

IV. *Babylonian Documents from North Mesopotamia*

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In the second millennium BC the Assyrian dialect of Akkadian was spoken and written by natives of Assur on the Tigris, both at home in Assyria and abroad in their trading outposts. To the west of Assyria, in the “Habur triangle” (the catchment area of the Habur river) and along the Euphrates, the chief written language was Babylonian in various provincial forms, at different times with intrusions of Assyrian dialect and of the local languages, Amorite and Hurrian. By the Mittani period, in the Late Bronze Age, Assyrian dialect became more widely used outside Assyria, as Assyrian businessmen moved

into the eastern Habur triangle. The Schøyen Collection houses nine cuneiform tablets which have in common that they certainly come from north Mesopotamia and are written in provincial varieties of Old and Middle Babylonian. They fall into three groups, roughly dating to the mid-eighteenth (A), the late seventeenth (B) and the fourteenth centuries respectively (C). Another two tablets (D), which exhibit a script type that dates from early in the second millennium, are possibly, but not definitely, from north Mesopotamia.

A. OLD BABYLONIAN TABLETS FROM TELL LEILAN

Two small square tablets in the collection share the number MS 1875. The dating of one of them by the Assyrian eponym official (*limu*) Sassapu (formerly read Zazzabu) led quickly to the discovery that both tablets are strays from an administrative archive otherwise known from 643 tablets excavated at Tell Leilan in the eastern portion of the Habur triangle. The archive was found in 1991 in Room 12 of a building called by the excavators the “Northern Lower Town Palace” (Akkermans *et al.* 1991; Ristvet and Weiss 2011: xxxiv–xxxv). Tell Leilan (ancient Šehna, Šubat-Enlil) was the capital of the state built by Samsi-Addu (Šamsi-Adad I of Assyria), but these tablets belong to the period of instability after his death (Eidem 2011: 2–3), during which the building and archive were aban-

doned. The archive has been partly published by Marc Van De Mieroop (1994). It is dated by the Assyrian eponym officials Aššur-taklāku, Sassapu and Aḫu-waqar, whom the archive showed to have held office in consecutive years. This succession has since been confirmed by the new eponym-list from Kültepe (Günbattı 2008: 109 ll. 92–94), and the three eponyms can be allocated the years 1767–1765 BC in the middle chronology (REL years 206–8, Barjamovic *et al.* 2012: 96).

The key figure in the archive is a man called Mutu-ramê, who was in charge of procuring brewing ingredients and supervising the delivery and distribution of beer. Between them texts Nos. 57 and 58 document both activities. Among those who regularly received allowances (sá-

SAG, for *sá-dug*₄ = *sattukku*) of beer from Mutu-ramê were the “king’s servant women”, probably the women of a royal harem (Van De Mieroop 1994: 336).

Like other tablets recording disbursements in the archive, No. 57 is sealed with the cylinder seal of a certain Šamaš-dayyān, servant of Qarni-Lim. The latter was king of Andarig, and it seems that the mansion where Mutu-ramê’s archive was found was an establishment maintained for him at Šubat-Enlil. Some have identified it as an embassy (Van De Mieroop 1994:

342–43; Charpin and Ziegler 2003: 205; Eidem 2012: 229). That function would not have precluded its use as Qarni-Lim’s personal residence, where his visits could be sweetened by a harem. The house was presumably abandoned in the wake of his flight and assassination (Charpin 1994, Heimpel 1996).

As is the case with other tablets in the archive, the act of sealing has partly obliterated the text, but some lines can be restored as well-attested formulae.

No. 57

MS 1875/1

Pl. LXV

obv.

- 1 9 sila kaš-sig₅
 2 ʾsá¹-SAG géme^{mcs} lugal
 3 ʾ2¹-bán 4 sila ʾša nu¹-ba-lim
 4 2/3 sila ʾki-le-ešⁿ-ew-ri
 5 6 1/3 sila zi-ga didli

rev.

- 6 ʾšu¹-nigin 4-bán kaš-sig₅
 7 i-n[a^{gis}bán] ʾki-na¹-[te-e]
 8 zi-[ga] ʾmu¹-[tu-ra-me-e]
 blank space
 9 ʾiti¹ d^ddumu-zi
 10 ud 14-ʾkam¹
 edge
 11 li-mu d^d[a-šur-ták-la-ku]

¹⁻⁵ 9 litres fine ale, allowance of the king’s servant women; 24 litres, the litter-bearers; 2/3 litre, Kileš-ewri; 6 1/3 litres, issued variously.

⁶⁻⁸ Total 40 litres fine ale, by [the] menials’ [measure,] issued [by Mutu-ramê.]

⁹⁻¹¹ Month Dumuzi (X), day 14, eponym [Aššur-taklāku.]

seal inscription

1 d^dutu-[di-kud]

2 ʾr qar-[ni-li-im]

Šamaš-[dayyān,] servant of Qarni-[lim.]

No. 58

MS 1875/2

Pl. LXVI

obv.

- 1 4-bán munu₄
 2 1-bán báppir-sig₅
 3 i-na^{gis}bán ki-na-te-e
 4 šu-ti-a

rev.

- 5 mu-tu-ra-^rme¹-e
 6 gîr^r zu-un-na-an?¹ i-na na-ah^r-^rSAL¹
 7^{iti} ni-iq-mi-im
 8 ud 10-kam
 9 li-mu sà-as-sà-pu

¹⁻⁶ 40 litres malt, 10 litres fine beer-bread, in the menials' measure, received by Mutu-ramê, under the control of Zunnan, from . . .

⁷⁻⁹ Month Niqum (I), day 10, eponym Sas-sapu.

