

The End of the House of Teḫip-tilla and the Fall of Nuzi

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Abstract Tieš-urḫe son of Takku is the last known member of a Nuzi family spanning five generations and commonly known as the House of Teḫip-tilla. This article reviews Tieš-urḫe's known activities as a private landowner in several areas of Arrapha, as a local (i.e., Nuzi) bureaucrat, and as a military leader within the kingdom of Arrapha. These last efforts were undertaken against Assyrian predations, predations which ended the House of Teḫip-tilla and Nuzi itself. Definitions of *šaknu* in the Nuzi texts and of *rākib narkabtī* are also proffered.

Keywords Nuzi. Arrapha. Mittanni. Tieš-urḫe. Teḫip-tilla.

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For Hadar and Dena

1 Methodology and Sources

The focus of this article is Tieš-urḫe son of Takku, the last attested member of the house founded by Puḫi-šenni son of Tur-šenni (the Puḫi-šenni who fathered the famous Teḫip-tilla). He is the only known scion of this family going back five generations to Nuzi's very origins.

The article traces his assorted activities in the shadow of Nuzi's final days.¹ We shall see that Tieš-urḫe was conspicuous as a landlord, as a bureaucrat, and as a military man – the last perhaps to the time of his death.² He was a worthy scion of a family seemingly always in the forefront of Nuzi's economic, social, and political life.

¹ Tieš-urḫe's activities, both familial and communal, constitute a narrow focus; the deeds of neither his father nor his ancestors and other relatives will enter the discussion directly. Collateral acts of his family are noted as judged to illumine Tieš-urḫe's own story.

² See below, fn. 124.



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Only texts naming “Tieš-urše son of Takku” or clearly intimating his presence are considered to be appropriate sources in the present study. Thus, five documents in which this individual is directly identified (i.e., name and patronymic) constitute the core of this study. These are *JEN* 399, 668, 669; *HSS* XVI, 331, 332.³

Of these, *HSS* XVI, 331 and 332 are particularly important as regards their methodological implications. Gudrun Dosch, in her magnificent work, “Zur Struktur der Gesellschaft des Königreichs Arraphē. Texte über die Streitwagenfahrer (*rākib narkabti*)”,⁴ organizes and edits the Nuzi texts pertaining to charioteers.⁵ *HSS* XVI, 331 and 332 are two of those texts.⁶ Now five other texts name one Tieš-urše without patronymic (not effaced, but, rather, never written) in similar contexts (and are so identified by Dosch), and together with some other individuals named in *HSS* XVI, 331 and 332. It seems inevitable to conclude that the Tieš-urše son of Takku of *HSS* XVI, 331 and 332 is the “fatherless” Tieš-urše of those other texts: *HSS* XV, [14],⁷ 26+, 29, 34, 40, 114, all but the first similar to each other.⁸

This deduction is supported by two important, even crucial, observations. First, there is no attested Tieš-urše son of anyone but Takku. Second, “Tieš-urše” is an extremely rare name and this rare name, as far as can be determined, appears only in the last Nuzi generation. Thus the number of texts upon which to depend for a reconstruction of the career of Tieš-urše son of Takku grows from five to eleven documents.

This addition of “Tieš-urše” texts to the corpus of “Tieš-urše son of Takku” tablets can be extended to other – even to all – texts mentioning Tieš-urše without patronymic. The observation noted above, that Tieš-urše is both a rare name and one confined to Nuzi’s last generation, leads to the idea that *all* instances where the name “Tieš-urše” appears relate to the son of Takku, whether the name appears isolated or with just a designation of profession. In short, Tieš-urše son of Takku, Tieš-urše, and Tieš-urše plus profession should be considered the same person. This raises the number of relevant texts to forty-four. These texts may be identified as follows.

