been observed that the position of women in the OB period was far superior to that of the

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succeeding periods.[10] Boyer[11] and Klima[12] have shown that the legal position of the woman at Mari was not inferior to that of her sister in Babylonia. She possessed equal powers with men before the law in such transactions as adoption, loans and deposits. In addition she could contract in her own name and serve as a witness to a contract. She could sue in court or share in an apportionment of goods. She might receive an extensive education and serve as a scribe. She also possessed the power to seal legal and official documents. The following studies will show that this high status of woman at Mari was not confined to the legal realm but extended into other areas as well.

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Notes:

[1]Dossin, Archives royales de Mari, X: La correspondance féminine. Paris, 1967.

[2]Droit matrimonial assyro-babylonien. Amsterdam, 1945.

[3]Koschaker's writings on women are scattered throughout his works, a list of which may be found in the Symbolae P. Koschaker, Studia et Documenta ad Jura Orientis Antiqui Pertinentia, Vol. II, 243f.

[4]"Zu den Frauenklassen des Kodex Hammurabi," ZA 30 (1915-16), 67-73; "Studien zu den Urkunden aus der Zeit des Ninurta-tukul-Aššur," AfO 10 (1935), 140-159, esp. 144-49; "Akkadisch-hebräische Wortgleichungen," VTS 16 (1967), 176-204.

[5]See below, Chapter 5, n. 1.

[6]La femme dans l'Asie occidentale ancienne: Mésopotamie et Israël in P. Grimal (ed.), Histoire mondiale de la femme. Préhistoire et antiquité. Paris, 1965. Vol. I, 145-247.

[7]Here I follow H. Lewy, "The Chronology of the Mari Texts," Rencontre XV, 13-28.

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[8]See Huffmon, APNM, 8-9.

[9]See the essay of A. L. Oppenheim on the difficulties of translating letters, in Letters from Mesopotamia, especially pp. 54-67.

[10]R. Harris, JESHO 9 (1966), 308-309.

[11]ARM VIII, 220-21.

[12]"La vie sociale et économique à Mari," Rencontre XV, 45.

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Part I

Women in Politics

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Chapter 1

The Queen and the Royal Harem

The Queen

Throughout the long history of Mesopotamia, women have exercised power and influence at the highest political level. According to tradition, in the third millennium the bar-maid Ku-Baba was the ruler of Kish,[1] but she is the only ruling queen known to us. On the other hand, several women appear to have wielded considerable influence on the political affairs of their day without holding the title of ruling queen. The reigns of the last two rulers of Lagash in the Early Dynastic Period were notable for the seeming ascendancy of their wives over the polity; the economic records reveal the prominence of Lugalanda's wife Baranamtara and Urukagina's wife Shag-shag, although their prominence may be due in part to the origin of the records, which come from the temples where these women were the chief priestesses.[2] Many centuries later, the Neo-Assyrian qeen-mothers Sammuramat and Naqi'a also exercised considerable initiative in the politics of their time.[3] Despite these notable exceptions, little is re-

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corded about the majority of Mesopotamian queens. Consequently, the institution of queenship and the queen's role in Mesopotamian society can barely be sketched even in the broadest of outlines.[4] Until now documentation for the queenship in the Old Babylonian period had been noticeably lacking. This lacuna can now be partially filled, at least for northern Mesopotamia, with the publication of the feminine correspondence from Mari, and the picture that emerges is surprising both in the wealth of detail that it provides and in the powerful role of the queen that it reveals. As the following discussion will demonstrate, Shibtu, Zimri-Lim's queen, possessed broad authority, and in the absence of the king even assumed many of the powers of the king both in domestic and in state affairs.[5]

The identity of Shibtu, as the principal wife of Zimri-Lim, has long since been established,[6] thanks to a very important fragment now published as X 119, which describes the inscription of Shibtu's seal: "Shibtu, the daughter of Jarim-Lim, the wife of Zimri-Lim." Shibtu is thus the daughter of the powerful king of Jamḫad, Jarim-Lim. When his father Jaḫdun-Lim was killed in a palace revolution and the Assyrians subsequently annexed Mari, Zimri-Lim sought refuge in Aleppo. It was probably during his stay in Aleppo that Zimri-Lim married Jarim-Lim's daughter Shibtu, who returned with him to Mari

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when Zimri-Lim regained his throne with the help of his father-in-law. Shibtu is nowhere explicitly named as the queen, but both her parentage and her correspondence leaves no doubt that she was the queen. Note especially that the letters from Zimri-Lim addressed to Shibtu by name describe her great authority in a manner similar to that found in those letters addressed to or sent by the queen, i.e., bēltum/bēltija (X 29; 43; 152-55; 157-64)[7] which are thus also to be ascribed to Shibtu.

After her arrival in Mari, Shibtu maintained contact with her family back in Aleppo. From one letter (X 151) it appears that Shibtu still had enough influence with her father back in Aleppo that she was able to prevail upon him to look after the interests of one Ḫatni-Addu, apparently one of her favorites.[8] In another instance Shibtu is singled out to receive a portion of the gifts sent to Zimri-Lim by his mother-in-law from Aleppo.[9] Sometime thereafter Hammurapi succeeded his father Jarim-Lim as the sovereign of Aleppo. At one point in particular relations became strained when Shibtu was slandered before her brother. However, after Dadi-Ḫadun ameliorated this particular situation,[10] relations between herself and her family must have continued on a harmonious level, as did the official state diplomacy between Mari and Jamḫad.[11]

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Many other aspects of Shibtu's life are illuminated by the letters. Foremost among these is the joyful announcement of the queen that she had given birth to twins, a boy and a girl (X 26).[12] On several occasions Shibtu sent gifts of clothing to her husband away on a campaign (II 116; X 18; 19). These clothes were perhaps made by the queen's own hand, since on one occasion she explicitly states that she hoped he would proudly wear the garments "which I have made" (X 17.9-13).[13] Like the ideal wife of Proverbs (31: 10-31),[14] Shibtu was all the more dear to her husband because of her industriousness. It is not always clear when the items sent to the king were of the nature of a personal gift. Presumably some of these shipments were part of the rations which Zimri-Lim was to receive as part of regular campaign supplies.[15]

Only occasionally in these state letters is Shibtu's personal affection for her husband revealed, but these rare glimpses attest to her devotion toward Zimri-Lim. Since Zimri-Lim of necessity had to be away from Mari on campaigns much of his reign, recapturing and securing his realm in this era of intrigue and shifting political alliances, one of Shibtu's perennial concerns was for the safety of her husband. To this end she often had omens taken, (X 11, et passim). Once, in fact, Zimri-Lim became impatient with her because her divination was directed towards finding out if perchance the weapons would be per-

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sonally dangerous to her husband, rather than finding out if success would be had in capturing the beseiged city! (X 120).[16] Particularly moving are the following words written by the queen:

ù ša-ni-tam ki-ma 1-šu 2-šu ṭup-p[í]
be-lí-ia la-a' eš-m[u-ú-ma li-ib-]bi
[i]h-hi-id i-na-an-n[a ṭu]p-pí
be-lí-ia eš-mu-ú li-i[b-bi]
[ma-d]i-iš ih-du ù a-na [ma]-ma-an
[a-na-a]ṭ-ṭà-al ú-ul a-na a[t-t]a-a-ma
[a-na-a]ṭ-ṭà-al
[at-t]a-a-ma a-bu-um ù AM.MA
a-ia-ši-im

Another thing. Because twice now I had not heard any news of my lord I was fearful. Now (finally) I have heard the letter from my lord and I am greatly relieved. For to whom (else) can I look; do I not look to you alone? You are both father and mother[17] to me! (X 5.33-41).

Zimri-Lim, knowing his queen's tendency to anxiety, frequently assured her that he (and the army) were safe and well:

as-su-ur-ri mi-im-ma ṭe$_4$-ma-am
te-še-em-me-'e'-ma li-ib-ba-ki
i-na-ah-hi-id mi-im-[m]a LÚ.KÚR a-na GIŠ.TUKUL
a-na pa-ni-ia ú-ul ip-ti-na-am

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[Šu-ul]-mu-um mi-im-ma li-ib-ba-ki

[la i-na]-ah-hi-id

Perhaps you have heard some rumor and your heart is disturbed--no armed enemy has ever withstood me! All is well. There is no need to be concerned. (X 123.4-9).[18]

Shibtu naturally looked forward to the day when Zimri-Lim would complete the rout of his enemies and return triumphantly to Mari:

5) be-lí na-ak-ri-šu

li-ik-šu-dam-ma

[i-n]a [Šla-lim-tim ù ḫu-ud li-ib-bi-im

[be-lí i-n]a ma-ri^{ki} li-ru-ba-am

May my lord conquer his enemies. And may my lord enter Mari in safety and happiness (X 17.5-8).

But most of Shibtu's correspondence reveals little about her personality. This impersonal character of her letters can be explained by the official nature of the correspondence that has been preserved.

What Shibtu's letters lack in detail concerning her personal life[19] is more than adequately compensated for by the wealth of detail concerning her duties as queen. It will be shown below that Shibtu possessed broad powers both in domestic and state affairs. It is the thesis of this writer that Shibtu was second in authority only to

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Zimri-Lim and that in his absence she acted as his personal deputy (vice-king) at Mari. This great authority is demonstrated both in her correspondence with Zimri-Lim and with the various high officials of the realm.

For the reader of her letters, the first inkling of Shibtu's authority comes in the opening sentences to the king. They frequently begin with a report that various places, the palace, the temples, the workshops and the city, are functioning well. Judged by this criterion, Shibtu seems to have been primarily responsible for the direction of the palace, as that is the most frequent subject of report: ekallum šalim "The palace is fine" (II 116; X 6; etc.). But other letters show that her responsibility extended to other areas as well, in particular, the temples, the workshops and even the whole city of Mari: ekallum šalim bītāt ilāni u neparātum šalmu "The palace is fine; the temples and workshops are fine" (X 11.4-6; cf. 10.3-4), alum Mari^{ki} ša[lim] "The city of Mari is fine" (X 23.5; cf. 22.5). These are the reports of an official charged with responsibility for the areas on which he reports.[20] (See Figure 1).

There was some overlapping of authority, of course, as these same areas are also the responsibility of other officials. Baḫdi-Lim, the prefect of Mari,[21] his successor, Itur-Asdu,[22] and Jasim-Sumu, the šadubba,[23] are

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Figure 1

Reports from Officials on their Areas of Responsibility
(X Šalim)

Title	PN	Provincial City	District	Palace	Temples	Workshops	Palace Personnel	"Girls"	Other
Queen	Shibtu[a]	Mari		X	X	X			
Governor	Baḫdi-Lim[b]	Mari	X	X					
	Itur-Asdu[c]	Mari		X					
	Kibri-Dagan[d]	Terqa	X		(X)[e]				
	Zakira-Ḫammu[f]	Qattunan	X						
	Meptum[g]		X						
Šadubba	Jasim-Sumu[h]	Mari		X	X	X			
?	Ibal-El[i]								nawûm u DUMU šim'al ṣabum
Commander(?)	Ibal-pi-El[j]								
King's wife	Dam-ḫuraṣi[k]						X	X	
?	Addu-duri[l]	Mari		X	X				

[a] See p. 15.

[b] VI 15; 18, et passim.

[c] RA 42, 69; cf. Dossin, RA 42, 125-6

[d] III 12; 13; 17, et passim.

[e] ^{d}da-gan ù ^{d}ik-ru-ub-AN ša-al-mu, = the patron deities of Terqa.

[f] II 79-82.

[g] RA 64, 104; X 155; see below, p. 22.

[h] XIII 26; 34; 40.

[i] II 33; cf. 37.

[j] II 20; et passim.

[k] See below, p. 31.

[l] See below, "Addu-duri," p. 88.

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likewise concerned with the well-being of Mari, the temples, the workshops and the palace. The lady Addu-duri[24] and Dam-ḫuraṣi, the secondary wife of Zimri-Lim[25] also file similar reports for their respective areas of responsibility. Sometimes it is easy to distinquish between the areas of competency of these various officials, as in the case of Dam-ḫuraṣi.[26] At other times such a distinction is elusive; the boundaries between the authority of various officials was not always clearly delineated.[27] However, other concideration help to focus the picture somewhat more sharply.

Shibtu's authority does not seem to have been limited to any one area. Zimri-Lim often sends instruction to her to carry out--or to have some subordinate carry out--a specific task. Thus the king instructs Shibtu to summon Ṣidqi-epuḫ, a high-ranking official,[28] and demand of him the bitter garlic that was due from him. Shibtu was directed to personally see to this matter, and to supervise the drying and storing of the garlic (X 16 and 136). In another series of letters (X 131-33) the king sends Shibtu instructions concerning the disposition of certain wines, including some for his own use. In this case Shibtu directs the operations of one Ṣidqi-maṣi, apparently the cellar-master. Thereupon the queen is to hand over certain of the wine to Baḫdi-Lim, the prefect of Mari. These perhaps trivial tasks may conceivably fall within

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the area of domestic responsibilities. Of more consequence is the authority of Shibtu in the dispute between Ḫaja-Sumu and Kiru. The king gives Shibtu instructions to have Kiru returned to her husband Ḫaja-Sumu (X 135).[29] This last example might have been taken as a purely familial matter, did it not involve inter-state politics which transcend mere matrimonial bonds and familial concerns.

At times Shibtu is clearly the supervisor of lesser administrators and officials. For example, Dam-ḫuraṣi, a secondary wife of Zimri-Lim, was the director of the king's harem.[30] But when a crisis developed as the result of illness within the harem, it was to Shibtu that the king wrote, outlining the emergency measures to be taken.[31] Shibtu's supervisory role over the harem is likewise revealed on another occasion. Zimri-Lim, away on a campaign, wrote that he was sending a number of female captives, whom Shibtu was to assign to the textile factories, except for thirty or so of the more beautiful ones who were to be singled out for the king's harem (X 126).[32] Although this order was later countermanded, the king continued to rely on the queen to carry out his wishes. (X 125).[33]

From this last incident it is also evident that the queen's authority extended over Mukannišum and Warad-ilišu. Warad-ilišu was charged with preparing the women who were

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to enter the king's harem (X 126.16-21). From elsewhere we know that Mukannišum was one of the controllers (X 12.15), a very important group of administrative officials.[34] Warad-ilišu probably belonged to this group also.

The controllers figure prominently in another letter in which the queen's superior authority is likewise apparent (X 12). Jaṣṣur-Addu, an official otherwise unknown, has been sent by the king to show the controllers where certain documents were stored so that they might examine them. But the queen is given the charge to see that the matter is properly conducted. Although the archives has its own superintendent, Etel-pi-Šarrim, it is the queen who supervises the investigation and then reseals the door of the archives with her own seal. The queen is in this case more than another supervisor; she is the king's personal deputy in a matter of some importance.[35]

Shibtu's responsibility is seen as overlapping with that of the Šadubba Jasim-Sumu in X 25. In this letter the queen reports the success of one of the king's pet projects, the recently constructed reservoir(?): "On the 24th day (of this month) it rained heavily in Mari. In the middle of the reservoir(?), which my lord built, the water stood 1 'rod' deep."[36] This project was of great personal interest to Zimri-Lim, as evidenced by the attention paid it by Jasim-Sumu (XIII 27-28; 48.4).[37]

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The project was seemingly under the immediate supervision of Jasim-Sumu, but was also included in the broad responsibilities of the queen.

All authority rested ultimately in the king. As did other top officials, the queen normally consulted the king for advice in a given case. Thus Shibtu wrote asking what was to be done in the disposition of the estate of one Bunuma-Addu; the king's decision in the case is contained in X 134.[38]

On the other hand, the queen was invested with authority which she might exercise in her own right. This authority was recognized by other top officials, who seek from her powers which one normally sought from the king. In X 160[39] Shubnalu requests the queen to rescind the order of a provincial governor (šāpitum)[40] and to order the release of a certain woman being held as a pledge. The power to rescind the order of a šāpitum was a royal prerogative--a power which neither Shubnalu nor Ṣidqu-epuḫ possessed. Both of these men were royal officials. Shubnalu was one of the controllers (X 12.16, cf. 13) and Ṣidqi-epuḫ was perhaps of somewhat higher rank.[41] On another occasion Itur-Asdu, in a very broken tablet which is otherwise largely illegible, also requests permission of the queen to expel a certain slave from his house (X 154.5-7). Although the details of the incident are lost to us, it is evident that Itur-Asdu lacked the

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authority which he sought from the queen. Whether he was still the governor of Nahur at the time of this letter, or already the prefect in Mari, is unclear.[42] In either case, the queen is seen to have authority which even a provincial governor does not have. Furthermore, in these instances the queen seemingly acts on her own initiative, without consulting even the king--a course of action a governor would not normally risk.[43] To all appearances, she is acting in place of the king, as his deputy in his absence.

This last incident involving Itur-Asdu may be evidence that Shibtu's area of competency was not confined to the palace, the city of Mari, and its immediate environs. Other letters clearly show that her authority extended beyond the territorial limits of Mari itself. In X 153 Kibri-Dagan, the governor of Terqa, writes to the queen, "his mistress," that he will personally see to the case of a certain woman named Partum[44] about whom the queen had written. Another of the queen's directives involving Terqa is contained in X 27, a letter to Dariš-libur. The queen writes that her instructions had previously been disregarded; so now she commands Dariš-libur: "Now then, write that they are to give me the KU.BUR.KAL which is under the (control of that) valet."[45]

Letters from other provincial areas likewise point to the queen's power outside of Mari. Hali-Hadun, who

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may have been a governor in the Balih region,[46] directs a letter to the queen (X 157). Ḫali-Ḫadun is well aware of the king's presence in nearby (to him) Aššlakka, for the king himself had sent Ḫali-Ḫadun on his present mission (line 8f.). Nevertheless Ḫali-Ḫadun sends this progress report of his achievements to the queen. Furthermore, he is even worried that she might think him to be less than industrious in his present assignment. It would appear that not only the king but also the queen had to be kept informed of the political developments in the realm. Apparently her opinion was also of considerable importance for advancement in a political career. In a similar manner, Meptum, who seems to be the governor of a district not far from Ešnunna,[47] sends a report of his deployment of troops as well as an intelligence report about the movements of the enemy and their strength (X 155). The end of the letter is illegible; perhaps it would allow us to pinpoint more precisely Shibtu's role in this matter. Nevertheless it is worth noting that Meptum reports on the safety of his district to the queen (line 3), just as he does to the king (RA 64, 104.28). Again, Itur-Asdu as the governor of Naḫur (X 152)[48] and Buqaqum, another provincial governor (X 158),[49] send what also seem to be political reports; the tablets are badly broken, however, so that no firm conclusions can be drawn. It seems likely that all these reports were sent to the queen because, as in the

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case of Ḫali-Ḫadun, the king was known to be absent from Mari.[50]

Somewhat ambiguous is a letter sent to the queen by one Ili-eliš, a man otherwise unattested at Mari. Ili-eliš is obliged to account for his tardiness: "Although they have been paid for in full, the boats have not yet arrived. For this reason I am late. May my lady not be upset."[51] The background of this letter is obscure, but it may be that Ili-eliš was engaged in a royal enterprise and thus owed a report of his mission to the palace, which at this point was being administered by the queen in the king's absence.

The king himself, apparently in recognition of the quasi-independent authority that the queen must sometimes exercise in his absence, kept Shibtu posted on political developments (X 121.5-17; 122; 132), and on the opposite side, the queen was charged with keeping the king informed of political news that came to her attention (X 5).

When a delineation between the powers invested in the queen and those in the prefect of the palace--or better, governor of Mari--is sought, the answer is somewhat elusive, for these two are often seen performing much the same duties. Both can and do exercise authority, not only in the city, but even in the provinces. However, certain differences are observable. For example, in the supervision of personnel, the queen is primarily concerned

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with the female personnel of the palace. On the other hand, Baḫdi-Lim is almost exclusively engaged in the deployment of male personnel, the troops, work crews, harvesters, messengers and the like. But even more characteristic, the normal administration of the district of Mari seems to have been the responsibility of the prefect.[52] The queen's role in the administration appears to cover a broader range of activities, cutting across the boundaries of various offices. As has been stated above, the queen enjoyed a certain amount of independence and personal initiative in her own right. But more commonly she seems to have been used by the king as a kind of personal representative who carries out his wishes in extraordinary circumstances. As Birot has pointed out,[53] it is impossible to draw rigid lines between the various offices. Zimri-Lim retained all authority firmly in his own hand and he delegated that authority as he willed. Unlike other officials, the queen's authority was not confined to a specific function. The king relied on her as his principal deputy or personal representative and, consequently, she is observed acting on behalf of the king in many disparate areas.

Shibtu was often engaged in cultic affairs. The regulation of official cultic affairs was part of the king's duty. However the king frequently entrusted the performance of this duty to the officials in charge of

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the various regions. Thus Kibri-Dagan, governor of Terqa, wrote that he had carried out the instructions which the king had given concerning the offering of sacrifices to Adad (III 45.15-21). In Mari itself Baḫdi-Lim, prefect of the palace, reports to the king that (in the name of the king) he has ordered the sacrifice to Diritum (VI 74). Likewise Jasim-Sumu, the Šadubba,[54] pressed the king to announce the official calendar(?) so that he might establish the date of the sacrifice for Diritum (XIII 29.11-14). It is in an analogous role that Shibtu is observed supervising and administering the cult. Thus on one occasion Zimri-Lim calls upon her to escort the statue of Ḫišametum back to the city Ḫišamta and there offer sacrifice to the goddess:

aš-šum ^{d}ḫi-ša-me-]tim
5) ša ḫ[i-ša-a]m-ta^{ki}
šu-lu-ki-im
^{m}ki-ib-ri-^{d}da-gan
iš-pu-ra-am
[i-]na-an-na a-na ḫi-ša-am-ta
10) [a]l-ki-ma ^{d}ḫi-ša-me!-tam šu-li-ki
ù SISKUR.SISKUR.RE ša-a-tu
i-af-i

Concerning the bringing of Ḫišametum of Ḫišamta Kibri-Dagan has written me. Now then, go to Ḫišamta

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> and take Hišametum (to there), and offer that sacrifice (X 128).[55]

Shibtu is here performing a task very similar to that performed by the governor Kibri-Dagan in Terqa in honor of the gods Lagamal and Ikšudum (XIII 111). Shibtu's active participation in the official cult is also observable in a letter of hers to Zimri-Lim asking whether he would arrive at Mari in time for the sacrifice in honor of Ištar; Zimri-Lim replied in the affirmative (X 120.17-20). The implication appears to have been that if the king would not arrive in time, then Shibtu, as the king's standing representative, would herself see to the performance of the sacrifice.[56] However, in another text where Shibtu's close association with cultic matters is confirmed, her authority is inexplicably limited, for she has to write the king that he order some official(s) to give her the sheep that she lacks so that she may offer the customary sacrifice.[57] The intricacies of the bureaucracy at Mari are not always apparent. It may be that in this last case the king had previously issued an explicit order which only he was empowered to countermand.[58]

It is likewise in her role as an administrator that Shibtu relays to the king the various oracular happenings in Mari (X 6-10). That she acted as an officer of the crown in these matters is shown by her action in

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requiring the symbols of authenticity, the hem and the lock of hair, from the assinnum (X 7.23-27). Also it is clear that the temple administrator recognized her as a proper authority by bringing her the hem and the lock of an ecstatic woman (X 8.19-28). It was also because of her responsibility as the king's delegate that she sought out the god's will concerning the king's campaigns (X 6.10′-16′; 4.6) and had omens for the safety of the king taken (X 11.8-11; X 120).[59] These same actions were also performed by some of the king's other representatives. To some extent Shibtu's role is paralleled, albeit in a lesser capacity, by that of Zimri-Lim's secondary wife Inibšina[60] and especially by the powerful woman administrator Addu-duri.[61] Also, the controller Mukannišum had just completed offering sacrifice in the name of the king when he witnessed an oracular event which he reported to the king (XIII 23). However, it is the provincial governors who provide perhaps the closest parallel. Baḫdi-Lim as governor of Mari commissioned the taking of omens for the safety of the troops and the king (VI 75; cf. 67.7) and accepts in the name of the king the legal symbols of the hem and the lock of a female ecstatic from the temple administrator Aḫum (VI 45). Itur-Asdu, also as governor of Mari,[62] both communicated an oracular message to the king and acknowledged that normally he would have required the legal symbols of the prophet in a case such as this

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(A.15.50-53). Likewise, the governor of Terqa Kibri-Dagan proceeded similarly in matters involving prophets (XIII 112-114) and also commissioned the taking of omens (III 30.10, 23f.; 41.13-16; 42.10-11; 63.8-9; 84.6, 24).

It may be concluded, then, that in all these matters dealing with the cult--the overseeing and even offering of sacrifice, the commissioning of omen-taking, the supervision of oracular events--Shibtu was acting in her official capacity as a deputy of the king. She can and does perform all the actions the lesser officers do; thus she seemingly possesses in her own person all the powers these lesser officers possess individually.

Under Zimri-Lim the queen did indeed play a very important role in the administration of the realm. Her activities extended over many and varying areas. She was often tapped by the king to get some specific task accomplished. But also she was delegated broad powers. Sometimes these appear to be powers reserved to the king, as for example, the power to rescind the decision of a provincial governor. It is the exercise of these powers which leads us to conclude that the queen under Zimri-Lim was invested with a quasi-independent authority. It is not going too far to say that in Zimri-Lim's absence from the capital city the queen acted as his vice-king.

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By way of contrast with the major role that Shibtu played in the administration during the reign of Zimri-Lim, her Assyrian counterpart under Jasmaḫ-Addu played virtually no part in the administration of the realm. As in the case of Zimri-Lim, Jasmaḫ-Addu was party to a political marriage negotiated by his father Šamši-Adad and the king of Qatna, Išḫi-Addu.[63] Since the name of Jasmaḫ-Addu's queen remains unknown, it is possible that her correspondence has gone unrecognized.[64] Even so, her correspondence would have to be minimal in an otherwise well-documented period, a fact which testifies to the insignificant role Jasmaḫ-Addu's queen played in state affairs. Perhaps this notable difference between Shibtu and the Assyrian queen is to be explained by differing circumstances. Zimri-Lim was a powerful, independent sovereign who was forced to spend much time away from his capital city on campaigns subduing rebellious vassals and expanding his frontiers. Jasmaḫ-Addu, on the other hand, was but a provincial vassal king of his father Šamši-Adad and apparently spent very little time away from Mari,[65] and made few decisions independently of his father and later his brother Išme-Dagan. In such circumstances Jasmaḫ-Addu's queen would have had little opportunity to exercise authority in the absence of her husband, even if she possessed that authority.

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Secondary Wives

Some years ago Bottéro had speculated that Zimri-Lim had, in addition to his principal wife Shibtu, at least three inferior wives: Dam-ḫuraṣi, Inibšina and Belassunu.[66] Bottéro's thesis is now partially confirmed. Dam-ḫuraṣi was a wife (aššatum) of Zimri-Lim, as witnessed by her own correspondence to Zimri-Lim: a-na-ku SAL.DAM-ka Ša-al-ma-ku "I, your wife, am well" (X 68.8-9). There is no such explicit proof for the other women being Zimri-Lim's wives. Nevertheless, such a conclusion seems inevitable. Inibšina and Belassunu are invariably listed along with Dam-ḫuraṣi in the ration lists, once following the name of Shibtu (VII 206.6'-9') and another time following a list of princesses (C i.18-21). In the latter list Dam-ḫuraṣi, along with one Jatar-Aja, receives double the ration of Inibšina and Belassunu. This suggests that Jatar-Aja was also one of the wives of Zimri-Lim, although we are unable to account for the reason why she is absent from the other list. Apparently Dam-ḫuraṣi's pre-eminence among Zimri-Lim's secondary wives is confirmed not only by her position at the head of the lists, but also by her relatively abundant correspondence (X 62-72). These letters reveal her to be both endeared to the king and an important lady connected with palace affairs. Despite the fact that much of her correspondence is polite formulae of well-wishing, prayers for the king's

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victory over his enemies, request for news and the like, its very frequency reveals that genuine affection and real concern for the king's safety is involved. In addition, these letters are the quasi-official reports of a woman charged with the supervision of the palace personnel and especially the lesser members of the harem. This is the import of the constant refrain: "The palace personnel are well, the girls are well."[67] Thus Bottéro's interpretation of this woman's role in VII 206.10[68] as the supervisor of certain lesser women of the palace is fully justified. Dam-ḫuraṣi is seen exercising this authority also in X 72.14-15: ^{f}A.ZU ra-gá-tam ša-ti a-na-ku e-le-qí-ši "I myself will take (in hand ?) that idle female-physician."

Little can be said of Belassunu.[69] She seemingly played a very minor role, if any, in the direction of the palace.

Inibšina, on the other hand, had an important role in administration. Although certainty is not possible on the basis of the published materials, it seems to this writer that the Inibšina who authored X 80-83 is the secondary wife of Zimri-Lim, and not Inibšina the ugbabtum of Adad.[70] This assumption is made primarily on the basis of her professed activities, which involves the supervision of both administrative officials and religious personnel. Her duties are similar to those of the queen Shibtu, and,

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to a lesser extent, of Dam-ḫuraṣi. Thus the activities of Inibšina fit well with that of a (secondary) wife of Zimri-Lim.

Inibšina always addresses Zimri-Lim as kakkabī "my Star." Usage of this term of affection for Zimri-Lim is reserved to the family circle,[71] another indication of Inibšina's intimacy with the king.

In X 82 (cf. XIII 14) Inibšina is connected with the archives building (bīt ṭuppātim). The king sent orders that Inibšina was to open the archives for Mukannišum and Ṭabat-šarrussu by breaking the seal on the door. Later she reseals it and sends the seal to the king. Like Shibtu on another occasion,[72] Inibšina here functions as the king's personal representative in an important administrative matter. At the end of the letter (lines 21-23) Inibšina mentions that she is sending the king a chair and a footstool inlaid with alabaster. These items were apparently personal gifts from Inibšina, rather than supplies sent in the capacity of an administrator. Either way her action is again paralleled by that of the queen.

X 83 is too broken to yield any coherent picture. In her two remaining letters Inibšina is seen forwarding oracles to the king. In X 80 she recalls that previously she had reported an oracle (têrtum) which Šelibum, the cult player (assinnum), had given her for the king. Now she reports to the king an oracle given her by the "speaker

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(qabbātum) of Dagan of Terqa"[73] concerning the deceptiveness of the peace initiatives of the king of Ešnunna. In X 81 Inibšina forwards to the king an oracle delivered by Innibana, the prophetess (āpiltum). In all three cases these lesser religious personnel delivered their messages for the king to Inibšina: "Šelibum, the cult player, gave me (iddinam) an oracle and I wrote you;" "The speaker of Dagan of Terqa came and said to me (illikamma kī'am iqbêm);" the third may have been delivered publically, but was also communicated directly to Inibšina, "I hereby give you (addinakkim) my lock (of hair) and my fringe." Inibšina in each case is seen as a proper authority to whom one delivers an oracle intended for the king. Her role again seems to be much the same as that of the queen in similar circumstances.[74]

Inibšina's activities may have extended into other areas as well, for presumably this is the same Inibšina who in unpublished legal texts from Mari is engaged in vast commercial activities involving grain.[75] Final judgment must, however, be suspended until more information is available.