Note

6. Another tablet in the archive, recording Mutu-ramê's receipt of three homers of malt, has the description *ina* NA.ŠE.NI, gîr Zunnan (Van De Mieroop 1994: 313 sub X 28). Zunnan appears in the same capacity in several other documents from the archive and must be intended here. The other phrase in that line is perhaps somehow to be reconciled with our *na-ah^r-SAL*.

B. LATE OLD BABYLONIAN TABLETS FROM TIGUNĀNUM

The archive of the palace of king Tunip-Teššub of Tigunānum (or Tikunani) came to the notice of scholarship in the late 1980s and is now distributed among various different collections. Those published here bring to eleven the number of Tigunānum tablets identified in the Schøyen Collection; others have been identified in Japan, Turkey and Switzerland, but the whereabouts of the majority are unknown.¹

Tunip-Teššub was a contemporary and vassal of the Hittite ruler Hattusili I, for they corresponded (Salvini 1994), and he thus ruled *ca.* 1630 BC in the conventional chronology. Tigunānum was a town somewhere in north Meso-

potamia, on a river crossing, perhaps (but not certainly) near Bismil on the upper Tigris (Charpin 2000, 2014, Miller 2001). Some of the contents of Tunip-Teššub's palace archive have been described by Salvini, who published four items from it (1996), and by George, who made available twenty-two of the divinatory texts (2013: 101–28, 285–319). Though few other tablets have been published so far, the contents of the archive as a whole can be determined from notes left by the late W. G. Lambert, who saw many hundreds of tablets of the archive (but not all of it) in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Folios 7547–8209 etc. in his *Nachlass*).

1. Japan: divinatory tablets awaiting publication by Akio Tsukimoto (see George 2013: 102); Turkey: administrative tablet (Akdoğan and Wilhelm 2010); Switzerland: divinatory fragment (*izbum*) to be published by Nicla De Zorzi (see De Zorzi 2014: 21).

Administrative texts predominate, reporting the palace's management of its flocks, weaving and metalworking. A small but important component of the archive is a batch of letters to Tunip-Teššub from equals and underlings that shed light on Tigunānum's political and diplomatic relations with other towns of north Mesopotamia. The academic texts are mostly omen lists, but some lexical texts occur too (one published as Civil 2010: 127–28). A few religious rituals also appear, including one recording rites of “Ištar lady of Ninet” (Folio 7630: *pa-ar-ší ša*^d *iš₈-tár bēlet(nin)*^{uru} *ni-ne-et*^{ki}). Ninet is Nineveh (Ziegler 2004: 19–20), the chief city of northern Assyria, and Ištar of Ninet is thus the great goddess of Nineveh.

The presence in Tunip-Teššub's palace of a ritual for the patron deity of Nineveh speaks for a close cultural and religious connection between Tigunānum and Nineveh. In a volume of Assyrian documents it seems appropriate to present other evidence for connections between Tigunānum and Assyria. The long personnel-list published by M. Salvini as the “Habiru prism” is dated by two *limu*-officials, one of whom bears the Assyrian name Aššuriddin (Salvini 1996: 35 l. 9). Dating by *limu* was

normal in north Mesopotamia from the era of Šamši-Adad I or Samsi-Addu (see Charpin 2013) but the system was, ultimately, an Assyrian one. Assyrian influence is also visible in the language of some of Tunip-Teššub's omen texts (George 2013: 106 i.a.1).

Salvini describes the political-geographical context as revealed by the texts available to him (1996: 11–12): he notes references to the “cities of Haḫḫum, Zalpar, Niḫrija, Eluḫut, Ḫuršanum, Ašnakku, and Burundi”, many of them way-stations on the trade route from Assyria to the west (see further Miller 2001: 419–20). Other well-known place names, all in north Mesopotamia, feature in Lambert's dossier: Karanâ west of Nineveh, and three towns in the Ḫabur triangle: Ilansura, Idamaraš and Šeḫnâ. In addition two Assyrian cities occur: Ninet, as already mentioned, and Assur.

Tunip-Teššub's relations with Assyria are documented by letters that he received from two individuals who claim to be his peers. The letters' contents suggest that they were his counterparts at Ninet and Assur respectively. The texts are given here in W. G. Lambert's transliteration and translation, as recorded in his *Nachlass*:

¹ *a-na a-ḫi-ia tu-ni-ip-[te-eš-šu-up]* ² *qí-bí-ma um-ma a-ri-šar-ri* ³ *a-ḫu-ka-a-ma* ⁴ *anna-nu-um-ma aḫ-ḫu-ia šu-ul-mu* ⁵ *aš-ra-nu-um ma-ḫa-ar a-ḫi-ia* ⁶ *lu-ú šu-ul-mu* ⁷ *anna mi-nim a-ḫi it-ti-ia* ⁸ *iz-ze-ni lú.tur ša a-ḫi* ⁹ *a-na qa-at ku-šu-uh-wa-ri* ¹⁰ *ù kubaša id-dì-nu ú-ul ub-lu-ni* ¹² *lu-ul-lu i-na pá-an a-ḫi-ia* ¹³ *li-is-ni-qú-ma* ¹⁴ *ù kuba-<ša> li-ša-lu* ¹⁵ *a-na mi-nim a-ḫi* ¹⁶ *i-na na-ša-ri* ¹⁷ *ù* ^{uru} *ti-ku-na-nu*^{ki} ¹⁸ *it-ti ištar(U.DAR) bēlet ni-ne-et*^{ki} ¹⁹ *ù a-ḫi ḫarrān ištar ik-ta-la* ²⁰ *ḫarrān ištar li-il-li-ik-ma* ²¹ *ù a-na a-ḫi-ia ba-ra-ša* ²² *ištar li-id-dì-in* ²³ *lú mārū*^{meš} *ši-ip-ri* ²⁴ *ša a-ḫi-ia li-il-li-kam-ma* ²⁵ *ù qà-ša-ti ša a-ḫi-ia-ma* ²⁶ *lu-ša-b[i-la-am]* ²⁷ *i-na-an-na qà-aš-ta ša im?* x x ²⁸ *a-na-ad-dì-ma* ²⁹ *i-na ḫarrāni ma-an-nu ú-ša-[a]b*

