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Three Nuzi Texts from the British Museum and a Middle Assyrian Letter from the Aftermath of the Conquest of the Kingdom of Arrapḫe

Abstract:¹ At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century tablets from chance finds at Yorḡān Tepe (Nuzi) and Kirkūk (Arrapḫa) prior to the first excavations at Nuzi in 1925 entered the tablet collections of various museums all over the world. More than 360 of such Nuzi tablets, dating roughly from the mid 15th to the mid 14th century BCE, have been acquired by the British Museum (henceforth BM) in several individual purchases. Three more Nuzi tablets have now been identified at the Museum and are presented here. One is a list of household personnel (BM 86005), mostly female, receiving wool allotments, and includes some previously unattested Hurrian female personal names. Two are fragments of legal documents, one from the lower right (BM 95280) and the other from the reverse (BM 95463) of their respective tablets. They bear seal impressions and the names of the witnesses sealing the contracts. A letter (BM 103203) is also presented here. It shows both typical Nuzi features (the addressee has a Hurrian name) and Middle Assyrian characteristics. Most importantly, it is dated according to Assyrian custom with a *limu*, but one that could be either an unusual writing (the scribe may have had a Hurrian background) of a known *limu* from the reign of Aššur-uballiṭ I (Kidin-kūbe), or a new *limu* dating to the 14th century BCE (Kitte-kūbe or Qītī-kūbe).

Keywords: Nuzi texts, female Hurrian personal names, MA letter, conquest of Arrapḫe, *limu* of Aššur-uballiṭ I

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The more than 360 so-called Nuzi texts, tablets from the Hurrian kingdom of Arrapḫe dating from the mid 15th to the mid 14th century, in the BM tablet collection come from chance finds at Nuzi (Yorḡān Tepe) and Arrapḫa (Kirkūk) from before the excavations at Nuzi began in 1925. Other museums and private collections were collecting them as was the BM, so that tablets from individual archives are now spread over nine tablet collections in several countries, and it is possible that more such Nuzi texts are still to be identified in other collections. Some long-distance joins have been made between different collections (e.g. Wilhelm apud Owen 1981: 459–463; Fincke 1996 and 1998), but these attempts depend on how well the tablets have been published.² Most, but not all, BM Nuzi texts are already published. (An overview of the situation in 2005 is given in Fincke 2009: 239–248.)

¹ In this article, personal names will be transliterated using the simplest value of the cuneiform signs. Hurrian names will be rendered in the translation preferring the voiceless variant of the consonants to the voiced ones (with a few exceptions), thus applying the standards of studies of the Nuzi texts set up by NPN. It should be noted that these standards reflect neither Hurrian pronunciation nor a Hurrian grammatical analysis. Following the conventions of NPN, divine names will not be capitalised when used as a second or third element of personal names. In order to distinguish between the country and the city, Arrapḫe refers to the country, but Arrapḫa to the city, since the writing Arrapḫa for the city is well established in Assyriological studies. Bibliographical abbreviations follow those of *Archiv für Orientforschung*, with the following exceptions and additions: AAN = Cassin / Glassner (1977); CDA = Black et al. (1999); Fincke, SCCNH 7 = Fincke (1995); Gadd = Gadd (1926); PNAE 4/I = Baker (2002); RGTC 5 = Nashef (1982); RGTC 10 = Fincke (1993). PN stands for ‘personal name’.

² An edition together with a copy (autograph) is essential for such an attempt, and fortunately most of these tablets have been published satisfactorily.

In October 2013, Christopher Walker informed me of four previously unidentified Nuzi texts.³ One is a complete tablet with a list of mostly female personal names (BM 86005), two are fragments from the bottom (BM 95280) and reverse (BM 95463) of tablets of legal documents with seal impressions, and the last one is a small letter in a square format (BM 103203). Upon examining BM 103203 I was able to read a date formula, including a *limu*-name, revealing that the tablet is not a Nuzi text per se, but a Middle Assyrian letter. Since there are indications that the addressee of this letter was located in Arrapha and that the tablet was most probably found there, it will be presented in this article together with the three Nuzi texts in autograph and edition.

1 BM 86005: A Ration List of Mostly Female Household Personnel

This completely preserved tablet (Fig. 1) is a list of household personnel who receive wool as a clothing allotment. Most of the 40 personal names are female, which adds to the relatively small corpus of these names known from the Nuzi texts. Several of these personal names are known from various other Nuzi lists of names:⁴ SANTAG 4, 21 (BM 26227; 30 matching names; receiving barley rations), Gadd 82 (BM 86416; 11 matches; NAM. LÚ.LÚ.MEŠ, ‘personnel’, receiving barley rations), TCL IX 22 (6 matches; fragmentary), SANTAG 4, 136 (BM 95397; 5 matches; fragmentary), CT 51, 7 (BM 13158; 4 matches; receiving barley rations), 14 (BM 13316; 4 matches; receiving barley rations), SANTAG 4, 34 (BM 26273; 4 matches; sent out as harvest workers).

Of these texts, only SANTAG 4, 34 can be dated: a certain ^fWištanzu sealed the letter order, who is certainly to be identified with ^fWištanzu, the wife of Zike, son of Šurki-tilla (and grandson of Tehip-tilla), thus representing the fourth generation of the Tehip-tilla family and the third to fourth generation of the family of scribes of Apil-sin (see Friedman 1987: 116–117). The BM Nuzi tablets include many from the archive of Zike (28 of the 162 in SANTAG 4 published texts name him directly; see also Maidman 1986: 257), so it is likely that BM 86005 also belongs to this archive.

The measurements of BM 86005 are 56×91×25 mm (Fig. 1).

Transliteration and Translation

obverse

1	^f ki-te ^l -ni-du ^f a-su-[l]i	^f Kiden(n)itu, ^f Azuli,
2	^f ú-ni-en-na ^f ha-ši-im-ma-at-qa	^f Unenna, ^f Hašim-matka,
3	^f i-WA-qa-at-ta ^f du-ri-a-ni	^f Iwa-katta, ^f Turiani,
4	^f AN ^f ú-WA-ru-i	^f AN, ^f Uwurui,
5	^f a-ḥa- ^r at ^{-a} -<bi>-šá ^f gi- ^r el-te ⁿ -na-a-a	^f Aḥāt-abiša, ^f Keltennaia,
6	^f we- ^r el ^{-la} -at-ku-i	^f Wellat-kui,
7	^f e-we-el-at- ^r ku ⁿ -i	^f Ewelat-kui,
8	^f ḥa-zi-pa ^f ḥu ⁿ -ti-il-lu- ^r um ⁿ -ti	^f Ḥazipa, ^f Ḥutil-lumti,
9	^f mu-ša ⁿ -ti ^m ša- ^r ad ⁿ -du-ia	^f Mušati, ^m Šattuia,
10	^m en ^{-ri} ^f pa-i-ma	^m Enniri, ^f Paima,
11	^f ša ⁿ -du-ia ^m l(text ^f)du- ^r ug ⁿ -li-DINGIR ^l	^f Šattuia, ^m lDug(u)l-ilī,
12	^f a-ma-at- ^r ku ⁿ -bi ^f a-qa-bi-el- ^r li ⁿ	^f Amāt-kūbi, ^f Akap-elli,
13	^f ša ⁿ -la-a-a ^f a-ze	^f Šalaja, ^f Aze,
14	^f i-WA-ia ^f šu-ma-al-la- ^d INNIN ^l	^f Iwaja, ^f Šumalla- ^d Ištar,
15	^f az-ze ⁿ ^f ia-ma-aš-du	^f Azzi, ^f Īamaštu,

³ Originally, Maynard P. Maidman and I, since we happened to be working at the BM at the same time, planned to publish these four tablets as a coauthored article. Because of differing approaches to editing the texts, however, he discontinued his cooperation in January 2014.