From the above analysis it may be concluded that, like the queen, the secondary wives of Zimri-Lim were actively engaged in the administration of the palace. Their role, however, is much more circumscribed than that of the queen. Nevertheless there is sufficient evidence

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for postulating that it was Zimri-Lim's policy to utilize his wives in the administration of the capital city and the palace. In the following chapter it will be seen that Zimri-Lim similarly employed his daughters in the administration of other regions of his realm.

In contrast to the (relatively) extensive information available for the secondary wives of Zimri-Lim, nothing at all is known of the secondary wives of any other king of Mari. This is particularly significant for the reign of Jasmaḫ-Addu, for which there is good documentation. The secondary wives of Jasmaḫ-Addu, like his queen, apparently did not have the important administrative duties that the wives of Zimri-Lim had.[76]

Lesser Women of the Harem

Undoubtedly there were many women at Mari who belong within the group which may be designated as the lesser women of the harem.[77] Their types and numbers are difficult to ascertain, however. The harem may be referred to in VII 206.8, where the proposed restoration [...sé-a]k-re-tum "women of the harem" has much merit; nevertheless certainty is excluded here.[78] Indeed one may speculate with justification that this tablet is a ration-list for the whole of the royal harem, including the female-servants and domestics. Palace domestics should be included within the designation "women of the harem," as in the Middle Assyrian practice.[79] Proof of this may be

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found in VIII 88, a document which apparently records the sworn testimony of "12 women of the palace" that they belonged to the royal harem.[80] The lesser members of the harem as a group were usually referred to under the sumerogram SAL.TUR.MEŠ. The reading of SAL.TUR.MEŠ as ṣeḫḫerētum is firmly established.[81] Occasionally ṣeḫḫertum should be understood in its primary literal meaning as "girl" or a "young woman."[82] At other times, especially in the plural, ṣeḫḫerētum designates a specific class of women. The "girls" who belong to this class had the honor of being attached to the palace and supported by it. Some of these "girls" belonged to the royal harem,[83] but others did not.[84] Those "girls" who belonged to Zimri-Lim's harem were under the direction of his second wife, Dam-ḫuraṣi.[85]

The origin of these "girls" is interesting. Contrary to Birot,[86] there is little evidence for believing that they were the daughters of important persons at the court. In a series of letters concerning the assignment of new female captives, we learn that the majority were assigned to the royal textile factories as weavers. But a few exceptionally perfect female captives were selected for the royal harem, as the following two letters demonstrate:

a-na ^{f}ši-ib-tu

qí-bí-ma

[u]m-ma be-el-ki-ma

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[a-n]u-um-ma ^{f}UŠ.BAR.MEŠ uš-ta-ri-ki-im

[i-n]a li-ib-bi-ši-na NIN.DINGIR.RA.MEŠ

[i-b]a-aš-še-e NIN.DINGIR.RA.MEŠ bi-ri-ma

a-na É ^{f}UŠ.BAR.MEŠ pi-iq-di-ši-na-ti

i-na ^{f}UŠ.BAR.MEŠ an-ni-tim

ù i-na ^{f}UŠ.BAR.MEŠ pa$^{!}$-ni-tim[87]

i-na li-ib-bi-ši-na

30 ^{f}UŠ.BAR.MEŠ ú-lu-ma mà-li

ša na-sa-qí-im dam-qa-tim

ša iš-tu ṣú-up-ri-im

a-di ⌜ša⌝-ar-tim ša qa-qa-di-im

šu-um-ma-na-am la i-ša-a ús-qí-ma

a-na ÈR-ì-lí-šu pi-iq-di

ù ÈR-ì-lí-šu ši-it-ra-am šu-ba-re-em

[l]i-ša-hi-is-sí-na-ti ù ti-im-mi-nu-ši-na

[l]u nu-uk-ku-ru-ú a-na ŠUK-ši-na

nu-uh-hi-di-ma zi-mu-ši-na

la i-na-ak-ki-r[u]

ù i-nu-ma ^{f}UŠ.BAR.M[EŠ]

ta-na-as-sà-qí ÈR[-ì-lí-šu]

li-i[ṣ-ṣu-ur-ši-na-ti(?)]

ù mu-ka-ni-ša-am [nu-uh-hi-di-ma]

zi-im ^{f}UŠ.BAR.MEŠ ša-n[e-t]im

ša ta-na-aq-qí-di-šum

la i-na-ak-k[i-ir]

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To Shibtu say, thus (says) your lord: I have just sent you some female-weavers. In among them are (some) ugbabātum priestesses. Pick out the ugbabātum priestesses and assign them (i.e., the rest) to the house of female-weavers. From among these female-weavers and from the previous female-weavers choose from them 30 female-weavers--or however many who are choice (and) attractive, who from (their) toenail(s) to the hair of (their) head(s) have no blemish(?)--and assign them to Warad-ilišu. And Warad-ilišu is to give them the Subarean veil(?). Also their status-document(?)[88] is to be changed. Give instructions about their rations, so that their appearance does not worsen. And when you select the female-weavers, let Warad-ilišu guard(?) them.[89] Also instruct Mukannišum that the appearance of those other female-weavers whom you shall assign to him does not worsen (X 126).[90]

According to this first letter Zimri-Lim would have his queen, in his absence, select the women who were to enter his harem. But in a subsequent letter (X 125) Zimri-Lim writes that he has changed his mind and that he personally will select his "girls for the veil" (SAL.TUR.MEŠ Ši-it-ri-im)[91] from the female-captives at hand. Apparently Zimri-Lim did not relish the idea of anyone else choosing which women were to be in his harem!

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The personal attention that Zimri-Lim gave to his harem is vividly illustrated also in another incident. Reacting to a rumor that the woman Nanname was sick, Zimri-Lim rushes stern instructions to his queen in Mari that the rest of the women of the harem are to be protected. No one is to use her drinking cup, chair or bed. She is to be quarantined and kept in isolation. It is better for the one woman to die than that the whole harem become sick, for the woman's illness is contagious (X 129-130).[92] X 14 contains the queen's reply; she has carefully carried out the king's instructions.

The women threatened by illness in the preceding incident are obviously the women of Zimri-Lim's harem, for the sick woman " is residing much (of the time) with the palace-personnel" (X 129.6-7).[93] This in itself would be enough to prove that the women that the king is worried about are his harem. But in addition there is a reference to the lesser women of the harem that has hitherto gone undetected. MÍ.MEŠ ma-DA-tim (line 8)--whether to be read sinnišātim mâdātim "many women," or "the lesser women" (s. maṭâtim) refers to the members of the harem other than the king's wives, as in the Middle Assyrian royal edict: lu-ú aššat^{meš}-at šarri lu-ú sinnišati^{meš} ma-DA-a-tu "either the wives of the king or the lesser/many women (of the harem)."[94]

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It may be concluded from these letters that the wives of the king (Shibtu, Dam-ḫuraṣi, etc.) did not live in the same quarters as the rest of the harem. That the queen had her own quarters is proven by the mention of the "house of the queen" (bīt bēltim) in XIII 26.9. Apparently the secondary wives also had separate quarters in the palace and had little contact with the lower members of the harem. The lesser women of the harem, on the other hand, would appear to have lived together in common quarters. They shared vessels, chairs, beds, etc., whence the injunction that the other women were not to use the sick woman's cup, chair or bed (X 129.10-16; 14.6'-7'), and that she should be given separate, isolated quarters (bītum naršum, X 130.4; 14.6').

Conclusion

The queen at Mari under the vassal kingship of Jasmaḫ-Addu played a comparatively insignificant role in public affairs. Under the independent Zimri-Lim, by way of contrast, the queen (bēltum) exercised considerable authority in her own right and, in the absence of the king, seems to have exercised the supreme authority in his name as his deputy.

The king had other wives (aššātum) as well. Under Zimri-Lim, at least, these secondary wives supervised the lesser members of the royal harem and other palace personnel and at times also supervised other administrative

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matters in the capital city for the king. Little is known of the lesser members of the harem (variously designated as ṣeḫḫerētum or as sinnišātum maṭâtum) except that they were of various origins, including war captives, and that they lived together, sharing common quarters.

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Notes:

[1]Jacobsen, Sumerian King List, 104, V 35-42; cf. Bottéro, Histoire, 211.

[2]See M. Lambert, "Les Dieux-vivants à l'aube des temps historiques," Sumer 5, 8-33; C.J. Gadd, CAH[3] 1/2, 120; Y. Rosengarten, "La civilisation sumérienne de Lagash," Revue Philosophique de la France et de l'étranger 155, 407f. Although no queen, Enḫeduanna, the daughter of Sargon of Akkad and high priestess of the moongod Nanna of Ur, may have exercised a somewhat analogous role; for the life of Enḫeduanna see Hallo and van Dijk, The Exaltation of Inanna, 1-11.

[3]See Meissner, Babylonien und Assyrien, I, 74f.; Donner, "Art und Herkunft des Amtes der Königinmutter im Alten Testament," Festschrift Johannes Friedrich, 105-45, esp. 110f.; Bottéro, Histoire I, 212f.; Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia, 104. The monograph of H. Goossens on Semiramis, cited by Oppenheim, ibid., 359, n. 34, was apparently never published.

[4]See Landsberger, VTS 16, 198-204.

[5]The article of Artzi and Malamat, "The Correspondence of Šibtu, Queen of Mari in ARM X," Or 40, 75-89, came to this writer's attention after this study was completed. He was thus pleased to note that the position of Artzi

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and Malamat is in substantial agreement with that espoused in this study.

[6]Dossin, PICO XXI, 142f.

[7]It is uncertain whether the letters written by the woman bearing the title bēlet mātim (II 117; X 20; 28) should be ascribed to the queen or to another person, possibly the queen-mother. Missing from her letters to Zimri-Lim is the phrase amat k a(-ma) "your servant," which is normal in Shibtu's letter to Zimri-Lim. If bēlet mātim is the queen-mother, one may compare her role in Ugarit, Israel and the Neo-Assyrian period; see Donner, "Art und Herkunft des Amtes der Königinmutter im Alten Testament," Festschrift Johannes Friedrich, 105-45; cf. further Artzi and Malamat, Or 40, 77-79.

[8]This letter has been treated by Römer, Frauenbriefe, 80-82, and by Artzi and Malamat, Or 40, 86-88.

[9]X 30.12. The sender of this letter, ka-še-rum, is surely the same person whose name is elsewhere written ga-še-ra, the wife of Jarim-Lim, mother-in-law of Zimri-Lim; see Dossin, RA 64 (1970), 98, n. 4, and 102. Gašera is the recipient of a gift of tin from Zimri-Lim in letter A.1270.13, see ibid.; cf. further X 139.1f.

[10]X 156. Dadi-Ḫadun may have been the real son of Zimri-Lim and Shibtu; cf. II 61, in which Dadi-Ḫadun calls

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himself "your son" in a missive to Zimri-Lim. If so, he would have been the nephew of Hammurapi of Aleppo.

[11]On the relations between Mari and Jamḫad, see Dossin, RA 36 (1939), 46-50; BARB, 5, (1952), 229-239.

[12]For this letter see Artzi and Malamat, Or 40, 81.

[13]For this letter see ibid., 82; in line 12f. read a-na bu-di-šu li-iš-ku-un, not ana idīšu liškun. Cf. further, "Eriśti-Aja," 164, n. 49, below.

[14]One is also reminded, although less directly, of the description Ludingira gives of his mother in the first "sign" by which she may be recognized, see Civil, JNES 23 (1964), 1-11, esp. p. 3, lines 10-20; Cooper, JBL 90 (1971), 158.

[15]If bēlet mātim is the queen (see above, n. 7), then Shibtu also sent various kinds of flour and legumes to her husband (X 20), and once excused herself for not being able to send any presents at the moment (II 117).

[16]For this interpretation of the text, see Römer, Frauenbriefe, 37, n. 2.

[17]AM.MA is either a syllabic writing of the sumerogram AMA "mother" or else the West Semitic (or Akkadian) equivalent of "mommy."

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[18]Cf. further Zimri-Lim's reports on his safety in X 121.18; 124.24; 127.7.

[19]Whether the Shibtu of VIII 76.3 who loans money to one Sin-iqišam is to be identified with the queen remains in doubt; see Boyer, ARMT VIII, 112, n. 1.

[20]See Birot, Syria, 41, 27-28; Marzal, JNES 30, 200.

[21]Cf. Kupper, "Baḫdi-Lim," 573.

[22]B.58.26-7, RA 42, 69; cf. Dossin, RA 42, 125-26.

[23]See Birot, Syria 41, 27-28.

[24]See below, "Addu-duri," 88.

[25]See below, 31.

[26]Ibid.

[27]Birot, Syria 41, 63-64.

[28]See below, 20, esp. n. 41.

[29]See below, "The Kings' Daughters," 66.

[30]See below, 31.

[31]See below, 38.

[32]See below, 35-37.

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[33]See below, 37, and "The ugbabtum Priestess," 117-18.

[34]On the ebbū, see Moran, Biblica 50, 30, and references there.

[35]For a similar incident in which the king delegates this same authority to Inibšina, see below, 32.

[36]This letter has been treated by Dossin apud Birot, Syria 41, 34; Römer, Frauenbriefe, 92-23; and by Artzi and Malamat, Or 40, 85, who correctly read the verb izzizūnim in line 14.

[37]See Birot, Syria 41, 34-35.

[38]This letter has been translated in part by Artzi and Malamat, Or 40, 84.

[39]Translated in full by Römer, Frauenbriefe, 75-77.

[40]On šāniṭum as a title for a provincial governor at Mari, see Marzal, JNES 30, 186-217.

[41]Ṣidqi-epuḫ's official capacity is unknown. In this letter he seems to be of higher rank than Shubnalu, in that Shubnalu wrote first to him for permission to release the pledge. On the other hand, Ṣidqi-epuḫ's authority in the matter may stem from his special competency in

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matters agricultural, cf. above, 17, and possibly IX 6.5,7,12; 34.6; XII 57.6. Also further X 138.8′; VI 39.24; and Birot, ARMT IX, 330.

[42]On Itur-Asdu, see below, "The Kings' Daughters," 58, with n. 6, and 61.

[43]See Kupper, Syria 41, 116.

[44]It seems highly unlikely that this woman was a weaver, as Römer's (Frauenbriefe, 69) restoration [ú]š!?-pa-ar-tim suggests. The correct reading is surely ⌜f⌝ pa-ar-tim.

[45]i-na-an-na a-nu-um-ma šu-pu-ur-ma KU.BUR.KAL ša ša-ap-li LÚ.TUR li-id-di-nu-nim (lines 23-26). This letter is not entirely legible, due to a substantial break plus the unknown KU.BUR.KAL. On this last Römer (Frauenbriefe, 68) suggests reading TÚG.NÌ.BÀRA "eine Art Matratze."

[46]Finet, ARMT XV, 144.

[47]See Dossin, RA 64, 106.

[48]X 152 has previously been published by Bottéro, RA 52, 173-76.

[49]Finet, ARMT XV, 153, Puqâqum.

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[50]One should also include X 159 and X 165, for which the address is lost, among the queen's correspondence. In the second letter the anonymous writer, on assignment in the north country informs his "mistress," the queen, that he has carried out the king's instructions regarding the countries Kurda, Andariq and Karana. He adds that he is about to return to Andariq, where he will effect the setting up of the king's throne, i.e., Zimri-Lim's suzerainty over that country. When he has completed that mission he will send another report to the queen.

The relationship of the queen to her correspondent is not clear in X 159. A certain Jasmaḫ-Addu justifies(?) himself for repeatedly sending letters of submission to the queen, the frequency of which the queen has found annoying. Despite the political overtones contained in the term wurdūtum (ÌR-du-tam), cf. also II 49.6f., it is not apparent that this Jasmaḫ-Addu should be identified with the son of Šamši-Adad by that name. That Assyrian sub-king is now known to have left Mari alive (X 140.20-21). He seems subsequently to have suffered a defeat at the hands of Zimri-Lim at the town of Tizraḫ; see Dossin, Syria 48, 2-6. However, there is no compelling reason to believe that Jasmaḫ-Addu then became a vassal of Zimri-Lim.

Letter X 28, on the other hand, written by bēlet mātim, is not certainly to be ascribed to the queen; see

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above, n. 7. In this letter, the sender scolds Jassi-Dagan for not sending garments(?) for the support of his son, Ḫaja-abum. Ḫaja-abum was the sometime king of Apim (Dossin, Syria 19, 109); his father would therefore be king in that city at the time this letter was dispatched.

[51] i-ša-ri-iš ap-la ù GIŠ.MÁ<.MEŠ> a-di-ni ú-ul ik-šu-da aš-šum ke-em uḫ-ḫu-ra-ku li<-ib>-bi be-el-ti-ja la i-na-ḫi-id (X 161.6-11). Römer's (Frauenbriefe, 92) forced reading of lines 6-7, i-ša-ri-iš an-la-ku[!?] "Korrekt bin ich(!) befriedigt worden," is not necessary.

[52] See Kupper, "Baḫdi-Lim," for a discussion of the prefect's powers.

[53] Syria 41, 64.

[54] Ibid., 27-28.

[55] This incident is elsewhere mentioned in a text cited by Dossin, SM, 48: 1 ku-li-lum kaspum 10 šiqlu KI.LÁ.BI a-na ^{d}ḫi-ša-m[i]-tim ša ḫi-ša-am-ta^{ki} i-na a-la-ki-ša "1 silver wreath weighing 10 shekels for Ḫišametum of Ḫišamta at the time of her journey."

[56] This interpretation seems to be confirmed by X 142.25-31, in which Zimri-Lim instructs Addu-duri about his pending arrival and all that she is to prepare for

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the sacrifice in honor of Diritum. On Addu-duri and the similarity of her role to that of Shibtu, see below, chapter 3.

[57]X 15. This text is not completely legible; after a break the text reads: 13)be-lí ša ṭà-ra-di-im 14)[l]i-iṭ-[ru?-da]m?-ma 15)lu-ul-[li]k?-ma 16)SISKUR. SISKUR.RE [š]a-a-ti 17)lu!-uq-qi ù be-lí 18)li-wa-[e-er]-ma 19)UDU.ḪI.A a-na SISKUR.SISKUR.RE 20)ki-ma ša-na-as-su-um-ma 21)li-[id]-di-nu-nim 22)UDU.ḪI.A ú-ul i-šu "Let my lord send what is to be sent so that I may go(?) and offer that sacrifice. And let my lord order that they give me sheep for the sacrifice just as (they have) up to the present year. I have no sheep!" On Šanassumma, see Kraus, RA 62, 77-79.

[58]Baḫdi-Lim, the prefect of Mari, likewise had to seek decisions from the king in certain matters involving the authority of certain lesser officials within their own area of competency, cf. VI 39; 40.

[59]See above, 12-13.

[60]See below, 31-33.

[61]See below, chapter 3, 87-99.

[62]See Moran, ANET[3] 623.

[63]See below, "The Kings' Daughters, 72.

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[64]Dr. Jack Sasson has suggested to me (oral communication) that Akatija of X 171 and 178 is the wife of Jasmaḫ-Addu. If this should be correct, then the Assyrian queen would have received political reports from the king (X 178) and a lesser official (X 171 and perhaps 172), similar to those received by Shibtu. However the identity of Akatija is not certain. She may be identical with the woman by the same name mentioned in a text from the time of Zimri-Lim, who, to judge from other names in the text, seems to be a ruler of a provincial town (VII 217.3. Cf. also C iii.8, RA 50, 61).

[65]See, for example, I 69.

[66]Bottéro, ARMT VII, 240f.; Histoire I, 191f., 210.

[67]É.GAL-lum Ša-lim SAL.TUR.MEŠ Ša-al-ma, X 63.6f.; 64.6f.; 66.6f.; 67.6f.; 68.6f.; cf. 65.6, where reference to ekallum is omitted. On the meaning of ekallum, see below, n. 93.

[68]ARMT VII, 99 and 238f.

[69]Belassunu's power cannot be determined from the only letter preserved from her correspondence (X 174) because her relationship to the writer Aqbu-Ammu is unclear; for the latter, see further II 39 and 50. Also unclear is the reference to Belassunu's sons and house (lines 5-6).

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[70]See below, "The ugbabtum Priestess," 123.

[71]Moran, Biblica 50, 33.

[72]See above, 19.

[73]See below, "The Prophetesses," 191.

[74]See above, 27.

[75]See below, "The ugbabtum Priestess," 134, n. 41.

[76]There is possibly a reference to Jasmaḫ-Addu's harem in the sarcastic rebuke of Šamši-Adad to his son: a-ḫu-ka an-ni-ki-a-am da-am$_x$-da-am i-du-uk ù at-ta aš-ra-nu-um i-na bi-ri-it SAL.MEŠ ṣa-al-la-at "Your brother (Išme-Dagan) has defeated (the enemy) here, while you lie there idling among the women!" (I 69.8′-11′). However, the point of this remark is not so much that Jasmaḫ-Addu is frolicking among his harem; rather it refers to the indolent and cowardly character of the Mari ruler. This interpretation is strengthened by the following admonition, "When you go forth with the army to Qatna, be a man (lu-ú a-wi-la-at)!" (line 13′). In this study of women, it is not out of place to note the import of this disparaging statement for the native cultural evaluation of women, namely, their weak and unheroic nature.

[77]On the analogous Middle Assyrian category, see Weidner, AfO 17, 262.

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[78]See the discussion of Bottéro, ARMT VII, 239. Cf. the widespread use of the designation sikrētum in the Neo-Assyrian period, Landsberger, VTS 16, 201.

[79]See Weidner, ibid.

[80]See Boyer, ARMT VIII, 241.

[81]See Birot, ARMT IX, 342.

[82]III 8.6; X 124.4; 140.16; 114.5, etc.; cf. further "The Šugītum," 167-68, with n. 2, below.

[83]Cf. Birot, ARMT IX, 342. Cf. Römer, Frauenbriefe, 73.

[84]The woman Aḫatum described as a SAL.TUR in IX 24.iii. 28 is surely the same as the woman by that name in X 8.6, where her full identity is given: ^{mf}a-ḫa-tum SAL.TUR ^{d}da-gan-ma-lik "Aḫatum, the 'girl' of Dagan-malik." This "girl" could hardly belong to the royal harem, since her master is specifically given as Dagan-malik.

[85]See above, 31.

[86]ARMT IX, 342.

[87]Römer, Frauenbriefe, 70: an!-né-tim

[88]See Römer, Frauenbriefe, 71, n. 5. If temenum does refer to a document, then it surely refers to the tablet

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in which the captives were assigned their new status or role in captivity; see X 123.16. The status of these women is to be changed from that of female-weaver to that of "girl of the Subarean veil."

[89]There is insufficient evidence for postulating that the Mari harem was attended by eunuchs, as in the Middle Assyrian court and afterwards. On the probability of Warad-ilišu as a controller, see above, 19.

[90]Cf. Römer, Frauenbriefe, 70-71, who reads differently in details.

[91]For text X 125, see below, "The ugbabtum Priestess," 117f. Other references to women wearing the veil (šitrum) at Mari are contained in X 137.10', XIII 22.41, 45. Cf. further below, "The Kings' Daughters," 58-59.

[92]X 129 has been translated by Finet, AIPHOS 14, 129; and treated also by Artzi and Malamat, Or 40, 85. Römer, Frauenbriefe, 57-58, transliterates and translates X 129 and gives a summary of X 130.

[93]ù it-ti É.GAL-lim ma-ga-al wa-aš-ba-at-ma. For ekallum in this meaning, see Weidner, AfO 17, 262f.; AHw 192 ekallu(m) A 2a.

[94]See Weidner, AfO 17, 262: "Der Ausdruck sinnišāti mâtâti 'niedere Frauen', der einmal begegnet (Z. 56),

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scheint alle Frauen zu bezeichnen, die einen geringeren Rang als die Gattinnen des Königs einnehmen."

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Chapter 2

The Kings' Daughters

The Mari documents provide considerable information about the lives, as well as the position, of the princesses of Mari, especially the daughters of Zimri-Lim. InibŠina and EriŠti-Aja have been treated elsewhere.[1] In this section the roles of Inib-Šarri, Kiru and Tizpatum will be examined in detail. Other princesses will be considered as the evidence permits.

Inib-Šarri

The case of Inib-Šarri is intriguing in its elusiveness. It is very difficult to trace the career and activities of this woman. That she was the daughter of Zimri-Lim is clear. In one of the economic tablets she is among the nine women receiving oil rations who are designated as "daughters of the king" (DUMU.MÍ.MEŠ LUGAL, C i.7). Her letters leave no doubt that her royal father was Zimri-Lim.

At the time the above mentioned oil rations were distributed, Inib-Šarri may have been residing in Mari. The rest of her attested activities, however, seem to

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have taken place outside of Mari, in Naḫur and Ašlakka. Her miserable residence in Ašlakka and Naḫur is the constant theme of her letters (ARM II 112-13; X 73-79). Unfortunately, many of the implications of these letters escape us, due to our lack of knowledge concerning their background. Attempting to reconstruct the situation implied by her correspondence, I suggest the following hypothesis. At the time of his capture of Ašlakka, Zimri-Lim confirmed Ibal-Addu as vassal king of Ašlakka.[2] At the same time a marriage was arranged between Ibal-Addu and Zimri-Lim's daughter Inib-šarri--against her will--in order to strengthen the bond between the suzerain and his vassal. Zimri-Lim had good reason to suspect, as subsequent events were to confirm, that Ibal-Addu would never be a docile vassal. Ibal-Addu already had a wife, but Inib-šarri was supposed to become the principal wife and the queen of the city. Nevertheless, once Zimri-Lim departed from the area, Ibal-Addu proceeded to act rather independently. He spurned Inib-šarri, restoring his first wife to her former pre-eminent position. Such a hypothesis would give sense to the following complaint of Inib-šarri to her father:

aš-šum mu-ru-u[ṣ l]i-ib-bi-ia
1-šu 2-šu a[-na ṣe]-er be-lí-ia
aš-pu-ra-am-ma b[e-l]í ki-a-am
iš-pu-ra-am um-ma-[a-]mi al-ki

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a-na áš-la-ak-ka-a^{ki} er-bi-ma

la ta-ba-[x x]-a-ki be-lí an-ni-tam

10) iš-pu-ra-am [i-n]a-an-na a-na áš-[l]a-ka-a^{ki}

e-ru-ub-ma mu-ru-uṣ li-ib-⌜bi⌝-im

ma-di-iš a-na-aṭ-ṭà-al

^{f}aš-ša-at i-ba-al-^{d}IM

ši-ma šar-ra-at ù MU.D[U]

15) a-lim^{ki} áš-la-ka-a^{ki} ù a-la-⌜né-e⌝

MÍ ši-ma im-ta-na-aḫ-ḫa-ar

ù i-ia-ti i-na ṭú-ub-qí-im

ú-še-ši-ba-an-ni-ma

ki-ma ^{f}le-el-la-tim

20) i-na qa-ti-ia li-ti-i

uš-ta-aṣ-bi-ta-an-n[i-ma]

Concerning my unhappiness I have written twice to my lord, and my lord wrote me (a reply) as follows: "Go and enter Ašlakka. Do not...."[3] This is what my lord wrote me. Now I have entered Ašlakka, but I am very unhappy. The wife of Ibal-Addu--she is the queen! And that woman herself constantly receives the gifts[4] from (both) Ašlakka and the (other) cities, while she (he?) makes me sit in a corner and grasp my cheek in my hand like some female-simpleton! (X 74.4-21).

The foregoing passage does not state explicitly that Inib-Šarri was married to Ibal-Addu. Nevertheless, there

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are other indications which also suggest this conclusion. In X 75.5 reference is made to a terḫatum which was brought to the king,[5] apparently as part of the arrangements for the marriage of Inib-Šarri. What is surprising is that Inib-Šarri is already in the vicinity of, if not actually in, Ašlakka. This is evident from the reference in this letter to Itur-Asdu, the governor of Naḫur,[6] an important figure in this controversy between Inib-Šarri and Ibal-Addu. Perhaps the marriage was hastily arranged, with a promise of the terḫatum to be paid later--which is now being fulfilled.

A remark made by Zimri-Lim to his daughter to cover her head may offer additional evidence of her status as a married woman. In reply to his daughter's request to be allowed to return to Mari, Zimri-Lim tells her al-ki É-ki šu-ta-aṣ-bi-ti-ma šum-ma ú-ul ri-it-tum qa-qa-ad-ki ku-ut-mi-ma at-la-ki-im "Go and manage your household.[7] But if it is not possible(?), then cover your head and come away to me." (II 113.4-6; cf. X 76.5-9). Veiling of the head by the married women of ancient Mesopotamia is a custom which is attested, but as yet ill defined in actual practice.[8] This would be the earliest reference to this practice. And while the phrase qaqqadam katāmu in this connection is not otherwise attested,[9] the equivalent qaqqadam paṣānu is used in the Middle Assyrian Laws.[10] Furthermore katāmu is attested in phrases re-

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ferring to the veiling of a bride.[11] If this injunction to veil her head is a reference to Inib-Šarri's married status, then it is to be assumed that no divorce has taken place, if one was contemplated. However, caution must be exercised in claiming that Zimri-Lim's admonition to his daughter to cover her head implies a married status. If it is a question of married status, it is difficult to see how the alternatives could be to either stay with her husband or else veil herself. Perhaps Zimri-Lim's statement should be interpreted to mean, "If you cannot manage your own household, then cover your head and depart (in shame)."

Whatever the nature of her relationship with Ibal-Addu, it is clear that Inib-Šarri considered herself mistreated by the king of Ašlakka.[12] In addition to the complaints already cited, Inib-Šarri adds a number of others: she receives insufficient food (X 74.22-25; cf. II 113.20-22), he has had her confined to her own quarters (X 74.17-18) and placed under heavy guard (X 74.26-27). In short, she is quite miserable in her present situation (X 74.29-30; cf. II 113.23-24).

Perhaps the motive behind Ibal-Addu's ill-treatment of Inib-Šarri was an attempt to reassert his political independence. He seems to have been scheming with the Eluḫutians some manner of revolt:

i-na pa-ni-tim-ma ki-ma i-ba-al-^{d}IM
5) a-lam ša-ni-im-ma pa-ni-šu

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iš-ku-nu a-na [be-l]í-ia aš-pu-ra-am
i-na-an-na a-wa-tu-šu
i[k-t]u-na it-ti i-lu-ḫu-ta-ji
[ ]-am
(Break)
Rev. [i]a(?)
[ ] x x x [ ]-ni
ú ṭe$_4$-ma-am ma-li a-ta-ma-ru
a-na be-lí-ia lu-ud-bu-ub
5′) ú-la-šu-ma LÚ šu-ú
i-na-ak-ki-ir-ma
ki-ma bu-zu-ḫu-um i-ba-aš-ši
ú-ba-az-za-ḫa-an-ni
ú ṭe$_4$-ma-am an-ni-im 1-šu 2-[šu]
10′) ⌜a-na⌝ i-túr-áš-du aš-pu-ur

Previously, when Ibal-Addu decided to go to another city, I wrote to my lord. Now his words have been confirmed. With the Eluḫutians... And a report of everything I have seen, let me relate to my lord. If not, that man will rebel and he will oppress me in whatever manner possible (lit. according to the oppression there is present). Now this report I have twice sent to Itur-Asdu (X 77.4-10′).