To my brother Tunip-[Tessup] speak, thus says Ari-šarri your brother: here all is well with my brothers, over there I hope all is well around my brother. Why has my brother got angry with me? They did not bring the servant which my brother entrusted to Kušuh-wari and Kubaša. Pressure should be put on Lullu in the presence of my brother, and questions should be addressed to Kubaša. Why is my brother on guard while the city of Tikunani is joined to Ištar of Ninet? Yet my brother has detained the caravan of Ištar! Let the caravan

of Ištar come! Then Ištar will give juniper essence to my brother. Let the messengers of my brother come, then I will send my brother's gifts. Now, I shall lay down [the] gift which . . . and who will stay on the caravan?

Lambert Folios 7635–36

¹ a-na tu-ni-ip-te-eš-šu-ub a-ḫi-^fia¹ ² qí-bí-ma³ um-ma bi-la-aḫ-KUR-ma⁴ A.LÁL.SAR ù^d utu⁵ li-ba-al-li-tú-ka⁶ ma-aḫ-ri-ia šu-ul-mu⁷ aš-ra-nu ma-aḫ-ri-ka⁸ lu šu-ul-mu aš-ša^m IM-da-mi-iq⁹ ki-a-am ta-aš-pu-ra-am¹⁰ um-ma at-ta-ma a[m]-mi-nim¹¹ ^dIM-da-mi-iq i+na^{urnu} aš-šu-ur¹² aš-ba-at it-ti-ia¹³ i-id-bu-ub DIŠ^d IM-da-mi-iq¹⁴ ÌR-di áš-ni-iq-ma¹⁵ um-ma^d IM-da-mi-iq-ma¹⁶ iš-tu be-li-ia DIŠ tu-ni-ip-te-eš-šu-ub¹⁷ ta-ma-ar-ti^{rev.} ¹⁸ an-na-a-ni ù šu-ú-du¹⁹ ú-ša-al-li-ma-an-ni²⁰ iš-tu du-ri-im-ma²¹ kar^{urnu} ši-ma-la-a^{ki} ²² kar.gal ša^{urnu.d} A.LÁL.SAR²³ šu-ú a-na kaskal ša dam.gar^{meš} ²⁴ ÌR^{meš}-ia ša e-li-iš²⁵ ù ša-ap-li-iš it-ta-na-al-la-ku²⁶ ni-di a-ḫi ú-ul²⁷ ta-ra-aš-ši²⁸ a-nu-um-ma DIŠ^{gib} ban²⁹ ša (drawn sign = qá-ti!?)³⁰ uš-ta-bi-lakum³¹ DIŠ be-el-šu-nu ÌR-di³² a-na^{urnu} bi-ú-uš-na-i³³ šu-u[l-l]i-im-šu³⁴ aš-š[a DIŠ ni]- (drawn traces = 'ma')³⁵ ÌR-di^{edge} ša a-na^{urnu} A.LÁL.SA[R]³⁶ ú-ga-al-li-lu [(x)]^{left edge} ³⁷ DIŠ ni-ma-ia a-na ma-ta-ti-ka na-di-in³⁸ ú-ul dumu^d A.LÁL.SAR šu-ú

Speak to Tunip–Teššub my brother: “Thus says Pilaḫ–Dagan: ‘May Aššur and Šamaš keep you in good health. Things are well with me. I hope things are well with you there.

Concerning Adad-damiq, you wrote to me as follows: “Why is Adad-damiq staying with you in Assur? He has an agreement with me!” I questioned Adad-damiq my servant and he said, “(I got) my reward from my lord Tunib–Teššub over there, and he gave me safe conduct.” From time immemorial the bazaar of Šimalâ has been the chief bazaar of Assur. He belongs to the caravan of merchants, my servants, who constantly move to and fro. Do not be negligent! Now, I am sending to you one bow from my stock through Bēlšunu. Grant Bēlšunu my servant safe conduct to the city Bi’ušrani.

Concerning Nimaya, who is my servant who committed a crime against Aššur, Nimaya has been handed over to your lands. He is not an Assyrian.”

Lambert Folios 7637, 8202

The first letter demonstrates that Tunip–Teššub was in a position to intercept caravans taking goods to Nineveh, then apparently under the control of a man called Ari-šarri, otherwise unknown. If Lambert is right in identifying *bara-ša* as a variant of *burāšu* “juniper”,² and Ari-šarri offers to give some to Tunip–Teššub in

return for letting his caravan continue through Tunip–Teššub’s territory, then the caravan at issue was surely engaged in the trade of juniper. According to first-millennium texts, sources of *burāšu*-juniper lay both north-west and north-east of Assyria (Postgate 1992: 180–81).

2. Compare the spelling *bar-šu* in Late Babylonian temple rituals (Çağırzan and Lambert 1991–93: 101 sub 71).

The second letter was sent by a man by name of Pilaḥ-Dagan, previously unknown but evidently the contemporaneous ruler of Assur. He answers a question, posed by Tunip-Teššub in an earlier letter, about the status of an individual who serves both rulers; rather bluntly demands that Tunip-Teššub ensure the security of travel between Assur, Šimala, an important trading post for Assur,³ and a place called Bi'ušna'i;⁴ sweetens the demand with the gift of one of his personal bows; and reports the expulsion of an individual from Assyria into Tunip-Teššub's territory.