⁴ Only completely preserved names or those that can be restored with certainty are considered.

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| 16 | ^f WA-ti-la ^f ku-un ^l -nu | ^f Watila, ^f Kunnu, |
| 17 | ^f a-ḥa-ti ^f am-ma | ^f Aḥāti, ^f Amma, |
| 18 | ^f ú-a ^l -ḥu ^m at-ti-lam-mu | ^f Uḥu, ^m Attilammu, |
| 19 | ^m ú-nap- ^r ta ^r -e ^f ḥu- ^r zi ^l -ri | ^m Unap-tae, ^f Huziri, |

lower edge

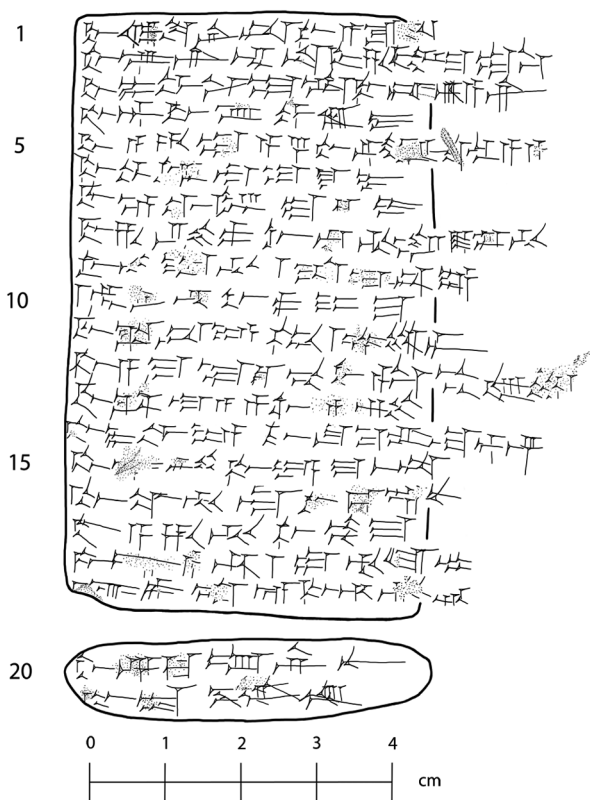
- | | | |
|----|--|---------------------------|
| 20 | ^f šur- ^r ku ^r -um-ni-nu | ^f Šurkum-ninu, |
| 21 | ^r ad-dur ^l -ru | ^f Atturru, |

reverse

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------------------|---|
| 22 | ^f an-nu-te-ti | ^f Annu-teti (and) |
| 23 | ^f ku-ti-a-ni | ^f Kutiani; |
| 24 | an-nu-tu ₄ ni-iš É 3-TA.ÀM | these are the household personnel; each |
| 25 | ku-duk-ti sík.ME lu-bu-ul-ta | (person) has received (an allowance of) 3 |
| 26 | ša il-qú-ú | kuduktu-measures of wool (as) clothing. |

BM 86005

Obverse



Reverse

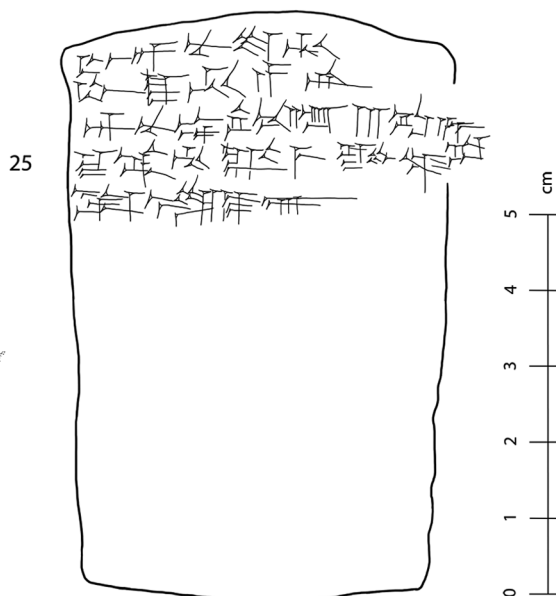


Fig. 1: BM 86005.

Notes

- obv. 1 The second cuneiform sign of ^fKiden(n)itu should be read ^f-te^l in light of SANTAG 4, 21 obv. 6, JEN 507 obv. 12 and JEN 516 obv. 10 (quoted NPN 98a as KITENĪTU). The sign on the tablet, however, looks as if the scribe could not decide whether to write DI or TE. The name itself is most probably