It was perhaps not long after that we find Inib-Šarri in Naḫur, as evidenced by letters II 112-113 and X 76.[13] She seems to have fled there, seeking the protection of

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Itur-Asdu, the governor of Naḫur. Itur-Asdu evidently had jurisdiction over neighboring Ašlakka. His authority, however, was somewhat limited. At least Ibal-Addu felt sufficiently independent to ignore the directives issued by the governor:

> ù i-túr-ás-du ik-šu-dam-ma
> 2-šu 3-šu aš-šu-mi-ia
> a-na i-ba-al-^{d}IM iš-pu-ur-ma
> da-ḫa-at a-wa-ti-šu i-ba-al-^{d}IM
> ú-ul i-ša-al
>
> And Itur-Asdu came here and wrote to Ibal-Addu three times concerning me. But Ibal-Addu has ignored his instructions (II 113.32-36).

Zimri-Lim sent instructions to his daughter--and implicitly to Ibal-Addu as well--that she should return to Ašlakka and her husband.[14] Inib-šarri's objections to this counsel proved correct. Ibal-Addu did not bring her back to Ašlakka at all; he left her confined in Naḫur.[15] Inib-šarri's pleads to be allowed to return to Mari were to no avail at this time as the roads were unsafe, for in a subsequent(?) letter she is still persisting:

5) a-di ma-ti i-na na-ḫu-ur^{ki}
wa-aš-ba-k[u]
sa-li-mu-um it-ta-aš-ka-an
ù KASKAL i-te-še-er

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be-lí li-iš-pu-ra-am-ma
10) li-it-ru-ni-in-ni .
ù zi-im be-lí-ia
ša ú-za-mu-ú
lu-mur

How long am I to stay in Naḫur! Peace has been established and the roads are safe. Let my lord write that they should bring me back so that I may see the face of my lord which I am deprived of (II 112.5-13).

Letters relating the outcome of Inib-šarri's adventures are not preserved. Whatever the reality of Inib-šarri's hypothesized marriage to Ibal-Addu, she had rights to revenue (MU.DU) from certain cities in the region, one of which was Ašlakka (X 74.14-16). Naḫur apparently was another, for she had quarters(?) there (II 113.18-19; cf. X 76.14-16). Part of this income (MU.DU) that she expected from these cities Inib-šarri had to turn over to the royal treasury in Mari, no doubt as a kind of tax levied on vassals.[16] Along with other rulers of provincial towns, Inib-šarri is listed among those who have sent gifts (MU.DU) to Mari (VII 125; 203.1; IX 241.9-10). Apparently, then, Inib-šarri possessed some independent authority of her own, in virtue of which she was required to pay taxes to the sovereign in Mari.

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We suspect that, as in the case of Kiru in Ilanṣura, Inib-Šarri held an office in addition to her (hypothesized) role as queen.

Kiru

Another daughter of Zimri-Lim who exercised perhaps even greater political power was the woman Kiru. Again, the preserved documents leave great lacunae in our knowledge of this princess, even while providing considerable information. Kiru was the daughter of Zimri-Lim. In C i.10 she is listed as one of the mārāt šarrim receiving oil rations from the palace stores. And from her own correspondence it is clear that Zimri-Lim is her royal father: she addresses him as abī "my father" and identifies herself as māratka "your daughter" (X 31-35, address; cf. further [a-b]i ù be-lí 31.8′ and a-bi 31.18′).

The early part of Kiru's career is hidden from us. Most, if not all, of her correspondence dates from approximately the same period. At this period she was residing in Ilanṣura in the country of Idamaraz.[17] From her letters we surmise that she was the wife and queen of Ḫaja-Sumu,[18] the ruler of Ilanṣura. She apparently was also the mayor of that city, as will be shown momentarily.

Zimri-Lim had, evidently, given his daughter in marriage to Ḫaja-Sumu in another of his political moves to strengthen his control over that part of his realm.

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For Ḫaja-Sumu, like Ibal-Addu and other local rulers in the north country, was ambivalent in his allegiance to Zimri-Lim, a reality Zimri-Lim was well aware of.[19] The marriage between Kiru and Ḫaja-Sumu, however, was far from being harmonious. In a mild rebuke, Kiru reminds her father that it was he who has caused her present misery by arranging this marriage: abi ù be-lí a-na GIŠ.GU.ZA ^{f}šar-ra-tim ʾú-še-ši-ba-am-ni "My father and lord (himself) installed me on (this) queen's throne!" (X 34.8′-10′).

Such a marriage of expediency no doubt produced tensions of its own. Nevertheless, much of the strained relationship between Kiru and her husband stemmed from a conflict of authority. Ḫaja-Sumu was king in the city--as may be inferred from the fact that his wife was the queen--but Kiru also had authority in her own right, as the resident mayor (ḫazannum). The intensity of this conflict in authority led at one point to a violent disagreement in which Ḫaja-Sumu reportedly threatened to kill Kiru:

> it-bi-me ḫa-ià-sú-ú-mu-um pa-ni-ia
> um-m[a-m]i ḫa-za-nu-ta-am an-ni-nu-um
> wa-aš-ba-ti iš-t[u] a-na-ku úš-ma-at-ʾkiʾ
> li-li-kam-ma ka-ka-ab-ki!
> li-te-er-ki-i ...
>
> Ḫaja-Sumu arose and (spoke) thus to me, "You

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exercise the mayorship[20] here.[21] (But) after I kill you, can(?) your Star(!)[22] come and restore you?" (X 32.11′-15′).

Ḫaja-Sumu must have felt that Kiru as the mayor looked more to the interests of her father than to those of her husband. This is, of course, what Zimri-Lim had counted on.

Kiru was forever complaining of how her husband was ill-treating her, even taking away her personal slaves (X 32.15′-16′; 33.30f.). A particular thorn in Kiru's side was the woman Šimatum (X 32.20′f.; 33.5-6,[23]33). The nature of the relationship of Šimatum to Kiru and Ḫaja-Sumu escapes this writer.[24]

Thus for a number of reasons Kiru ardently desired to leave her post and return to Mari--a permission her father was naturally reluctant to grant (X 34.5-8; cf. 32.17′-19′; 33.7-9, 20f.). With or without permission, however, Kiru did get back to Mari.[25]

Kiru may have been forced to return to Mari. In one damaged letter Kiru quotes the words of a man who is patently Ḫaja-Sumu, commanding her to leave:

at-la-ki a-na É a-bi-ki
iš-tu pa-ni a-ša-ti-ia
a-mu-⌜ur⌝

Go away to your father's house! I have looked away (with disfavor) from the face of my wife! (X 33.27-9).[26]

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This is apparently not a case of actual divorce, even though it involved a separation. As it turns out, however, this separation was not permanent. In a letter to his queen, Zimri-Lim writes that he has been carrying on correspondence with Ḫaja-Sumu and that the latter has requested that Kiru be returned to him (at Ilanṣura); Zimri-Lim instructs Shibtu to comply with that request (X 135). That Ḫaja-Sumu could request--and obtain--the return of Kiru indicates that he must still have been her husband. It also indicates that Zimri-Lim was anxious to maintain the allegiance of his vassal, even at the cost of his daughter's happiness. Political marriages may not always have been harmonious, but political realities made them convenient, and because of the institutionalized oppression of woman in that society, a princess had no choice in the matter.

The question must be broached as to the extent of Kiru's own authority in Ilanṣura. Our limited materials permit only a partial answer. Furthermore they allow for no distinction in authority based on her role as mayor as opposed to her role as queen. We only know that her authority was extensive. Zu-ḫatni[27] appears to have reported directly to her (rather than to Ḫaja-Sumu) with his political message (X 32.6f.). Further she must have considerable influence with, if not authority over, one Jarim-Dagan, the ruler(?) of Dunnim,[28] who acts as a

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go-between for Kiru before Zimri-Lim (X 33.10f.; 35.5f.). From another letter, of which the address is lost but which may confidently be assigned to Kiru on the basis of internal evidence, Kiru would appear to have responsibility, along with Ḫaja-Sumu, for the direction of the city, for she quotes Ḫaja-Sumu as saying to her:

> a-na-ku-ú ù at-ti pu-ḫu-ur-ma
> ni-la-ak ù a-la-am
> a-na ma-an-ni-im ni-iz-zi-ib
> a-di a-na-ku iš-tu ma-ri^{ki}
> a-tu-ur-ra-am an-ni-ke-em-ma
> ši-bi ...
>
> Should you and I both go together (to Mari)? To whom would we entrust the city? (Rather) stay here until I return from Mari (and then you can go) (X 113.6-11).

It is not clear whether this authority over the administration of the city stems from Kiru's office as mayor, or from her office as queen. As a woman mayor, Kiru is unique. Hence her case may be atypical. Nevertheless, it should be recalled that Shibtu as the queen of Mari also exercised considerable political authority in the absence of her husband from Mari.

Kiru, at least in her own eyes, was a shrewd assayer of political events of the day. In X 31 she gently

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chides her father for not listening in the past to her counsel concerning the Ḫananeans. She warns him not to spurn her counsel a second time, even though she is only a woman.[29] (Note the cultural implication concerning the lowly status of women!) Her father's reluctance to follow her advice may indicate a differing assessment of the worth of Kiru's opinions.

Tizpatum

Another daughter of Zimri-Lim is Tizpatum. Our knowledge of this woman is practically limited to one letter.[30] Because of its importance, that letter is given here in its entirety.[31]

a-na be-lí-ia
qí-bí-ma
um-ma ^{f}ti-iz-pa-tum
GÉME-ka-a-[m]a šum-ma i-na ki<-na>-a-tim
5) be-lí a-nam šu-na-a^{ki} i-ra-am
ù ^{m}i-lí-IŠDAR ÈR-sú
1 ME ṣa-[b]a-am ù ÈR-ka dan-nam
ar-hi-[iš] [tu]-ur-dam-ma!
a-al-ka ù ÈR-ka šu-zi-ib
10) ú-la-šu-ma a-nam KÚR ia-ab-ba-as-sú[32]
i-na-an-na aš-šum-mi-ia-ma
LÚ ṣa-ar-mu-šu! um-ma-a-mi
ki-i DUMU.MÍ zi-im-ri-li-im

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a-ḫi-iz ù ú-zu-un-šu

15). a-na ṣe-er ^{m}zi-im-ri-li-im

ša-ak-na-at a-na an-ni-tim

a-bi ù be-lí li-iṣ-ri-im

To my lord, say, thus (says) Tizpatum your servant: If in truth my lord truly[33] loves Shuna and Ili-Ištar his servant, then quickly send me one hundred troops and your strong servant[34] and save your city and your servant. Otherwise the enemy will surely(?) destroy it. Now concerning me, the man threatening him (is saying) as follows, "How can he marry the daughter of Zimri-Lim and be subservient to Zimri-Lim!"[35] Let my father and lord take note of this (X 98).

Ili-Ištar is the ruler of Shuna; elsewhere he is called "the ruler (lit., man) of Shuna.[36] He is obviously the person who in line 13f. is married to (or marrying) the daughter of Zimri-Lim, i.e., Tizpatum. On the other hand, the LÚ ṣarmušu is a person hostile to Zimri-Lim and who is attempting to dissuade Ili-Ištar from submission to the king of Mari. This person must be the enemy (KÚR) who is threatening the city (cf. lines 10-11), the crisis which prompted this letter. Whether Ili-Ištar was not sufficiently strong to resist his hostile neighbor or whether his loyalty to Zimri-Lim was questionable from the start is unclear. But it was

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probably the precariousness of this situation in Shuna which prompted Zimri-Lim to give his daughter in marriage to Ili-Ištar. This appears even more likely when it is remembered that Shuna was located in the turbulent north country, perhaps not far from Ašnakkum, one of the city-states characterized as ready to oppose Zimri-Lim.[37] Zimri-Lim must have hoped that this union of the houses of Mari and Shuna would assure the loyalty of Ili-Ištar to himself.

No evidence is available for assessing the role Tizpatum may have played in the rule of Shuna. Since the motive for this marriage was approximately the same as in the case of Inib-Šarri and Kiru, it may be that Tizpatum possessed authority similar to her sisters' in their respective cities.

Other Daughters of Zimri-Lim

In addition to Inib-Šarri, Kiru, Tizpatum and Erišti-Aja, Zimri-Lim had other daughters. Ibbatum, Duḫšatum, Kiḫila, Aḫatum, Hazala and Naramtum are all designated as mārāt šarrim in C i.6-13. Only for Inib-Šina the ugbabtum, who heads this list (lines 4-5), is there any evidence that any woman in this list is the daughter of a king other than Zimri-Lim.[38] Presumably, then, the others are all daughters of Zimri-Lim.[39] Of these additional daughters little is known beyond the

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fact that they received rations from the palace stores.

Naramtum is the writer of three letters (X 44-46), all of a generally unhappy tenor, but which reveal little about the actual circumstances of the writer. One other text records that she sent (to the palace) some linen garments (IX 129).

Daughters of Other Kings

Little is preserved concerning the daughter of kings other than Zimri-Lim. Sumu-jamam, an obscure king who reigned after Jaḫdun-Lim on the throne of Mari,[40] is known to have had a daughter by the name of Takunḫatum (A.4634:9).[41] In a unique transaction, Ištar-tappi, the daughter of Jaḫdun-Lim,[42] borrowed ten shekels of silver from the temple of Šamaš; instead of interest she is to sacrifice two rams (to Šamaš, VII 48). In addition, Jaḫdun-Lim had many other daughters, for the Assyrian usurpers left behind correspondence concerning the disposition of some 18 daughters of Jaḫdun-Lim. In a letter to his son Jasmaḫ-Addu, Šamši-Adad counsels that the now grown daughters (SAL.TUR.MEŠ)[43] of Jaḫdun-Lim should be sent to Shubat-Enlil to learn the art of singing (nārūtum, I 64). In another letter, of which the address is lost but which is surely written to Jasmaḫ-Addu by one of his officials,[44] the writer recalls how the 18 daughters (TUR.SAL.MEŠ) of Jaḫdun-Lim had been

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given to him in compensation for some other female slaves whom he had given to a third party. These 18 princesses are undoubtedly identical with the 18 women who in line 18 are called musicians (zāmirātum). Finet is certainly correct in equating these last women with those described in I 64.[45] It should be observed here that, while the royal origin of these princesses was remembered, their Assyrian masters did not treat them very differently than the other women who also fell into their hands by right of conquest. They were given away to lesser officials as were the other slaves. In deference to their royal origin they were not, however, assigned to the textile industry as were the majority of female captives, at least under Zimri-Lim.

Political Marriages

It is fitting to conclude this chapter on princesses with a word about political marriages. Dynastic marriages were common throughout the history of Mesopotamia as a means of forming or strengthening alliances. Perhaps nowhere is its use so well documented as by the northern Mesopotamian kings during the Mari period.[46]

Among the best known of these dynastic marriages was the famous marriage Šamši-Adad arranged between his son Jasmaḫ-Addu and the daughter of the king of Qatna.[47]

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Šamši-Adad's son and successor, Išme-Dagan, in turn, effectively utilized the political marriage to strengthen his power by taking the daughter of Zaziya, king of the Turukkū,[48] as wife for his son Mut-Askur (II 40).

Zimri-Lim was himself the subject of such a marriage. He married Shibtu, the daughter of Jarim-Lim of Aleppo, king of Jamḫad. With the help of his father-in-law, Zimri-Lim wrested the throne of Mari from the control of the Assyrians. He soon asserted his independence from his father-in-law. Nevertheless, relations continued to be friendly, a situation no doubt due in part to the dynastic marriage involved.

Perhaps schooled by his own experience, Zimri-Lim regularly utilized the political marriage as part of his own imperial policy to secure his frontiers. It has already been observed how Zimri-Lim married off his daughter Tizpatum to Ili-Ištar, king of Shuna, and another daughter Kiru to Ḫaja-Sumu of Ilanṣura. And if this writer's analysis is correct, Zimri-Lim arranged also for the marriage of his daughter Inib-Šarri to Ibal-Addu of Ašlakka. All of these kinglets were located in the upper country in or neighboring on Idamaraz. This whole area was in constant political ferment and subject to constantly shifting allegiance. The dynastic marriage was one part of Zimri-Lim's policy for bringing and keeping it under his hegemony.

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Zimri-Lim may have given yet another daughter in a political marriage. In V.I 26 Baḫdi-Lim reports the arrival in Mari of messengers from Aškur-Addu, king of Karana, opening negotiations for an alliance. Aškur-Addu, upon advice from his countrymen, offers to recognize Zimri-Lim as his suzerain, on the condition that the latter send his daughter in marriage.[49] The outcome of these negotiations is not preserved. But we may suppose that Zimri-Lim did not spurn this opportunity to expand his hegemony, since other documents reveal Aškur-Addu as an ally of Zimri-Lim.

As did other rulers of his day, Zimri-Lim employed the dynastic marriage in securing alliances with neighboring kingdoms and in gaining or maintaining control over his own burgeoning kingdom. The difference between Zimri-Lim and his contemporaries, to judge from the available evidence, is that Zimri-Lim additionally invested his daughter-queens with real authority in their respective states. Sometimes, as in the case of Inib-šarri and Kiru, these marriages turned out to be unhappy ventures. But in a culture which institutionalized the subordination of women, the feelings of the woman involved were considered unimportant. Indeed, by contemporary standards, Zimri-Lim's policies regarding women, particularly the women of his own family, may be regarded as unusually enlightened.

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Notes:

[1]For Inibšina, see below, "The ugbabtum Priestess," 121-124; for Erišti-Aja, see below, "Erišti-Aja, A nadītum," chapter 5.

[2]For a summary of relations between Zimri-Lim and Ibal-Addu of Ašlakka, see Finet, "Iawi-Ilâ, roi de Talḫayum," Syria 41 (1964), 135-36. For the approximate location of Ašlakka, see Dossin, "A propos de la tablette administrative," Syria 41, 22; Finet, ibid.

[3]Römer, Frauenbriefe, 49, restores la ta-ba[-at$^{??}$-ta$^{??}$-]a-qí "unter[brich (?? die Arbeit)] nicht."

[4]For the reading and interpretation of MU.DU, see Finet, ARMT XV, 218; Bottéro, VII, 208-10; Birot, IX, 253-54. Cf. further Edzard, Altbabylonische Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden aus Tell ed-Dēr im Iraq Museum, Baghdad, 89.

[5]The passage is not without difficulties. Not only is the context cryptic, but also the scribe was unusually careless: aš-šum ṭe$_4$-mi-im ša aš-pu-ra-ku-um / a-nu-um-ma ti-ir-ḫa-tum(sic!) a-na ṣe-er / LUGAL be-lí<-ia> uš-ta-bi-lu-nim "Concerning the report about which I wrote you--now they have brought the terḫatum to the king my lord." One wonders if the "5 (6?) mines of silver of

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the woman" referred to in line 22 is the amount of the terḫatum.

[6]Itur-Asdu began his career as a barû under Jasmaḫ-Addu. Under Zimri-Lim he was promoted to governor of Naḫur--the position he occupies in the present correspondence--and eventually to superintendent of the palace at Mari; see Dossin, "Revelation," RA 42 (1948), 125-26; Finet, RA 53 (1959), 68; Rencontre XIV, 92.

[7]The translation of II 113.4 by CAD Ṣ, 39, "gather (your household)" for šutaṣbitī is not appropriate, as recognized now in the revised translation of CAD K, 229. The parallel passage from X 76.5f.: a-al-ki wa-ar⌈-ka-at⌉ / ⌈a⌉-wa-ti-ki pu-⌈ur⌉-s⌈i-ma⌉ "Go. Take care of your (own) affairs" seems to imply that Zimri-Lim was instructing his daughter to give her marriage and residence in Ašlakka another try before taking the drastic and final step of divorce and returning to her father at Mari.

[8]See de Vaux, RB 44 (1935), 397-412, reprinted in Bible et Orient, 407-23. Cf. also Jastrow, Revue Archéologique, V[e] série (14), 209-238; Driver and Miles, The Assyrian Laws, 133-44.

[9]Contrary to de Vaux, ibid., 411, qaqqada(m) katāmu is not attested in the Middle Assyrian Laws. qaqqada(m)

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katāmu kuttumu is, however, attested in later ritual and magical texts, cf. CAD K 299 and 301; CAD Ṣ 224; but these passages do not bear on the question of veiling for a bride or wife.

[10]#40-41.

[11]Cf. iktumma ibrī kīma kallati panū[šu] "my friend veiled his face like a bride" (Gilgamesh VIII ii 17); cf. also kallatum kuttumtum "veiled bride" as an epithet of "Night" (Maqlu I 2; KAR 94,5; JNES 19 (1960), p. 32, 45, and p. 33, 53).

[12]The one-sided view expressed by Inib-Šarri is perhaps somewhat exaggerated. Ibal-Addu is perhaps genuinely concerned in his request for news of Inib-Šarri's well-being: [šu-ul-ma-am ša i-ni-ib-LUGAL / šu-bi-li "Send me news of Inib-Šarri's well-being" (X 170.8-9). There are, however, no chronological indications in this text, so that it is impossible to be sure that it derives from the same period as Inib-Šarri's letters.

[13]We cannot prove that letters II 112-113 and X 76 written from Naḫur chronologically follow X 74 which tells of Inib-Šarri's miseries in Ašlakka. Nevertheless a comparison of the letters seems to confirm our hypothesis: 1) eli ša pānānu "more than before" (II 113.23; cf. X 76.10) seems to refer to her miseries in Ašlakka;

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2) the statement that she has not received sufficient food or drink since leaving her father's presence (II 113.20-22) appears subsequent to the situation described in X 74.22f.; 3) Zimri-Lim's instructions to his daughter to go and take care of her house (in Aššlakka, II 113.4; X 76.5-6) refers apparently to a house which she is already in possession of, but from which she is now absent. Perhaps also relevant here is the passage in X 79.8-11: ⌜i-na⌝ a-lim^{k}[i?] ú-še-ṣú-ni-in[-ni] ù a-na na-ḫu-ur^{ki} at-ta-al-kam! "They made me leave the city, and I went away to Naḫur"; the letter is broken, however, and no mention of Ibal-Addu is preserved.

[14]See above, n. 7.

[15]II 113.16-19; X 76.12-16.

[16]Note, however, the cautious statement of Birot, ARMT IX, 253 concerning the nature of MU.DU: "Les expéditeurs sont, en général, des personnages importants, comme dans les textes de la salle 110: princes vassaux ou alliés comme Šadû-Šarri et Šupram, hauts functionnairs (Ḫabdu-Malik, Meptûm, Zimri-Addu, Sammêtar), membres de la famille ou du harem royal (Narâmtum, Inib-šarri), collectivités locales (les "Anciens" de Zabalum, dans 241 8; cf. aussi les "Anciens" de Tizraḫ, dans VII, 130 2). Rien ne permet de discerner dans quelle mesure ces envois

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sont imposés or librement consentis, ni d'apprécier leur périodicité. Notons que dans le n° 178, MU.DU ne désigne pas l'impôt lui-même, mais l'envoi de son montant qui en a été fait par les "precepteurs" (bêl bilâtim); de même dans I, 73 13, MU.DU désigne les sommes envoyées par le gouverneur de district au titre du tribut."

[17]Ilanṣura was located within the country of Idamaraz, and not to the east of it as maintained by Rouault, RA 64 (1970), 109, for in X 113 the king of Ilanṣura is returning to (his) country of Idamaraz: i-na-an-na UD x KAM] ^{m}ḫa-ià-su-ʿúʾ[-mu-ú] a!-na ma-a!-at I-da-ma[-ra-az^{ki}] i-tu-ur-ra-ʿamʾ[-ma] "Now Ḫaja-Sumu will return in x days to the country of Iadmaraz." (lines 13-16).

[18]On Ḫaja-Sumu, see Huffmon, APNM, 32f.; Römer, Frauenbriefe, 7, with n. 4.

[19]On the tenuousness of Zimri-Lim's control of this area, see XIII 143 and the commentary by Finet, Syria 41 (1964), 136-37; RA 60 (1966), 23.

[20]ḫazannūtam waššābum is elsewhere approximated by the NA šākin māti...LÚ rēšišu ana LÚ ḫazannūti uššēšib "(after the death of the king) the governor of the country installed his officer as mayer" ABL 473:6 (tr. CAD Ḫ 166); however ḫazannum waššābum is common at Mari:

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waššāb ḫazannim ūl rittum "the seating of a mayor is not opportune" II 137.47; LÚ ḫazanni ina URU.KI [šēt]u wašib "he sits as the mayor in that city" II 109.9.

[21]anninum is a variant of annānum "here," see Laessøe, Shamshara Tablets, SH 856:7 with commentary; CAD A^2 131f.

[22]Also possible is qà-qà-ad!-ki!, but an expression qaqqadam turrum is otherwise unknown to me.

[23]X 33.5-6, cf. 17-18, is particularly difficult. Römer, Frauenbriefe, 8, has interpreted IG TA RU NA BA AŠ TI as a PN Igtarunabāštī. For grammatical reasons this must be rejected; the clause would be left incomplete. It seems preferable, even if it does not solve all difficulties, to regard this as a quasi proverb: iktarrû nabaštī with the motive or complaint following, ina šitammî awāt Šimatim "My life is almost extinguished (lit., they have almost extinguished my life) by constantly hearing Šimatum's complaints!" See AHw 452 karû G3, Gtn2; see esp. BWL 245:47. The forms nabaštī (= Bab. napištī) and šitammî (= Bab. šitemmî) are Assyrian; it appears that the scribe was Assyrian, as evidenced also in his writing ⌜i⌝-ti-in[-ši] (line 34) for iddin-ši.

[24]Šimatum appears to have enjoyed a certain familiarity with Zimri-Lim, e.g., she addresses him as "Star" (X 95.1); for the implications of this address, see Moran,

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Biblica 50, 44-45 and 33. Another indication of her intimacy with the king is that she expected regular news concerning his well-being (X 94.14). In X 95.5-6 Šimatum recalls that Zimri-Lim gave her out for adoption, which may imply that she was his daughter, perhaps by an inferior wife. (But see Römer, Frauenbriefe, 65, n. 3, who suggests that this may only be another example of the king giving away a person as a slave.) Kiru also appears in this text, along with a mysterious gardner. Unfortunately the text is illegible at this point. Šimatum requested from Zimri-Lim a lapis lazuli seal bearing her name so that her missives cannot be mistaken (95.7′-12′; cf. II 115.15-17). She was also at pains to maintain her reputation before the king in the face of slanderous accusations (II 115.9-14). From all these indications it would seem that Šimatum was a very important woman. The history of her early career is perhaps given in the obverse of X 94; however the key words are lost and we are left in uncertainty. (But see Moran's treatment, Biblica 50, 43f., which is very doubtfully restored.) There is no apparent connection between this Šimatum and the woman who in XIII 1.v.15 is in charge (NÍG.ŠU) of thirty-one women and children, nor the woman who in IX 291.iv.24′ is identified as the slave of Ilšu-abušu, a woman of Tillazibi.

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[25]Kiru's return to Mari is presupposed by X 33.27-29 and X 135, which will be discussed below. Additionally we believe that X 31.14′-17′ was written from Mari, perhaps during this stay. In this last passage it is possible to argue that Kiru is preparing a house for the 32 young valets in her own city; however we interpret this passage to mean that she is managing their house in Mari: ša-ni-tam a-nu-um-ma 32 LÚ.TUR.MEŠ ša i-na É ma-ri^{ki} wa-aš-bu ⌜is⌝-tu i-na-an-na a-na e-pé-eš É-tim ša-a-ti ga-ti aš-ku-un "Another matter. Now the 32 valets who are residing in Mari--from this moment I myself have undertaken to direct(?) that house." bītam epēšum is ambiguous, cf. Römer, Frauenbriefe, 68. The valets (LÚ.TUR.MEŠ) in this instance appear to be young boys who need to be cared for and reared, as in X 176; for these functionaries see most recently Römer, ibid.

[26]The expression ištu pāni X amārum is otherwise not attested. Translation is from context.

[27]Zu-ḫatni, in the opinion of Rouault, RA 64 (1970), 108, was the commander of the army of Ḫaja-Sumu. See II 79.6-8 where he heads the combined forces of Ḫaja-Sumu and Subram, the king of Kirdaḫat. However in IX 298.12 he seems to be another of the several kinglets in the country of Idamaraz.

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[28]In VII 226.39 Jarim-Dagan is identified as LÚ du-un-ni-im^{ki}; cf. XII 239.5. In XIII 107 we learn that this man has changed residence from Dunnim to Ilum-muluk; and that Zimri-Lim has given orders for his secret liquidation. No reason is given for his fall into disfavor.

[29][i]l-na-an-na ù šum-ma a-na-ku sí-ni-ša-ku / [a-b]i ù be-lí a-na a-wa-ti-ia / [l]i-qú-ul (lines 7′-9′). For the concessive meaning of u šumma, see Moran, Biblica 50, 31, note on X 8.9. Cf. further X 90.29; 101.16.

[30]Possibly she is also the author of X 105; she calls herself "your daughter" to Dariš-libur, however this may only be a mark of respect to a top official who is her senior in age. The seal of Tizpatum is mentioned in X 116:30.

[31]See already Römer, Frauenbriefe, 39f.

[32]Or: i-a-ab-ba-as-su. Cf. CAD A^1 41f. abātu A, 1. Römer's emendation to i-ṣa-ab-ba-as-su is entirely unnecessary.

[33]For the difficult a-nam, see Römer, ibid., 39, n. 4.

[34]The identity of this person (official ?) is unknown to me.

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[35]For a similar expression of subservience, cf. ma-a-tam an-ni-tum [š]a a-na ṣe-ri-šu-nu ú-zu-un-ša tu-ur-ra-at id-da-ni-in it-ti-šu-nu it-ta-ki-ir "this country which became subservient to us reinforced itself and opened hostilities with them" (IV 24.20-23).

[36]Dossin, "L'ordalie à Mari," CRAIB (1958), 388. See further Dossin, "Ḫattuša dans une lettre de Mari," RHA tome 5, fasc. 35 (1939), 72, where Ili-Ištar protests his loyalty to his "father" Zimri-Lim; and IX 298.8. Perhaps this same person is referred to under the variant PN i-la-IŠDAR (VII 199.22′).

[37]II 62. See above, 64, with n. 19. On the location of Shuna, see Finet, ARMT XV, 135.