Both letters show that Tigunānum controlled trade routes that were important to the great urban centres of Assyria. Further insight into Assyrian trading activities of the time is gained from another document recorded by W. G. Lambert, which reports, presumably to Tunip-Teššub, that a merchant called Aššur-rabi — obviously Assyrian — was based at Burundum and traded with Haḥḥum.⁵ No

doubt partly as a consequence of Tigunānum's position on or near the trade routes that connected Assyria with the west and north-west, Tunip-Teššub was at this time a king on equal footing with the rulers of the ancient cities of Assyria.

The vast majority of the administrative documents in the archive of Tunip-Teššub's palace are concerned with accounting for livestock and manufacture of woollen cloaks. Clearly the economy of Tunip-Teššub's state was mainly based on the herding and exploitation of sheep and goats. Other texts in the archive document the distribution of various commodities by the palace: rations to personnel, fodder to oxen and pigs, silver to craftsmen; and the procurement of horses.

The five tablets published here bear further witness to the palace's economic activities, and add to the predominantly Hurrian onomasticon already well documented at Tigunānum by the long personnel-list (Salvini 1996).

No. 59

MS 1812

Pls. LXVII–LXVIII

This fragment is the upper part of a two-column tablet inscribed on the obverse with an account of foodstuffs, beginning with animal feed. The feed consists of quantities of lentils (*kakkú*, wr. *gú-tur-tur*) and some kind of beans (*kiššanu*) for oxen and pigs, allocated for specified periods to individuals in various towns and villages and to the workhouse (*bit neprū*). The list

continues with barley rations distributed to various individuals. The document did not fill the entire tablet, for the surviving portion of the reverse is blank, except for a vertical ruling that divided the surface into two columns. The tablet is recorded in Lambert's *Nachlass* (Folios 8135–36, dated February 1991).

3. I understand ll. 20–27 differently from Lambert, as a topic unrelated to Adad-damiq: “from time immemorial the trading post at Šimala has been the chief trading post of Assur, so do not neglect the caravans of the merchants who are my subjects and travel the route back and forth!”
4. Bi'ušrani in Lambert's translation is probably a typographical error for Bi'ušnai. The place name ^{ur}bi/be-ú-uš-na-i^{ki} occurs often in the dossier (Folios 7657, 7731, 7858–59, 7892, 7894, 7952). It was the seat of

a king and queen, and played a role in the horse trade.

5. Folio 7754 ll. 1–9: ^{ur}aš-šū-úr-ra-bi tamkār(dam-gār) ^{ur}bu-ru-un-di^{ki} ša tá-ab-ta a-na ^{ur}ḥa-aḥ-ḥi^{ki} ú-še-lu-ú a-na ekalli(é-gal) 2/3 ma-na annaka(an-na) a-na ta-ma-ar-ti ú-še-li ú ^{ur}šar narkabta(gigir) it-ti šar ^{ur}ḥa-aḥ-ḥi^{ki} i-ir-ri-iš “Aššur-rabi, a merchant of Burundum who was taking salt up to Haḥḥum, also sent forty shekels of tin to the palace as a present, so he could ask the king of Haḥḥum for a chariot.(my translation)”

obv. i

1 [50? anš]e gú-tur-tur šà-gal 12 gud-ḫi-a
 2 ʿša¹ iti 7-kam iš-tu^{iti} ti-ri-im
 3 a-di^{iti} ma-na 2 sila-ta-àm
 4 engar ki-zi-ia i-na ša-da-a^{ki} / ka-wi

5 8 anše ki-ša-nu šà-gal 10 gud-ḫi-a
 6 ša iti 1-kam ù ud 10-kam 2 sila-àm
 7 iš-tu^{iti} ma-am-mi a-di^{iti} ma-na
 8 engar za-pu-ug i-na ab-ša-a^{ki}

9 6 anše 5-bán ki-ša-nu šà-gal gud-ḫi-a
 10 ša^{iti} ma-am-mi engar ta-al-pu-a-/-tal
 11 i-na ša-na-mu-ud^{ki}

12 7 anše 3-bán ki-ša-nu šà-gal gud-ḫi
 13 ʿša^{iti} ma-am-mi engar ḫa-mi-ia
 14 [i-n]a ti-gu-na-nim^{ki}

15 [. . .] ʿgud-ḫi¹-a
 16 [. . .]x

gap

obv. ii

1 12 anše 3-bán gú-tur-tur šà-gal šaḫ-ḫi-a
 2 níg-šu engar^{mes}

3 šu-nigin 86 anše 1.3-bán zíz gú-tur-tur
 4 šà-gal gud-ḫi-a šà-gal šaḫ-ḫi-a
 5 ša^{li} engar^{mes}

6 24 anše ki-ša-<nu> šà-gal é ni-ip-ri-i
 7 iš-tu^{iti} ki-nu-ni a-di^{iti} ma-am-mi

8 1 anše še ar-di-ia
 9 1 anše {ras.} še
 10 3 anše 1 še?.zíz? še-ba sa-me-i-din
 11 ša zi-na-ni

12 1 anše še-ba sa-me-ma-ḫi
 13 ša ú-be-še i-na ši-an ḫi ša^{ki?}

14 1½ anše še-ba a-ri-ia
 15 [i-na] ša-da-a^{ki} pu-gu-li-ʿim?¹

remainder destroyed

¹⁻⁴ [50?] homers of lentils, fodder for 12 oxen, for the seven months from the month Tirum (V) to the month Mana (XI), at 2 litres each (per diem): farmer Kizziya in Šadâ. Kawi.

⁵⁻⁸ 8 homers of beans, fodder for 10 oxen, for 40 days, at 2 litres each (per diem), from the month Mammîtum (X) to the month Mana (XI): farmer Zapug in Abšâ.