- Tieš-urše son of Takku: *JEN* 399, 668, 669; *HSS* XVI, 331, 332; *LNT* 93.
- Tieš-urše: *JEN* 27, 294, 310, 337, 402, 573 (= 490); *HSS* XIII, 187; XIV, 130, 174, 587; XV, [14], 18, 21, 26+, 29, 34, 39,⁹ 40, 41, 107, 114, 160, 161, 237; XVI, 91, 100, 109, 352, 456; XIX, 146; *LNT* 80.
- Tieš-urše, other descriptors: (*hazannu*) *JEN* 433; (*šaknu*)¹⁰ *HSS* XIII, 498; XIV, 92, 175; XV, 160, 161, 264.

To note what should be obvious, at least some of Tieš-urše’s personal documents were stored in his family’s archives at Nuzi, and other texts mentioning Tieš-urše were found in Nuzi’s municipal archives.

2 The Deeds of Tieš-urše Son of Takku

Having established the corpus of texts directly pertaining to Tieš-urše son of Takku, we may now proceed to describe his assorted activities, those related to his private family affairs, to his administrative positions, and to his military responsibilities.

³ Regarding a possible sixth such text, *LNT* 93, see below. I have written (in Maidman 2011b, 213) that sources pertaining to the western part of Arraphā come from municipal, but mostly private, archives. Sources regarding the east derive from municipal archives alone. The first part is to be corrected. Events in the west come from private but *mostly* from municipal archives. That private texts are there at all is only because they largely reflect family real estate interests.

⁴ Dosch 2009.

⁵ Dosch’s masterful study of the *rākib narkabti* texts and the social structure of Nuzi (Dosch 1993; 2009) in fact opened up the present avenue of investigation. Dosch 1993, 12-23 is an important preliminary study and summary of this material and of Tieš-urše’s identification as a *rākib narkabti*. See further below, § 2.2.2. Dosch’s premature demise is mourned by all students of Nuzi.

⁶ The latter preserves Tieš-urše’s patronymic only partially but still unambiguously.

⁷ Dosch restores the PN in *HSS* XV, 14:19. The restoration is reasonable, but she nowhere articulates its foundation.

⁸ Zaccagnini (2022, 410) implicitly understands that *HSS* XVI, 331 and 332 establish that the Tieš-urše of *HSS* XV, 26+, 29, 34, and 40 is the son of Takku.

⁹ The Tieš-urše of *HSS* XV, 39 is identified by Lacheman (*PNKA* T 279 = “Tešurše” [entry #6]) as a “*tarkumazu*”. But this professional designation for Tieš-urše is not correct. Therefore *HSS* XV, 39 belongs to the “Tieš-urše” list, not to the list, “Tieš-urše, other descriptors”. The text, at l. 5, refers to equipment of a *tarkumassu* who belongs to or who is under the authority of Tieš-urše. This was implicitly recognized by both Cassin (1977, 146), who does not identify Tieš-urše as a *tarkumassu* in this text, and Mayer (1978, 204-5), who fails to include Tieš-urše in his list of *tarkumassu*-men.

¹⁰ The rendering of this office as *šaknu* rather than as *šakin māti*, is discussed below, § 2.2.1.

2.1 Tieš-urḫe: The Private Landlord and Family Member

Tieš-urḫe,¹¹ son of (a first-born son) Takku, son of (a first-born son) Enna-mati, son of (a first-born son) Teḫip-tilla son of Puḫi-šenni son of Tur-šenni is, as already noted, the last attested member of a family going back to Nuzi's very beginnings – or very nearly so.¹² His life ended at the time of Nuzi's demise – or very nearly so.¹³ Tieš-urḫe fell heir to wealth in land. Land in the town of Unap-še¹⁴ (inherited from Teḫip-tilla, via Enna-mati, no doubt, according to *JEN* 399, 668)¹⁵ and land in Nuzi, described in *JEN* 669, inherited from Enna-mati¹⁶ are attested. Tieš-urḫe land in Nuzi is also otherwise described in *JEN* 310, 402, and 490/573.¹⁷ It is not known whether these plots were inherited or obtained in another, more contemporary process. All of these texts about land in Nuzi are, in one way or another, linked to Tieš-urḫe's cousin, Tarmi-tilla son of Šurki-tilla. In addition, fields of Tieš-urḫe are identified as located in Zizza in *JEN* 27 and 294.¹⁸ Here too, it is not known whether or not the land described in these texts was inherited. *JEN* 27 and 294 are closely linked, and both involve directly Tieš-urḫe's cousins, Tarmi-tilla son of Šurki-tilla and Wur-tešup son of Akip-tašenni. The same land of Tieš-urḫe may be involved in both texts.¹⁹ At the least, the plots were near each other. *JEN* 27 was written in Nuzi.