[38]See below, "The ugbabtum Priestess," 122-24.

[39]An unnamed daughter (SAL.TUR) of the king, surely Zimri-Lim, is mentioned in another ration list (VII 206.10′). Presumably she is one of the princesses already known from elsewhere.

X 47, a badly broken tablet, contains the message of one ^{f}ia-x[ ] DUMU.MÍ-tá-ka[-a(-ma)], reporting how she was robbed. That this letter was addressed to Zimri-Lim is not certain.

[40]Sumu-jamam can now be shown to have reigned after

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Jaḫdun-Lim, thus eliminating the uncertainty of Dossin, RA 64.(1970), 18. A recently published text (Dossin, RA 65 (1971), 54) lists a PN Ša Dûr-Ia-aḫ-du-li-im (A.3562. xiii.27). This text is dated [Šanat Su-m]u-ia-ma-am [Ḫa-la-bi-it(?)]^{ki} [i-pu]-šu "Year in which Sumu-jamam built Ḫalabit(?)." Obviously then, the reign of the king after whom the fortress was named was chronologically prior to that of Sumu-jamam.

[41]See RA 64 (1970), 43.

[42]Boyer (ARMT VIII, 70, n. 2), on the contrary, argues that this woman must not be the daughter of the king of Mari by that name, since it is difficult to imagine this princess falling into such straits that she would need to borrow from the temple. It seems to this writer, however, that the unusual character of the loan, especially the matter of interest, requires the opposite conclusion.

[43]See below, n. 45.

[44]Finet, "Une lettre de récriminations au vice-roi de Mari, Iasmaḫ-Addu," AIPHOS 15, 17-32, esp. 25f.

[45]Ibid., 26-27. Absolute certainty cannot be had, however, as to whether these women were the real daughters of Jaḫdun-Lim. Caution is required because of the variation in the writing of the logogram, SAL.TUR (I 64) and

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TUR.SAL (B6). SAL.TUR normally stands for ṣuḫartum or the like; however on occasion it stands for mārtum, as in I 46.11; VII 206.10′; X 26.6, in place of normal TUR.SAL. The weight of the argument in favor of reading mārātum because of the writing TUR.SAL in B6 may be negated by the multiple occurrences of TUR.SAL in that same text in situations where ṣuḫarātum may well be intended.

[46]Korošec, "Relations internationales d'après les lettres de Mari," Rencontre XV, 142; Bottéro, Histoire, 212; J.M. Munn-Rankin, "Diplomacy in Western Asia," Iraq 18 (1956), 94-95.

[47]I 24; 46; 77; A.2548 (= BARB 40 (1954), 422); cf. II 51.

[48]On Zaziya, see further Laessøe, The Shemshara Tablets, 40-42; Page, "The Tablets from Tell-al-Rimah 1967," Iraq 30, 89-90.

[49]Perhaps one should compare here the reference to the setting up of the king's throne in Andariq, X 165. 13-15.

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Chapter 3

Addu-duri and Other Servants of the King

In this chapter we examine the activities of some women whose exact titles or functions cannot be determined but who contributed in greater or lesser degree to the administration of the realm. These women do not belong to the royal family. They seem to constitute a category to themselves, women who through one means or another came to hold important positions.

Addu-duri

In the first chapter the role of the queen was discussed. Here we follow with a consideration of another woman who exercised a function very like that of the queen. This woman, Addu-duri by name, enjoyed great prestige with the king and was often pressed into service by him for one of his special projects. In addition she evidently served in some kind of capacity in the administration of the city Mari. As Addu-duri's identity is somewhat obscure, we shall analyze her function first and only then discuss her relationship to the king and the queen.

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Although we are unable to determine her exact title, Addu-duri served in an official capacity with jurisdiction over a broad area. Her jurisdiction included the palace and the temples, as is readily evident from her correspondence. These are the areas with which she is most involved. Nevertheless her jurisdiction was not limited to the palace and the temples, but included the whole of the capital city. In her official reports to the king Addu-duri reports primarily on the well-being of the palace (X 54.4-5; 55.5; cf. 57.6), but may include her other areas of responsibility as well: a-l[um m]a-ri^{ki} É.ḪI.A DINGIR.MEŠ.ḪI.A [ša-al-ma É].GAL-lum ša-lim "The city Mari and the temples of the gods are safe, the palace is safe" (X 54.4-5). These are the same kinds of reports that other officials in Mari send to the king.[1]

The palace and its direction come up specifically in letter X 57. Addu-duri is hard put to answer the palace-servants (gerseqqu) who have come to her for an explanation. One of their fellow servants who has served in this very palace from the time he was a youth has been callously given away to someone else as a gift, now that he is an old man. But our interest is not in the heartless uprooting of a loyal servant past his prime. It is in the fact that the man's fellows come to Addu-duri to complain. They recognize her as the king's official from

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whom an accounting is due. However the decision was not hers, and she must submit the grievance to the king for redress. This letter confirms that Addu-duri's place of residence was in the palace (line 6). So what is elsewhere called the "house of Addu-duri" (XI 68.6-7; XII 141.15; 146.4-5) is in all likelihood a part of the palace.[2]

Addu-duri's other major area of jurisdiction, the temples and related cultic matters, occasions many letters. Like other important officials, she transmits with relative frequency various "prophetic" messages to the king. In X 50 she transmits the ominous oracle of the muḫḫutum in the temple of Annunitum, along with the legally required symbols of the prophetess.[3] She proceeds similarly in the case of the ʾāpilum who prophesied in the temple of Ḫišametim (X 53). Additionally, the woman Timlu reports portents to Addu-duri, "her mistress" (X 117). The šangûm of the temple of Itur-Mer did likewise, as she sends his dream to Zimri-Lim (X 51). Nor does she omit her own ominous dream (X 50.3-21).

Addu-duri's responsibility in matters of the official cult is particularly evident in the incident involving the construction of a throne in the temple of Annunitum. The king had, so it seems, determined to adorn the temple door with some golden tulû,[4] a proposal which meets with the disapproval of the temple administrator.[5] The con-

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troversy is recorded in X 52:

ra-na be-lí-ia
qí-bí-ma
um-ma fdIM-du-ri
GEMÉ-ka-a-ma
aš-š[u]m tu-le-e [G]UŠKIN
[š]a? an-nu-ni-tim
ma-ḫu-um LÚ.SANGA
il-li-ka-am-ma
ki-a-am iq-bi-e-em
um-ma-mi a-na na-[da]-ni-im
ú-ul ri-it-t[u-u]m
iš-tu-ma GIŠ.GU.ZA ša il-tim
in-ne-ep-pí-šu
te-er-tum li-in-ne-pí-iš-ma
GUŠKIN-šu li-il-l[i]-qé-ma
a-na GIŠ.GU.ZA ša il-tim
li-in-ne-pí-iš

To my lord say, thus (says) Addu-duri, your servant: Concerning the golden tulū of[6] Annunitum, Aḫum the temple administrator came to me and said as follows: "It is not appropriate to give (it)." If indeed the throne of the goddess is to be constructed, then let its gold be taken and made into the throne of the goddess.

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Aḫum's objection was sustained. The question was submitted to the deity for an answer. The outcome is given in another of Addu-duri's letters to the king:

ša-ni-tam i-nu-ma
SISKUR.SISKUR.RE GIŠ.GU.[Z]A
ša É an-nu-ni-tim
15) SISKUR.SISKUR.RE aq-qí-ma
t[e-r]e-tum ma-di-iš!
š[a?-al?-m]a? i-na 1 te-er-tim
a-[ša]-al-lu
⌜i⌝[-na] ša-ni-tim
20) a-ša!-al-lu[-ma? e?-p]u?-úš

Another matter. At the time of the sacrifice for the throne of the temple of Annunitum, I offered sacrifice. And the omens were very favorable(?). I consulted with one omen; I consulted with a second.[7] Then I proceeded(?) (X 55.12-20).

If our reading of the text is correct, Addu-duri ends by stating that she proceeded to carry out the will of the deity as expressed in the omens. Be that as it may, it is perfectly obvious that Addu-duri has proceeded throughout the incident as the king's responsible officer in charge of such matters. Aḫum came to her first to complain; Addu-duri consults the king for instructions. She then initiates the sacrifices and accompanying omen-taking to arrive at a decision.

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Addu-duri's concern with omens and sacrifices is taken up again in other texts. In X 54 she cautions the king not to be negligent in guarding himself but to proceed in accordance with the favorable omens--omens which she evidently had sent him. The same subject seems to be taken up again in a letter of the king to Addu-duri (X 142.4f.); in line 13 there is a question of sacrifice, but the broken text does not reveal who offered it. The end of the tablet again mentions sacrifice. The king orders Addu-duri: tup-pí an-ni-e-em i-na še-me-em ṭe$_4$-em SISKUR.SISKUR.RE.ḪI.A ša ^{d}di-ri-tim lu! šu-ta-aṣ-bu-ut a-ḫu-um la in-na-ad-di "Upon (your) hearing this tablet, let plans be made for the sacrifice of Diritum. Do not be negligent!" (lines 28-31). Addu-duri has full responsibility for seeing that the sacrifice is properly carried out; she will be held accountable for it. Likewise in X 144 the king acknowledges a letter from Addu-duri in which she states that she has been diligent in seeing to the sacrifices in the temples of all the gods (SISKUR.SISKUR.RE.ḪI.A É DINGIR.MEŠ); and Zimri-Lim then cautions her against future laxity in this matter. It is evident from these passages that Addu-duri is acting on the king's behalf and has the responsibility for seeing that the official cult is properly conducted while the king is away from Mari.

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Knowledge of Addu-duri's official capacity illuminates other more cryptic passages. In one letter to Addu-duri, Zimri-Lim announces that he will set out from Zinijan to appear before Dagan of Ṣubatim, where he will satisfy the demands of the god:

pa-ni ^{d}da-gan ša ṣú-ba--tim^{ki}
at-ta-na-ap-la-ás
15) ù ḫi-ṭi-ti-šu
ma-li i-ri-ša-an-ni
a-na-ad-di-in
u-ul a-ka-la

I will look continually upon the face of Dagan of Ṣubatim and his loss[8]--however much he has requested of me--I will give. I will not withhold (anything) (X 143.13-18).

If our interpretation is correct, the sanctuary of Dagan at Ṣubatim has suffered some loss. It is impossible to say whether the king was in any way negligent or responsible. In any case the king promises to make good any damages when he visits the sanctuary. However it is Addu-duri's role in the matter which interests us. That the king should assure her that the affair will be taken care of may mean she had a special interest in this sanctuary. At the minimum it confirms Addu-duri's close connection with the official cult.[9]

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Another text (XI 68) seems to say that Addu-duri furnished certain cereals for cultic use for the qilusatum feast.[10] This is a receipt for items furnished from the "house" of Addu-duri for the qilusatum; it apparently refers to items furnished in her capacity as an official, not as a private person.

If the preceding texts establish Addu-duri's close supervision of and responsibility for the official cult, other texts confirm that her official duties also included secular affairs. That she exercised some kind of jurisdiction over the palace has already been established. It is as an administrator of the palace that Addu-duri controls various kinds of supplies. On one occasion when wool was in short supply in Mari, Mukannišum wrote to the king asking that a sack of special Babylonian wool sealed with the king's own seal be opened. So he requests, "Let my lord write to Addu-duri that this sack be opened in front of her..." (XIII 10.15-17). Addu-duri is the person responsible for the overseeing of supplies, as Mukannišum is responsible for the operations of the textile industry.[11]

Addu-duri is also active in various legal matters. In another group of texts Addu-duri investigates for the king disputes over property and money. In II 114 she reviewed (sanāqum) the claims of two parties to an estate(?) belonging to a brother of one of the parties

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and then sends the case to the king for settlement. In X 58 she is again reviewing (sunnuqum) a case concerning a sum of money. One party claimed that a deposit of money had been left in the keeping of the other, but could produce no evidence to substantiate the claim. Although not explicitly stated, Addu-duri also sent this case to the king for his judgment.[12]

Addu-duri was, in addition, a capable administrator. Zimri-Lim called upon her to accomplish certain tasks for him. Two letters from Zimri-Lim contain his instructions to Addu-duri commissioning her to have ceremonial weapons(?) made for him. The earlier letter gives us the details:

a-na ^{fd}IM-du-ri
qí-bí-ma
um-ma be-el-ki-i-ma
i-na ki-ir-re-et KÙ.BABBAR ra-ab-bi-e-tim
5) ša ḫa-a-ià-⌜i⌝-lu-ú
ú-ša-bi-la-ak-ki-im
1 ki-ir-re KÙ.BABBAR ra-bi-im-ma
li-qí-e-ma
⌜x⌝ [š]a-ti wa-ki-il LÚ.[ ]
10) [ ].MEŠ be-e-e[l]
ù ki-ir-re[-tim ša-ni-tim]
šu-ta-aṣ-b[i-ti-ma]
a-na DUMU.MEŠ U[RUDU$^{?}$.NAGAR$^{?}$]

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id-ni-[ma]

15) 8 ka!-ak-ki-i KÙ.BABB[AR]

ša 2/3 ÀM MA.NA

li-pu-šu-ma

ar-ḫi-iš a-na ṣe-ri-ia

li-ša-ak-ši-du-nim

20) [na]-aš-pa-ar-ti-ia an-ni-tim

⌜a⌝-ḫi-ki la ta-na-ad-di-i

To Addu-duri say, thus (says) your lord: From the large silver jugs, which Ḫaja-ilu sent to you, take 1 large silver jug and.....But prepare(?) the other jugs and give (them) to the metal-smiths(?), so that they can make 8 gold weapons (weighing) 2/3 mine each. And then have them quickly brought to me. Do not be negligent (in carrying out) this order of mine! (X 146).

A subsequent letter (X 145) recalls Addu-duri's reply to this order (lines 4-11), which may be an objection that the metal was insufficient to make the prescribed weapons. Zimri-Lim's answer is lost. These letters confirm Addu-duri's capacity as an official of the king. In the first place, the fact that Ḫaja-ilu sent the vessels intended for the king to Addu-duri demonstrates that this provincial king(?) knew that Addu-duri was the proper official to receive such gifts. The fact that these vessels were already under the direction of Addu-duri

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may account for the reason why the king sends the instructions for converting them into ceremonial weapons to her. But it also proves that she had an office and the authority to accomplish such matters. Therefore it is also likely that other broken letters, were they better preserved, would reveal her administrative powers in other areas; she has some hand in the matter of white horses from Qatanum (X 147) and is concerned about runaway palace slaves (X 60) and slaves who have escaped from the prison (X 150).

Addu-duri's office must have given her not only power but also considerable wealth. For she was required to pay a tax to the crown. There are several receipts preserved which record the tax paid to Ilukanum, the king's bursar (XII 141.15; 146; 242). XII 141 includes her together with other royal appointees--vassal kings or high officials--who have paid a tax to the king. And if text IX 237 were preserved completely, Addu-duri's name would surely appear on that tablet as well, as many of the names of the vassal kings and other important officials of the realm are the same as in XII 141.

The importance of Addu-duri cannot be doubted. She ranks among the high officials of Mari. Zimri-Lim trusted in her abilities. Indeed, she would at times appear to rival the queen in the amount of confidence

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the king placed in her abilities, for she performed many of the same functions as the queen both in cultic and secular affairs. Addu-duri, however, did not enjoy the personal prerogatives of the queen; she had no power which she exercised independently of an explicit royal command. Nor did Addu-duri's authority extend beyond the city of Mari, as did the queen's. In short, her authority was not nearly as pervasive as was the queen's. Just the same, she remains an unusually powerful woman in the reign of Zimri-Lim.

But who was this Addu-duri? As already stated, her official title is unknown. Impressions of her seal reportedly read (il)Addu-du-r[i] / amat Ḫa-ad-ni-Ēl "Addu-duri, servant of Ḫadni-El."[13] Should this be the correct reading, Addu-duri would be the servant of an obscure figure--perhaps an army commander--named Ḫatni-El/Ḫatni-iluma.[14] However, it is almost certain that the name of Addu-duri's master is incomplete. The correct reading of the seal would appear to be $^{\lceil f \rceil d}$IM-du-r[i] / [G]EMÉ ḫa-at-ni-^{d}[x] "^{f}Addu-duri, servant of Ḫatni-^{d}[...].[15] Of the possible candidates, the name of Ḫatni-^{d}Addu appears most likely. According to an unpublished text, Ḫatni-Addu was a king of some unspecified region who lost his life in battle.[16] If Addu-duri was a servant of this king, she must have made her way to Mari--or was taken there--after the

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death of her master. Zimri-Lim rocognized her talents and employed her in his service.

On the other hand, there is the possibility that Addu-duri came with Zimri-Lim and Shibtu from Aleppo at the time Zimri-Lim regained the throne of his father. From the correspondence of Shibtu with her father, Jarim-Lim king of Aleppo, it emerges that Shibtu was particularly interested in the fortunes of one Ḫatni-Addu. She requested of her father that a certain field be given to this man to cultivate. Jarim-Lim responded that, due to unfortunate circumstances, this was not possible; however he would give him another comparable field (X 151).[17] The queen's interest in this particular man could provide the link to Addu-duri's importance under Zimri-Lim. If Addu-duri was his servant and Ḫatni-Addu was a favorite of Queen Shibtu and Zimri-Lim, then Addu-duri perhaps received preferential treatment because of her master's favor at the court of Zimri-Lim. Even so, the circumstances surrounding Addu-duri's coming to Mari remain obscure.

Ama-dugga

Ama-dugga,[18] as has long been known, was a servant of Šamši-Adad who later passed into the service of Zimri-Lim.[19] She is known primarily from her seal, which identifies her as a servant of Šamši-Adad.[20] She

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evidently came to Mari with the Assyrian take-over. But like some other Assyrian officials, Ama-dugga's talents were utilized by Zimri-Lim when he ousted Jasmaḫ-Addu. Although her function under Jasmaḫ-Addu is not known, under Zimri-Lim she seems to have served as supervisor of kitchen supplies. Her seal is imprinted on numerous oil receipts and on a few receipts for cereals. Nevertheless, her function is somewhat ambiguous. Apart from a single text, where she personally receives a delivery of honey (XI 270), her name appears only in the seal impression. Normally the name of some other functionary who receives the oil or grain appears in the text of the receipt itself. These officials are either Ilukanum, Ili-Ašraja, or Balumenuḫḫe. At least one of these functionaries, Ilukanum,[21] had his own seal; so why they used Ama-dugga's seal is yet to be explained. Perhaps they served under her and the stamp of her seal implied that these men were but her assistants and that responsibility for the accuracy of their work lay with Ama-dugga herself.

Kunšimatum

Kunšimatum is another of those persons who survived the transfer of power from Jasmaḫ-Addu to Zimri-Lim. Her days under Jasmaḫ-Addu are attested by the single letter X 3, which she wrote to the Assyrian king of Mari.

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Although the letter is badly broken, enough remains to confirm that she was an important lady. All indications point to her permanent residence being in Terqa. In Zimri-Lim's time it was the governor of Terqa who wrote informing the king of an illness which struck Kunšimatum (III 63-64). Previously, in her letter to Jasmaḫ-Addu, Kunšimatum reminded the Assyrian vice-king that she prays for him before Dagan, surely in Terqa. Her position is ambiguous. From her own letter Kunšimatum appears to have served both a civil and a religious function. Jasmaḫ-Addu reprimanded her for detaining Atta-ili(AN)-ma, a man otherwise unknown (X 3.3-6). After a long broken section, Kunšimatum complained that she has been unjustly slandered (lines 1′-9′), and then continued:

10′) a-na-ku ka-ri-ib-ta-ka I[GI ^{d}]da-gan
ú É-tu ša e-pí-šu ša-[l]i-im
am-mi-nim ki-a-am ma-di-iš i-na [li-]ib-bi-ka
uš-te-ṣú-ni-in-ni eb-bi-ka
šu-ḫi-iz-ma ú bi-it-ka li-ip-qí-du
15′) a-na-ku i-na É-ti-ka mi-na-am èl-qé
bu-[ul-li-iṭ] na-pí-iš-ti
ú-ul ti-de-[e] [ki$^{?}$]-ma$^{!}$ (= am)
an-na-tu-um ša IGI ^{d}d[a-]gan
ak-ta-na-ra-ba-[k]u-um
20′) um-ma-mi [ia-ás-m]a-aḫ-^{d}IM
lu ša-li-im-ma

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ú a-na-ku i-na ṣí-i[l-l]i-su
lu!-ud-mi-iq

I am the one who prays for you before Dagan. And the house which I manage is fine. Why, then, have they so completely alienated me from your affections? Instruct your controllers that they should inspect your house. What have I taken from your house? Save my life. Do you not know that(?) these[22] are (the words) which I constantly pray before Dagan for you: "Let all be well with Jasmaḫ-Addu. And let me be pleasing under his protection."

According to her own words Kunšimatum exercises some kind of administrative role, managing Jasmaḫ-Addu's "house" in Terqa. It was a position important enough to warrant an audit of the management by the king's controllers. If it were not for this aspect of Kunšimatum's role, we would assign her to the category of women priestesses and compare her role with that of the nadītum-princess, Erišti-Aja,[23] for her insistence upon her role as the king's prayer lady before Dagan implies that Kunšimatum herself considered this to be a major, if not the primary function in her life. Nevertheless it is difficult to believe that her words represent anything more than an exaggerated form of the prayers pious persons often recited for their benefactors.[24]

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Under Zimri-Lim Kunšimatum must have continued in her former capacity, for it was a matter of great concern when this woman became gravely ill. Kibri-Dagan, the governor of Terqa, had omens taken, which turned out favorable, whereupon he wrote assurances to the king not to worry.[25] Clearly her former importance had not diminished with the change in government.

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Notes:

[1]See above, "The Queen," 15-17.

[2]See the contrary opinion of Birot, ARMT IX, 262.

[3]I follow the interpretation of Soden (UF 1, 198) and Berger (UF 1, 209) who restore line 29f. šārti u sissikti s[inništim(MÍ)] aknukamma "I sealed (and sent to my lord) the hem and lock of the woman." These symbols were not required for dreams. Therefore the restoration of Moran (Biblica 50, 38 and cf. 20) and Ellermeier (Prophetie, 66) at the beginning of line 30, [anāku], "I myself seal my hem and lock...," is to be avoided.

[4]The tulū was evidently a part of the door; cf. 2 tu-[l]i ša GIŠ.GÁL.ḪI.A, RA 64 (1970), 21, 2.2, and cf. Dossin's discussion, ibid., 41. Or should the word be connected with tulū "breast," here perhaps breast-plates for the statue of Annunitum?

[5]On Aḫum, the šangûm of the Annunitum temple, see below, "The Prophetesses," 191.

[6]Perhaps instead of [š]a, one should read É, thus "the golden tulū of the house of Annunitum."

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d; the subjunctive may be a subjunctive of emphasis, cf. Finet, L'Accadien, #91f-h.

[8]Also possible is it!-ti-šu, in which case one should translate, "Regarding him (i.e. Dagan), whatever he demands of me I will give."

[9]In this connection one perhaps ought to adduce text VII 105 in which there is mention of the sacred property (asakkum) of Adad of Terqa(??). Addu-duri's name occurs on the reverse. However the broken condition of the tablet precludes determining whether Addu-duri has any connection with the sacred property, or even the purpose of the tablet.

[10]This may have been a West-Semitic feast; cf. AHw 921 qilā/ūsātum. In VII 263.i.7 the feast is said to be in honor of Itur-mer (qí-la-sa-tim ša ^{d}i-túr-me-er); cf. further Bottéro, ARMT VII, 343; Burke, ARMT XI, 132-33.

[11]For Mukannišum's connection with female weavers, see above, "The Queen,"18-19, and below, "The ugbabtum Priestess," 120-121.

[12]Addu-duri seems to be similarly involved in the settlement of legal claims involving money in X 56 and 59. Both of these letters are poorly preserved, however,

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and Addu-duri's precise function in each case is obscured. In the latter text there is mention of a qadištum of Annunitum, see below, "The qadištum," 173. The qadištum appears to be subject to the authority of Addu-duri. Addu-duri's supervisory role over the temples and temple personnel has already been discussed above, 89-91.

[13]MAM II, 227.

[14]The reading of this name is disputed. For the first element, I follow Huffmon, APNM 205-206; for the ambiguity of the sign AN, see ibid., 162-65. In the two writings of this PN which are definitely complete, the form is ḫa-at-ni-AN-ma (VI 38.13′; VIII 77.1). On Addu-duri's seal, as in II 45.6, the AN sign is followed by a break and may be incomplete. None of these PNs certainly ends with the AN sign.

[15]A glance at the photographs of Addu-duri's seal impressions, MAM II, 191, fig. 109, and pl. XLVII, #227, shows that the imprint is barely complete at the beginning and broken at the end. The AN sign in the second register is certainly followed by another sign now lost in the break.

[16]Kupper, RA 53 (1959), 99. This is perhaps the same Ḫatni-Addu who had three daughters (A.4634.8; see

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RA 64 (1970), 43). The PNs in this text are ill-attested at Mari, and are perhaps all kings and their daughters.

[17]Cf. above, "The Queen," 11.

[18]Perhaps the Sumerian name AMA-DÙG-GA is to be given its Akkadian equivalent Ummi-ṭaba. The Akkadian name was a frequent one at Mari: IX 291.i.31; 24.iii.17; XIII 1.v.2; viii.39; xiii.24; xiv.27.

[19]See Birot, ARMT IX, 251; XII, 19.

[20]For a possible second seal of Ama-dugga which bears the title "Servant of Zimri-Lim," see ibid., XII, 19, n. 1.

[21]Ilukanum had two seals. The imprint of the first appears on VII 155. The imprint of his second seal appears on XI 12; 32, et passim; see also MAM II, 255.

[22]an-na-tu-um = F. pl. of annû "this." At Mari the plural is normally anni'atum > annêtum; annâtu(m) is the normal later form, cf. GAG #45, a.

[23]See below, "Erišti-Aja," 141-44.

[24]See below, chapter 10, 203-08.

[25][f ku-u]n-ši-ma-tum [im-ra-aṣ]-ma [ap-ta-la-]ah te-re-tum a-na šu-ul-mi-ša ú-še-pí-iš-ma te-re-tum ša-al-ma li-ib-bi be-lí-ia mi-im-ma la i-na-ḫi-id "Kunšimatum

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has become ill and I was concerned (about her condition). I have had omens taken for her health and the omens are favorable. May my lord not worry." (III 63.4-12, following the restorations of von Soden, Or 21 (1952), 85. Cf. III 64, with corrections by Falkenstein, BiOr 11 (1954), 117; see further Finet, AIPHOS 14, 127.

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Part II

Women in Religion

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Chapter 4

The ugbabtum Priestess[1]

Despite her high rank, Mesopotamian sources tell us little about the function of the ugbabtum. Her role is further obscured by the ambiguity of the sumerogram NIN.DINGIR, which is used for both the ugbabtum and the entum priestesses.[2] Because neither entum nor ugbabtum are syllabically spelled, except in rare instances,[3] it can be difficult to decide which of the two priestesses is meant in a given case. It is generally assumed that ugbabtum is meant, when the reference is to a priestess of less than the highest social rank or when more than one NIN.DINGIR is mentioned in the same text.[4]

Normally, the ugbabtum lived in a cloister, although she might live in the house of her father. Many of the same rules which governed the life of the nadītum applied to the ugbabtum as well. The ugbabtum was not permitted to marry or to bear children. She was of higher rank than the nadītum, but lower than the entum priestess. She might, however, be elevated to the rank of entum upon the death of the latter. The ugbabtum's role in the cult is not yet defined.[5]

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The Mari evidence may be grouped into three categories: 1) the ugbabtum of Dagan in Terqa and matters pertaining to her house, 2) the ugbabātum[6] (NIN.DINGIR.RA.MEŠ) of Adad of Kulmiš and 3) ugbabātum mentioned by name. Each of these categories will be examined in turn.

For knowledge of the first, the ugbabtum of Dagan in Terqa, we are dependent upon three letters of Kibri-Dagan, the governor of Terqa.[7] The background for this correspondence is only alluded to, a mere reference to the "house of the previous ugbabtum" (É ^{f}ug-ba-ab-tim pa-ni-tim, III 42.12; 84.5), which Kibri-Dagan is now (re-)building. As Renger[8] has observed, this "house of the previous ugbabtum" dates to the Assyrian interregnum. The Assyrian dynasty seems to have originated in Terqa, and the devotion of Šamši-Adad and his sons to Dagan of Terqa is well attested.[9] In the period of transfer of power from the Assyrian to the local dynast Zimri-Lim, the dwelling of the ugbabtum must have fallen into a state of disrepair. To judge from the sequel, even the office of ugbabtum was vacated. After having solidified his control over the throne of Mari, Zimri-Lim--whose own piety toward Dagan is much in evidence,[10] as was that of his father Jaḫdun-Lim[11]--set about to rectify this neglect, restoring the residence of the ugbabtum and appointing another priestess.

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In the (chronologically) first of Kibri-Dagan's letters, he states that he is undertaking this restoration at the direction of Zimri-Lim, "in accordance with what my lord wrote me previously, concerning the house in which the ugbabtum of Dagan is to live..." (III 42.7-10). Kibri-Dagan writes that he has had omens taken and that they were favorable. Accordingly he has started "to put that building in order and to oversee (the repair of) its chinks (in the wall)."[12]

But in a second letter Kibri-Dagan has cause for reservation. The letter is not entirely legible, but it appears that since the report given in the last letter certain difficulties have appeared. The question has come up whether this dwelling was proper for an ugbabtum (III 84.10 & 20f.). The objection is two-fold. The nature of the first is difficult to determine.[13] The second[14] objection was over the possibility that the residence of the priestess would be too close to that of a woman who made mirsum-pastries.[15] Apparently ugbabātum had to maintain a certain dignity, perhaps even a certain distance from profane activities. This is manifest not only in CH #110, forbidding the ugbabtum to enter a tavern, but also in the fact that ugbabātum as a rule resided in cloisters. The ugbabtum's house here is apparently viewed as a quasi-cloister. Accordingly, Kibri-Dagan writes that he has again had omens taken

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about the matter and that this time the god gave his approval: "he (the god) is in complete accord over the dwelling-place of the ugbabtum" (šu-ú a-na wa-ša-ab f ug-ba-ab-tim [k]a-la-šu du-um-mu-uq).[16] Nevertheless, Kibri-Dagan still has reservations and so asks the king to advise him further.

The outcome must have been that the house was indeed completed, for in the third letter there is the question of bringing the ugbabtum to Terqa, undoubtedly to live in the newly restored residence. The king had written to Kibri-Dagan to come to Mari, to the young ugbabtum,[17] apparently to escort her back to Terqa. Kibri-Dagan excuses himself from coming, because of the urgency of the project in which he is currently engaged. Instead, he urges the king himself to escort the girl to Terqa, "May my lord, out of the goodness of his heart, come up and himself kiss the feet of Dagan, the one who loves him! (Meanwhile) I will complete the work (here). I cannot possibly come!"