⁹⁻¹¹ 6½ homers of beans, fodder for oxen for the month Mammîtum (X): farmer Talpu-atal in Šanamud.

¹²⁻¹⁴ 7 homers and 30 litres of beans, fodder for oxen for the month Mammîtum (X): farmer Ħamiya in Tigunānum.

¹⁵ [x homers of . . . , fodder for] oxen [. . .

gap

¹¹⁻² 12 homers and 30 litres of lentils, fodder for pigs in the care of farmers.

³⁻⁵ Total: 86 homers and 90 litres of emmer (and) lentils, fodder for oxen and pigs in the care of farmers.

⁶⁻⁷ 24 homers of beans, fodder for the work-house, from the month Kinūnu (VII) to the month Mammîtum (X).

⁸⁻¹¹ 1 homer of barleycorn: Ardiya. 1 homer of barleycorn, 3 homers and 60 litres barley(?), emmer(?): barley ration of Same-iddin of Zinani.

¹²⁻¹³ 1 homer: barley ration of Same-maḫi of Ubeše, in . . .

¹⁴⁻¹⁵ 1½ homers : barley ration of Ariya, [in Šadâ. Pukuli

remainder lost

Notes

i 1. The quantity of lentils should be the result of $12 \times 7 \times 30 \times 2 = 5040$ sila = 50 anše 4-bán, but the tablet lacks 4-bán, so that it appears the accountant rounded the figure down to whole homers.

i 4. The name Kizziya also occurs at Nuzi (Cassin and Glassner 1977: 85). It is assumed that the signs inscribed after the place name Šadâ, here and in ii 15, are personal names; with *Ka-wi* compare the Nuzi PNs Kape and Kapiya (ibid., p. 77) and *Ka-wi-ni* (p. 78).

- i 8. Cf. at Alalakh the PN *za-bu-ga* (Wiseman 1953: 152).
- i 10. Talpu(n)-atal was a common name, occurring at Chagar Bazar (Gadd 1940: 41; Loretz 1969: 24) and Tiginānum (Salvini 1996: 46).
- i 13. Ħamiya is a name also known from Chagar Bazar (Loretz 1969: 21) and Tell al-Rimah (Dalley *et al.* 1976: 258).
- ii 6. The *bit nepr'* is certainly the institution known elsewhere in the Old Babylonian period as *neparum* (Mari, Chagar Bazar) and *nuparum* (south Mesopotamia), later *bit nupari* (Nuzi, Alalakh, Assyria). The distribution of animal fodder to a *neparum* is recorded at Chagar Bazar (Loretz 1969 no. 32, barley for pigs).
- ii 8. *Ar-di-ia* is a spelling of the PN Arteya that is also attested at Nuzi (Cassin and Glassner 1977: 32).
- ii 10. The signs between anše DIŠ and še.ba are alternatively a miswritten še.ba that was left unerased.
- ii 14. The name Ariya is already attested in Tiginānum (Salvini 1996: 38), and at Alalakh (Wiseman 1953: 128–29; Zeeb 2001: 643). Earlier it occurs at Tell al-Rimah (Dalley *et al.* 1976: 257), later at Nuzi (Cassin and Glassner 1977: 26).
- ii 15. See note on i 4, and cf. PNs Pukli and Pukuli at Nuzi (Cassin and Glassner 1977: 111).

No. 60

MS 1856/1

Pls. LXIX–LXX

This is a complete tablet that records matters relating to the flocks controlled by the palace administration. Some of the sheep are described as belonging to the gods Sîn and Nergal. The tablet is recorded in Lambert's *Nachlass* (Folio 8156). Sheep of Nergal occur elsewhere in the archive (No. 61, Folios 7997, 7998, 8000, 8002). Some of the personnel also recur (see notes on ll.

obv.

- 1 I udu ba-ug₇ ša^d suen
 2 ša^m na-pa-an-a-tal
 3 I sila₄ ba-ug₇ ša^d nè-eri₁₁-gal
 4 ša^m te-ħe-eš-tu-uk-kè
 5 I sila₄ ur-bar-ra il-qè
 6 ša^m il-pu
-
- 7 6 udu-ħi-a^m ku-uz-zi sipa il-qè
 8 3 udu-ħi-a ug₇-ma 3 udu-ħi-a bá-li-iṭ
-
- 9 93 udu-ħi-a 10 sila₄-ħi-a / ša^m mu-a
 10 ša^m da-še^{ki}
-
- 11 3 sila₄ ša^m mu-úr-ba

7, 9). The account is careful to record losses to the flocks. The statement at the end shows that shepherds were expected to bring in fleeces as proof of death. In this case the shepherds could not provide them, but they were nevertheless allocated substitutes to make up the numbers of animals in their charge.

rev.

- 12 I udu ba-ug₇ ša^d nè-eri₁₁-gal
 13 ša^m zu-ú-me
 14 I udu ba-ug₇ ša^d nè-eri₁₁-gal
 15 ša^m ħa-aš-ši-mi-kà
 16 I udu ba-ug₇ ša^d nè-eri₁₁-gal
 17 ša^m zu-ú
-
- 18 I sila₄ ba-ug₇ ša^d nè-eri₁₁-gal
 19 ša^m ku-un-né-en
 20 I sila₄ ba-ug₇ ša^d nè-eri₁₁-gal
 21 ša^m ad-da dumu? lugal
-
- 22 ma-ša-ak-šū-nu ú-ul ša-ki-in
 23 ù pu-uh-šū-nu iš-du-tu

¹⁻⁶ 1 dead sheep, Šîn's, of Napan-atal; 1 dead lamb, Nergal's, of Teḫeš-tukke; 1 lamb taken by a wolf, of Ilpu.