- kidinnītu*, ‘protégée’, feminine of *kidinnū*, ‘protégé’: the PN is well attested in Babylonian texts from the Middle Babylonian period onwards (see CAD K 344a and AHW 473a, with examples for writings with single ‘n’).
- obv. 4 For ^fAN cf. SANTAG 4, 21 obv. 17 (transliterated ^fDINGIR).
^fUwurui could be based on the element in the PN ^fUwur-waše (suggested by Maynard Maidman), attested as ^fú-wu-ur-wa-še in HSS XIII 347 obv. 3 and ^fú-ú-ur-wa-[še] in HSS XVI 9 rev. 61 (see NPN 169a and AAN 163). SANTAG 4, 21 obv. 19 writes ^fú-wa-ru-i. The ending -ui is well attested among the Hurrian female PNs from Nuzi, as seen in names such as ^fAštui (AAN 36a), ^fAwelli-kui (NPN 40b); ^fEkmu (NPN 43a; AAN 41b), ^fEzui (NPN 50a; AAN 47b), ^fHušui (AAN 61a), ^fMenzui (NPN 97b; AAN 93b), ^fMenui (AAN 93a-a), ^fMetui (NPN 97b), ^fNašui (NPN 104b; AAN 99a) or ^fTakui (NPN 145b).
- obv. 5 For the various attested writings of the name ^fAḫāt-abīša (^fa-ḫa-at-a-bi-šá, ^fa-ḫa-ta-bi-ša or ^fa-ḫa-ta-bi-šá) see NPN 10a and AAN 13a.
- obv. 7 ^fEwellat-kui might be identical with that in Gadd 82 obv. 8: ^fe-be-^rel^l-[...], since there is much overlap among the names of these two texts. If so, it would be another example for the alternation of w/b in the Nuzi texts: see, e.g., the name written ^mna-ar-wi-lu or ^mna-ar-bi-DINGIR (see NPN 104b sub NARBĪ-ILU [MacRae read: Nawr-ilu]).
- obv. 8 For ^fHazipa see SANTAG 4, 35 obv. 2 (^fḫa-zi-pa) and JEN 531 rev. 20 (^fḫa-zi-ba).
 For ^fHutil-lumti cf. SANTAG 4, 21 obv. 8, where the name is written ^fḫu-ti-lu-um-ti, with single ‘l’. This is the fourth female name of the Nuzi corpus attested so far that uses the place name Lubti/Lumti (see RGTC 10, 166–168) as second element. The other examples are ^fHāšil-lumti (NPN 57a; AAN 53b), ^fKelil-lumti(na) (AAN 79a) and ^fŠaril-lumti (AAN 119a). For male names cf. ^mAril-lumti (NPN 27b; AAN 28a), ^mArip-lubti (NPN 29a) and perhaps also ^mKipal-rumti (NPN 86b, see NPN 232a).
- obv. 9 ^fMušati could be an abbreviation of ^fMušatil: cf. ^fmu-ša-ti-il and ^fmu-ša-ti-el in JEN 430 obv. 2, 6, 9.
- obv. 10 For ^mEnniri cf. SANTAG 4, 36 rev. 8.
 For ^fPaima cf. SANTAG 4, 21 obv. 3, 136 obv. 4 (^fpa-i-), and CT 51, 7 rev. 12 (^fba-i-ma).
- obv. 11 For ^fŠatuja see also SANTAG 4, 21 obv. 9, 35 obv. 4, and Gadd 82 obv. 5.
^m(text ^f)Dugul-ili. Some Nuzi names are identical for men and women, such as Gimill-ištar (AAN 81b), Kinzi (NPN 86a; AAN 82b), Kinu-ḫabil (AAN 82b), Kipali (AAN 82b–83a), Pentammu (AAN 108b), Warḫi-nuzu (AAN 165b) and Zilia (NPN 177b–178a; AAN 172a), but that this person is a man can be seen in the tablets parallel to this ration list, where it is written ^mdu-ug-li-DINGIR in CT 51, 7 rev. 17 and ^mdu-gu₅-ul-DINGIR in SANTAG 4, 21 rev. 21. Cf. also the writing ^mdu-ug-li (without DINGIR) in TCL IX 22 rev. 23' and SANTAG 4, 34 obv. 2.
- obv. 12 ^fAmāt-kūbi is written ^fGĒME-ku-bi in SANTAG 4, 21 obv. 12 (see also NPN 20b quoting JEN 507 obv. 4).
- obv. 13 In NPN 41a the writing ^fA-ze is understood as a variant for ^fAz-ze. This new text as well as SANTAG 4, 21 (obv. 4 and 11) seem to indicate that these are two different names (see obv. 15 for ^fAz-ze), here to be distinguished as Aze and Azze.
- obv. 14 ^fIwaja was rendered ^fIwija in SANTAG 4, 21 (obv. 11).
 The first element of the Hurrian female PN ^fŠumalla-^dištar is certainly derived from the same root as the male PNs ^mŠumala and ^mŠumalija (see NPN 138a and AAN 131b). Ištar is a well-established goddess of the Hurrian pantheon in the kingdom of Arrapḫe. She had a temple in both Nuzi (*Ištar nuzohḫe*, see HSS XIV 237: 4'; HSS XV 57: 7; see also RGTC 10: 208) and Al-ilāni, i.e. the capital Arrapḫa (*Ištar ninuawe*, see HSS XIV 106: 9, 11; see also RGTC 10: 16). Occasionally, this goddess appears as an element in both female and male PNs, such as ^mAtanaḫ-ištar (AAN 37a), ^fHemalla-ištar (NPN 60a), ^mIbni-ištar (NPN 71b, AAN), ^fIštar-aḫāt (NPN 74b), ^fIštari-kui (AAN 71b), ^fIštar-māti (AAN 71; or ^fIštar-madi from Hurrian *mad-*, ‘to be clever, wise’), ^fIštar-bēlt-ekalli (AAN 71b), ^fIštar-ummi (NPN 74b; AAN 71b–72a), ^mGimill-ištar (AAN 81b), ^fGimill-ištar (AAN 81b), ^mMār-ištar (NPN 95b–96a; AAN 92a), ^mNūr-ištar (NPN 108b), ^fBēla-ištar (AAN 107b), ^fŠiq-ištar (NPN 120b), ^fŠulūli-ištar (NPN 181b), ^mŠēp-ištar (NPN 132a), ^mŠūt-nabi-ištar (NPN 141a), ^fta-an-di-ni-iš-tar

(AAN 139a), ^fṬab-ištar (NPN 147b), ^fTabni-ištar (AAN 139b), and ^mWard-ištar (NPN 172b; AAN 166a). But note that in the Nuzi texts Ištar is commonly written either syllabically (*iš-tar*) or logographically as ^dU (in most cases) or ^dEŠ₄.DAR (see NPN 301a). Only one other example in the published Nuzi texts has ^dINNIN. Mār-ištar in JEN 302: 18 (DUMU-^dINNIN). According to the hand copy of Edward Chiera, the sign INNIN looks like ŠUR, as it does in this text as well. JEN 302 was written by Taḫa (the son of Apil-sîn) for Teḫip-tilla, which dates the tablet to the second generation of the scribes of the Apil-sîn family. Therefore, the scribe of JEN 302 did not write this document. (See above for the dating of SANTAG 4, 34; perhaps the evidence from SANTAG 4, 34 should not be applied to BM 86005.) The logogram INNIN could indicate influence from a Babylonian expert on the scribes of the tablets in question. (The scribe Apil-sîn was most certainly Babylonian.)

- obv. 16 For ^fKunnu cf. Gadd 82 obv. 12: [^f]ku-un-nu (see NPN 91a) and SANTAG 4, 21 obv. 15: ^fku-un-nu. In HSS XIV 642 obv. 12, the name is written ^fku-un-ù (quoted AAN 87a as ^fKUNU).
- lo. edge 21 ^fAtturru. This reading was a suggestion of Maynard Maidman. Cf. SANTAG 4, 21 obv. 20, where the name is written ^fad-dur-rù.
- rev. 22 ^fAnnuteti is most probably Hurrian, to be compared with other female PNs with a first element *annu-* such as ^fAn-nu-ut-e-ra (NPN 22a), ^fAnnu-kenni (AAN 24a written ANNUKIENNI; but cf. ^mKenni [NPN 83b; AAN 80b] for the second element) or ^fAn-nu-pa-[...] (AAN 24a). The second element, *-teti*, could be the same as the female PN ^fTete, written ^fte-e-te (AAN 146a).
- rev. 23 For ^fKutiani cf. Gadd 82 obv. 4, where the name is written ^fku-di-^ra-ni^r (see NPN 93a).
- rev. 25 For Hurrian *kuduktu*, a measure for wool weighing 1.5 MA.NA (± 711 g.), probably the expected weight of one fleece, see Wilhelm 1988.