In this series of letters the ugbabtum of Dagan seems to be the equivalent of the entum priestess in Babylonia proper, that is, a single high priestess dedicated to the service of the principal god of a region.[18] The entum does not seem to be attested at Mari. Dagan, although one of the most important West-Semitic gods and the principal god of Terqa and the middle Euphrates region,

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is not one of the "great" gods of the Sumerian tradition, a fact which may explain why this god's priestess was an ugbabtum and not an entum. Bottéro[19] draws the connection with the entum even closer by comparing the "house" of this ugbabtum with the gipārum of the high priestess.

The second group of texts yields a somewhat different situation. A different god is involved, Adad of Kulmiš, and in this case there are a number of ugbabātum[20] involved, the exact number being unknown.[21] The location of Kulmiš is not known, and is, so far as I know, attested only in these texts.[22] However the unique feature about these ugbabātum of Adad of Kulmiš is their manner of "recruitment."

Because of its crucial importance, X 123 will be quoted at length:

a-na ^{f}ši-i[b-tu]
qí-bí-ma
um-ma be-el-ki-ma
as-su-ur-ri mi-im-ma ṭe$_4$-ma-am
5) te-še-em-me-e-ma li-ib-ba-ki
i-na-aḫ-ḫi-id mi-im-[m]a LÚ.KÚR a-na GIŠ.TUKUL
a-na pa-ni-ia ú-ul ip-ti-na-am
[š]u-⌜ul⌝-mu-um mi-im-ma li-ib-ba-ki
[la i-na]-aḫ-ḫi-id
10) ⌜ù(?)⌝ ^{d}IM ša kúl-mi-iš
[aš-]šum NIN.DINGIR.RA.MEŠ-šu-ma

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[da-]li-iḫ-tam an-ni-tam id-lu-uḫ

[i-n]a ṭup-pí ša-al-la-tim ša ú-ša-re-e-em

[NI]N.DINGIR.RA.MEŠ ša kúl-mi-iš

15) [ù] NIN.DINGIR.RA.MEŠ ša DINGIR.MEŠ

[a-ḫu]-ne-e i-na ṭup-pí-im i-di-ša-am šu-uṭ-ṭú-ra

[i]-na-an-na NIN.DINGIR.RA.MEŠ ša kúl-mi-iš-ma

a-na ra-ma-ni-ši-na a-na [at?-lu?-ki?-im?]

li-bi-ru TUG.ḪI.A lu-ub-bi-ši-ši-na-ti-ma

20) i-na x x x x ša 2 giš ma-ga-ar-ru-ša

ù [ ]x da? ši

li-š[a-ar?-ka?-bu?-ši-n]a-ti-ma

LÚ.TUR.MEŠ ša iš-tu an-na-nu-um-ma

ir-du-ši-na-t[i] a-na ṣe-ri-ia

25) li-ša-a[l-li-mu-nim]

ù eš-te-[me-ši-na-ti]

Tó Shibtu, say, thus (says) your lord: Perhaps you have heard some rumor and have become alarmed. No armed enemy has ever been able to withstand me! All is well; there is no reason for you to be alarmed. Now Adad of Kulmiš has caused this disturbance because of his ugbabātum! In the tablet of the prisoners-of-war which I sent, the ugbabātum of (Adad of) Kulmiš and the ugbabātum of the (other) gods were separately listed, each one individually, in (that) tablet. Now then, let them pick out the ugbabātum

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> of (Adad of) Kulmiš by themselves (i.e., as a separate group) for [...]. You clothe them with garments. Then they shall put them aboard(?) two-wheeled wagons(?) and.....Let the servants who brought them from here now conduct them back safely to me, and I will hear them out.

Apparently Zimri-Lim had suffered minor reverses in his campaign in the field, for his assurances to his queen and wife that there is really nothing to worry about appear to be a tacit admission that something has gone awry. Although there is no necessary connection between Zimri-Lim's troubles in the field and the following ugbabātum incident, we think that they were connected in the mind of Zimri-Lim. Unless "this disturbance" (line 12) harkens back to some incident reported by Shibtu in an unpreserved letter to the king, then "this disturbance" does refer to Zimri-Lim's reverses alluded to in the preceeding lines. If this is the case, then the king believes that his reverses are due to the displeasure of Adad, apparently because of some grievance on the part of the priestesses of this god, the nature of which will be investigated shortly.

The startling feature of this letter, however, is the revelation that these ugbabātum were acquired as prisoners-of-war (šallatum).[23] Were these ugbabātum in the service of Adad at a place named Kulmiš when they were

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captured, or were they assigned to the service of Adad of Kulmiš after they were captured? Our interpretation of the text would allow only the former possibility. This conclusion seems inescapable because of other letters which group the ugbabātum together with female-weavers (išparātum). In a letter to Shibtu, Zimri-Lim writes:

[a-n]u-um-ma ^{f}UŠ.BAR.MEŠ uš-ta-ri-ki-im
5) [i-n]a li-ib-bi-ši-na NIN.DINGIR.RA.MEŠ
[i-b]a-aš-še-e NIN.DINGIR.RA.MEŠ bi-ri-ma
a-na É ^{f}UŠ.BAR.MEŠ pí-iq-di-ši-na-ti

Now I have sent you some female-weavers; there are some ugbabātum among them. Pick out the ugbabātum and assign the others (lit., them) to the textile factory (X 126.4-7).'

It is not explicitly stated that the ugbabātum of Adad of Kulmiš were among this group, but it seems very likely that such is the case. The women that the king is sending were all taken as war booty (šallatum), as a comparison with X 125 makes clear:

a-na ^{f}ši-ib-tu
qí-bí-ma
um-ma be-el-ki-i-ma
aš-šum SAL.TUR.MEŠ ši-it-ri-im
5) i-na ša-al-la-tim ša ú-ša-re-em
bi-ri-im ša i-na pa-ni-tim
aš-pu-ra-am[-ma]

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i-na-an-na mi[-im-ma]

i-na ša-al-la-t[im] ša-a-t[i]

10) SAL.TUR.MEŠ ši-it-ra-am

la i-bi-ir-ru

SAL.TUR.MEŠ ši-na

a-na ^{f}UŠ.BAR-tim-ma

li-in-na-de-e

15) ša-al-la-tum a-na pa-ni-ia

ib-ba-aš-ši

a-na-ku-ma i-na ša-al-la-tim

ša ib-ba-aš-šu-ú

SAL.TUR.MEŠ a-na ši-it-ri-im

20) e-bi-ir-ra-am-ma

ú-ša-ra-am

To Shibtu say, thus (says) your lord: Concerning what I previously wrote you, (namely) the selection of girls for the veil from among the booty which I have sent--now then, they are not to select any girls for the veil from among that booty. (Rather) let those girls be assigned as female-weavers. There is (other) booty here before me; I myself will select girls for the veil from among the booty which is here and I will send (them to you).

Letters X 125 and X 126 are readily seen to overlap in subject matter,[24] and in X 125.5 & 9 & 18 these women are explicitly said to be war booty. Thus, if the ugbabātum

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of X 126 are war booty, it seems impossible not to connect them with the ugbabātum of Adad of Kulmiš spoken of in X 123.

Thus the historical situation may be reconstructed approximately as follows. These ugbabātum were in the service of Adad at some place named Kulmiš. Zimri-Lim apparently captured Kulmiš at the same time as Ašlakka.[25] The victorious monarch then took many women captive and shipped them back to Mari as slaves to work in the textile factory. The textile industry in OB period appears to have been, at least at Mari, a royal monopoly, and large amounts of slave labor would have been needed to staff it. Dossin is certainly correct in assuming that the long fourteen-column tablet (XIII 1) of female-weavers is a list of captured women engaged in the royal textile factory.[26] Whether this list represents the total number of women so engaged, or only those captured at the time when Ašlakka was conquered is not known.

Among the women captured at this time and sent to Mari were the ugbabātum from the local shrine of Adad at Kulmiš together with a number of other ugbabātum in the service of other gods. These priestesses were spared the indignity of being assigned to the textile factory. But the matter did not end there. The ugbabātum of Kulmiš were evidently superior to the other ugbabātum, probably because of the superior rank of the god to whom they

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were dedicated. This distinction was originally recognized (X 123.13-16) but was later disregarded (X 126.4-7), thus inflicting humiliation upon them. Subsequently, when Zimri-Lim suffered some reverses in his campaign, he surmised the cause to be this humiliating treatment of the priestesses of Adad of Kulmiš (X 126). How Zimri-Lim arrived at this conclusion is unknown. At any rate, he now commands that these ugbabātum be sent back to him (at Kulmiš ?), where, according to my understanding of the broken text, it seems that he personally will review the matter. We are left with the impression that they will perhaps be reinstated in their old capacity.

Two further texts are connected with this incident. One is so broken that it only preserves a mention of the ugbabātum: NIN.DINGIR.RA.MEŠ ša ^{d}IM ša kúl-mi-iš (VI 46.4). The other (XIII 21), also broken, is more legible. This letter is written to the king by Mukannišum, who is one of the very officials who, according to X 126.25f., was to take charge of these weavers.[27] The reverse side of the tablet seems to contain Mukannišum's response to Zimri-Lim's instructions. For we are dealing again with war booty (line 3′), mostly women. Most, if not all, of these female war booty slaves are said to have been introduced into the "house of female-weavers" (lines 9 & 12). The remainder of the tablet is badly broken, but in view of the volume X texts already quoted, we might sug-

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gest a better restoration of the following lines:

[ša-ni-tam N]IN.DINGIR.RA .MEŠ
[ša (^{d}IM ša) kúl-mi]-iš
15′) [a-na-ku a-na ṣ]e-er be-lí-ia
[a-ṭà-ra-da]-am

In addition, I am sending (back)[28] to my lord the ugbabātum (of Adad) of Kulmiš.[29]

If our restoration is correct, we have here a statement that the king's orders are being carried out. The final resolution of the case is not known.

Returning to "the ugbabātum of the (other) gods" (X 123.15-16), it seems that this group of priestesses were left in Mari. They were not treated like other women captives who were forced to work in the textile factories. In fact the din and bustle from the textile workshops appear to have been considered unbecoming for an ugbabtum, for the proximity of MÍ.MEŠ iš-[pa-]ra-[tum] LÚ.MEŠ.TÚG ù DUMU.MEŠ um-me-ni "female-weavers,[30] fullers[31] and artisans" (III 84.11-12) evidently constituted the first objection to the proposed location of the dwelling for the ugbabtum of Dagan in Terqa.[32] The dignity of the ugbabātum was maintained even in captivity. But just what their duties in captivity entailed remains unknown.

Turning now to other ugbabātum, we find that several are known to us by name. Foremost among these is Inib-

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Šina, who is identified as an ugbabtum of Adad,[33] and also as a king's daughter.[34] But which king's daughter? Since at least some of the other eight women in this same text who are likewise designated as king's daughters are known to have been daughters of Zimri-Lim, Moran assumed that Inibšina was also a daughter of Zimri-Lim.[35] Other scholars have been more cautious.[36] Jaḫdun-Lim evidently also had a daughter who was a priestess and whose name seems to have been Inibšina.[37] Despite the fact that Zimri-Lim is known to have dedicated an unnamed daughter to the service of Adad of Appan,[38] this writer is inclined to equate Inibšina ugbabtum of Adad with the priestess-daughter of Jaḫdun-Lim.

The identity of Inibšina is, however, a complex question. In addition to the ugbabtum of Adad there were at least two other women who bore this name at Mari. Inibšina II was the wife of Baḫdi-Lim, prefect of the palace in Mari.[39] As a married woman this woman cannot qualify as the ugbabtum[40] and need not detain us any longer. Inibšina III is mentioned on some of the same tablets as Inibšina I. In C i.20, following the Inibšina I and the eight women designated as "king's daughters," is a second Inibšina sandwiched in between Dam-ḫuraṣi (and Jataraja) and Belassunu. Likewise, in VII 206.8′, again sandwiched between Dam-ḫuraṣi and Belassunu, is an Inibšina. This Inibšina III is one of the three chief

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secondary wives of Zimri-Lim.[41] It is to this last named Inibšina that we attribute the letters X 80-83,[42] contrary to the opinion of Moran who attributes them to the ugbabtum.[43]

With but the slimmest of evidence Bottéro had speculated that Inibšunu of VII 139.1 was identical with Inibšina.[44] This hypothesis can now be confirmed as fact, as a comparison of XIII 14 with X 82 will demonstrate. Both letters deal with the same event. However the woman's name is given as Inibšunu in the former (line 10), but as Inibšina in the latter (line 2). We do not identify the author of these letters with the ugbabtum, nevertheless it does prove that the name can be written either way. We do agree with Bottéro, however, that the Inibšina/Inibšunu of VII 206.4′ and 139.1 is to be identified with the ugbabtum.[45]

There is, then, no unequivocal evidence that Inibšina I, the ugbabtum of Adad, was a daughter of Zimri-Lim. In fact the evidence could point to her as being the daughter of Jaḫdun-Lim. The reason why she heads the list of "king's daughters" (C i.4) could be as much due to her age (she would be the aunt of Zimri-Lim's daughters) as to her rank as an ugbabtum. Similarly the reason why Inibšina (and Baḫlatum) precedes both the queen Shibtu and the secondary wives of Zimri-Lim (VII 206.4′) would be explained by her rank both as a princess (and the

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sister of Zimri-Lim) and as an ugbabtum. This is the same Inib[šina] mārat Jaḫdu[n-Lim] amtum ša ^{d}[ ] who elsewhere also received oil rations (XI 191).[46]

Nothing can be said of the function of Inibšina. She was supported out of the royal stores: with meat, VII 206.4′ (2 [m]a-la-ku); with oil, C i.4; XI 191;[47] with garments, VII 220.1; and with money, VII 139.1.[48] It should be noted that Baḫlatum, who is linked with Inibšina in VII 139.1-2 and 206.4′-5′ is similarly supported; apparently she also was an ugbabtum.[49]

Other ugbabātum are mentioned by name in the Mari documents. Tašuba, the ugbabtum (= NIN.DINGIR.RA) is listed among those bringing a sheep as a tax (?, less likely: gift) to the palace (VII 225.10′ = 226.50). We know nothing more about this priestess. She perhaps also resided at Mari. One largely illegible text contains the names of two additional ugbabātum: pa-an ^{f}um-mi-ia ù ^{f}x[ ] ug-ba-ba-tum li-x[ ] "Let...before Ummija and [PN], the ugbabātum" (X 170.9-11). Since the writer of this letter, Ibal-Addu, is the king of Ašlakka, we may speculate that these last two priestesses are from that city and both once functioned there. It is not impossible that these two ugbabātum were among those female-captives from the region of Ašlakka referred to in X 123.[50] Because of Ibal-Addu's personal interest in them, one may even speculate that these two women were blood relations

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to the king of Ašlakka, perhaps even princesses. This would be but one more indication of the prestigeous rank of the ugbabtum in northern Mesopotamia.

Conclusion

In general the Mari materials concerning the ugbabtum agree with what is known of this priestess from elsewhere. She was of high social status and apparently not married. Knowledge of her cultic function remains vague. At Terqa there appears to have been only one ugbabtum--at least in the service of Dagan. At other places, however, more than one ugbabtum served the same deity at the same time. Both situations, however, have counterparts elsewhere.[51]

Compared with southern Mesopotamia, the rank of the ugbabtum in the Mari region is ambiguous; the term ugbabtum is used for both high ranking and seemingly low ranking priestesses. On the one hand, in some of the Mari texts the ugbabtum seems to be the highest ranking priestess; this conclusion is supported by the lack of evidence for the existence of either the en or the entum priestesses. Furthermore, whenever the evidence is explicit, the ugbabātum of the Mari tablets serve the principal deities of the region: Dagan in Terqa, Adad of Kulmiš, or simply Adad (in Mari?). Other deities also had their ugbabātum, although they are not specified by name. The prominence of Inibšina the princess among the

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ranks of the ugbabātum convinces us that the ugbabtum was indeed the highest ranking priestess at Mari. On the other hand, other texts speak of a multiplicity of ugbabātum and convey the impression that some of these priestesses are not of particularly high origin or status. It may be that at Mari the word ugbabtum is the general word for "priestess," and thus could include different types of priestesses designated by this term.

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Notes:

[1]For the latest treatment of the ugbabtum, see Renger, Priestertum I, 144-9. The Old Assyrian materials have been reviewed by Hirsch, Untersuchungen zur altassyrischen Religion, 56-7.

[2]For the equation NIN.DINGIR = ugbabtum, see Renger, ibid.

[3]For the attested syllabic writings of ugbabtum, see ibid., 144, n. 240, and 148, n. 263 (with the correction: Lewy, ArOr 18/3, 372, n. 37). Renger has failed to cite the unusual Assyrian spelling ug-ba-áb-tim (TC III 128 B: 1), along with the usual Assyrian spelling gu_5-ba-áb-tu/im.

[4]Cf. CAD E, 173; similarly, Renger, Priestertum I, 134f.

[5]Ibid., 146f.

[6]The expected plural ugbabātum is now attested: ug-ba-ba-tim (X 170.11). Previously, only the abnormal ú-ug-ba-ak-ka-ti (CT 46 3 vii 6 = Atraḫasis) was known.

[7]III 8; 42; 84.

[8]Priestertum I, 147.

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[9]See Hallo and Simpson, The Ancient Near East, 96-97. Šamši-Adad rebuilt the temple of Dagan, naming one of the years of his reign after this event, see SM, 53, year no. 1. The concern of Šamši-Adad and his sons for the temple of Dagan is further exemplified in I 74.35f.; II 15.39f.; IV 72.31f.

[10]Some of Zimri-Lim's more important activities toward Dagan include erecting a large statue for Dagan in Terqa (year no. 14, cf. year no. 15, SM, 56; cf. also XIII 5.5; 110.5f.; 47); installing lions at the entrance of the Dagan temple in Mari (year no. 25, SM, 58), presenting a ceremonial weapon to Dagan (Syria 20, 107). For Dagan as a patron deity of Zimri-Lim, see the latter's seal: Zimrī-Lim / šakin ^{d}Dagan, etc. (see ARMT IX, 250; cf. SM, 42); Dagan is called "your (Zimri-Lim) lord" (X 62.14-5; 100.7); Dagan delivers oracles in favor of Zimri-Lim (II 90.17f.; XIII 23; 114; RA 42, 125f.). For cult and sacrifice in the time of Zimri-Lim in honor of Dagan, see VII 263.ii.12; IX 191.3; XIII 23; SM, 43f.; cf. V 79; VI 73.

[11]See Jaḫdun-Lim's disk-foundation inscription: ^{d}da-gan / šar-ru-ti ib-bi "Dagan proclaimed my kingship," RA 33 (1936), 49f., col. i, 9-10.

[12]The proposal to see in mi-ir-KI-ti-šu a reference

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to the secluded quarters ("claustrum") of the residence of the ugbabtum, so Oppenheim, JNES 11 (1952), 138-9, followed by CAD Ḫ, 160 ("hidden chambers"), is not justified philologically. See now AHw 658 s.v. miriqtu(m) "schadhafte Stelle (in Mauern)," citing this passage, "mi-ir-qé-ti-šu zu prüfen."

[13]See below, 121.

[14]Instead of the editor's [an]-ni-tam, one should restore [ša]-ni-tam ni-iš-ta-a[l-ma] "Again we consulted..." or, perhaps more likely "We consulted (on the) second matter (or omen)," cf. X 55.19-20: ⌜i⌝-[na] ša-ni-tim a-ša-al-lu "I inquired with a second (omen)"; see above, "Addu-duri," 91, with n. 7.

[15]a-na ki-sa-al É.GAL-lim qé-er-bi-[it] [š]a a-ša-ar [f]ku-un-du-la-tum e-pí-ša-at mi-ir-si-im wa-aš-ba-at (III 84.21f.).

[16]Cf. Falkenstein, BiOr 11 (1954), 117. Or perhaps read [d]u[!]-la-šu "his work is all right," with von Soden, Or 21 (1952), 86. Kupper's [q]u(?)-la-šu "sa voix (?)" is untenable both for lexical and contextual reasons.

[17]aš-šum a-la-ki-ia a-na ma-ri[ki] a-na pa-an SAL.TUR ug-ba-ab-tim be-lí iš-pu-ra-am (III 8.5-7).

[18]See Renger, Priestertum I, 147-8.

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[19]Histoire, 218.

[20]For the ugbabātum of Adad of Kulmiš the sumerogram NIN.DINGIR.RA.MEŠ is always used, whereas with Dagan of Terqa, ugbabtum is written syllabically, a fact that seems to be without significance. The writing NIN.DINGIR.RA at Mari (versus the normal NIN.DINGIR) is an erroneous incorporation of the Sumerian genitive element into the sumerogram, see Renger, ibid., 148, n. 261, and 135, n. 167 for occurrence of this writing elsewhere.

[21]The texts in question are VI 46; X 123; 126; XIII 21.

[22]Kulmiš may have been part of or at least located near Ašlakka. X 123.23f. seems to imply that the ugbabātum of Kulmiš are from the same locale from which Zimri-Lim dispatches his letter. The reference to the daughter of Ibal-Addu (line 27) suggests that Zimri-Lim is writing from Ašlakka, since Ibal-Addu is king of that city; see below, "The šugītum," 168. Indeed it is not impossible that some of the ugbabātum referred to in X 123 are from the city of Ašlakka and mentioned by name in X 170.9-11; see below, 124-25.

[23]The kezertum was also acquired as war booty, see below, "The kezertum-woman," 179-180.

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[24]See above, chapter 1, 35-37, where text X 126 is given in full; cf. also p. 18.

[25]See above, n. 22.

[26]Dossin, Syria 41 (1964), 21-4.

[27]Mukannišum's activities include the overseeing of many different kinds of artisans, see Bottéro ARMT XIII, 17. He is specifically mentioned as one of those in charge of the female-weavers in XIII 1.xiv.65.

[28]The verb ṭarādum is more commonly used with persons and is thus to be preferred to the editor's šūbulum.

[29]In view of the context, the editor's restoration, [ar-ḫi]-iš, is most unlikely. The lack of a copy of the text makes it difficult to decide whether to restore the longer form including the god's name, or the abbreviated form: [ša kúl-mi]-iš.

[30]Oppenheim, JNES 11 (1952), 139, wished to read iš-[t]a-ra-[tum] here followed by CAD I, 271 and AHw 399: iš-t[a-r]e-[e-tum]; Renger, Priestertum I, 184, n. 534, has correctly recognized that one must read iš-[pa-]ra-[tum] because of the following male workers.

[31]There is no need to posit here an otherwise unattested "forme abrégée de l'idéogramme ḪUN.GA = agrum

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'mercenaire', 'journalier'" as does the editor, ARMT III, 118, followed by CAD I, 271; Renger, ibid. The presence of išparātum makes it obvious that the ideogram is simply LÚ.MEŠ.TÚG; for the positioning of MEŠ at Mari, see ARMT XV, 89, n. 4.

[32]Cf. above, 112-113.

[33]1 1/2 SILA (Ì.BA) i-ni-ib-ši-na NIN.DINGIR.RA ^{d}IM (C i.4-5 = RA 50 (1956), 68). In view of the constant writing of the sumerogram at Mari, Moran, Biblica 50 (1969), 33, is correct in reading here NIN.DINGIR.RA ^{d}IŠKUR instead of the editor's NIN.DINGIR ša ^{d}Addu.

[34]C i.17.

[35]Moran, ibid.

[36]Birot, RA 50 (1956), 58, n. 2; Renger, Priestertum I, 148, n. 262.

[37]Three seal impressions, all broken and all from Room 79, yield the composite reading: ^{f}Inib-[ ] mārat Jaḫdu⌈n-Lim⌉ amtum ša ^{d}[x]; see XI 191 seal, and see Birot apud Burke, ARMT XI, 127; Birot, apud Renger, ibid.

The possibility, mentioned by Birot, that Inib-šarri should be restored here, can now confidently be ruled out, since the letters of Inib-šarri in volume X show that the only known woman by this name at Mari was the

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daughter of Zimri-Lim; see above, "The Kings' Daughters, 55. The only other PNF thus far attested at Mari which begins with the element Inib- is Inib-Šamaš, the author of X 175, but she is hardly a candidate for the role under consideration here. Barring the unlikely possibility that we have here the name of an otherwise unattested princess, it is thus practically certain that Jaḫdun-Lim's daughter was named Inibšina.

The evidence for positing that Inibšina, the daughter of Jaḫdun-Lim, is a priestess is not as certain as one would like. Birot and Renger understand the inscription on her seal amtum ša AN[ ] as evidence for her priesthood; the pattern of seal inscriptions from Mari may support this conclusion, despite the fact that ÌR DN in Babylonia commonly means "worshipper of DN." In addition, it our thesis that Inibšina NIN.DINGIR.RA ^{d}IŠKUR, mārat šarrim, is not a daughter of Zimri-Lim should prove correct, then it would be extremely likely that this Inibšina is identical with the daughter of Jaḫdun-Lim known from the broken seal impressions.

[38]Šanat Zimrī-Lim mārtam ana ^{d}Addu ša Appān^{ki} išlû "The year in which Zimri-Lim sent(?) his daughter to Adad of Appan," Year no. 23, SM, 58; cf. also year no. 24. For the verb šalû = Hebrew šlḥ "to send," see Dossin, SM, 58, n. 11.

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[39]See Kupper, "Baḫdi-Lim, préfet du palais de Mari," BARB 40 (1954), 587, n. 5.

[40]Renger, Priestertum I, 146; Falkenstein, apud Renger, ibid., 141, n. 223a; CAD E, 173.

[41]See above, "The Queen and the Royal Harem," 31-33. Presumably this is the same Inibšina "que les textes juridiques de Mari nous révèlent comme une active femme d'affaires, se livrant, sur les grains, à de vaste opérations commerciales," in the communiqué of G. Boyer reported by Birot, RA 50 (1956), 58, n. 2. If however this woman is the ugbabtum, then one should compare the secular activities of the ugbabtum in the Old Assyrian documents. Ištar-lamasi the ugbabtum, like most of the Assyrian colonists in Cappadocia, is actively engaged in commercial enterprises, particularly the clothing trade, cf. TC III 128 A; Böhl, Leiden 1201 (with the corrections noted by J. Lewy, Or 15 (1946), 400, n. 7, and ArOr 18/3 (1950), 372); for further activities of this woman, see J. Lewy, HUCA 27 (1956), 79, n. 333.

[42]See above, "The Queen and the Royal Harem," 31-32.

[43]Moran, ibid., 33.

[44]ARMT VII, 240.

[45]Ibid.

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[46]See further Birot apud Renger, Priestertum I, 148, n. 262. The person whose name appears on the seal is the recipient of the goods named in the tablet; Bottéro, ARMT VII, 222.

[47]See also Birot, apud Renger, Priestertum I, 148, n. 262, for notice of additional receipts of oil by Inib-šina.

[48]Cf. Bottéro, ARMT VII, 211.

[49]Ibid., 240.

[50]See above, 114, and n. 22.

[51]Renger, Priestertum I, 146-7, has assembled evidence to show that more than one ugbabtum at the same time in the same locale is the normal situation. However he himself admits that the Old Assyrian texts imply a situation in which but a single ugbabtum/gubabtum is assumed, ibid., 149.

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Chapter 5

Erišti-Aja, A nadītum[1]

The word nadītum is thus far but rarely attested in the Mari texts,[2] nevertheless we do have considerable documentation from Mari about the role of one such woman. Although it is nowhere explicitly stated, it can be shown that Erišti-Aja, the author of eight letters (X 36-43), was a nadītum dedicated to the god Šamaš and his consort Aja. The following investigation will of necessity be limited to this one woman and her function as it can be ascertained from the Mari texts. For the nadītum in general, the reader is referred to the studies cited in note 1.

Erišti-Aja was the daughter of Zimri-Lim. Only in one place does she address him as abija "my father" (X 42.1-2);[3] however she normally does address him as "my Star" (kakkabija), a term of respectful familiarity given the king and reserved, it seems, to members of the royal family.[4] Her mother was undoubtedly Shibtu, Zimri-Lim's chief wife and queen, for one of her letters is addressed ana beltum(sic!) ummija "to the queen,[5] my mother" (X 43.1f.).

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That Erišti-Aja was a nadītum is evident from a number of considerations. Her name, Erišti-Aja "Request from Aja," is one commonly given to nadiātum,[6] and expresses her dedication to her mistress, the goddess Aja. The invocatory greetings with which Erišti-Aja begins her letters also reveal her to be a nadītum. The letters of nadiātum of Sippar customarily begin with the stereotyped salutation: bēlī u bēltī liballiṭūka, or in a more expanded form, bēlī u bēltī aššumija dāriš ūmī liballiṭūka "May my lord and my lady preserve your life (permanently for my sake)!" There may be minor variations in the formula, but in general it was the hallmark of a letter written by a nadītum, so much so that it may often serve as the criterion for ascribing a given letter to a nadītum.[7] Erišti-Aja likewise begins her letters with an invocatory greeting which closely resembles that used at Sippar: be-lí ù be-el-ti aš-šu-mi-ia li-ba-li-ṭú-ka (X 40.4-6; 43.5-6; cf. 42.5f.(?)). In one letter a little used variant, mādiš ūmī for dāriš ūmī, creeps into this salutation.[8] However Erišti-Aja also employs another formula which was completely unknown at Sippar: be-li ù be-el-ti aš-šu-mi-ia ki-ma ša-me-e ù er-ṣi-tim li-ṣú-ru-ú-ka "May my lord and my lady, for my sake, guard you as (they guard) the heavens and the earth!" (X 36.4-7; 37.4-6; 41.4f.(?)). This formula does not seem to have been utilized elsewhere at all.[9] Even if

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certain of the elements were used in other combinations,[10] the formulation here is unique and may perhaps be due to Erišti-Aja's provincial (non-Babylonian) origin.

Another indication that Erišti-Aja was a nadītum comes from her statement that she was the king's special "emblem" who habitually prayed for him in Šamaš's temple, Ebabbar (X 38.9-11). Furthermore Erišti-Aja states that she had entered the cloister (gagûm, X 43.16).[11] Although other types of religious women did live in cloisters,[12] there can be no doubt that in this case the subject is a nadītum.

Although Erišti-Aja is from Mari, there is nothing in her letters which compells us to believe that she was writing from Mari itself. On the other hand, there are several indications that she is writing from a city other than Mari. As will be seen below, Erišti-Aja felt quite isolated and removed from the court of her father. This is hardly to be accounted for solely by the fact that she lived in a cloister. The nadītum was not nearly so sequestered as, for example, the medieval cloistered nun. It appears that a nadītum was allowed to leave the cloister to visit her relatives, as well as having her relatives visit her.[13] Erišti-Aja's feeling of estrangement may best be accounted for by supposing that her cloister was located at some distance from the court of her father, so as to make visiting virtually impossible.