⁷⁻⁸ 6 sheep taken by the shepherd Kuzzi: 3 died and 3 are alive.

⁹⁻¹⁰ 93 sheep, 10 lambs, of Mua from Daše village.

¹¹ 3 lambs, of Murba.

¹²⁻¹⁷ 1 dead sheep, Nergal's, of Zūme; 1 dead sheep, Nergal's, of Ḥaš-šimika; 1 dead sheep, Nergal's, of Zū.

¹⁸⁻²¹ 1 dead lamb, Nergal's, of Kunnen; 1 dead lamb, Nergal's, of Adda the king's son(?).

²²⁻²³ Their fleeces were not available, but they took away replacements for them.

Notes

7. The shepherd Kuzzi is well known in the archive (Lambert Folios 7651, 7654, 7664, 7724, 8056). He is not likely to be the same individual as the prominent diviner of this name (George 2013: 102-5). The name Kuzzi also occurs at Tigunānum in the long personnel-list on a prism (Salvini 1996: 43),

and seems to have been common there, as well as in Alalakh (Wiseman 1953: 141; Zeeb 2001: 646) and Nuzi (Cassin and Glassner 1977: 89).

9. The shepherd Mua is also known from several other documents from Tigunānum (Nos. 61 and 62; *ša mu-a* and *ša mu-im* are parallel notations in Lambert Folios 7777, 7787, 7911; *ša^mmu-a* Folio 7999).

10. The place name ^{um}da-še/kam^{ki} recurs in Lambert Folio 7651.

13. A PN Zūme is also known at Nuzi (Cassin and Glassner 1977: 176).

15. The name Ḥaš-šimika also occurs in the long personnel-list (Salvini 1996: 41); later it was current in Nuzi (Gelb *et al.* 1943: 57a).

17. Cf. the name written *Zu-ia* and *Zu-ú-ia* at Nuzi (Cassin and Glassner 1977: 176).

19. Cf. Kunina at Nuzi (Gelb *et al.* 1943: 90b).

21. Or *ad-da-i-lugal*?

23. The verb is *išdudū*.

No. 61

MS 1856/2

Pls. LXXI-LXXII

This is another complete tablet that records matters relating to the flocks controlled by the palace administration. The tablet is recorded in Lambert's *Nachlass* (Folio 8155). Similar texts are

reported in Folios 7768, 7777. In this and the following text, the sign read *u₈* resembles a ligature of *ùz* and *munus*.

obv.

1 1 šu-ši 2 níta-udu-ḫi-a 39 u₈-ḫi-a 2 máš-gal

2 7 sila₄-níta-ḫi-a 4 munus-sila₄-ḫi-a *mu-a*

3 *ša^{um}ša-da^{ki}*

4 ^{lúv}šu-gi^m *ab-ba*

5 *ša^mki-lum-šar-ri sipa*

6 šu-nigin 1 *me-at* 13 u₈-udu-ḫi-a

7 52 níta-udu-ḫi-a 1 šu-ši 2 u₈-ḫi-a

8 19 ùz-níta-ḫi-a 19 máš-^rtur¹-níta 18 máš-tur!^mmunus *ša mu-a*

9 *ša^mza-ak-ra sipa*

lower edge

10 *ša^{um}ša-da^{ki}*

rev.

11 šu-nigin 4 *me-tim* 20 u₈-udu-ḫi-a

12 šu-nigin 88 ùz-ḫi-a *ka-la-^rma¹*

blank

- 13 I udu-níta *ša*^m *du-up-šar-ri* *ša*^d nè-eri₁₁-gal
 14 I udu-níta *ša*^m *a-ru-un-na* *ša*^d nè-eri₁₁-gal
-
- 15 34 níta-udu-*hi*-a I máš-gal
 16 *ša si-in-ba* *ša*^{uu} *ša-da*^{ki}

¹⁻⁵ 62 rams, 39 ewes, 2 full-grown goats, 7 male lambs, 4 female lambs: Mua from the village Šada; witness Abba; of the shepherd Kilum-šarri.

⁶ Total: 113 (*sic*) sheep.

⁷⁻⁸ 52 rams, 62 ewes, 19 male goats, 19 male kids, 18 female kids; of Mua.

⁹⁻¹⁰ Of the shepherd Zakra from the village Šada.

¹¹⁻¹² Total: 420 sheep; total: 88 goats in all.

¹³⁻¹⁴ One ram of Dup-šarri, Nergal's. One ram of Arunna, Nergal's.

¹⁵⁻¹⁶ 34 rams, 1 full-grown goat, of Sinba from the village Šada.

Notes

4. The PN *Ab-ba* also occurs in the personnel-list (Salvini 1996: 38) and at Nuzi (Gelb *et al.* 1943: 22a).
5. The shepherd Kilum-šarri is well known in the archive (Lambert Folios 7654, 7656, 7660, 7662?, 7725, 7777, 7908, 7997), and the name also occurs in a personnel-list (Folio 7839 ii 72). Kilum-šaya at Chagar Bazar (Loretz 1969: 22) is perhaps an abbreviated form of the name.
6. If it is the addition of the figures given in ll. 1-5, the total should be 114.
- 11-12. These totals do not obviously relate to anything that precedes them.
13. Compare the name Dup-šarru at Nuzi (Cassin and Glassner 1977: 151; also perhaps *Du-up-šá-ra*, Gelb *et al.* 1943: 158a) and *Du-up-ša-ú-ri* at Alalakh (Wiseman 1953: 132).
14. An Arunna also occurs in the long personnel-list (Salvini 1996: 39).