2 BM 95280: A Fragment from the Lower Right Part of a Contract

The only entirely legible line on this fragment from the lower right part of a contract (Fig. 2) is line 7', giving the name Ḫupita, son of Pukkita, whose seal has been rolled over the clay above the line. Ḫupita also sealed the contract JEN 294 (rev. 32 and 37), a *tuppi tidennūti*,⁵ according to which Tarmi-tilla, son of Šurki-tilla (and grandson of Teḫip-tilla), received a field as a pledge for 10 years. So Ḫupita, son of Pukkita, comes from the fourth generation of the Teḫip-tilla family and from the third to fourth generation of the family of scribes of Apil-sîn (see Friedman 1987: 117–118). This fragment was probably unearthed at Nuzi with the other tablets of the archive of Tarmi-tilla.

The measurements of BM 95280 are 42⁺×42⁺×17⁺ mm (Fig. 2).⁶

Transliteration and Translation

obverse

1'	[]x	[...].
2'	[]x	[...].
3'	[]x	[...].
4'	[]x-šī [?] /-din [?]	[...].
5'	[]	[...]

lower edge

6'	[NA ₄ .KIŠIB ^m n]i [?] -ra-ri	[Seal of N]irārī
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⁵ For this kind of transaction, an antichretic loan, see Eichler (1973). For a discussion of the word *tuppu* and its correct writing in Akkadian, see Streck (2009: 136–139).

⁶ Following general conventions, the ⁺-sign after a stated measurement indicates that the tablet is incomplete in the measured part.

reverse	(<i>seal impression a</i>)	(<i>seal impression a</i>)
7'	[N] _{A4} ^m hu-bi ⁿ -ta DUMU pu-uk-ki-it ^{-r} -ta ⁷	[Se]al of Hupita, son of Pukkitta.
	(<i>seal impression b</i>)	(<i>seal impression b</i>)
	(remainder of tablet is lost)	(remainder of tablet is lost)

BM 95280

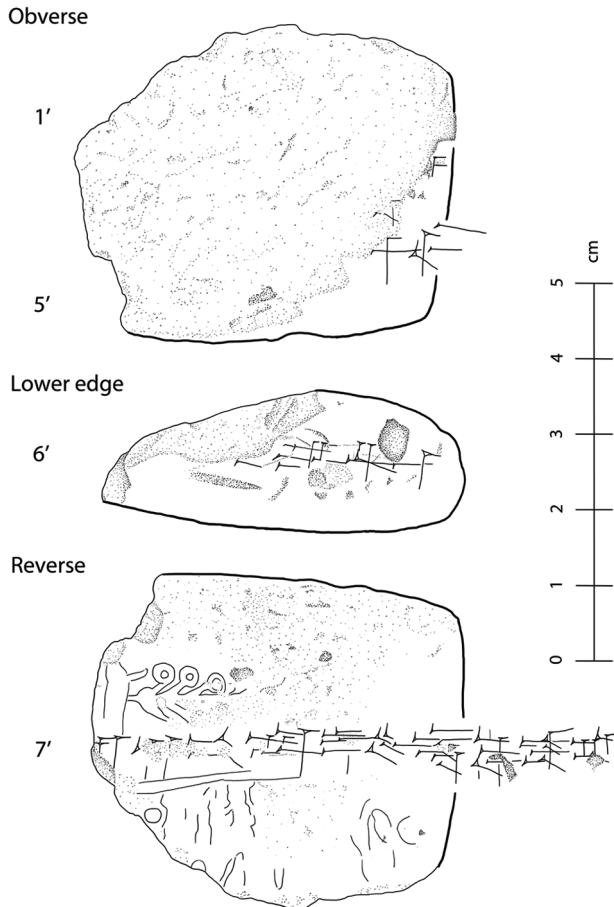


Fig. 2: BM 95280.

Notes

- obv. 4' The reading depends on whether the slightly slanted wedge that begins above the head of the vertical is interpreted as part of this sign, which would then be read *-din*, or as belonging to the line above, which would lead to *-ši*.
- lo. edge 6' Nīrārī's seal is unlikely to have been rolled over the space above this line, since there is not enough room for a sealing. The captions for the seal impressions are usually written below the sealings on those Nuzi tablets that use the complete width for the seal impression of just one person, as is the case with this tablet. Occasionally they are written above the sealing (e.g., HSS V 46; for photograph see <http://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P393534.jpg>). Nīrārī (see NPN 107a; AAN 101a–b) could be the name of the scribe of the tablet, in which case DUB.SAR would have been squeezed into the small gap on the lower left edge that is broken away just below line 6'. A scribe called Nīrārī (son of Taja and grandson of Apil-sin) had been working for the two brothers Tarmi-

tilla (JEN 108), and Ninu-atal (SANTAG 4, 72 [BM 85351]), and for two of their nephews, Eḫli-teššup (Gadd 76 [BM 17639]) and Puḫi-šenni (SANTAG 4, 31 [BM 26268]), sons of Zike. So he would be a contemporary of Ḫupita, son of Pukkitta (line 7'). On the other hand, Nīrārī could simply be a witness of the transaction.

Seal Impressions

- a) A standing human figure faces right with one arm raised. In front of the figure a volute standard seems to be placed horizontally, most probably in order to divide the image into two bands. The rest of the seal impression is lost.
- b) Though very damaged, the traces seem to depict a row of standing figures.

Unfortunately no seal impression of Nīrārī, son of Taia, has been published, and the autograph of JEN III produced by Edward Chiera lacks the seal impressions, so that the seal of Ḫupita, son of Pukkitta, on JEN 294 cannot be compared with the seals on this tablet in order to establish whether or not the seal legends were written above or below the sealings (see notes to line 6').