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Important evidence on the location of Erišti-Aja's cloister is contained in an incidental remark made in a letter to her father. She states that she has given over to the sukkal ubarē, "official in charge of foreigners," certain items which her father had sent her (X 38.23). The sukkal ubarē is known in the OB period,[14] although it is not previously attested as one of the officials found in a cloister. That he was connected with the cloister (or the temple) seems likely in that the items placed in his care are specifically designated for the goddess Aja (ana bēltija). It also appears that he was Erišti-Aja's superior, since she committed those items into his care. Erišti-Aja would thus be one of the ubarē "foreigners," and hence not native to the city in which she was residing. Her native city of Mari--and perhaps any city within the realm of Mari--is thus excluded.

It is known that not all of the nadiātum who inhabited a particular cloister were natives of that city. The most famous cases are the daughters of the kings of Babylon who became nadiātum in Sippar.[15] But there must have been many others[16] to warrant having an "official in charge of foreigners" as one of the officials of a cloister.

The most telling evidence against Erišti-Aja residing in Mari is contained in her statement that she prays for

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her father in Ebabbar (X 38.10), which is the name of a temple of Šamaš. The most famous such temple was located in Sippar. However many cities had temples dedicated to Šamaš, and it is probable that quite a few of them were named Ebabbar.[17] But the temple of Šamaš at Mari was called Egirzalanki, not Ebabbar.[18]

If Erišti-Aja resided in a cloister in a city other than her own, of those known to us the most logical choice would be Sippar. Sippar had a famous cloister which evidently attracted to itself women from many different locales. It also had a famous temple dedicated to Šamaš named Ebabbar.[19] The most serious drawbacks to such a supposition are the slightly variant greeting invocations used by Erišti-Aja, the fact that contacts between Mari and Sippar are but rarely attested[20] and, most especially, the lack of evidence for a princess from one kingdom serving as a priestess in another kingdom.

In spite of these last mentioned difficulties, the supposition that Erišti-Aja was writing from the cloister in Sippar is virtually certain. An unpublished text supplies us with the missing connection. The text is reported to say (in part): "To Zimri-Lim say this: Thus (says) the prophet of Šamaš. This is what Šamaš, the lord of the country, says: 'Let them send quickly to me to Sippar for (your own) life the throne destined

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for my residence of splendor--as well as your daughter which I have (already) requested of you.'"[21] The daughter requested by Šamaš, to be one of his nadiātum no doubt, is surely none other than Erišti-Aja![22]

Because Erišti-Aja was a princess, her situation may not have been exactly typical of other nadiātum. Nevertheless she may not have been exactly atypical either, for as Harris has pointed out, most nadiātum "came from highly regarded families, from the class of officialdom."[23] We may suspect that the nadītum, whose servant is mentioned in IX 24.iii.16, if indeed she is not identical with Erišti- Aja, was also of high or even royal rank, since her servant is supported out of the palace storeroom. Due to the cryptic nature of V 82, we can say nothing about the status of the nadītum mentioned in that text, except that she probably was not of high station.[24]

From Erišti-Aja's letters one fact emerges very clearly: the principal function of the nadītum, at least in this case, was a religious one.[25] She performed a vital service for the king in praying continually for him and for his dynasty (bīt abika) before Šamaš and Aja, especially the latter. Erišti-Aja frequently had to remind her father of this fact; although she faithfully performed her duties, she was not receiving her due rations from the royal stores. On occasion she may

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simply state that she is praying for her father: a-na ka-ka-bi-ia a-bi-ia qí-bí-ma um-ma e-ri-iš-ti-^{d}a-a-ma ka-ri-ib-ta-ka "To my Star, my father, say thus (says) Erišti-Aja, the one who prays for you" (X 42.1-4). Sometimes the affirmation of her intercessory role is linked with her lack of provisions: [ù(?) DU]MU.MÍ É-k[a ...] ŠE.BA SÍG.BA ù KAŠ.DÙG[.GA] i-ma-ḫa-ra a-na-ku iš-ti-a-at-ma ka-ri-ib-ta-ka ú-ul pa-aq-da-ku a-na ba-l[a-ṭ]í-ka ša-am-ša-am ù ši-ia$_8$-ri ak-ru-ub-ma "Now the daughter(s) of your house...are receiving their rations of grain, clothing and good beer. But even though I alone am the woman who prays for you, I am not provisioned! Every night(?) and at dawn[26] I pray for your life" (X 40.1′-10′). Similarly another letter, although badly broken, seems to contain an admonition to send supplies, so that she may be able to pray for the king (?) during the festival:[27] i-na i-sí-nim[...] lu-uk-ru-b[a-ak-ku-um] (X 42.11′-12′). But most commonly, Erišti-Aja pointed to her role as the sacred emblem (šurinnum) of Zimri-Lim when complaining about her lack of provisions: [a-na-ku ú-u]l šu-ri-nu-um ka-ri-bu-um ša É A.BA a-na mi-nim la pa-aq-da-a-ku "Am I not the praying emblem of (your) father's house? Why am I not provisioned?" (X 36.13-18); šu-ri-in É a-bi-ka a-na-ku a-na mi-nim la pa-aq-da-a-ku KÙ.BABBAR ù ÌR.GIŠ ú-ul i-di-nu-nim "I am the emblem of your father's house.

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Why am I not provisioned? They have not given me money or oil!" (X 39.20-24); [a-n]a-ku ú-ul šu-ri-nu-um [k]a-ri-bu-um [ša] a-na ba-la-ṭí-ka [ik]-ta-na-ra-bu [a-n]a mi-nim it-ti a-bi-ia [I.G]IŠ LÀL! la pa-aq-da-ku "Am I not your praying emblem who constantly prays for your life? Why am I not provisioned with oil and honey from my father?" (X 37.7-12); a-na-ku ú-ul šu-ri-in-ka-a ka-ri-bu-um ša i-na é-(babbar)babbar-ri-im i-gi-ri-ka ú-da-ma-qú "Am I not your praying emblem who gives you a good reputation in Ebabbar?" (X 38.9-11).

The use of the word šurinnum "(sacred) emblem" in these texts seems to be unique.[28] The basic concept of šurinnum seems to be that of an emblem or standard of a deity, a visible object which represents the deity in a certain locale. Often the šurinnum itself assumed divine qualities, undoubtedly because of its close association with the deity it represented. šurinnum may also mean simply "emblem, standard." In this last sense, šurinnum may be used as the emblem of a city, region, guild or an individual;[29] less clear is the meaning of šurinnum (Sumerian: š u - n i r) when said of ships or wagons or doors.[30] Nevertheless, in no other case known to me is the šurinnum itself said to be a human being. Yet in these letters from Mari, Erišti-Aja emphatically says that she herself is the šurinnum. Thus, in an original but apt metaphor, Erišti-Aja under-

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scores her importance to the king and his welfare as his personal representative before the gods Šamaš and Aja, praying for his welfare and that of his house.

Erišti-Aja's metaphor of herself as the šurinnum of the king, who prays continually for his life, should be compared to the common practice of installing votive statues before the god(s) in the temple. These votive statues were thought to effectively offer continuous prayer on behalf of the donor. These statues may be of two types. The first was a representation of the donor himself in some gesture of prayer.[31] The second type depicted protective genii (lamassātum), or the like, who pray on the donor's behalf.[32] This second type is comparable to the role of Erišti-Aja. In both cases the king installs them as intercessors to pray continuously for him in his absence.

Other nadiātum of Sippar also act as intercessors on behalf of their fathers. While they do not employ Erišti-Aja's šurinnum-metaphor, they do term themselves as "the one who prays continually for you/your life." Thus a nadītum writing to her father, from whom she is seeking a favor, reminds him none too subtly that "I continually pray for you with washed hands before my lord and my lady."[33] Another nadītum, concerned over the poor health of her father, wrote him two almost identical letters reminding him that she was praying

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for his health: "(During my) morning and evening offerings before my lord and my lady, I pray continually for your life."[34] Although other persons, especially women, perform similar acts of piety,[35] praying for their fathers and benefactors seems to have been considered part of the regular role of the nadiātum.[36] In the case of Erišti-Aja it may have been the primary motive of her nadītum-ship; at least it is the role Erišti-Aja stresses when she complains.

The gods before whom Erišti-Aja prayed were Šamaš and his consort Aja, the gods to whom the nadiātum of Sippar were dedicated.[37] Harris has pointed out that the nadiātum had a closer attachment and more personal relationship with Aja than with Šamaš. This situation seems to be borne out in the letters of Erišti-Aja as well. Twice Erišti-Aja makes mention of her activities specifically toward Aja. In the first she remarks that she has placed the garment and jar (of ointment, no doubt), which Zimri-Lim had sent to her, at the disposal of the official in charge of foreigners[38] to be used a-na be-el-ti-ia mu-ba-lí-ṭì-ka "for my lady (Aja), who preserves your (Zimri-Lim) life" (X 38.24-25). In the second instance Erišti-Aja requests the king to "send me oil (so that) I can anoint the body of my lady (Aja)" (Ì.GIŠ šu-bi-lam pa!-ga-ar be-el-ti-ia a-na-[ša]-aš-ši X 41.5′-7′).[39] There are no comparable references to

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Šamaš. He is mentioned only in the introductory formulae cited above containing references to both Šamaš and Aja (bēlī u bēltī). Šamaš is also implicitly included in the nadītum's remark that she is constantly interceding for her father in Ebabbar (X 38.9-11). This text provides the evidence necessary for showing the close ties that the nadiātum had with the Šamaš temple, evidence which Harris found strangely lacking in the Sippar materials.[40]

As was normal in these matters, the decision to have Erišti-Aja enter the cloister was her parents'. In a letter to the queen, her mother, Erišti-Aja states, mu-ut-ki ù at-ta(sic!) a-na ga-gi-[i]m tu-še$_{20}$-ri-ba-ni-[i]n-[ni] "your husband and you made me enter the cloister" (X 43.15-17). Erišti-Aja implies that she was not completely in accord with the parents' decision. How her parents came to this decision is unclear. However this statement by Erišti-Aja would seem to indicate that the "request" of Šamaš[41] came only after the decision had been taken by Zimri-Lim. Šamaš' request was thus perhaps an affirmative reply by the temple personnel to an inquiry from the Mari monarch about the suitability of donating a throne to Šamaš and at the same time devoting his daughter to the service of the god as a nadītum. Apart from the obvious religious advantage of having a personal representative before Šamaš, Zimri-Lim may have

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been influenced by the prestige of having a daughter among the Sippar nadiātum; similar to his contemporaries on the throne in Babylon.[42]

As much of Erišti-Aja's correspondence concerns the matter of her support, a word must be said about her dowry. Although the term dowry (šeriktum) is not used in these letters, Erišti-Aja was provided with a dowry upon entering the cloister. In an impassioned letter to her mother, complaining of neglect, she states:

DUMU.MÍ LU[GAL a-na-ku]
aš-ša-a[t LUGAL]
at-ti e-zu-ub ṭup-p[a-am]
15) ša mu-ut-ki ù at-ta(sic!)
a-na ga-gi-[i]m
tu-še$_{20}$-ri-ba-ni-[i]n-⌜ni⌝
rè-du-ú ša i-na ša-la-tim
i-le-qú-ú-nim
20) ú-da-ma-qú
ù at-ti ia-ti
du-mi-qí-ni

I am a king's daughter! You are a king's wife! Even disregarding the tablet with which your husband and you made me enter the cloister--they treat well soldiers taken as booty! You, then, treat me well! (X 43.12-22).

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The "tablet" referred to no doubt contained the terms of her dowry, as stipulated in the Code of Hammurapi: šum-ma NIN.DINGIR LUKUR ù lu sé-ek-ru-um ša a-bu-ša še-ri-ik-tam iš-ru-ku-ši-im ṭup-pa-am iš-ṭú-ru-ši-im i-na ṭup-pí-im ša iš-ṭú-ru-ši-im "In the case of an entum, a nadītum, or a sekrum, whose father, upon presenting a dowry to her, wrote a tablet for her, if he did not write for her on the tablet which he wrote for her, etc."[43] Whether or not Erišti-Aja had absolute control over her dowry is unclear. She was at least dependent upon the royal officials back in Mari for shipment of provisions to her in Sippar. These provisions were often slow in coming, occasioning these letters of Erišti-Aja in which she stressed the extreme straits to which she has been reduced, even to the point of starvation: la ba-ri-a-ku "Am I not starving?" (X 36.26; 37.19).[44]

The distance of the cloister from Mari may perhaps account for the delay in the arrival of the provisions. Bureaucracy may equally have been the blame. Erišti-Aja's provisioning seems to have been under the direction of one of the king's officials: ip-ri lu-bu-ši ša A.BA ú-la-da-an-ni i-di-nu-nim-ma li-di-nu-nim "My rations of grain and clothing, which (my) father who begat[45] me gave (i.e. assigned) to me, let them give me!" (X 36.22-25).

The provisions that Erišti-Aja expected involved the usual rations: grain and clothing (ip-ra-am lu-bu-

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ša-am, X 36.19, cf. 22), clothing, honey and choice oil (lu-bu-ši LÀL ù Ì.GIŠ, X 37.24-25), (slave-girls) and clothing (lu-bu-ši, X 38.20), money[46] and oil (KÙ.BABBAR ù Ì.GIŠ, X 39.23) oil (Ì.GIŠ, X 41.5′), grain, clothing and good beer (ŠE.BA SÍG.BA ù KAŠ.DÙG[.GA], X 40.2′). Although most of the provisions Erišti-Aja requested were for her own maintenance, certain items were, on occasion, used for cultic purposes.[47]

Erišti-Aja's protestations of poverty are no doubt exaggerations, being a stylistic feature common in Old Babylonian letters. Nevertheless there does seem to have been a certain estrangement between her royal parents and herself. For even in areas where she could reasonably have expected her actions to be well received at court, she seems to have suffered rebuff. In her letter to her mother she protests that she has been insulted: a-na mi-nim ṣú-ba-ti la ta-al-ta-ab-ši-i-ma tu-te-ri-im-ma pí-iš-tam ù er-re-e-tam te-me-di-[im-ma] "Why have you not put on my garment (which I sent you)? (Instead) you have returned[48] (it) to me and (so) inflicted slander and curses upon me!" (X 43.7-11).[49] She seems to have been similarly rebuffed by her father:[50] ṣú-ba-tam ša ki-ma [lu?-b]u-uš-ti-ka a-qí-iš-ma šu-mi ú-ul iz-ku-ur "I presented (to you) a garment like your (own) clothing,[51] but no one/he did not mention my name(= I wasn't given credit/praised)"[52] (X 39.30-31). Even if

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Erišti-Aja is imagining things or exaggerating, it does indicate she felt a certain estrangement from the royal court, which could only have been reinforced by the distance which separated Mari and Sippar.

In Sippar "probably every nadītum owned at least one slave and many had several. These slaves took care of the many menial tasks required in the household."[53] Just how many slaves Erišti-Aja owned is not known, but a large segment of her correspondence deals with this subject. In one letter there is mention of both a male and a female-slave, but the broken state of the text precludes more explicit detail (X 36.8-9). Elsewhere only female-slaves are involved. The slaves were supplied to her by her father: 2 GEMÉ Ša-da-aq-di-im tu-Ša-bi-lam-ma 1 GEMÉ im-tu-ut-ti i-na-an-na 2 GEMÉ ub-lu-nim 1 GEMÉ im-tu-ut-ti-ma "Last year you sent me two female-slaves and one (of those) slaves died! Now they have brought me two (more) female-slaves (and of these) one slave died!" (X 39.15-19).[54]

In another letter Erišti-Aja requests her mother to send her a "governess" (tāritum) of the kind that she likes.[55] Just what the duties of this "governess" were is not known, but presumably she would have been more of a "lady-in-waiting" than a "governess."

Still more perplexing are female-slaves which Erišti-Aja refers to as GEMÉ limdātija (X 38.12-13, 19). The

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dictionaries list no vocable *limdatu or *limittu. Hence we are limited to internal evidence for the meaning of this phrase. Further information on the nature of these slaves is contained in a passage from another letter, unfortunately incomplete. The latter passage reads: [(x)]x -ma ša? [...] la-am-da-a-ku 2 GEMÉ tu-la-mi-da-ni a-na mi-nim a-na 1 GEMÉ tu!-te-er GEMÉ? šu-bi-lam "...in which(?)...I am skilled(?),[56] you have trained two female-slaves for me. Why have you returned only one slave? Send me the (other) slave(?)!" (X 42.1′-6′). Evidently the king was supposed to train two of Erišti-Aja's slaves, in what art we are not informed, and then send them back to his daughter. Why he subsequently returned only one is also not stated. At any rate, it appears that GEMÉ limdātija must mean "the slaves trained for me," i.e., an objective genitive. The whole passage may thus be translated: a-na mi-nim 2 SAG.GEMÉ li!-im-da-ti-ia [t]a-ap-ru-ús [ ]x šu [x xx] ri ⌜tu⌝-ša-bi-lam 1 GEMÉ ta-ap-ta-ra-às i-na-an-na a-nu-um-ma 2 GEMÉ li-im-da-ti-ia ù lu-bu-ši šu-bi-lam "Why have you singled out the two female-slaves that were trained for me? .....you have sent me. One of the female-slaves you have singled out! Now then send me (both of) the two female-slaves that were trained for me--and (also send me) my ration of clothes!" (X 38.12-21). Again we are not told just what the slaves were to be trained in,

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but whatever it was, it was specifically for Erišti-Aja's purposes.[57]

From the texts preserved for us, we can see that Erišti-Aja had at a minimum three--and perhaps as many as seven--slaves at one time. And in all probability there were more. We may suppose, then, that even in the cloister her royal rank was fairly well maintained despite her disclaimers to the contrary.

Conclusion

Erišti-Aja has been shown to be a nadītum living in the great cloister complex at Sippar. The circumstances surrounding her entry into the cloister are not entirely clear, although a messare from the prophet of Šamaš of Sippar claimed that the god had requested this daughter of Zimri-Lim. There is some evidence that all nadiātum prayed for their father and/or benefactors. This is certainly the case with Erišti-Aja. Indeed, her principal role, as it emerges from these letters, is that of kāribtum, praying continually for the life/welfare of her royal father. This intercessory role even seems to have been alluded to in the oracle for Zimri-Lim requesting his daughter, for no doubt the publication of the text will show that not only the throne but also "the daughter which I have requested of you" were to be sent "for (your own) life."[58]

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In general, Erišti-Aja's letters portray her in a manner that accords well with the portrait of the nadītum as sketched by Rivkah Harris. Certain details emerge more clearly, for example, the close connection with the Šamaš temple. Other differences may be attributed to Erišti-Aja's status as a princess and a foreigner.[59]

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Notes:

[1]This chapter is to a large extent dependent upon previous studies on the nadītum, especially those of Rivkah Harris: "Nadītu," 106-135; "Cloister," 121-157; "Biographical Notes on the Nadītu Women of Sippar," JCS 16 (1962), 1-12; and J. Renger, Priestertum I, 110-188.

[2]Definite occurrences of the word nadītum are V 82. 19 and IX 24.iii.16. There is possibly another occurrence in X 37.15 ([...]na?-di-tam), but the fragmentary character of this text precludes certainty.

[3]Cf. also abija (X 37.11; 39.10) and A.BA ú-la-da-an-ni (X 36.23), both of which clearly refer to Zimri-Lim.

[4]See Moran, "New Evidence from Mari on the History of Prophecy," Biblica 50 (1969), 33.

[5]bēltum is the habitual title of the queen at Mari, see above, "The Queen and the Royal Harem," 11. Eriš-ti-Aja was not the only princess to become a nadītum. Of the nadiātum who inhabited the cloister at Sippar at least three were princesses. The earliest of them was Ajalatum, the daughter of Sumu-la-ila, the second ruler of the first Dynasty of Babylon. Two other princesses bore the name Iltani. The earlier Iltani was the daugh-

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ter of Sin-muballit, and was thus the sister of Hammurapi. The later Iltani seems to have been the daughter of either Samsuiluna or Abi-ešuh. On these princesses, see Harris, JCS 16, 6f.; "Nadītu," 123.

[6]Ibid., 126-8.

[7]Ibid., 117, 119.

[8]mādiš ūmī, while rare, is attested for the OB period elsewhere at Larsa (YOS 2 39:4-5), Uruk (BagM 2, 56, I, 6-7), and Ur (UET 5, 70, 4-6; 82, 4-6; 71, 4-6). See Erkki Salonen, Die Gruss- und Höflichkeitsformeln in babylonisch-assyrischen Briefen, 63.

[9]Ibid., 53.

[10]Cf. kīma šamû u erṣetum dārû lu dāri "May my lord be everlasting as the heaven and the earth are everlasting" (A 3525:7, unpub. OB letter, quoted by CAD E 309b); ki-[m]a šamê(AN) ù ir-ṣe-[tim] a x [d]a-a lu d[a-r]i "As the heaven and the earth...may he be everlasting" (PBS 7 59:7-8).

[11]On the cloister and the nadītum, see "Cloister," 121f.; Renger, Priestertum I, 146.

[12]For example, the ugbabtum; see Renger, ibid.

[13]"Nadītu," 132.

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[14]MSL 12, 96, line 96.

[15]See above, n. 5.

[16]For Awat-Aja, sister of Gimilija of Babylon, and Eli-erēssa, daughter of Naḫ-ila of Dilbat, who also lived in the cloister at Sippar, see Harris, JCS 16, 3-4 and n. 7; "Nadītu," 131-2. See further Harris, JESHO 13 (1970), 316 on CT 48, 18.

[17]In addition to Sippar, Larsa and Lagash are known to have had temples dedicated to Šamaš under the name of Ebabbar, see Ebeling, RLA II, 263. However the Šamaš temple at Babylon was named Edikukalamma (é - d i - k u_5 - k a l a m - m a), see ibid., 475 s.v. Esakudkalamma; Renger, "Götternamen in der altbabylonischen Zeit," Heidelberger Studien zum alten Orient, 140.

[18]Written e-gi-ir-za-la-an-ki (= é - g i r_x(KA) - z a l - a n - k i). See Dossin, Syria 32 (1955), 15, iv.11; the Akkadian equivalent is given as É ta-ši-la-at Ša-mi-e ù er-ṣi-tim "Temple, the Glory of Heaven and Earth."

[19]Larsa and Lagash, while they also had temples with the name of Ebabbar, are eliminated from consideration because no nadiātum are known to have resided in Lagash, while those known from Larsa were all nadiātum of gods other than Šamaš and Aja, see Renger, Priestertum I, 170-3.

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[20]II 24.15′; 122.5; VI 27.13′.

[21]"A Zimri-Lim dis ceci: ainsi (parle) le prophète (âpilum) de Šamaš. Voice ce qu'a dit Šamaš, le seigneur du pays: "Qu'on m'envoie rapidement à Sippar "pour la vie" ([an]a balâṭim) le trône destiné à ma résidence de splendeur, ainsi que ta fille que je t'ai (déjà) demandés" (A. 4260), G. Dossin, "Prophétisme," 85.

[22]This writer was pleased to note that his independent conclusion had previously been anticipated by K.R. Veenhof, BiOr 25 (1968), 198; and by Römer, Frauenbriefe, 17, who also adduces text A.4260. On the other hand, the statement of Renger, Priestertum II, 219, n. 1048, "es handelt sich hier sicher um einen Tempel des Šamaš von Sippar in Mari," cannot be maintained.

One cannot but wonder about the significance of the name Erišti-Aja "Request of Aja" in this case, and its relation to the text just cited, "your daughter which I have requested of you," a relationship which would be particularly striking should the verb employed in this case turn out to be a form of erēšu. We suspect that Šamaš made his previous request in the recent past which would lend support to Harris' ("Nadītu," 128) contention that the names of the nadiātum were names taken at the time when they entered the cloister, rather than Renger's (Priestertum I, 153) opinion that these women

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were dedicated to the god from birth and given these names from childhood.

[23]"Nadītu," 123.

[24]Cf. Renger, Priestertum I, 169f., n. 88.

[25]The economic factors which Harris (ibid., 109) has shown to be of primary importance to the parent who caused his daughter to enter the cloister were inoperative in this case.

[26]ša-am-ša-am ù ši-ia$_8$-ri: this expression is otherwise unknown to me. My translation is based on other temporal phrases which employ the opposites "day" and "night," "morning" and "evening," etc., to express permanence or uninterrupted action, e.g., mūšam u kaṣâtam, kaṣâtam u līliātum, mūšī u ūrrī, ūmi u nubatti, šērti nubatti, šēri u līliāti etc., see GAG #72b; AHw 458 kaṣa(t)tam; AHw 552 līliātum; AHw 687 mūšu(m); AHw 799f. nubattu(m); and cf. ši'āri nubatti Bezold, Glossar, 263. šamšam would thus be the opposite of šijāri "at dawn." It is hardly an ellipsis of the phrase erib šamšim "sunset," although the temporal element would be approximately correct. It is perhaps a nominal form of the Š stem (GAG #56 i) of šumšû "to spend the night" (cf. AHw 687 for šumšû as a derivative of mūšu(m)). The endings of šamšam and šijāri are adverbial; indicating

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time (GAG #72 b; #113 b, k). A translation of šamšam as "at night," "nightly" thus commends itself. This interpretation of šamšam u šijāri is confirmed by the almost identical sentence in the letter of another nadītum of Sippar writing to her father: kaṣâtim u līliātim maḫar bēlija u bēltija ana balāṭika aktanarab "in the early morning and at night I am constantly praying for you, for your life, before my lord and my lady." (ABPh 106, 8-10).

[27]The festival was no doubt the isinnum ša Šamaš. On this festival, which was in Sippar held on the 20th day of the month, see "Nadītu," 115-6; Landsberger, Kult. Kalender, 137f. This festival is attested at Mari during the Assyrian interregnum (VII 13.8).

[28]For the lastest treatment of šurinnum see Sjöberg, "Zu einigen Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen in Sumerischen," in Heidelberger Studien zum alten Orient, 205f, n. 9; cf. J. Krecher, "Göttersymbole und -attribute," RLA, III, 497.

[29]Sjöberg, loc. cit.

[30]For g i š - š u - n i r - m á "emblem of a ship," see A. Salonen, Wasserfahrzeuge, 79, n. 1, and 124f. For š u - n i r - g i g i r (a) "emblem of a wagon," see A. Salonen, Landfahrzeuge, 131. For šurinnu ša

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bābi "emblem of a door," see A. Salonen, Die Türen, 93 and 146.

[31]Many examples from various sites have been conveniently gathered by Spycket, Les statues de culte (Paris, 1968); the materials from Mari for this period are cited on 94-98.

[32]In Babylon the practice is well documented from OB year names; see, for example, Ammiditana year no. 29, for which the Akkadian translation reads: ša-at-tum ša am-mi-di-ta-na šar-rum ^{d}la-ma-sà-at méš-re-e ša a-na ba-la-ṭi-šu i-kar-ra-bu i-na KÙ.GI ru-ši-im ù NA_4 a-qar-tim ib-ni-i-ma a-na ^{d}INNANA NIN ḪUŠ.KI.A mu-ul-li-a-at šar-ru-ti-šu ú-še-lu-ú "The year in which Ammiditana the king dedicated to Ištar, the great lady---who gave him his kingship, the (states of the) protective genii of justice who pray for his life, which he constructed out of brilliant-red gold and precious stones," see M. Schorr, VAB 5, 603; cf. A. Ungnad, RLA 2, 189. For other examples see Ungnad, ibid., 188f., Ammiditana #23 and 190 Ammiṣaduqa #7. Cf. further von Soden, "Die Schutzgenien lamassu und schedu in der babylonisch-assyrischen Literatur," BagM 3 (1964), 148-156, esp. page 154; A.L. Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia, 198-206.

[33]mahar bēlija u bēltija qatāja masiāma aktanarra-bakku. (PBS 7 60 25-28).

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[34]kurummat(ŠUK) kaṣâtim u līliātim mahar bēlija u bēltija ana balāṭika aktanarrab (PBS 7 105 13-15 = 106 8-10). Cf. further PBS 7 125, which seems to have been written by a nadîtum (cf. the gagûm in Sippar, line 26), in which she styles herself kāribtakī "the one who prays for you" (lines 10, 15, 28, 31).

[35]See below, "Women in Sacrifice and Prayer, 203-06.

[36]K.R. Veenhof, BiOr 25 (1968), 197f., suggests that there is "some relation between the fact that many nadiātum (of Šamaš in Sippar and Ninurta in Nippur) have names of the type Lamassī, Lamassāni, Lamassatum and the fact that one of their functions or perhaps duties in the gagūm was to pray for their relatives, as evidenced by the self-designation karibtaka." This is evidently correct; our discussion of Erišti-Aja's use of the šurinnum-metaphor points in the same direction.

[37]"Nadîtu," 116-122.

[38]On this official and his relationship to Erišti-Aja, see above, 139.

[39]Dr. Jack Sasson had suggested to me the reading for lines 6′-7′: ši-pí ši-ri(!) be-el-ti-ia a-pa-[ša]-aš-ši "so that I can anoint the feet and body of my lady," from which my own reading is partially derived. a-pa-[ša]-

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aš-ši is evidently an "emphatic" verbal form; see below, n. 54.

[40]"Cloister," 155-56.

[41]See above, 140-41.

[42]See above, n. 5.

[43]CH #178; cf. also #179. These two sections envision the case of a father providing his daughter with a dowry, whether she has absolute title to it or not. #180-181, on the other hand, show that the matter of providing a dowry was optional. In the latter case, however, the father must have maintained his daughter out of his own income, since after the death of the father the daughter has the right to maintenance out of the paternal estate.

[44]This seems to have been a common complaint, however, among the nadiātum at Sippar: ki-ma ba-ri-a-ku ú-ul aq-bi-ku-um "Did I not tell you that I am starving? (And you said 'I will send you barley and sesame oil')" (TCL 1 26:6f.), a-di-na-ni-ku-nu ba-ri-a-ku 1 ŠE.GUR.TA.ÀM šu-bi-la-nim-ma lu-uk-ru-ba-ku-nu-ši-im "On your (MP) account I am starving! Send me one gur of barley so that I may pray for you" (ibid., l. 18f.); bi-re-ku ù ku-ṣú iq-ta-du-ni-ni e-ri-ši-ia-ma "I am hungry, and the cold

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bends me down. I am destitute!" (TCL 1 23:19f.); i-na A.ŠÀ-ia 3 ŠE.GUR e-il-qí e ba-ri-a-ku "I took 3 gur of barley from my field, (for) I am starving!" (Fish, Letters 6:40-1); am-mi-ni[m] ba-ri-a-[ku] di-a-ti-i la ta-ša-al i-na bi-ti-ka ma-an-nu-um bi-ri a-na-ku-ú ba-ri-a-ku-ú "How can you not care when I go hungry? Who (else) is hungry in your house? Should (only) I go hungry?" (VAS 16 5:6f.); i-na-an-na a-na-ku ba-ri-[a-ku] ù ma-ra-at-ki ba-ri-[a-at] "Just now I am starving and your daughter is starving!" (VAS 16 102:8f.). These complaints may represent a certain stylization, which would detract somewhat from their immediacy. On the proneness of nadiātum to complain, see Harris, JCS 16, 7 with n. 20.