Finally, Tieš-urḫe is known to have held land, according to *HSS* XIX, 146 (no room number) in an unknown location during the lifetime of his obviously long-lived grandmother, Uzna. The tablet was written in Nuzi.²⁰ It seems clear that his private economic interests were concentrated at Nuzi and points west, Zizza and Unap-še especially. He seems not to have been economically active at all east of Nuzi.

Before proceeding, the background of Tieš-urḫe's real estate interests should be noted.²¹ Enna-mati, Tieš-urḫe's grandfather, inherited real estate in Nuzi, Turša,²² Zizza, Unap-še, Artiḫi, Ḫušri, Apena, and Ulamme. Enna-mati further acquired land, not through inheritance, in Nuzi, Unap-še, Zizza, Tente, and Turša. Uzna, Tieš-urḫe's grandmother, acquired land in Tente and, perhaps, Nuzi. Tieš-urḫe's father, Takku, inherited land in Turša, Nuzi, Zizza and Unap-še, and further acquired land in Turša.

What stands out especially in Tieš-urḫe's portfolio of landholdings is the absence of Turša real estate.²³

So, Nuzi, Unap-še, and Zizza are all sites of Tieš-urḫe's holdings. One may conclude that real estate whose origins may well have been in the activities of Puḫi-šenni, Winnirke (Puḫi-šenni's wife), and Teḫip-tilla were passed down through the line of Enna-mati (who himself acquired properties through his own initiative) to Takku, and are still attested, and apparently exploited, in the last generation, by Tieš-urḫe.²⁴

11 Cf. Maidman 1976a, 256-9 with notes, 507-8.

12 Nuzi's beginnings are described in Maidman 2018, 20-1.

13 Nuzi's end is discussed in Maidman 2011a, 102-4, 123-4.

14 One of the relevant texts considered here, *JEN* 668, relates closely to *JEN* 399, and *JEN* 399 mentions real estate in the *dimtu* of Tupki-tilla by Malašu Stream. These are Unap-še toponyms; see Fincke 1993, 327-8.

15 Cf. *JEN* 799. See Maidman 2009 for the edition of this text and on whether or not *JEN* 399 and 668 are directly related. The major literature on the *JEN* material is catalogued in Maidman 2005, 189-258, now updated in Maidman 2025, 396-428.

16 This seems to be a unique case in the Teḫip-tilla family archives. A member of this family, Tieš-urḫe, clears a claim against his family for legally uncleared real estate in an original real estate exchange. Why was this tablet stored in the Teḫip-tilla family archive (room 16) and not in the archive of the other, vindicated, party?

17 One or more of these three statements of Tieš-urḫe ownership involve perhaps the same land as is obtained according to *JEN* 699. PNs and other data seem to connect these several documents.

18 The land in both cases lies in the *dimti piršanni*, a Zizza toponym; see Fincke 1993, 358.

19 Certainly, whatever applies to one text applies to the other as well.

20 His name in this text is spelled, uniquely, *Ti-a-aš-ur-ḫé* (ll. 5, 9). *HSS* XIX, 146 was accidentally omitted in my initial study of the Teḫip-tilla family, Maidman 1976a.