No. 62

MS 2799

Pls. LXXIII-LXXIV

This is the top left-hand corner of a large account tablet, again recording flocks controlled by the palace administration.

obv. col. i

- 1 I *me* 44 u₈-*hi*-a 94 níta-udu-*hi*-a
 2 26 munus-sila₄-*hi*-a 27 níta-sila₄-*hi*-a *ša*
mu-^ra¹
 3 *šu-nigin* 2 *me-tim* 9 I u₈-udu-*hi*-a *ša*^{uu} *ka-*
la-aš-da-ku-n[i?]
 4 *ša*^m *hi-iš-me-en-na-wa-ar* sipa 46 munus-
 ùz-*h*[i-a]
 5 9 níta-ùz-*hi*-a 19 munus-máš-tur! 19
 níta-máš-t[ur]
 6 [š^u-nigin]n '60+30+1 ùz¹-*hi*-a *ka-la-ma*

 7 [. . .] '46 níta¹-ù[z-*hi*-a . . .]

gap of two columns

rev. col. iv

- 1' 'x x x níta-máš-tur¹ 16 níta-sila₄ 8
 munus-sila₄-*hi*-[a] / *ša mu-a* s[ipa]
 2' *ša*^{uu} *a-ma-ša*^{ki} *šu-gi*^{luš} *ka*-[a]t?-*ru-uk-k*[i?]
 3' *ša*^m *ša-am-ka* sipa
-
- 4' I udu-níta I udu-munus ba-ug₇ 20 udu-
 munus-*hi*-a 18 udu-níta-*hi*-a I
 máš-gal
 5' 2 níta-sila₄ 7 munus-sila₄-*hi*-a *ša mu-a* *ša*
 6' [u^{ru}š^u-*ba-e-na-wa*?^{ki} *šu-gi*^{luš} *ku-un-nu*-[(x)]
 7' [š^u]^m *nu-^rpur¹-a-tal* sipa

^{i 1-6} 144 ewes, 94 rams, 26 female lambs, 27 male lambs, of Mua. Total 291 sheep from the village of Kalašdakuni, of the shepherd Hišmenawar. 46 female goats, 9 male goats, 19 female kids, 19 male kids. [Total:] 91 goats altogether.

⁷ [. . .] 46 male goats [. . .]

long gap

^{iv 1'-3'} . . . x male kids, 16 male lambs, 8 female lambs, of the [shepherd] Mua from the village of Amaša; witness: Katrukki(?), of the shepherd Šamka.

^{4'-7'} 1 ram, 1 ewe, dead; 20 ewes, 18 rams, 1 full-grown goat, 2 male lambs, 7 female lambs, of Mua from [the] village Šubaenawa(?); witness: Kunnu, of the shepherd Nupur-atal.

No. 63

MS 4995

Pl. LXXV

This square tablet records the disbursement of silver to make luxury goods. Similar documents occur in the Lambert Folios (7779, 7899, 7904).

obv.

1 *a-na* ḥar-gir ša *k[a-dingir]-^diškur*

2 15 gín kù-babbar *ib-lu-^rlu-ma¹*

3 *ú-ta-aš-^rše¹-ru*

4 *^rše-er¹-gán-šu it-qú-lu-ma*

5 $\frac{2}{3}$ *ma-na* $\frac{2}{3}$ gín *ma-tì*

6 *a-na* ḥar-gir ša *ka-dingir-^diškur / e-pè-ši*

lower edge

7 *a-na* gal kù-babbar *a-ta-ti*

rev.

8 5 gín kù-babbar *ib-lu-^rlu¹-ma*

9 *ú-ta-aš-še-ru*

10 $\frac{2}{3}$ *ma-na* $\frac{1}{2}$ gín *ma-tì*

11 *a-na* gal kù-babbar *a-ta-ti*

12 *e-pè-ši na-di-in*

13 *i-na qa-ti šu-^dḥa-bu-[úr]*

Notes

i 4. Cf. *Hi-iš-me-en-ew-ri* in the long personnel-list (Salvini 1996: 42).

i 6. The expected total is 93.

iv 6'. A PN Kunnu is known at Nuzi (Cassin and Glassner 1977: 86); cf. Kunna at Alalakh (Wiseman 1953: 141; Zeeb 2001: 645–56).

7'. The name Nupur-atal also occurs at Chagar Bazar (Loretz 1969: 23).

¹⁻⁶ For the anklet of Ka-ili-Addu: fifteen shekels of silver they alloyed and released. Its ornamentation they weighed(!) and (it was) forty shekels less two-thirds of one shekel. To make the anklet of Ka-ili-Addu.

⁷⁻¹² For a silver cup (of) Atati: five shekels of silver they alloyed and released. Forty shekels of silver less one half shekel. It was given out to make the silver cup (of) Atati.

¹³ Under the control of Šu-Ḥabur.

Notes

i. The personal name is restored from l. 6. The name is Semitic and also occurs at Old Babylonian Tell al-Rimah, written *ka-i-li-^diškur*, and at Mari, written *ka-a-li-^diškur* (Schwemer 2001: 270, 290 “Wie mein Gott ist Addu”). Alternatively, perhaps read in Hurrian, Kan(n)-Teššub (cf. Kann-atal, wr. *ka-an-na-tal* in the long personnel-list, Salvini 1996: 42).

4. še-er-gán, a variant spelling of še-er-ka-an “ornament”, seems a more probable reading than še-er-gá, which is explained in *Izi D* 27’–29’ as *na-áš šá-ru-ri* “ray-bearing”, *ba-ri-rum* “sunbeam”, and *šú-bat u ma-ia-al* “seat and bed”. The Akkadian equivalence of the

noun še-er-gán remains uncertain (še-er-ka-an—di = *zu”unu* “to decorate”). *it-qú-lu* is for *išqulū*.