[45]ú-la-da-an-ni is probably a mistake for ú-li-da-an-ni (preterit). At any rate the scribe has inadvertently written i-di-nu-nim-ma (plural) for i-di-nam-ma (singular, cf. the singular ú-la-da-an-ni), under the influence of the immediately following plural li-di-nu-nim.

[46]Instead of "money" (KÙ.BABBAR), perhaps one should read "honey" (LÀL), after the parallel passage in X 37.25.

[47]See above, 145.

[48]Possibly tuterrīm has here the force of the G-stem and is used in hendiadys with the following verb, in

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which case the garment was not actually returned. Nevertheless, the sense is approximately the same.

[49]Compare the queen's request of her husband that he honor her by wearing the garments which she has made: *ù a-nu-um-ma 1 TÚG ù GÚ.È.A ša e-pu-šu be-lí a-na bu-di-šu li-iš-ku-un* "And, now let my lord place on his shoulder the garment and the cloak which I have made" (X 17.9-13).

[50]This letter is addressed to *šamšija*. This title was also in X 99.5; compare the overly cautious statement of Römer, *Frauenbriefe*, 4.

[51]Instead of *[lu-b]u-uš-ti-ka*, perhaps read *[b]u-uš-ti-ka* "which is like (i.e., worthy of) your dignity."

[52]In lines 30-1 on the edge of the tablet, there is present a division in the middle of the lines which was not clearly indicated by the scribe, so that in reality there are four lines, not two.

[53]"*Nadītu*," 134.

[54]For the "emphatic" OB verbal forms involved in *imtutti* "she died!", see von Soden, *Ergänzungsheft zum GAG*, #82 e. Jack Sasson has kindly called my attention to this point.

Presumably this case of 50% mortality in two years is exceptional, for even Erišti-Aja seems to think that

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this is a little too much! One cannot but wonder whether their deaths are to be attributed only to Erišti-Aja's unusual ill-fortune or whether their deaths tell us something about the quality of slaves her parents sent her.

[55]The exact rendering of these lines is difficult. Perhaps the text should be emended to read ù ta-ri-tam a-ṭà-ra-⟨da-⟩a-ki(!) ša ḫa-di-ia šu-bi-lim-ma lu-uḫ-du "Now I am sending you a governess, send me (in her stead) one who pleases me so that I may be happy" (X 43.27-8).

A tāritum is listed among those receiving rations from the palace stores in IX 24.iv.51.

[56]It seems that lamdāku, despite its G-stative form, may have the meaning of the D-stem, hence "I am trained," rather than the expected "that which...I have learned."

[57]From the ration lists of the palace archives we learn the name of Aja-arri, the female-slave of an unnamed nadītum: 40 (SÌLA) ^{d}a-ia-ar-ri ša na-di-tim (IX 24.iii. 16). It is entirely possible that Aja-arri is the name of one of the female-slaves of Erišti-Aja mentioned above. No other nadītum in the time of Zimri-Lim is known to us from Mari. And the fact that the slave is supported out of the palace storehouse makes it probable that she is one of the very slaves that Erišti-Aja requests be sent to her.

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[58]See above, n. 21.

[59]As a postscript, it is perhaps worth noting that Eriṣti-Aja is not the only daughter whom Zimri-Lim dedicated to religious service. He gave another daughter into the service of Adad of Appan. Unfortunately, our knowledge of this incident is limited to the cryptic information contained in two year names from the reign of this ruler; see year names nos. 23 and 24, Dossin, SM, 58.

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Chapter 6

The Šugītum[1]

Little can be said of the Šugītum at Mari. The word Šugītum is only once certainly attested in the Mari documents, and this is unfortunately in a broken context. In a letter to Shibtu, Zimri-Lim writes:

aš-šum SAL.TUR DUMU.MÍ ^{m}i-ba-⌜al⌝-^{d}IM
5) šu-gi-tim ša ta-k[a?-li?-ši?]
an-ni-ki-a-am a-wa-tum [im-qu-ut-ma]
⌜um-ma⌝-a-mi SAL.T[UR]
[x x]la? an n[i?]
[i-n]a-an-na ša[-li?-ši?-ma?]
10) wa-ar-ka[-as-sa]
pu-ur-ri[-si]
šum-ma SAL.TUR ši-i
nu-uz-zu-ma-at
i-na É [ ]
15) li-ši-ib ù šu[m-ma SAL.TUR ši-i]
ú-ul nu-uz-zu-m[a-at i-na É ...]
li-ši-ib ù li-iṣ-ṣú-ru-[ši]

Concerning the young[2] daughter of Ibal-Addu, the Šugītum, whom you are detaining(?), word has reached

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here as follows: "The young woman..." Now then, question her and decide[3] her case. If that young woman has grounds for complaint, let her reside in the house of...but if she does not have grounds for complaint, let her reside in the house of...and let them keep her under surveillance (X 124.4-17).

This letter is obviously connected with another letter in which the same persons are involved:

[ù?] DUMU.MÍ i-ba-al-^{d}IM i-ba?[-aš?-ši?]
aš-ra-nu-um-ma ki-li-e[-ši]
la ta-ṭà-ra-di-iš-ši

And(?) the daughter of Ibal-Addu is present(?), detain her there; do not send her (X 123.27-29).

The instructions not to send the daughter of Ibal-Addu back to Zimri-Lim stands in contrast to the instructions given in this same letter concerning the ugbabātum of Adad of Kulmiš or the female-weavers who were captured as war-slaves.[4] The possibility must be entertained that this daughter of Ibal-Addu was also a war-slave. In the latter part of Zimri-Lim's reign, Ibal-Addu, the king of Ašlakka, was a vassal and ally of Zimri-Lim. However Ašlakka was not always subservient to the king of Mari, for one of the regnal years of Zimri-Lim is named after his defeat of the town of Ašlakka.[5] A long fourteen column tablet probably contains the names of the numerous war-slaves taken captive at this time.[6] Although Ibal-

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Addu was allowed to retain his throne, it seems that Ibal-Addu's daughter was taken to Mari as a hostage to insure her father's loyalty to the king of Mari. If this were indeed the case, it would explain why Zimri-Lim gives explicit orders that this woman was to be kept in Mari, and under surveillance!

A woman in these circumstances would have ample room for complaint. The exact nature of her complaint is now lost in the break. Likewise lost are the two alternatives as to where this šugītum was to reside. Nevertheless, since Ibal-Addu's daughter is singled out for a treatment different than that of the ugbabātum who were explicitly spared the indignities of the textile factory, one wonders whether this woman may not have been assigned to the textile factory along with other women captured at this time.[7] If so, then X 124.16f. might be restored [i-na É ^{f}UŠ.BAR.MEŠ] li-ši-ib "let her reside in the house of the female-weavers."[8] If this should be correct, the woman's complaint is that this assignment violates her dignity as a šugītum priestess and as a princess. Given all the uncertainties, however, no firm conclusion can be drawn.

There is possibly one further mention of a šugītum in the Mari texts. A certain Aḫassunu[9] wrote to Zimri-Lim to express her concern over rumors that the king was about to give her mother away as a gift. Attempting to dissuade the king from such a course of action, Aḫassunu

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counseled that, should the king give her mother away, her mother "will not (be able to) perform her assigned task. Let my lord be concerned! Let her exercise her šugītum-ship(?)!"[10]

The difficulty with the preceding interpretation is that at Mari the logogram ŠU.GI is otherwise attested only in the meaning šībūtum "elders (of a city, territory, etc.)."[11] šībūtum is not, however, attested as one of the functions of women,[12] and is not to be entertained here. Possibly the meaning intended is nothing more than "Let her act in accordance with her olf age," a not unlikely statement in view of the fact that the woman in question is the mother of an adult woman. Nevertheless, the use of the sumerogram ŠU.GI, in addition to $ŠU.GI_4$, to indicate the word šugītum, is common in the OB period.[13] In the face of this ambiguity, one cannot be certain whether this text contains a reference to the šugītum or not.

At Mari there was, then, at least one and possibly two cases of a šugītum residing at Mari. These texts, however, add little to our knowledge about the role or function of the šugītum.

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Notes:

[1]For the latest treatment of the šugītum, see Renger, Priestertum I, 176-9.

[2]This translation is based upon a comparison of texts such as III 8.6; X 140.16; 114.5, etc., where SAL.TUR functions as a descriptive qualification of the following word. Also possible is the construct: "the slave-girl of the daughter of Ibal-Addu, the šugītum," in which case the šugītum may be either the slave-girl or Ibal-Addu's daughter.

[3]See AHw, 832, where this passage is cited: warka[..] pu-ur-ri-[si(?)].

[4]See above, "The ugbabtum Priestess," 114f. for this incident.

[5]šanat Zimrī-Lim Ašlakka[ki] išbatu "the year in which Zimri-Lim captured Ašlakka," year no. 2, and cf. year no. 3, SM, 54.

[6]XIII 1; on the relation of this tablet to the capture of Ašlakka, see the remarks of Dossin, Syria 41 (1964), 21-4.

[7]See above, n. 4.

[8]Cf. X 126, especially line 7; see above, chapter 4, 117.

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[9]Several women at Mari bore the common name Aḫassunu, see VIII 71.5, 11; IX 292.1; XIII 1.v.72; xi.16; C ii.30; iv.13, 26.

[10]ú-ul iš-ka-ra-⌜am⌝ i-pí-iš be-lí li-⌜iṣ⌝-ri-im ša ŠU.GI-ša li-pu-úš (X 97.20-22).

[11]See ARMT XV, 257; H. Klengel, "Zu den šībūtum in altbabylonischer Zeit," Or 29 (1960), 357-375.

[12]In Hittite documents SAL.MEŠ.ŠU.GI does not mean "female-elders" but simply "old women," see Klengel, ZA N.F. 23 (1965), 224.

[13]For the writing of šugītum with the sumerogram ŠU.GI, see Renger, Priestertum I, 177.

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Chapter 7
The qadištum[1]

The qadištum is attested but once in the Mari documents. From this brief mention of the priestess little can be discerned, other than her identity: ^{f}qa-di-iš-tum / ša an$^{!}$-[nu-]ni-^{r}tim^{1} ^{f}DUMU-si-im-a-al "The qadištum of Annunitum(?), a woman of the Sim'alite tribe..." (X 59.3′-4′). Despite the cryptic character of this text, several deductions may be made. First, that this qadištum is not identified by name, but only as the qadištum of Annunitum, indicates that there was only one such priestess in the service of this goddess.[2] That no other qadištum is so far attested in the Mari materials is evidence that there were probably relatively few of these priestesses in the Mari region.[3] This particular qadištum is said to be of the Sim'alite (or "northern") tribe.[4] Despite the nomadic character of her ethnic origins, this particular woman appears to have resided in Mari, where she probably served in the temple of Annunitum.[5]

The publication of the preceding text undermines, in the mind of this writer, the attempts to see qaššatum as a dialectical variant of qadištum.[6] Just what those women

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were who in one of the tablets from Mari are identified as qa-aš-ša-tum[7] still remains enigmatic. However it now appears difficult to equate them with the qadištum. To postulate the existence of an otherwise unattested dialectical variant in sumultaneous usage in one and the same locale with the universal and normal qadištum is most unlikely. The philological difficulties would seem to be borne out by the text itself, from which it is in no way apparent how these women can be considered priestesses. Granted that the purpose of the text is obscure,[8] it must be assumed that the qaššatum, for the purpose of this document, had a common status with the other women designated either as "slave (GEMÉ) of PN" or as "widow" (almattum). This writer sees no obvious common basis between these two last named categories of women and the qadištum. Even if qaššatum should ultimately derive from the root qdš, it is not now apparent that qaššatum can be simply equated with qadištum. Consequently, the identity of the qaššatum must remain in doubt until further evidence is forthcoming.

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Notes:

[1]For the latest treatment of the qadištum, see Renger, Priestertum I, 179-184. The remarks of Astour, JBL 85 (1966), 185-96, about the qadištum are not always reliable.

[2]In OB non-literary texts, only two other examples of a qadištum in the service of a particular god are known, Renger, Priestertum I, 179.

[3]On the relatively small number of these priestesses, see ibid., 182.

[4]On the DUMU(.MEŠ) sim'āl, see Kupper, Les Nomades, 54f. and 68.

[5]On this qadištum's relationship to Addu-duri, see above, chapter 3, 106, n. 12.

[6]This identification was first attempted by Birot, following a suggestion by Dossin, Syria 35 (1958), 20. This proposal, when presented at the VI Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, was endorsed by Goetze but opposed by von Soden, see BiOr 13 (1956), 178a. Hirsch, ZA N.F. 22 (1964), 284, attempted to support this proposal by comparing Old Assyrian kaššum = qaššum < *qadšum "holy." This identification was accepted by Renger, Priestertum I, 179, and now by von Soden, AHw 891 qadištum.

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[7]IX 291.i.5 et passim in this text, = Syria 35 (1958), 9f. A variant qa-aš-ša-at occurs in i.21 and iv.20.

[8]Birot speculates that this text "peut avoir eu pour object de dresser une liste, dans la province de Terqa, des femmes susceptibles d'être facilement réquisitionnées," (ARMT IX, 344; cf. Syria 35 (1958), 9-26). This writer, however, knows of no evidence which would support the contention that widows, personal slaves or qadištum priestesses were traditionally conceived of as liable to requisitioning.

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Chapter 8

The kezertum

This section on the kezertum is included in this study of priestesses with some hesitation. Assyriologists have generally assumed, on the basis of a single text, that the kezertum was some sort of priestess.[1] Some recent scholars have resisted making this identification.[2] However, since Renger[3] has most recently again included the kezertum among the priestly class of the OB period, it is necessary to include here a discussion of the Mari evidence for this woman.

The evidence for including the kezrētum among the ranks of the OB priesthood is limited[4] to a single letter in which Hammurapi gives instructions that certain (statues of) goddesses (ištarātum)[5] of Emutbalum are to be put on barges and brought to Babylon, along with certain kezrētum-women.[6] It has been universally assumed that these kezrētum-women were to accompany these divine images in the capacity of attendant priestesses. Admittedly this assumption is very attractive. Nevertheless, certain reservations must be maintained in view of the evidence regarding the function of kezrētum elsewhere.

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Outside of Mari, the above mentioned text is, to my knowledge, the only one dating to the OB period which mentions these women. The rest of the texts come from a much later (Neo-Babylonian) period, and therefore must be used with caution in defining the function of the kezertum in the OB period. These late texts are unanimous in understanding the kezretum/kazratum as a kind of prostitute.[7] We refrain from entering into a discussion of the religious nature of prostitution, except to note that this factor alone does not qualify prostitutes to be included within the ranks of the clergy. But it might qualify them as part of the entourage of the (statues of) goddesses.

Returning to the OB period, the Mari evidence does not support the assumption that the kezertum was a priestess. Of the two texts known previously, one (VII 275.3) is so broken as to be virtually useless in this discussion. The second text (VII 206.6) is also broken, but enough is preserved to show that here the [k]izrētum are mentioned together with the women of the harem (sekrētum) and the cleaning-ladies-of-the-outer-court (kisalluḫātum), along with female-scribe(s) and young female-singer(s). The impression gained from this text is that the kezrētum here are one of several groups of female servants employed by the palace in one function or another.

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There is now a third text which can be brought into the discussion. This is a letter from Zimri-Lim to a certain [Mal]ik-Ak[ka] (X 140):[8]

aš-šum SAL.TUR ki!-zi-ir-tim
[n]a-we-er-tim a-na ṣe-ri-[ki]
[šu]-ri-im ù i-na ri-ši-ki
[ú]-zu-uz-zi-im ša ta-aš-pu-re-em
20) i-nu-ma ia-ás-ma-aḫ-dIM i-na ma-riki
ú-ṣú-ú É.GAL-lum im-ma-ši-i[']
ù iš-tu ša a-na ḫa-ar-ra-na-tim
at-ta-al-la-ku ša-al-la-tam ma-li
ša qa-ti-{ia} ik-šu-du
25) a-na mi-ṭì be-el te-re-tim [ú-m]a-al-li
[i]-na-an-na i-nu-ma a-na KASAL [at-ta-la-ku]
i-na ša-al-la-tim ša qa-ti i-ka-aš-ša-du
fk[i-zi-]ir-tim ša i-na re-ši-ki
iz-za-az-z[u] ú-ša-ar-ra-ak-ki-im

Concerning (my) sending to you a splendid young kezertum to be in your retinue, about which you wrote me. When Jasmaḫ-Addu left Mari, the palace was despoiled. Therefore, whenever I went forth on a campaign, whatever war-captives I took I handed over for the needs (lit., insufficiency)[9] of my administrators. Now then, when I go forth on (my next) campaign, I will send you a k[ez]ertum to be in your retinue from among the war-captives which I take (X 140.16-29).

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The kezertum requested by Malik-Adda is to be a personal servant in her service. It thus appears impossible that the kezertum would be a priestess--unless Malik-Akka were herself a priestess of a high rank, a possibility for which there is no evidence. Furthermore, it is implied that the palace in Mari would normally have had kezrētum included among its personnel. The previous kezrētum had been carried off by Jasmaḫ-Addu as he fled Mari before the invading army which brought Zimri-Lim to power,[10] thus making it necessary to replace these women with still others. Even the method in which the kezertum was to be acquired, namely, taken as a prisoner-of-war, favors the interpretation that she was but one of the many palace-slaves similarly captured in war. Such practices were common in the ancient Near East.[11]

In summary, the evidence is insufficient for defining the function of the kezertum in the OB period. On the one hand, it would appear that in Babylon she may have been a priestess in that she appears to be an attendant in the service of goddesses. On the other hand, at Mari she seems to be merely some kind of servant. One wonders if perhaps her function were not the same in both instances. Perhaps the kezrētum of the Hammurapi letter performed the same type of menial service function for the goddess as the Mari evidence suggests the kezrētum per-

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formed at Mari. Consequently, there may be no evidence at all for postulating that the kezertum was a priestess.

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Notes:

[1]Ungnad, Babylonische Briefe aus der Zeit der Hammurapidynastie (= VAB 6), 313: "Hierodule," cf. also the translation on p. 5; Waterman, Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire IV, 221: "temple women"; and cf. III, 336: "corresponding to kizritu, 'devotees' of Ishtar..."; Bezold, Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar, 139: "Freudenmädchen; Hierodule."

[2]Kraus, Or NS 16 (1947), 182, n. 2; von Soden, AHw 468: "eine Dirne mit kizirtu-Haartracht"; CAD K 314f.: "prostitute (lit. woman with curled hair, a hair-do characteristic of a special status)."

[3]Renger, Priestertum I, 188.

[4]Perhaps one should also include here the Sumerian text which refers to ŠugItum priestesses wearing their hair like a kezertum, k i - s i k i l Š u - g i_4 - a s a g - k i - g (ú) - l á - e (SRT I II 36 and dupl.); see Renger, Priestertum I, 179, n. 479. However this text does not point so much to priesthood as to the hair-style worn by these ŠugItum priestesses.

[5]CAD I, 270f. and cf. CAD K 315 kezertum, would have iŠtarātum here refer to the priestesses of that name. However, that is patently incorrect, as is evi-

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dent from a comparison with VAB 6 3:4 ilātim ša Emutbalim ṣābum ušallamakkum "the men will bring the goddesses of Emutbalum safely to you," referring to the same event. This is also the manner in which all other translators have understood the text, see above, note 1 and Renger, ibid., n. 534; AHw 399 s.v. ištaru(m); Spycket, Les statues de culte, 84.

[6]AbB 2, 34.

[7]In lexical series: ša-am-ka-tum, ša-mu-uk-tum, ḫa-ar-ma-tum, ḫa-ri-im-tum, ka-az-ra-tum, ki-iz-re-tum = KAR.KID (CT 18 19, K. 107+ i 31-36); in literature: uptaḫḫir Ištar kezrētī šamḫāti u SAL.KAR.KID.MEŠ "Ištar assembled the kezrētum, the pleasure-women and the prostitutes" (Gilgameš VI 165-6); Uruk...āl kezrēti šamḫātu u ḫarimāt[i] ša Ištar muta iṭerušināṭima imnû qātuššū[n] "Uruk...the city of the kezrētum, the pleasure-women and the prostitutes, whom Ištar deprived of a husband/husbands and delivered into their hands" (Era IV 52-3; on this difficult passage see Cagni, L'Epopea di Erra, 232); kazratu pitouttu muṭṭappilat šarrapti "The discreet street prostitute slanders the...woman" (BWL 218:6).

[8]Dossin, "Documents de Mari," Syria 48 (1971), 5, treats this portion of X 140. My transliteration and translation, included here for convenience, differs only

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in details. Cf. also Römer, Frauenbriefe, 55f.

Malik-Akka is otherwise unknown to me. Dossin must restore this PN on the basis of unpublished material. Her identity is also problematic. Her interest in establishing diplomatic relations between Zimri-Lim and Adalšenni, king of Burundum, (lines 4-5) suggests that she was a highly placed lady, perhaps a queen, in one of the kingdoms in the vicinity of the latter king--but hardly his wife, to judge from the tone of the letter. On Adalšenni, see Finet, "Adalšenni, roi de Burundum," RA 60 (1966), 17-28.

[9]Following Dossin, ibid.

[10]The historical implications of this text should not be overlooked. We have little information as to the manner in which Zimri-Lim regained the throne of his father. From this text it appears that Jasmaḫ-Addu and the Assyrians withdrew from Mari alive, and with enough ease that they were able to carry off the wealth of the city in the process. We are allowed to suppose that the Assyrians withdrew from Mari in the face of imminent attack by a superior force. This superior force was undoubtedly composed primarily of the powerful army of Jarim-Lim, king of Aleppo and father-in-law of Zimri-Lim, a fact which may be deduced from the claims of Adad of Kallassu/Aleppo that he put Zimri-Lim upon

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his father's throne, see Lods, Studies in Old Testament Prophecy Presented to T.H. Robinson, ed. H.H. Rowley, 103-4, and A.2925, unpublished but quoted in translation by Dossin, "Sur le prophétisme à Mari," Rencontre 14, 78f. See also Dossin, BARB 38 (1952), 235; (unpublished): "C'est mon père, en vérité, qui m'a fait remonter sur mon trône, c'est lui seul qui me soutiendra et qui affermira des fondements de mon trône..." For a (broken) text which mentions Zimri-Lim's(?) victory over Jasmaḫ-Addu at Tizraḫ, see Dossin, "Documents de Mari," Syria, 48 (1971), 2-6.

[11]A certain amount of caution, however, is warranted in using the fact that the kezertum could be acquired by plundering as proof that this woman should not be considered a priestess. Most war captives did end up as the slaves either of the palace or of a private citizen. However, on occasion priestess were taken captive--although such a practice was considered unethical. But even in this case the dignity of the priestesses was carefully maintained, see above, "The ugbabtum Priestess," 114f. For a possible exception, in which the daughter of Iḫal-Addu, a Ḫugītum, may have been taken prisoner in war and subsequently assigned to the textile factory, see above, "The Ḫugītum," 169.

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Chapter 9

The Prophetesses

The discovery of the existence of prophets and prophecy at Mari has in recent years occasioned much scholarly investigation of this phenomenon.[1] But despite a spate of monographs and articles, little attention has been paid to the specific role of women in this activity. The following treatment will concentrate on what can be gleaned from the Mari texts about the so-called prophetesses and the role of women in prophetic activity.

Initially, the prophetesses of Mari may be divided into two categories: professional prophetesses and lay prophetesses. Professional prophetesses include the female respondent (āpiltum), the female ecstatic (muḫḫūtum) and the female speaker (qabbātum). These women, like their male counterparts, are termed professionals because they were attached to a specific deity or temple and had as their function the communication of the will of that deity to others. They may have served in other capacities as well. The male ecstatic (muḫḫûm) is definitely part of the temple personnel, as a ritual text for the cult of Iš̌tar makes clear.[2] These professional prophets are

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as a rule designated by specifying which deity they are attached to: the āpilum of Adad of Kallassu/Ḫalab, the aplûm of Dagan of Tuttul, Qišti-Diritum the āpilum of Diritum, the āpilum of Šamaš (in Sippar), the muḫḫûm of Dagan (in Terqa), the muḫḫûm of Dagan (in Tuttul), the qabbātum of Dagan of Terqa. Sometimes, however, reference is made to the temple instead: Iṣiaḫu, the āpilum in the temple of Ḫišametum, the muḫḫūtum in the temple of Annunitum. Consequently it is of no significance when on a rare occasion no deity or temple is mentioned. In X 81.4 Innibana is merely identified as the āpiltum. Apparently she was well known to the king and did not need to be further identified. Moran[3] has convincingly shown that Innibana delivered her oracle in a temple--perhaps that of Annunitum--and was perhaps attached to that temple.

There seems to have been but one respondent, one ecstatic and one speaker attached to any one god or temple. There is never mention of more than one of any given category for any god or temple. The fact that the professional prophet(ess)'s name is often omitted and simply referred to as "the respondent, etc., of god x" is to be taken as proof that the god had but one of these prophets; no further identification was needed. The lone exception to this generalization occurs in a letter of Nur-Sin[4] communicating an oracle from Adad of Ḫalab/

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Kallassu, which concludes with the statement:

an-ni-tam LÚ.MEŠ a-pí-lu iq-bu-ú ù i-na te-re-tim
25) i-ta-na-az-za-az i-na-an-na ap-pu-na-ma
LÚ a-[pí]-lum ša ^{d}IM be-el ka-al-la-sú^{ki}
ma-aš-ka-nam ša a-la-aḫ-tim^{ki} a-na ni-iḫ-la-tim$^{\{ki\}}$
i-na-aṣ-ṣa-ar

This is what the respondents said. And he is constantly appearing at (the inspection of) the omens. And now in addition the respondent of Adad the lord of Kallassu is guarding the threshing floor(?) of Alaḫatum as the hereditary property ("Lods," 24-28).[5]

The mention of "respondents" (plural) may be a mistake; the next sentence is singular (ittanazzaz)! If this is not a mistake, then it must be assumed that the shrine of Adad in Aleppo (Ḫalab) is distinct from that in Kallassu. They apparently were close together,[6] and the respondent of one and the other shrine appear to have collaborated in the common oracle they gave, each at his own shrine. Thus the situation in Ḫalab/Kallassu does not differ from that observed elsewhere.

But while there may be but one each of any given category of professional prophets at a sanctuary, a single sanctuary may possess more than one kind of prophet. Thus Dagan of Terqa had a male ecstatic (muḫḫûm) and a female speaker (qabbātum); and Dagan of Tuttul had a male

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Figure 2

Public Prophecies

Sex	Text	Subject	Prophetical Status
	"Lods"	LÚ.MEŠ āpilū	pro
	"	āpilum ša ^{d}Adad bēl Kallassu	pro
	"Lods" A.2925	āpilum ša ^{d}Adad bel Ḫalab	pro
men	XIII 23	apilûm ša ^{d}Dagan ša Tut[tul]	pro
	X 53	Iṣiaḫu, āpilum ina bīt ^{d}HiŠamētim	pro
	A.455	muḫḫûm (before Dagan in Tuttul)	pro
	X 7	Šelibum, (assinnum) ina bīt Annunītim immaḫū	lay
	X 50.22f. VI 45	muḫḫūtum ina bīt Annunītim	pro
women	X 81	Innibana, āpiltum	pro
	X 8	^{f}Aḫatum, SAL.TUR Dagan-mālik immaḫī, ina bīt Annunītim	lay

Private Prophecies

Sex	Text	Subject	Prophetical Status
	II 90 III 40	muḫḫûm ša ^{d}Dagan (in Terqa)	pro
	III 78	muḫḫûm (of Dagan(?), in Terqa)	pro
men	X 9	Qišti-Diritim, āpilum ša Dīrītim	pro
	A.4260	āpilum (of Šamaš, in Sippar)	pro
	X6	Ili-ḫasnaya, assinnum ša An[nunītim(?)]	lay
	X 80	qabbātum ša ^{d}Dagan ša Terqa	pro
women	XIII 114	aššat awīlim	lay
	(X 100	Dan(?)-na-na	lay)

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respondent (aplûm) and male ecstatic (muḫḫûm). And if Innibana is to be attached to the temple of Annunitum, as suggested above, then that temple had both a female respondent and female ecstatic (muḫḫūtum).

It is perhaps only by chance that the Mari texts have preserved the record of but one female respondent (Innibana), while a number of male respondents are mentioned. As with their male counterparts, female respondents perhaps functioned at many temples. This would appear to be the implication of the remark by Nur-Sin:

> pa-na-nu-um i-nu-ma i-na ma-ri^{ki} wa-aš-ba-ku
> LÚ a-pí-lum ù ^{f}a-pí-il-tum mi-im-ma a-wa-tam
> ša i-qa-[ab-bu-]nim a-na be-lí-ia ú-ta-ar
>
> Previously when I resided in Mari, I would relay to my lord whatever message a prophet or a prophetess would say to me...("Lods" 29-31).

Not only were female respondents common, but they seem to have prophesized with as much frequency as their male counterparts.

The female ecstatic (muḫḫutum) is mentioned in two texts, X 50.22 and VI 45.9, 15. These two texts are, however, concerned with the same woman and the same event.[7] This female ecstatic was attached to the temple of Annunitum, where she delivered her oracle. The incident allows us a glimpse at the structure of temple

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prophets in Mari. The prophet(ess) was apparently free to give an oracle whenever the god so prompted. However the prophet(ess) was not exempt from the control of the temple administrator (šangûm).[8] In this case Aḫum, the administrator of the Annunitum temple,[9] takes the legally required symbols after a public oracle and brings them to the governor of Mari so that they can be sent to the king (VI 45). As Aḫum proceeds similarly in the case of the ecstatic lay woman Aḫatum (X 8), it must be assumed that the temple administrator was responsible for all such activities within his domain. Prophets, professional and lay, were subject to his supervision and consequently their activities were carefully observed.

The oracle of the female speaker (qabbātum) of Dagan of Terqa is reported in X 80.6f. This woman surely resided and functioned in Terqa, as her title indicates. But she apparently traveled to Mari to deliver her message. Perhaps she had intended to personally deliver her message to the king. Not finding him there, she gave the message to Inibšina to be forwarded to Zimri-Lim. Why this should have been necessary is not apparent. Certainly the governor of Terqa was capable of transmitting such an oracle to the king, as he did on other occasions. The circumstances surrounding this incident remain unclear.[10]

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Just how the gabbātum differed from other prophet(ess)s is unknown. She is not elsewhere attested. Her male counterpart is not mentioned in the Mari texts.[11]

When we turn to lay women, we find them represented in all types of prophetical activity at Mari. They may go into ecstasy in the temple and deliver a public oracle (X 8), or they may deliver their oracle privately (XIII 114; X 100). Most frequently, however, their prophetic experience is in the form of a dream (X 10;[12] 50; 94; 117). Likewise all levels of society are represented. However the higher the lay woman's position, the less likely she is to be involved in culturally unacceptable--by Babylonian standards--activities. Thus prophecy seems to have been a Western phenomenon which was ill received by the more sophisticated Babylonians; these latter relied chiefly upon the "science" of the haruspex.[13] Consequently the fact that the lowly Aḫatum, the servant-girl of one Dagan-malik,[14] went into ecstasy and prophesied occasioned no surprise. But on another occasion when a lay woman of some importance delivers an oracle, it was considered of particular significance. In reporting the incident, the governor of Terqa stresses the woman's high social status: "The wife of a free-man (aššat awīlim) came to me and spoke as follows..." (XIII 114.8). The status of the prophetess was considered even more important than her name, which is omitted.[15] Dreams, on the other hand, were

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acceptable in Babylonian culture and participation in this form of divinatory activity carried no special stigma. It is significant, then, that dreams were experienced even by such high officials as the temple administrator Iddin-ili, the woman Addu-duri,[16] and Malik-Dagan, the ruler of the city Šakka.