3 BM 95463: A Fragment from the Reverse of a Legal Document

This fragment with a beautifully preserved surface from the lower right part of the reverse of some sort of contract (Fig. 3) has the names of witnesses that sealed the transaction along with their seal impressions. The only names preserved are Mannu-māḫiršu (see NPN 95b; AAN 91b) as a patronym and Šati-kintar (see NPN 126b; AAN 121a) as a sealing witness. Only one son of Mannu-māḫiršu is attested so far, Nanija (JEN 19 rev. 28), witness to a *mārūti*-transaction⁷ of Teḫip-tilla, son of Puḫi-šenni. The seal impression identifies Šati-kintar as the person who also sealed a transaction by Enna-mati and Šurki-tilla, sons of Teḫip-tilla (JEN 654 up. edge 45), and a court procedure concerning Zike, son of Akkuja, and ^fWarḫi-matka (HSS V 46 rev. 24). This Šati-kintar is identical with the judge Šati-kintar, son of Turi-kintar, as shown by HSS V 48 (see obv. 4), where he is named in a group together with the other judges named in HSS V 46 (Ḫaiš-teššup and Turari). This supports the understanding of Dosch / Deller (1981: 101), according to which the name Šati-kintar is only attested within the Kassite family of Kizzuk. Thus, Šati-kintar would have witnessed the transaction of Teḫip-tilla, son of Puḫi-šenni (JEN 90 rev. 10' and 232 rev. 24; both with patronym), but also those of Teḫip-tilla's sons, Enna-mati and Šurki-tilla, either alone (only Šurki-tilla; e.g., SANTAG 4, 117 [BM 95320] left edge 3' without patronym) or together (JEN 323: 20; 328: 30; 654: 45; all without patronym). This dates this fragment to the second and third generations of the Teḫip-tilla family and to the second (or probably the third) to fourth generations of the scribal family of Apil-sîn (Friedman 1987: 216–217). With Šati-kintar affiliated with the Teḫip-tilla family the fragment BM 95463, just as BM 95280 (no. 2 above), would have been found at Nuzi rather than in Arrapha.

The measurements of BM 95463 are 36⁺×47⁺×14⁺ mm (Fig. 3).

Transliteration and Translation

continuation from the obverse on reverse

1' [*-p*]u²-i [...].

reverse [(seal impression)] [(seal impression)]

2' [NA₄].^ckišIB^m x (x) -ki^r-x[] [S]eal of ...[...]

⁷ For this kind of transaction see recently Fincke 2010.

	(<i>seal impression a</i>)	(<i>seal impression a</i>)
3'	[NA ₄ .KIŠIB ^m]a	[Seal of ...]a
	(<i>seal impression b</i>)	(<i>seal impression b</i>)
4'	[NA ₄ .KIŠIB ^m] DUMU ʿmaʿ-an-nu-ma-ḫi-ir-šu	[Seal of ...] son of Mannu-māḫiršu
	(<i>seal impression c</i>)	(<i>seal impression c</i>)
5'	NA ₄ .KIŠIB ^m Ša-ti-ki-in-tar	Seal of Šati-kintar
upper edge	(<i>seal impression d</i>)	(<i>seal impression d</i>)
6'	[NA ₄ .KIŠIB ^m -š]u ² /-k]i ² /-k]u ²	[Seal of ...].

BM 95463

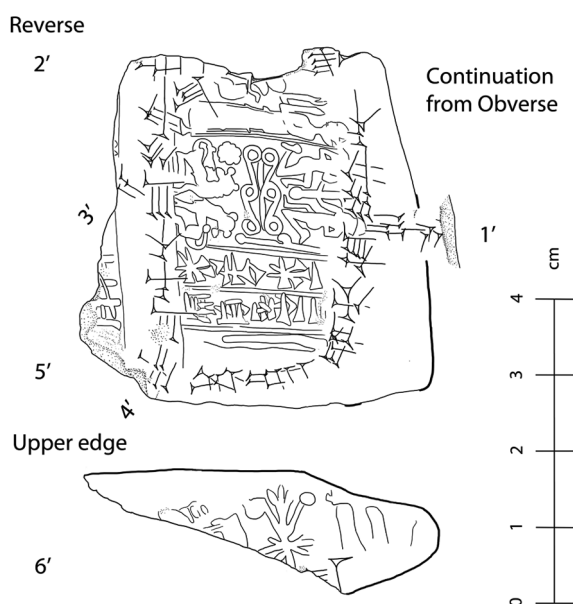


Fig. 3: BM 95463.

Seal Impressions

- a) On the upper left part of the reverse, above and following the sign *-a*, are traces of a seal impression that is not part of the sealing that can be seen at the lower left, because the line with the name of the seal owner ending on *-a* separates the sealings from one another.
- b) On the lower left part of the fragmentary reverse the remains of a cuneiform sign from the legend of a seal can be seen, the owner of which is most likely the son of Mannu-māḫiršu.
- c) The seal of Šati-kintar visible in the centre of the reverse is divided into three segments; from left to right: (1) A beardless male figure facing left with both hands raised and standing in front of something that seems to be flanked by another standing person facing to the right, only one arm and the back of which are visible to the right of the legend. On another impression of this seal, the figure between the two standing individuals can be identified as a nude female standing with hands at her waist or lower chest (HSS V 46, for a photograph see <http://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P393534.jpg>). (2) A segment divided by a branch device into two antithetically organised scenes. Above kneel two human figures each on one knee with one arm on the waist or lower chest and the other raised (due to the way this seal is rolled over the clay, the arm of the right figure seems to point downwards) to frame a standard; and in the lower scene

appear two animals (perhaps lions) with their chests towards each other, but with their heads turned backwards. (3) A legend of two lines:⁸

- 1 [KIŠI]B ^mar-ru-um-[x]
- 2 [i]R ^dIŠKUR ^d[UTU]

The name ^mArrum-[x] should probably be restored as Arrumpa with *ba* or *pa* (NPN 36a); a restoration to ^mar-ru-um-[ti/di] is less likely (see NPN 36a with reference to Aril-lumti [NPN 27b; AAN 28a]). This means that Šati-kintar used a seal that was cut for someone who was, as far as we know, not a member of his family (see Dosch / Deller 1981).

Fragments of other impression from this seal have already been published: for all three segments partially visible in the sequence 1–2–3 see JEN 654; for the sequence 2–3–1 see SANTAG 4 Tafel CXXI (BM 26242); for fragmentary segments 1 and 2, see SANTAG 4, 117 B, Tafel CXVIII (BM 95320). For another seal of Šati-kintar, son of Turi-kintar, with the same layout but different motifs and a legend, see Porada 1944–1945: Plate XLIX no. 994 (JEN 90).

- d) On the upper edge traces of a further seal impression can be seen. Two human figures(?) facing to the left stand to the right of a volute tree. Although scenes with volute trees are usually portrayed antithetically (see Stein 1993: figs. VI–XI Group 2), there seems to be a different scene to the left of the tree, but the traces of the depicted motifs are too poorly preserved for identification.