21 For these data, see already Maidman 1976a, 503-7.

22 Maidman 1976a, 444 fn. 1035.

23 *HSS* XV, 41:66 does mention Tieš-urḫe in connection with Turša, but real estate is not involved. He is also associated with nearby Natmani in *HSS* XIII, 187, but again without connection to real estate. Land in Artiḫi, Apena, Ulamme and other locations of his ancestors' holdings are less significant omissions from his real estate portfolio.

24 For these data and a sketch of the Teḫip-tilla family's activities down the generations, see already Maidman 1976a, 503-7.

2.2 Tieš-urše as Administrator/Bureaucrat

With a single exception, to be considered below, Tieš-urše is attested as serving in only one administrative capacity or office: *šaknu*.²⁵ He is so described in six texts, an impressive number, considering that the total number of direct attestations of this official comes to about twenty in all.²⁶

2.2.1 The Functions of *šaknu*

However, before we can describe Tieš-urše's activities in this capacity, we must establish, in general, what the *šaknu* did. Did he exercise high authority, was he a civilian administrator or a military officer or both or something other? We shall see that Tieš-urše himself was indeed a military man. Is it clear that he did not perform his soldierly duties as *šaknu*?²⁷

In turn, the issue of the *šaknu*'s function or functions is entwined with the issue of the very name of the functionary. And it is to this vexing question that we turn first of all.

Is the office at Nuzi *šaknu* or *šakin māti* (and is the Sumerian spelling to be rendered GAR.KUR or GAR KUR)? In theory, GAR(.)KUR in the Nuzi texts may be rendered into Akkadian as *šaknu* or as *šakin māti*.²⁸ It is not immediately clear which rendering applies at Nuzi. Now, the *šaknu/šakin māti* outside Nuzi can denote more than one position in various times and places.²⁹ He can be a governor or a lower-level bureaucrat; the office involves, variously, country-wide authority or merely local administrative activity. If the former, the office may well be that of *šakin māti*. If the latter, he may be a simple, plain *šaknu*.³⁰ If the former be the case at Nuzi, then the officer would serve beneath the king (of Arrapha, of course).³¹

Four lines of evidence point to Nuzi's GAR(.)KUR being a *šaknu*, a low-level official. First, as to the rendering of the term, the phonetic spelling, *ša-ak-'nu'* at HSS IX, 150:12³² already points to *šaknu*. This, in turn, of course points to a low-level official. The second line of evidence pointing to *šaknu* is that texts such as HSS XV, 34, where two GAR(.)KURS appear together, preclude the interpretation of a

²⁵ The decision to render GAR(.)KUR as *šaknu* rather than as *šakin māti*, implying the choice of GAR.KUR (CAD Š/I, 180a) over GAR KUR, is defended below in this section.