Figure 3

Dreams

Sex	Text	Subject	Type
men	A.15	Malik-Dagan, awīl Šakka^{ki}	message
	XIII 112	ṣuḫārum	message
	XIII 113	awīlum	[message(?)]
	X 51	Iddin-ili, šangûm	message
women	X 10	^{f}Kakkalidi	symbolic
	X 50.3-21	^{f}Addu-duri	symbolic
	X 94	^{f}Šimatum	[symbolic(?)]
	X 117	^{f}Timlu	[?]

By far the most common form of divine revelation experienced by lay persons, both among men and women, was the dream.[17] By way of contrast, no professional prophet in these texts received his or her divine communication in a dream. Dreams did not require any technical skill nor

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were they dependent upon one's status, whence their popularity among non-professional persons. Dreams are experienced with equal frequency by men and women. However, conforming to the broader ancient Near Eastern pattern for dreams,[18] men tend to experience "message" dreams while women tend to experience "symbolic" dreams (i.e., dreams needing interpretation).[19]

Conclusion

From the preceding it is clear that women participated equally in all types of prophetic activity, whether professional or lay, public or private. There were male respondents and female respondents, male ecstatics and female ecstatics, in addition to the female speaker (qabbātum). Women are as likely to receive divine revelations through dreams as are men.

The equal competency of women with men in communicating the will of the gods is explicitly confirmed by a remark of Shibtu. In a letter to her husband relating how she sought to determine the outcome of the impending battle between him and Išme-Dagan, she writes:

aš-šum ṭe$_4$-em ge-er-ri-im
ša be-lí i-la-ku it-ta-tim
5) zi-ka-ra-am ù sí-in-ni-iš-tam
ú!-qí áš-ta-al-ma i-ge-er-ru-ú-um
a-na be-lí-ia ma-di-iš da-mi-iq

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a-na iš-me-^{d}da-gan qa-tam-ma
zi-ka-ra-am ù ⌜sí⌝-in-ni-iš-tam
10) áš-ta-al-ma i-ge-er-ru-šu
ú-ul da-mi-iq

For a report of the campaign which my lord is on, I waited(?)[20] on signs. I asked a man and a woman, and the word is very favorable to my lord. Similarly, with regard to Išme-Dagan I asked the man and the woman, and his prognosis is not favorable...(X 4.3-11).

The method the man and the woman employ to divine the will of the god(s) is not specified--it is not important. The emphasis is on the fact that both a man and a woman have been consulted and that they agree! Further on in the letter the queen emphatically stresses:

mi-im-ma ú-ul ⌜ú-ša⌝-ad-ba-[ab-šu-nu-ti]
šu-nu-ma i-da-ab-bu-bu šu-nu[-ma]
im-ta-ḫa-[ru]

I am not making them speak. On their own they speak; on their own they agree! (lines 37-39).

The agreement by a man and by a woman leaves no room for doubt about the veracity of the report.

This stress on the equal competency of a woman diviner stands in marked contrast to the normal Babylonian form of divination. In the latter, the craft of divination (bārû-tum) was reserved to men, the bārû-priests. But within

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the Western heritage of Mari other forms of divination were also operative which are notable for their lack of discrimination against women.

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Notes:

[1]The literature on the Mari prophets and prophecy is extensive and rapidly growing. Here only some of the more important (for our purposes) recent literature is cited: Dossin, "Sur le prophétisme à Mari," Rencontre XIV, 77-86; Ellermeier, Prophetie in Mari und Israel (Herzberg, 1968); Moran, "New Evidence from Mari on the History of Prophecy," Biblica 50 (1969), 15-56; P.R. Berger, "Einige Bemerkungen zu Ellermeier," UF I, 207-9; 221; von Soden, Einige Bemerkungen zu Ellermeier," UF I, 198-9; Renger, Priestertum II, 218-223; Huffmon, The Biblical Archaeologist 31 (1968), 101-124. For older literature the reader is referred to the bibliographies given in the works by Ellermeier and Moran cited above.

[2]Dossin, RA 35 (1938), 6, ii.22 and 8, iv.36. See further Huffmon, The Biblical Archaeologist 31 (1968), 112.

[3]Biblica 50, 25, n. 1, and 34.

[4]The name of the writer is missing for this text ("Lods"), but it may be easily supplied from another very similar letter (A.2925) sent by Nur-Sin, Zimri-Lim's envoy in Aleppo; see Dossin, "Prophétisme," 78.

[5]See Moran, ANET[3], 625.

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[6]The exact location of Kallassu is unknown. It was very near to Aleppo, if not a quarter of the city itself; see Klengel, JCS 19 (1965), 89.

[7]See Moran, Biblica 50, 20.

[8]On the šangûm see Renger, Priestertum II, 104-121.

[9]For Aḫum as the šangûm of the Annunitum temple, see Moran, ibid.

[10]Ellermeier, Prophetie, 77, cautions against concluding that in this instance the woman is necessarily acting on behalf of the god Dagan.

[11]It is not certain that the qabbā'um is to be connected with the qabbātum; cf. Renger, Priestertum II, 219, n. 1044; AHw 886: "Untersuchungsfürer (für Geflüchtete)"; Goetze, AS 16 215.

[12]With Huffmon, The Biblical Archaeologist 31, 118f., and Ellermeier, Prophetie, 91, we include X 10 under the heading of dreams, contrary to Moran, Biblica 50, 46, who maintains that Kakkalidi experienced a vision. Even though the word "dream" (šuttum) is not used here, the incident conforms in every other way to the dream experience: ^{f}ka-ak-ka-li-di i-na É ^{d}i-túr-me-er i-mu-ur "Kakkalidi saw in the temple of Itur-Mer..." Dreams are normally "seen" (amārum, naṭālum), see Oppenheim, The

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Interpretation of Dreams, 226; amārum is used of dreams in these texts in X 50.5,12 and X 117.9. The scene for the dream is the temple likewise in A.15. There is, then, no compelling reason to introduce here the complications involved in positing a "vision."

[13]Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia, 221-222; Moran, Biblica 50, 23-24.

14 m f a-ḫa-tum SAL.TUR d da-gan-ma-lik. Ellermeier, Prophetie, 60, suggests that mārtum "daughter," rather than the normal ṣuhārtum/ṣehhertum, may be intended by the sumerogram SAL.TUR; this is not impossible, see above, "The Kings' Daughters," n. 45.

[15]Moran, Biblica 50, 20, also considers X 100 to belong to the category of private oracles delivered by a lay woman. However this woman, Dan(?)-na-na, does not seem to be the recipient of an unprovoked revelation from a god; the "oracle" rather appears to be the solicited response of Dagan to a wronged and defenseless woman who had sought help against her aggressor. There may have been no "prophecy" involved; the form the deity's response took is not specified; cf. Ellermeier, Prophetie, 97 and 163. Huffmon, The Biblical Archaeologist 31, 116, n. 24, understands this as a case of incubation, but non-prophetic.

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[16]For Addu-duri and her office, see above, chapter 3.

[17]See Huffmon, ibid., 116-120.

[18]See Oppenheim, The Interpretation of Dreams, 190 and 240.

[19]Oppenheim, ibid., suggests that "this might be taken to indicate that they ["symbolic" dreams] stem from a different level of contact between the worlds of the gods and humans than the "message" dreams.

[20]For the reading ú$^{!}$-qí, and it's proper position, see Berger UF I, 221; AHw 931 qu''ū(m) 4b.

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Chapter 10

Women in Sacrifice and Prayer

The two remaining areas of religion in which women may be observed participating actively are the offering of sacrifice and praying to the god(s). The role of women in these two religious acts will be taken up in that order.

Sacrifice

The offering of sacrifice may be official or private in nature. Due to the nature of these documents, coming as they do from the royal archives, the majority of occurrences in the Mari texts concern the king offering sacrifice in the official cult.[1] The motive behind the official cultic sacrifice was not only to honor the god(s) but also to insure the safety of or long life for the king (XIII 23.4-5), or to seek some similar favor from the gods. The king often delegated the performance of this duty to one of his officers. It was in this capacity that the queen[2] and Addu-duri[3] offered sacrifice.

Women are also recorded as participating in private sacrifice. It is as a private act that the author of X 113, who is undoubtedly Kiru,[4] the daughter of Zimri-Lim, wished

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to go to Mari to offer sacrifice. Thus she sought permission from her father to leave her post lu-ul-li-ka-am-ma a-na DINGIR.MEŠ ša a-bi-ia ni-[q]é-em lu-uq-qí "so that I may go and offer sacrifice to the gods of my father" (X 113.20-22). Šattamkijazi also offered sacrifice. This woman was at one time part of the personnel of the royal "house" in Terqa,[5] but in X 87 she is on assignment by the king in Sagaratim. This assignment had been contrary to the will of her goddess, Ištaradanna, as expressed in the liver omens of the sacrifice that Šattamkijazi had offered before the goddess (X 87.5f.).[6] As a consequence she has since been gravely ill in Sagaratim. Therefore she now requests permission to correct this dereliction by going and offering sacrifice to her goddess anew (lines 24-30).

In the Assyrian period, Išḫi-Addu, king of Qatna, wrote to his son-in-law Jasmaḫ-Addu to come to him and bring along his wife, Išḫi-Addu's daughter, "so that she might appease (lisallim) the gods of her (native) city" (II 51.19-20). The action of appeasement consisted, no doubt, in offering sacrifice to the gods of Qatna.

In an unusual transaction, Ištar-tappi, the daughter of Jaḫdun-Lim,[7] borrows money from the Šamaš temple. But instead of paying interest in silver, this princess is to sacrifice (iṭabbaḫ) two rams; nevertheless these two rams may be regarded as the equivalent of interest in

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that the offering would go to the sustenance of the temple personnel.

These instances of individual women offering sacrifice are not to be construed as attesting to any special status on the part of the woman who offers sacrifice. Rather they were pious acts of duty incumbent upon every person toward his or her god(s).[8]

Prayer

Another religious activity in which women are frequently engaged is prayer. Relative to the amount of documents which stem from women at Mari, women are more frequently portrayed as praying for others than are men. It would appear that, as in some modern Western cultures, the practice of personal acts of religion was believed to be more the role of women than men.

The veracity of this assumption is supported by noting that, as in the case of the nadītum Erišti-Aja, the king's official representative who prays for him before the deity was always a lady. The nadiātum often allude to their role as the prayer lady of their benefactor (kāribtaka). But they were not the only women who fulfilled this function. In the Assyrian interregnum at Mari, Jasmaḫ-Addu received a letter from Kunšimatum in Terqa reminding him of her importance as his prayer lady, a-na-ku ka-ri-ib-ta-ka I[GI ^{d}]da-gan "I am your

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prayer lady before Dagan" (X 3.10′). The similarity of Kunšimatum's words to those of Erišti-Aja and other nadiātum suggests that Kunšimatum did have some kind of special commission as Jasmaḫ-Addu's official prayer lady before Dagan. But as she seemingly also performed secular duties for the Mari king, she does not seem to have been a priestess.[9] She is possibly expressing a somewhat exaggerated form of the prayer for the king enunciated by other women. Gabiatum also writes Jasmaḫ-Addu in similar, if somewhat less official sounding, words: a-na ^{d}UTU ù ^{d}d[a-gan] ak-ta-na-r[a-]ba-ku[m-ma] "I am constantly praying for you to Šamaš and D[agan]" (X 1.5-6). And later, in the reign of Zimri-Lim, the women Šewirum-ubirit and Attukki inform the king that šu-lum-ka u[r-ra-]am ù mu-ša-am ni-[k]a-ra-ba-k[u]m "Day and night we pray for you" (X 93.17-18); but as this incident may involve a motive of gratitude, it is perhaps best taken up with a group of prayers which will be treated shortly. Although women are most frequently observed as the ones who pray for the king, men can and do sometimes perform this duty. Thus Kibri-Dagan, the governor of Terqa, informed his king of the pious act by the elders of his city: ka-a-ia-an-tam LÚ.MEŠ ŠU.GI a-lim^{ki} a-na IGI ^{d}da-gan i-ru-bu-ma a-na be-lí-ia ù um-ma-na-tim ša be-lí-ia ú-ka-ar-ra-bu "The elders of the city are constantly coming before Dagan and praying for my lord and the army of my lord" (III 17.17-20).

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If the fact of prayer is often recorded, the actual words of the prayer are seldom given. At most what is given is a summary of the prayer. This practice conforms to the usual practice in Mesopotamia.[10] Kunšimatum, in one of these rare summaries of the content, tells of what she prays:

an-na-tu-um ša IGI ^{d}d[a-g]an
ak-ta-na-ra-ba-[k]u-um
20′) un-ma-mi [^{m}ia-ás-m]a-aḫ-^{d}IM
lu ša-li-im-ma
ù a-na-ku i-na ṣí-i[l-l]i-šu
lu-dam-mi-iq

This is what I constantly pray before Dagan for you: "May (all) be well with Jasmaḫ-Addu. And let me do well under his protection" (X 3.18-23).[11]

Elsewhere only greeting formulae in the form of a prayer are given.[12] The characteristic greeting of the nadītum has already been discussed.[13] Similar pious greetings are found in the letters of Zimri-Lim's secondary wife to her husband: ^{d}da-gan be-el ter-qa^{ki} a-ia-bi-ka ù na-ak-ri-ka a-na qa-ti-ka li-ma-li-ma "may Dagan, the lord of Terqa, deliver your enemies and your foes into your hands" (X 62.9-12); Itur-Mer, "the king of Mari," is included with Dagan in other formulae: ^{d}da-gan b[e-]el pa-ag-re-e ù ^{d}i-túr-me-er LUGAL ma-ri^{ki} a-ia-bi-ka ù na-

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a[k]-ri-ka ⌜a-na⌝ qa-t[i]-ka [li-ma-]lu-ú "May Dagan, the lord of the dead(?) and Iṭur-Mer, the king of Mari, deliver your enemies and your foes into your hands" (X 63.15-19; cf. 66.16f.). Outside of letters to the king, Inib-šarri expressed a pious sentiment in her letter to her brother, Šunuḫraḫalu: i-na ma-za-zi-ka ^{d}NI[N.]⌜É⌝.GAL ⌜li⌝-iṣ-ṣú-ur-ka "May Belet-ekallim preserve you in your office" (X 78.7-8). Men at Mari used such greeting formulae with far less frequency than women: aš-šu-mi-ia ^{d}UTU ù <i>-túr-me-er da-ri-iš i-na li-ib-bi a-li-im ma-ri^{ki} li-ṣú-ru-ka ù li-ba-li-ṭú-ka "For my sake may Šamaš and Iṭur-Mer permanently guard you in the midst of Mari and preserve your life" (XIII 101.3-5). Somewhat different is the greeting which Dadi-Ḫadun uses in his letter to the queen: ki-ma a-na-ku a-bu-ut-ki aṣ-ba-tu ^{d}UTU a-bu-ut a-wa-ti-ia li-iṣ-ba-at "Just as I intercede on your behalf, may Šamaš intercede on behalf of my words" (X 156.30-33).

Occasionally the object of the prayer is someone other than the king. In this vein, the palace servant girls (ṣeḫḫerētum) tell the male palace servants (gerseqqū) "their brothers": a-na ^{d}NIN.É.GAL [k]a-ia-ni-iš [n]i-uk(sic!)-ta-na-ra-ba-[k]u-[n]u-ši "We are constantly praying for you to Belet-ekallim" (X 112.16-18). Undoubtedly we would have many more examples of prayers for persons other than the king if we possessed more private letters.[14]

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These prayers did not always spring from the noblest of motives, however. Often the author of a letter made no bones about his self-interest; his or her prayer was contingent upon receiving a favor. The writer says in no uncertain terms, do this favor which I ask so that I will bless you before god so-and-so. This kind of statement is encountered but once in a letter from a woman. Šewirum-ubrat claims that her servant Tariti has been unjustly taken from her and she appeals to the king: ^{f}ta-ri-ti id-nam-ma ma-ḫa-ar ^{d}IM ù ^{d}ḫé-bat lu-uk-ru-ba-kum "Give Tariti back to me so that I may bless you before Tešub and Ḫebat" (X 92.21-23).[15] However prayer in gratitude for a favor granted is found frequently in other contexts throughout the OB period.[16] The king of Qatna, Išḫi-Addu, requests Jasmaḫ-Addu to join him in a military undertaking, suggesting that Jasmaḫ-Addu can provide his troops with much booty and they will in turn bless their king out of gratitude.[17] A similar psychology lies behind Išar-Lim's request of Jasmaḫ-Addu that the king give him a servant skilled in the art of fattening livestock "so that I may see (this) and pray for my lord" (V 46.8-11).

From one point of view, these requests with their accompanying promise of grateful blessing may be understood as simply the polite way in that culture of phrasing a request. It would thus be the equivalent of our "please."

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But from another point of view, these formulations reveal something of the religious psychology of the day. The petitioner requests the god(s) to do what he is not able to do, namely, repay his benefactor with a suitable good fortune.

The reverse side of the gratitude motive is the threat of the curse. If one blesses his benefactor for granting a favor, he may curse him for not granting the favor.[18] Although it is hardly expressed in so many words, both the petitioner and his would-be benefactor were aware of this implied threat. If a blessing was desirable, a curse was to be avoided at all costs. Taken together, the promise of a blessing and the threat of a curse served as a powerful inducement to grant the requested boon.

Conclusion

In the areas of sacrifice and prayer the role of women is not especially distinguished from that of men. Women officers may conduct the official sacrifice as well as men. And if private women need permission to offer their sacrifices, it is only because their dependent status as a servant, or the like, does not allow them to travel to the place of sacrifice without the permission of their master. In the area of prayer women again participate as fully as men. Indeed, there is some evidence

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that the duty of prayer may have been ascribed more to women than to men. At least the officially designated prayer representatives of the king were always women.

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Notes:

[1]Such sacrifices are recorded for the reign of Jaḫdun-Lim (Syria 32, 13, 8-11), Šamši-Adad (I 10.13′), Jasmaḫ-Addu (IV 59.5f.; V 25.5, 15; 65.30f.; 75.12′), Zimri-Lim (II 90.17f., 97.18; III 45.15f.; VI 30.29; 74; et passim). Materials for such sacrifices provided from the royal stores are frequently documented, see Bottéro, ARMT VII, 193f., 341f.; Birot, ARMT IX, 349f.; ARMT XII, 23f.; Burke, ARMT XI, 141f.

[2]See above, "The Queen," 24-26.

[3]See above, "Addu-duri," 89-94.

[4]On the ascription of this letter to Kiru, see above, "The Kings' Daughters," 67.

[5]IX 25.24, 47 = 26.27′, r 19′; see Birot, ARMT IX, 331, #129.

[6]For this letter, see Römer, Frauenbriefe, 31; Roberts, VT 21 (1971), 246f.

[7]See "The Kings' Daughters," 71 with n. 42.

[8]See, for example, BWL 104, 135-145, which counsels daily worship through sacrifice and prayer; cf. also 109, 12.

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[9]See above, "Addu-duri and Other Servants of the King," 102.

[10]"Meist wurde nur die Tatsache des Gebets erwähnt, in anderen Fällen eine kurze Zusammenfassung des Inhalts gegeben," von Soden, RLA III, 163a.

[11]Cf. further above, "Addu-duri and Other Servants of the King," 101-02.

[12]See E. Salonen, StOr 38, 20f.

[13]See above, "Erišti-Aja," 136-37.

[14]von Soden, RLA III, 161b, expresses the opinion that prayer for anyone other than the king is a rare occurrence. However this is not true, at least in the OB period; see, for example, VAB 6 181:23; 161:10; 116:14-17; ABPh 120:12; 27:23; TCL 17, 29:30-31; BIN 7, 44:29. In addition, one could cite many examples of nadiātum praying for their fathers: ABPh 60:28, 105:13-15; 106:8-10, etc., or for a brother: VAB 6 180:21. Cf. also CAD K 196 karābu 3a 2'.

[15]This same woman (var. Šewirum-birit), in conjunction with another lady, Attukki, seemingly brings in the gratitude motive in another (damaged) letter (X 93.17-18); see above, 204.

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[16]See, for example, VAB 6 116, 17; 120, 12; 180, 21; 240, 35; 238, 71; ABPh 27, 27; 104, 12; 119, 26; 120, 12; UCP 9, 339; CT 43 15, 29.

[17]ṣa-ba-ka ša-al-la-tam šu-ki-il-ma ù li-ik-ru-bu-ni-kum (V 16.11-13).

[18]The concept of blessing someone for a favor done but cursing him for an offense is common throughout the ancient Near East. The Old Testament contains a good example of this two-edged character of an action. The return of a poor man's pledged garment at sundown, since it constitutes a favor, will evoke the poor man's blessing (Dt 24: 13) whereas retaining it makes one susceptible to his curse (Ex 22: 25-27). Other examples of blessing someone for a good turn can be seen in Ps 72: 15 and Job 31: 20. The related concept of cursing someone for an offense is evident in 1 K 8: 31; cf. Job 31: 30; cf. further, J. Scharbert, "'Fluchen' und 'Segnen' im Alten Testament," Biblica 39 (1958), 1-26. For an example in Akkadian literature of cursing someone for an injustice see BWL 132, 112-115. "The Poor Man of Nippur" (see Gurney, Anatolian Studies 6, 145-162) aptly illustrates the concept of repaying ill to one who has not only refused a poor man's request but who has heaped injury upon him to boot; the gods are not invoked in this case because the poor man was himself able to inflict

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ill fortune upon his oppressor. The gravity of the act takes on added significance when the object of the action is a poor, defenseless person, see F.C. Fensham, "Widow, Orphan, and the Poor in Ancient Near Eastern Legal and Wisdom Literature," JNES 21(1962), 129-139.

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Conclusion

These studies have shown that the role and position of women in society at Mari were far from negligible. The relatively high status of women before the law, established by previous investigations, has been shown to extend to other areas as well.

In the area of politics and administration women at Mari achieved great heights. This is nowhere more evident than in the role of Zimri-Lim's queen, Shibtu. The queen was actively involved in ruling the city of Mari and in the kingdom as a whole. She emerges as a powerful person, seemingly the most powerful person after the king, taking precedence even over the governors of the various districts. Zimri-Lim's secondary wives also exercised important, if lesser, political roles, especially in the administration of the palace, but in other affairs of the city as well.

Zimri-Lim's daughters also played active roles in the governing of his kingdom. He gave them in marriage to vassal kings in the politically unstable frontier regions of the North where they could exert influence to keep these regions loyal to him. But, in addition, these

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princesses were invested with powers which they exercised independently of their royal husbands. One of these daughters, Kiru, was even made a mayor (hazannum), an appointment which for a woman is unparalleled in the history of Mesopotamia.

Normally, functionaries appear to have been men: the governors, the barûm-priests, who in addition to their divinatory duties served as military commanders or other provincial leaders,[1] the controllers, the archivists and others. But even at this level the women of Mari left their mark. Addu-duri is one such woman. Although her identity and position cannot yet be established, there is no such doubt about her power and importance. She exercised authority and supervision in many areas. The king entrusted her with many important responsibilities. Other women likewise attained important positions. Amadugga, for example, weathered the change in governments and continued an important supervisory role which seems to have included the direction of lesser male functionaries.

Almost all of the examples of women who exercise important political roles derive from the reign of Zimri-Lim. The reign of Jasmah-Addu, on the other hand, is almost totally devoid of similar examples, despite more than three volumes of letters from that period. Does this mean that Zimri-Lim was more pro-feminist than his

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Assyrian predecessor? Probably not. Varying circumstances perhaps account for most of the differences. Jasmaḫ-Addu spent very little time away from his capital. Zimri-Lim, on the other hand, appears to have spent long periods on campaigns away from Mari. The large amounts of correspondence necessary in the latter case would be lacking for Jasmaḫ-Addu's reign. Furthermore, Zimri-Lim, as an independent king, exercised suzerainty over other vassal kings. Jasmaḫ-Addu, in comparison, was but a vassal king in his father's empire. He had no opportunity to employ his daughters--if he had any--in the administration of an empire. And his almost continuous residence at Mari afforded his queen few occasions to exercise any authority she might possess in his absence. It is true that Zimri-Lim did by deliberate policy use his women in the government of his empire. But given the opportunity, Jasmaḫ-Addu may have done the same. This writer is of the opinion that these instances of women exercising power at Mari reveal the institutional capacity of women in that culture and not a rare deviation based on the personalities of the individuals involved. The economic texts confirm this interpretation. Women, though in far lesser numbers, appear alongside men who, as vassals or other important persons, send either tribute or taxes to the palace of Zimri-Lim.[2] This political prominence of women in Mari and upper Mesopotamia stands not only in

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contrast to their role in succeeding periods in Mesopotamian history, but even to the status of their contemporaries in lower Mesopotamia. This difference may be attributed to a different attitude toward women in the Western (Amorite?) culture.

As stated above, our evidence is one-sided, and the positions of the great ladies from whom our letters derive were hardly typical. A multi-columned list of predominantly female captives (XIII 1) uprooted from their native town and deported to Mari to work in the royal textile factories and at other menial slave tasks is one indication of the lot of women at the other end of the social scale. Nevertheless, there is no reason to believe that women were discriminated against in this regard. Other texts show that men suffered a similar lot.[3]

On the other hand, there is plenty of evidence that men were culturally dominant. Thankful as we are for the feminine correspondence, by no stretch of the imagination can it approach, either in volume or importance, the male correspondence. Even the administrative texts, apart from lists of captives and menial slaves, deal for the most part with men and their functions. In addition, a cultural bias against women is revealed by incidental disparaging remarks sprinkled throughout these texts about the weak, unheroic character of women, or a statement such as "Even though I am but a woman..." (X 31.7'-9'). In

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the matter of male dominance, Mari was in accord with the general Mesopotamian culture. The surprising fact, then, is not that women were regarded as inferior, but that they were able to attain the high positions which they did. This prominence of women at Mari was, as already suggested, probably due to the Western influence in the culture of Mari.

In comparison with the spectacular role women played in the area of politics, their role in religion and cult at Mari is similar to what was already known from Babylonia. Nevertheless, the Mari documents do contribute important refinements and corrections to our previous knowledge, in particular to our knowledge of certain priestesses.

Mari was somewhat distant from the "classical" culture of southern Mesopotamia. Perhaps this explains why there is no attestation at Mari of the en or entum priestesses. However, most of the other kinds of priestesses are attested: the ugbabtum, the nadītum, the šugītum, the qadištum, the kezertum and various kinds of prophetesses, although certain priestesses, viz., the kulmašitum and the ištaritum, are not yet attested. Apart from the nadītum and the prophetesses, little can be learned of the function of these various priestesses.

The priestess most commonly attested in these texts is the ugbabtum, a term used for both high and low

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ranking priestesses. At times the ugbabtum appears to be the equivalent of the en or entum priestess of the South. The prestigeous status of the ugbabātum is confirmed by the presence of the princess Inibšina among their ranks. However, other texts speak of a multiplicity of ugbabātum in such a way as to suggest that the term may mean simply "priestess."

Concerning other priestesses, the Mari records contain very little information about the šugitum and the qadištum. The kezertum seems to have been a kind of personal servant rather than a priestess.

One of the most surprising features of these texts is the manner in which these priestesses were sometimes acquired. As with the ugbabātum of Kulmiš, the kezertum and probably the šugītum were taken as booty from among captured peoples. It was apparently permissible to obtain new priestesses in this manner, provided their dignity and function of priesthood was maintained. Violations were believed to be punished by the god(s).

The life of the nadītum is illustrated from the letters of Erišti-Aja, the daughter of Zimri-Lim and Shibtu. She was sent by her parents, at the request of the god Šamaš, to live in the famous cloister in Sippar. As a nadītum her most important function was to pray for her father, the king, and the welfare of his dynasty. Most nadiātum came from the ranks of officialdom and apparently

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had a similar function, praying daily at the Šamaš temple for their benefactor fathers or brothers. Besides Erišti-Aja, there were apparently many other foreign women in the cloister, who were under the direction of the "overseer of foreigners."

Prophecy is much in evidence at Mari. This institution derives apparently from the Western influence at Mari, since it is noticeably lacking elsewhere in Mesopotamia. In this area women shared equal competency with men. For every professional prophet there was a female counterpart: āpilum/āpiltum, muḫḫûm/muḫḫūtum; the qabbātum has no attested male counterpart. These professional prophets were all attached to a specific god or temple. Among the lay prophets, both men and women go into ecstacy and deliver oracles in the name of the god(s). Again in the matter of dreams, women are as likely as men to experience dreams. However, women's dreams are of the symbolic type. Seemingly a woman encountered the deity in a different way than a man. Consequently it was considered highly significant when a man and a woman agreed in their prophetic word.

Women could also function in a capacity equal to men in the area of cult and worship, at least on the theoretical level. Women officials could and did lead the official cult in the king's absence. They also offered sacrifice as private citizens to their personal gods. Women, how-

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ever, are more apt than men to engage in prayer; whether by design or by accident, the official prayer representatives of the king's welfare were always women.

In summary, it may be said that this study has shown that women could and did occupy relatively important positions at Mari in the areas investigated, especially in the area of politics and administration. We are convinced that a study of women's roles in other areas of the Mari society will show equally favorable results. Unfortunately, the position of women deteriorated in later periods of Mesopotamian history. But during the era when Mari flourished, women enjoyed a period of dignity and prominence.

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Notes:

[1]On the functions of the barûm-priest at Mari, see Finet, "La place du devin dans la société de Mari," Rencontre XIV, 87-93; Renger, Priestertum II, 203-217.

[2]In addition to the women cited in the foregoing chapters, cf. also Partum (VII 91.5), Inib-Šarri (VII 125; 203.1), Jakuttum(?) (VII 203.7'), Karanatum (VII 228), Rimatum (IX 253.i.17), Admubalaṭi (IX 253.ii.9), Ribatum (IX 258.4,6), Kimatim(?) (IX 280.7), Bele[t-] and Tebir-[ ] (VII 123.12-13).

[3]See the lists of menial workers, who undoubtly were predominantly war slaves, given by Birot, ARMT IX, 331-43; cf. also Bottéro, ARMT VII, 216-17.

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Vita

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