4 BM 103203: A Middle Assyrian Letter Dating to the Aftermath of the Conquest of the Kingdom of Arrapḫe

This small, almost square tablet (Fig. 4) is a Middle Assyrian letter sent to a certain Uḫḫia, a name well known from the Nuzi texts (see NPN 75b and AAN 72a, s.v. Iḫḫia). Yet it was written by a man living under the aegis of the Middle Assyrian kingdom, a situation that raises questions about the archaeological provenance of the tablet. Christopher Walker kindly provided information from the Museum records concerning this tablet indicating that BM 103203 belongs to a group of 150 artefacts consisting of cuneiform tablets, cylinders and stone jars, which the BM bought from the Parisian dealer I.E. Gejou. The objects were registered at the BM under the number 1910-10-08 (8 October, 1910). Apart from BM 103203, the tablets of this group of 150 objects consist of mainly Old Babylonian archival texts, but also two Middle Assyrian administrative texts,⁹ four Neo-Assyrian documents¹⁰ and one Neo-Assyrian literary text.¹¹ In correspondence with E. Wallis Budge between 1909 and 1911 Gejou twice offered the BM Nuzi tablets, two from ‘Kerkouk’ (Kirkuk / Arrapḫa) on 31 December, 1910, and a black tablet from ‘Kerkouk’ and a tablet from ‘Sherqat’ (Aššur) on 5 January, 1911. Since there are no other Nuzi texts identified among the tablets registered by the BM as coming from Gejou after that date (more than 1100 pieces had been registered with the date 1911-04-08), the individual allotments sent by this Parisian dealer during 1910 and 1911 could easily have been confused and wrongly numbered at the BM,¹² so that BM 103203 might be one of the tablets Gejou mentioned in his letters, despite its light colour.¹³

⁸ Irving Finkel kindly assisted me in reading the name on this seal legend.

⁹ An inspection of both Middle Assyrian tablets in November 2013 revealed that BM 103207 is an undated receipt of *qupātu*-flour and bread as a food allotment (MINDA *naptunu*), while BM 103200 is an allotment of items dated *limu* Ibri-šarri (rev. 10–11: *iru.ku-zal-lu* UD. 22.KĀM / *li-mu ib-ri-man*), which would be one of the first years of Tukulti-apil-ešarra I (Tiglath-pilešar I). Both tablets will be published by Jaume Llop and me.

¹⁰ BM 103202 (ZA 73, 239–240, 251 no. 8), BM 103204 (unpublished), BM 103205 (ZA 73, 245–246, 252 no. 12) and BM 103206 (ZA 73, 241–242, 252 no. 9).

¹¹ BM 103187 contains an incantation. For the Assyrian material of this group see Lambert (1992: 76).

¹² From other collections we know that allotments could be backdated during the registration process.

¹³ BM 103203 was fired at the BM in January 1963. This process would not have changed the typical black colour of a Nuzi tablet into the present light beige colour of this tablet. Perhaps the BM decided not to buy either of the Nuzi tablets offered by Gejou in 1910 and 1911.

An interpretation of the letter and the possible background of the sender are given in the commentary below.

The measurements of BM 103203 are 39.5×38×18 mm.

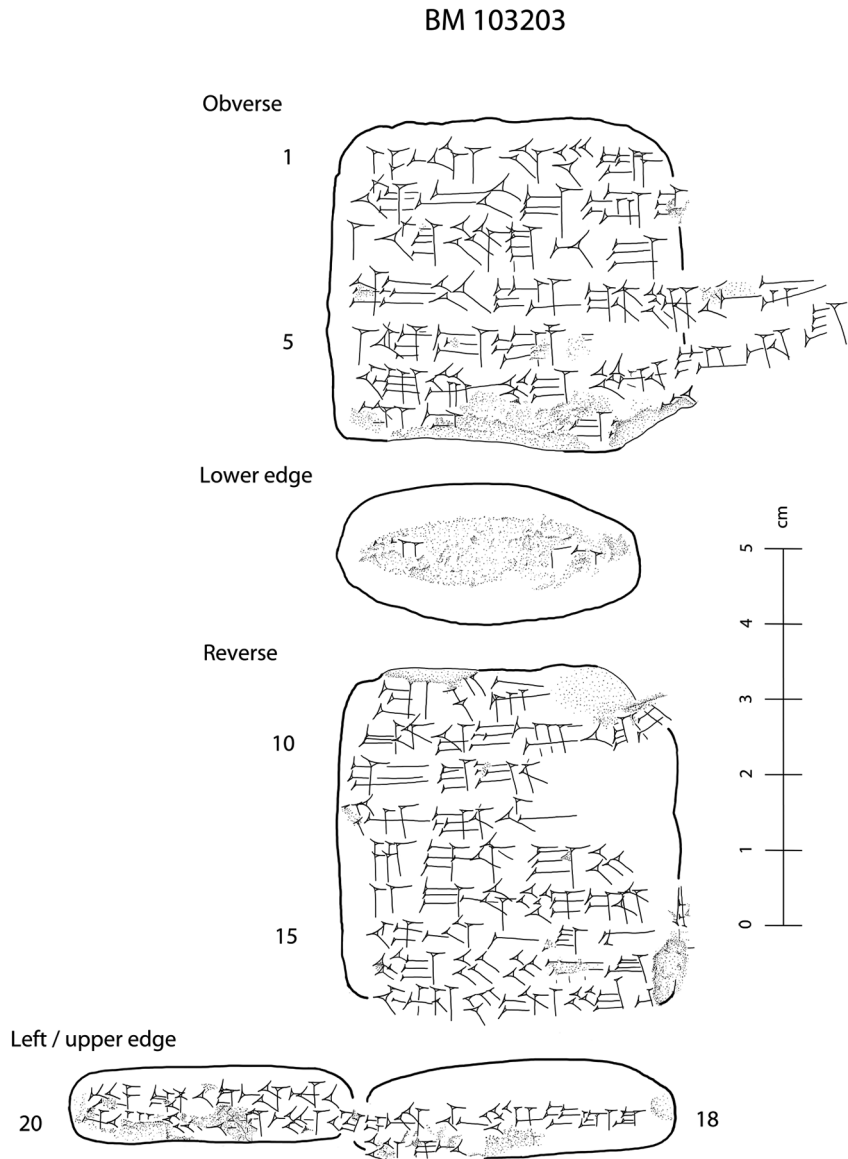


Fig. 4: BM 103203.

Transliteration and Translation

obv.	1	<i>a-na</i> ^m <i>ut-ḫi-ia</i>	
To Uḫia	2	<i>qī-bi-ma um-ma</i>	speak, thus (says)
	3	^m <i>ki-te-ku-be-ma</i>	Kidi(n) ² -kūbi
	4	ANŠE.KUR.RA ša us- ^r <i>bu²-ni</i>	‘The horse(es) that stayed (here),
	5	^m <i>ki-ba-ia</i>	Kipaia
	6	ù LÚ.tu-UZ-ra-ḫu-šu	and the ... man
	7	^r <i>iš²-t[a²-x]x x[x]x</i>	they ² have ...

lo. edge 8	ᵛxᵛ [x]x-ᵛmaᵛ	... and?
rev. 9	sú-ḫi-ir	the foal
10	ša ANŠE ú-ki-ᵛluᵛ	of the donkey they kept back.
11	3 BĀN ZÍD.DA	3 BĀN flour
12	im-da-ši	he forgot.
13	5 MA.NA ku-še	5 minas of hide
14	2 MA.NA šar-ta	2 minas of hair (or pelt)
15	dī-na-aš-šu-nu	give out to them.
16	tu-še-še-ᵛir ¹⁴ -ᵛšu	You should prepare this
17	ar-ḫi-iš tu-r[i ² -d]u ² -ni	(and) you should tra[vel dow]n (here) quickly.
up. edge 18	a ¹ -na ši-ᵛšarᵛ i-lu-ᵛkuᵛ	To Šiššar they should come.
le. edge 19	ᵛITUᵛ ša ke-na-ti	Month ša kēnāte,
20	ᵛUD.16.KAM* li ¹ -mu ¹ ki-ᵛte-kuᵛ-be	day 16, līmu Kidi(n) ² -kūbi.