²⁶ To my knowledge, direct attestations of *šaknu* are limited to the following Nuzi texts (the texts marked in bold represent Tieš-urše texts): HSS IX, 9, 42, 150; XIII, 36, **498**; XIV, **92**, 135, **175**, 258; XV, 1, 34, **160**, **161** (Lion's restorations in this text render the likelihood of Tieš-urše being the *šaknu* here very likely) (Lion 2013, 134-5), **264**; XVI, 387, 398; EN 9/3, 295 (= SMN.3238, so cited in CAD Š/I, 184a); RATK 20; Rawi 31. IM.73439 is unpublished but identified as a *šaknu* text in RATK 94 and Deller 1983, 157. The copy of HSS XV, 161:20-2 is garbled. Line 20 is a ghost, a partial rendering of l. 21. Line 22 possibly reads ¹⁰G[AR?] KUR, followed by an erasure. Indirect attestations, i.e., appearances of a PN alone where, elsewhere, the same PN is identified as a *šaknu* and where the comparative contexts are suggestive of identity, include the following. RATK 28, 30; Rawi 47, 59 – based on RATK 20. (For the use of RATK and Rawi texts, i.e., texts from Kurruḫanni, in the context of a discussion of the functions of *šaknus* at Nuzi, see below, fn. 38.) The Tieš-urše text, LNT 80, is probably to be put in this category as well. On this, see further below, § 2.2.2. On LNT 80, see below fn. 63. Mayer (1978, 123) identifies HSS XVI, 177 as another *šaknu* text. There is no evidence for this assertion. He may have confused the Akip-tašenni son of Bēl-šadūni of this text (ll. 2, 11) with the *šaknu* Akip-tašenni son of Enna-mati of HSS XIII, 36:1-2, 5, 12, 18, 22-3. The Akip-tašenni, *šaknu* of HSS XVI, 387 and 398 is to be identified with the son of Enna-mati. Mayer (1978, 123) tentatively identifies the official at HSS XIV, 258:7 as GAR MAN (i.e., *šakin šarri*). However, one must read here GAR.[K]UR. See already Mayer 1978, 123 fn. 5. This list of texts, if not exhaustive, at least strives to be. It cannot account for GAR. KUR alone, i.e., without PN, or with acephalic PNs. Some such references are picked up, *en passant*, in the literature, more or less accidentally. But I must have missed some examples. Lacheman (PNKA H 496, 19) identifies Ḫutip-apu *šaknu* at EN 9/[1], 386:19. This is not correct. That line has DUMU Ḫu-ti-pa-pu, which resumes (with a seal impression intervening) l. 18: NA₄ mUt-ḫap-ni-ra-ri. Thus, Ḫutip-apu is a patronymic. Lacheman, according to this entry, must have both ignored the initial DUMU of l. 19, and confused the subsequent PN with Ḫutip-apu the *šaknu* of JEN 321:9, 12, 22, 43; cf. l. 47. Perusal of related lemmata in PNKA supports this explanation. Since administrative documents tend only to survive at the end of a community's lifespan, and since Tieš-urše lived toward (or at) the end of Nuzi's existence, it is likely that there are many other earlier attestations of *šaknus* in tablets that were discarded before the last generation.

²⁷ The answer is reached below, at the end of § 2.2.2.

²⁸ CAD Š/I, 160b: "GAR.KUR [... at] Nuzi [is] to be read *šakin māti* or *šaknu*". CAD Š/I, 191b notes that from the Middle Assyrian period onward either rendering may apply.

²⁹ The variety of offices extends, in the perception of CAD Š/I, 180 ff (see also 191b), from high to low.

³⁰ CAD Š/I, 191b: "In the most widespread usage the *šaknu* is an official of relatively low rank". The issue is, however, not clear cut. Symptomatic of the state of affairs is CAD Š/I, 180 ff, especially 180a, with its breathtaking variety of definitions – even within same sub-corpora of texts.

³¹ And so, at one point, CAD Š/I, 183b, 184a dubs him "governor" (but "not specified geographically") in Nuzi texts.

³² See the edition of Wilhelm (1992, 139-40 [his text #270]), correcting this part of the original text publication.

unique official, presumably a *šakin māti* i.e., governor of the land.³³ He is, rather, a lower official. The third line of evidence pertains to where the *šaknu* stands in the hierarchy of authority. This is hinted at in *HSS XV*, 1.³⁴ At the head of the hierarchy stands the king (of Arrapha, of course; ll. [2], 48).³⁵ He is followed by the mayor (ll. 1-24) and then, perhaps indirectly, by the *šaknu* (l. 25), who himself exercises authority over a congeries of *dimtu*-owners (ll. 25-8).³⁶ Thus the *šaknu*, at least in this case, is a midlevel bureaucrat.³⁷ *HSS XIII*, 36 is ambiguous. It could argue for the status of governor or a lower position, since the king's order is transmitted to, and to be executed by, Akip-tašenni son of Enna-mati, a *šaknu*. *HSS IX*, 42 describes an individual as a *šaknu* of Šilwa-tešup (son of the king). Although the legal context of the document seems to indicate that the *šaknu* is a private agent, Šilwa-tešup is a well-known high, local bureaucrat, and so his *šaknu* may be acting as a government official – and clearly *not* a high one. *HSS IX*, 150 mentions another(!) *šaknu* of Šilwa-tešup. *RATK*³⁸ 30 twice (ll. 3, 14) notes orders to one Turariya, who is elsewhere called *šaknu*.³⁹