7, 11. With the PN Atati compare Atata at Alalakh (Wiseman 1953: 130), and *A-ta-te, A-ta-te* etc. at Nuzi (Gelb *et al.* 1943: 39a).

C. MITTANI-PERIOD TABLETS FROM NORTH MESOPOTAMIA

Two tablets contain short letters in a provincial variety of Middle Babylonian. Script, names and language suggest a provenance in north Mesopotamia during the period of the Mittani domination, about 1400 BC. Tablets of

this era have been excavated at several sites in north-east Syria, including Tell Brak, Tell Hamidiye, Tell Bazi and Tell al-Marra (see Kessler 2014: 35).

No. 64

MS 1848/1

Pls. LXXXVI–LXXXVII

This is a letter from Uaššu to Ekakke, seeking confirmation of news that has come in about people from Ašlakka, a well-attested town in the western part of the Ḫabur triangle. A man called Uaššu appears in a Mittani-period letter excavated at Tell Brak (ancient Nagar) in 1985 and published by I. L. Finkel (1988: no. 10). That

tablet displays a mix of Babylonian and Assyrian forms (MB II/1 impt. *kussišu* v. MA *lū lā ipū’ag*). The language of the present letter is also marked by Assyrian forms (*ētarbū, šītālšunu*). The back of the tablet has been rolled over with a cylinder seal.

obv.

- 1 *a-na*^m *e-kà-ak-^rkè¹* / {ra?}
- 2 *um-ma*^m *ú-a-aš-šú-ma*
- 3 *i-na pāṭī(zag)*^{mes} *-šú-nu ša uru.^rx x¹-am-šú-*
kur-i-na
- 4 *mārū(dumu)*^{mes uru} *a-áš-la-ak-kà*
- 5 *e-ta-ar-bu*
- 6 *šī-ta-al-šú-nu*
- 7 *šum-ma i-na pāṭī(zag)*^{mes} *-šú-nu*
- 8 *e-ta-ar-bu*

rev.

- 9 *tém-ma a-na ia-ši*
- 10 *te-e-er*

¹⁻⁵ To Ekakke, thus Uaššu: people from Ašlakka have entered the border territory of the towns of . . . ⁶⁻¹⁰ Make enquiries about them. If they have entered their border territory, send me back a report.

Notes

1. The PN compares with the common Ekeke at Nuzi (Cassin and Glassner 1977: 41).
2. With the PN Uaššu compare Nuzi’s Uazzi (Gelb *et al.* 1943: 161b), and *Ú-uš-še* at Nuzi (p. 167b) and Tigonānum (Salvini 1996: 47).

No. 65

MS 1848/2

Pl. LXXVIII

This is a private letter advising of a debt between parties whose connection to the correspondents is unknown. The sole form diagnostic of dialect is *ḫubullašunu*, Babylonian not Assyrian.

obv.

- 1 *a-na bar-aš-še*
 2 *um-ma^m za-pi-it-te-ma*
 3 *bu-luṭ lu-ú šulmu(silim)^{mu}*
 4 *a-nu-um-ma^m ḫa-šip-ru*

lower edge

- 5 *ù^m a-ri-pa*
 6 *ardū(îr)^{meš} ia-am-mar*

rev.

- 7 *ù amēlū(lú)?^{meš}*
 8 *ḫu-bu-ul-la-šu-nu*
 9 26 SU kù-babbar-me
 10 *i-na muḫ-ḫi*
 11 *^ma-ri-ip-a-ra!-ši-ḫ[a]*

upper edge

- 12 *šaknū(gar)^{nu}*
 13 *še-ḫa-la-aš-te-šub*

¹⁻³ To Parašše, thus Zapitte: keep well, be safe! ⁴⁻¹³ Now, Ḫašip-ru and Arippa, the servants of Yammar, and the men(?), are owed 26 shekels of silver by Arip-arašših. Festival of Teššub.

Notes

5. The PN Arippa is known at Nuzi (Cassin and Glassner 1977: 28).
 7. The doubtful sign is midway between DUMU and LÚ; in the Mittani corpus a similar LÚ occurs in EA 22 rev. i 39, according to a photograph in the unpublished database of Mittani palaeography assembled by Zenobia Homan.
 11. Arip-arašših is also known at Nuzi (Cassin and Glassner 1977: 28).
 13. The “Festival of Teššub” is written *še-ḫa-lu/li ša^diškur* at Nuzi, where it is the name of the fourth month (Gordon and Lacheman 1938: 60).

D. TWO CLAY LABELS INSCRIBED WITH AMORITE NAMES

Nos. 66–67

MS 1792/1, MS 1847

Pl. LXXIX

These are two oblong tablets, pierced near the left edge, no doubt to allow for them to be secured to a container or other object by a cord. They are inscribed in ruled-off lines in a large script formally characteristic of the early second millennium. The text of both is an identical ownership label consisting of a personal name and patronym:

am-ma-dar

mār(dumu) ab-di-ra-aḥ

Amma-dār, son of Abdi-Eraḥ

The names are Amorite, a detail which might suggest a north Mesopotamian prove-

nance but does not preclude an origin in the south. More than one Abdi-Eraḥ is known. Best attested is a petty ruler of the early nineteenth century whose power was acknowledged in several towns of north Babylonia and the Diyala region (Charpin 1978: 26–27; Whiting 1987: 30–31; Frayne 1990: 662; Goddeeris 2005: 141). In a letter from Ešnunna the name is written as it is here, *ab-di-ra-aḥ* (Whiting 1987: 96 no. 40: 3). More than one hundred years later, another Abdi-eraḥ had a wife who was the topic of a letter addressed to Kuwari, ruler of Šušarra in the mountains east of Assyria (Eidem and Laessøe 2001: 119 no. 49: 5).