Notes

- obv. 3, rev. 20 The name of the sender is identical to the *limu*-name in line 20: on the date of the letter see below under *The Date of the Letter*.
- obv. 4 bThe verb *usbuni*, the third singular preterit of *wašābu*, ‘to sit down; dwell, stay; exist, be (currently)’, with the Assyrian subjunctive in *-u-ni*, would refer to ‘the horse’. It could also function as a third plural preterit, since the logogram ANŠE.KUR.RA does not require the plural marker. In a Middle Assyrian letter order from Ḫarbe, the verb *wašābu* occurs in connection with horses (Tell Chuēra no. 4, 3–5; Jakob 2006: 43–45): ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ šá PN i+na URU.ḫar-be lu us-bu le-ku-lu, ‘The horses of PN shall stay in Ḫarbe (and) feed’.¹⁴ Another possibility would be to understand the verbal form as from *wašābu*, ‘to add’ (AHw 1474b, CDA 435a; cf. *ašābu* CAD A II 352), which would yield the translation ‘The hors(es) they added’.
- obv. 5 The name Kipaia is well attested among the Nuzi texts, see NPN 86b and AAN 82b.
- obv. 6 As the horse is the topic of the instruction in ll. 4–9, it would be attractive to connect *tu-UZ-ra-ḫu-šu* with the D stem of *šarāḫu*, *šurruḫu*, known only from Middle Assyrian texts referring to horses in the meaning ‘to keep (them) warm’ after training (see CAD Ṣ 99a). With the preceding LÚ this form cannot be interpreted as a verb, though, but must be a noun denoting an occupation or special function of that person. It cannot be derived from *šarāḫu*, since *tu-* is not attested in Akkadian as a prefix for nouns. If it were a Hurrian term with the suffix for adjectives of appurtenance *-ḫe* followed by the Akkadian possessive suffix *-šu*, we could postulate a root *tuzr-* or *tuz-r-*, but neither is listed by Laroche (1979: 274) or Richter (2012: 479).
- obv. 7 The traces at the beginning of the line suggest a verb in the perfect, most likely plural, describing what the two persons mentioned in obv. 5–6 have done with or to the horses of line 4. Unfortunately, the remaining traces are not clear enough for a restoration.
- lo. edge 8 The last sign could also be read ᵛšuᵛ.
- rev. 9 One would expect the accusative, *suḫira*. To interpret *sú-ḫi-ir* as the D-imperative of *saḫāru*, ‘to send; turn back’, is unlikely. Similarly unlikely would be a reading *šú-ḫi-ir*, D-imperative of *šeḫēru*, ‘to deduct, deplete’.
- rev. 10 The sign Ú has a peculiar form with the lower horizontal wedge beginning further to the right than the upper one, which rather recalls MÁ.

¹⁴ I thank Jaume Llop for this reference.

- rev. 12 Jaume Llop has kindly provided the following comments on this line: ‘*im-da-ši* for *im-tá-ši*. The syllabic value “*tá*” is not present in MA’, and therefore it must reflect the foreign origin of the scribe. In addition, the scribe did not use the ‘correct Assyrian *im-ti-ši*, with vocalic harmony’, as he does in line 18.
- rev. 13 According to the dictionaries, the word *kūšu*, ‘skin, hide’, is attested only in lexical lists and in a list with the names of plants from the first millennium BCE (CAD K 602b, AHW 517a). Even so, this meaning of *kūšu* fits well with the ‘hair, felt’ in the subsequent line, since both are parts of animals for processing.
- rev. 15 The imperative *din=aš=šunu* is an Assyrian form.
- rev. 16 The Š stem of *ešēru* is used in the meaning of ‘to prepare (something)’ or ‘to put in good order’ (CAD E 357a–358a).
- rev. 17 The form *tu-r[i²-d]u²-ni* bears an Assyrian subjunctive in *-u-ni*. The verb could be either singular or plural, but if the preceding line is reconstructed correctly, a singular is more likely. This is one of the few occasions where *arḫiš* is not combined with an imperative or precativum but with a preterit (AHw 67b), although this phrase is part of an order.
- rev. 16–17 Similar phrasing is used in an Old Babylonian letter from Elam: *šutēširaššunūti=[ma a]rḫiš littal[kū]*, ‘Prepare (the barley) for them, and they should come here quickly (or: so that they can come here quickly)’ (MDP 18, 240: 10–11 quoted in CAD E 358a; CAD A 256b translates: ‘Get them ready so that they may leave soon’).
- u. edge 18 The scribe uses the form *illukū* with Assyrian vocalic harmony. The reading *a¹-na ši-šar²* follows a suggestion of Jaume Llop (personal communication). Šiššar is the name of a watercourse near Aššur that has been identified with the Wādī at-Tartār (see RGTC 5, 317), west of Mosul. Since there is no indication of Šiššar being a watercourse in this text, it may refer here to a small settlement located at and named after this wadi. This would mean that the sender of this letter was stationed in the neighbourhood of Aššur.
- le. edge 19 The month *ša kēnāte* is said to be the third month of the Middle Assyrian calendar (e.g., Hunger 1976–1980: 301), corresponding with the second month of the Babylonian calendar (e.g., Freydanck 1991: 84). This identification, however, could be misleading, since no system of intercalation has been demonstrated for this period, so that the ‘months’ would advance slowly through successive solar years (Koch 1989: 132–141). For the Middle Assyrian calendar, see also Cancik-Kirschbaum / Johnson (2011).
- le. edge 20 Since the date formula was too long for the left edge of this small tablet, the scribe continued the second line on the upper edge, just below the last line of the letter.

Commentary

The letter BM 103203 can certainly be identified as a Nuzi tablet because of its general appearance, the ductus and the names Uthia (l. 1) and Kipaja (l. 5), Hurrian names well attested in the Nuzi texts. Closer inspection shows typical Nuzi as well as Assyrian features. The almost square format of the letter is also common among Nuzi tablets (cf., e.g., EN 9/1 99, 112, 114, 115, 119), while Assyrian letters are commonly written on oblong tablets in portrait orientation.¹⁵ The ductus shows some Middle Assyrian sign forms (ANŠE in ll. 4 and 10, LÚ in l. 6, and TI in l. 19) among others that are typically Nuzi. The syllabary is typical for the Nuzi letters; Middle Assyrian scribes, e.g., do not use the sign DA for *tá* (see rev. 12). Although the text depicts a number of Assyrianisms (the Assyrian subjunctive in *-u-ni* in ll. 4 and 17, and *illukū* with vocalic harmony in l. 18), other verbal forms lack these features (see rev. 12). It was evidently written under Assyrian influence, since the sender dates his letter according to Assyrian custom with the month, day and eponym (*limu*), as opposed to Nuzi tablets, which are never dated. While two names are evidently Hurrian, i.e. Uthia (l. 1) and Kipaja (l. 5),

¹⁵ Courtesy Jaume Llop.

the name of the sender ^mki-te-ku-be (l. 3), which is identical to the *limu*-name (l. 20), is Assyrian, for which see further below.

These features point to an Assyrian scribe with a Hurrian background,¹⁶ writing to a Hurrian working on the sender's estate, perhaps located in Arrapḫa or nearby (we have noted the possibility that this letter was found in Kirkuk).¹⁷ If the scribe and the sender are the same person, he had found an occupation within Assyria proper. If it is also the case that sender and *limu*-name are the same person, he must have enjoyed a very successful career in the Middle Assyrian administration.¹⁸ The Assyrian king could have allocated landholdings in the former kingdom of Arrapḫe to him as compensation for his services to the Assyrian government or for military service. Still, one cannot exclude the possibility that a scribe had written the letter from dictation, and that the sender and *limu*-official are identical and genuinely Assyrian. In any case, the letter must have been written after the conquest of the kingdom of Arrapḫe by the Assyrian king in the late 14th century BCE. It is obvious that part of the Hurrian population of Arrapḫe, i.e. those who had survived the military invasion and had not been deported to other parts of the Assyrian kingdom,¹⁹ continued to live in the area and to farm the land after the Assyrians had annexed their territory. The evidence for this is the number of people with Hurrian names mentioned in Middle Assyrian documents from that area, and the number and the kind of Hurrian loanwords that entered the Middle Assyrian vocabulary,²⁰ even that of the royal administration.²¹ The rulers, of course, were Assyrians. This letter most likely witnesses the Middle Assyrian administration of the former kingdom of Arrapḫe.

The Date of the Letter

The eponym of the letter is written ^mki-te-ku-be, which is identical to the name of the sender (l. 3: ^mki-te-ku-be). As written by a Middle Assyrian scribe, this orthography would represent the name Kitte-kūbe²² or Qīti-kūbe,²³ neither of which is so far attested as a *limu*-name. It would thus be a new *limu*-name dating roughly to the 14th century BCE.

As written by a scribe with a Hurrian background this orthography could represent Kidi(n)-kūbe.²⁴ A *limu* Kidin-kūbe is known from the date formula in KAJ 29 (24–25: *li-mu* ^mki-di-ku-bi / *DUMU* *be-er-na-din-še*.MEŠ; Saporetti 1979: 49) and in VAT 19866 = Assur 14446 (24–25: *li-mu* ^mki-din-ku-bi / *DUMU* ^d*be-er-na-din-še*[š.MEŠ]; Freydank 1991: 148). Both Saporetti and Freydank date this eponym to the reign of Aššur-uballiṭ I (1363–1328 / 1353–1318 BCE). If this interpretation is correct, the *limu* Kidin-kūbi can be regarded as the *terminus ante quem* for the Assyrian conquest of the kingdom of Arrapḫe. Regardless of whether this *limu* is to be placed towards the beginning or the end of Aššur-uballiṭ's reign, it would still prove that

¹⁶ In fact, it cannot be excluded that the scribe had a family background of any of the other people at the fringe of Assyrian dominion, because the non-Assyrian grammatical and writing features could as well go back to conventions of a scribe with another non-Semitic language as native tongue.

¹⁷ A location in or near Nuzi is less likely, although in the temple areas of Yorḡān Tepe some remains of Middle Assyrian occupation were detected above the destruction levels represented by the Nuzi texts (Starr 1939: 122). The tell upon which Kirkūk is located, on the other hand, is very high and therefore most likely has more continuous layers of occupation. And Arrapḫa is in fact attested in Middle and Neo-Assyrian sources.

¹⁸ We do not know the circumstances under which a man, who obviously did not learn to write in the Assyrian heartland, who was most likely Hurrian in origin, and who possessed land in the former kingdom of Arrapḫe, might have become an official of such a high rank in the Assyrian administration that a *limu* would have been named after him.

¹⁹ See, e.g., Freydank / Salvini (1984).

²⁰ As suggested by my research on the loanwords in Middle Assyrian vocabulary, to be published as a monograph, *Some Indications for the Impact of Migration in the Neo-Assyrian Period* (provisional title).

²¹ The Middle Assyrian administration, e.g., adopted the term *ḫaššuḫlu/ḫassiḫlu* from Hurrian *ḫalzuḫlu* (Jakob 2003: 18–19), and Hurrian words even entered the military terminology (Jakob 2003: 7).

²² See Postgate (1988: 125–126 text 53 line 3), who renders the name written *ki-te-ku-bi* Kitte-kūbi, which would mean 'Fidelity of Kūbe' (reference by the courtesy Jaume Llop).

²³ *PNAE* 3/I: 1016a–1017a interprets the writings *qi-te/i-...*, *qī-te/i-...* and *qit-ti-...* in PNs as Qīti-..., 'My end is ...'.

²⁴ See the name Kidin(n)itu written *ki-te-ni-du* (see above, text 1 obv. 1).

Arraphē was already annexed to the Assyrian kingdom during the reign of Aššur-uballiṭ. This would be in line with the assumed destruction of Nuzi²⁵ during the first regnal years of Aššur-uballiṭ, as first proposed²⁶ by Wilhelm (1976: 160–162: around 1360 BCE, well before the death of Tušratta, based on a dating of his reign to 1365–1330 BCE), then modified by Stein (1979: 53: 1330 BCE, following the death of Tušratta, based on a reign of 1353–1318 BCE),²⁷ and recently taken up by Maidman (2011: especially pp. 124–126: during the first years or first decade of Aššur-uballiṭ's reign, before the death of Tušratta). Thus, this Middle Assyrian letter provides long sought after evidence for narrowing down the date of the Assyrian conquest of the kingdom of Arraphē.

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²⁵ Stratum II of Nuzi, the level where the Nuzi tablets were found, was looted, destroyed and burnt, see Starr (1939: 48, 53, 58, 72, 83, 103–104, 142, 173, 178, etc.)

²⁶ Lewy (1959: 24) assumed the Nuzi archives ended 'a few years before 1362 B.C., the year when Aššur-uballiṭ definitively threw off the Babylonian overlordship by making himself king of Assyria'. These events she dated after the death of Tušratta (see pp. 22–24).

²⁷ Stein (1989: 58–59) gives a date for the end of the Nuzi texts as 1350, but is in favour of a later date as 1330.

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