Fourth, the administrative contexts of GAR(.)KUR strongly suggest that *šaknu* is, first, and perhaps only, one who is merely placed, i.e., an underling appointee at Nuzi. His functions are well attested in the Nuzi texts?⁴⁰

Since most documents dealing with the *šaknu* emanate from government house, it is not surprising that he is most often associated with the activities of that institution. From the evidence available to us, i.e., texts – and this must condemn us to a certain bias – the main function of the *šaknu* was, not high administration, but, rather, the transfer of goods and people.⁴¹ Especially, the *šaknu* distributes grain. Commonly, this involves barley. This commodity is delivered to the town of Irḫaḥḫe according to *HSS XIV*, 92.⁴² In *HSS XV*, 264, the same *šaknu*, Tieš-urḫe, delivers seed barley once again to Irḫaḥḫe and, later in the same text, to Dūr-ubla.⁴³ The same *šaknu* is described in *HSS XIV*, 175 as transferring barley to the men of Dūr-ubla in Apena.⁴⁴

Apart from barley, the *šaknu* distributes stores of wheat as a month's ration according to *HSS XIII*, 498.⁴⁵ *Rawi* 47 is a letter addressed to Akip-tašenni the *šaknu* involving the delivery of cress. Finally, Wantiya the *šaknu* distributes grain in the form of beer to a variety of parties in *HSS XIV*, 135 (see especially l. 31).⁴⁶ That same *šaknu* reappears in *EN* 9/3, 295, a legal declaration. There, an individual is made to undertake the return to the *šaknu* of two donkeys taken from him. A legal document, *HSS IX*, 42 describes livestock, at one point *not* given to an individual, and now given to a *šaknu* of another

³³ Lines 21 and 49. There are at least three *šaknus*, if one counts Tieš-urḫe at l. 31. However, he is not explicitly designated there as *šaknu*. Note that the same text counts three SUKKALS (ll. 2, 18, 22). (In Dosch's edition of *HSS XV*, 34 [= *GD* 49; Dosch 2009, 137-9], her l. 12 ends: [Tar-mi]-til-la. This also reflected in her translation. This is to be corrected to: [Tar-mi]-til-la DUMU Šur-ki-til-la. Further, l. 21 begins "1", not "2" as Dosch would have it.) CAD Š/I, 190b-91a at least recognizes that a Nuzi *šaknu* can be other than a governor: "[he can be a] manager in charge of huge households". Yet, this too is not correct. Cf. Postgate 2013, 36, similarly and similarly wrong: "senior administrator in the palace [i.e., the local administrative center, or 'government house'] at Nuzi". But Postgate's position is that it is an office lower than governor. Abrahami and Lion (2023, 304) actually posit four governors for Arrapha or Nuzi.

³⁴ See, conveniently, Maidman 2010, 30-3. This issue has been addressed previously by Löhnert (2015, 338-42).

³⁵ Maidman 2010, 236 fn. 81.

³⁶ Löhnert 2015, 342 fn. 26.

³⁷ Thus, Maidman's definition of GAR(.)KUR as "governor" in this text (Maidman 2010, 31-2, as well as 136, 140-1 ["regional governor"]) is wrong. This is so also the case for Zaccagnini 2020, 182 ("governor" [*šakin māti*]).

³⁸ See also Deller 1983, 156-8. Texts labeled *RATK* and *Rawi* originate from Kurruḫanni. They are presented here based on the plausible conclusion that, from the extant documentation, Kurruḫanni presents itself as a Nuzi-like society. Thus, these data (like those from Kirkuk) are helpful in discussing issues such as bureaucratic officialdom. At the political level, note also the appearance of Muš-tešup son of the king at Nuzi in *P-S* 45:9 (= *EN* 9/1, 127:9) and King Muš-teya in *RATK* 30:21. At the lexical level, note, at Kurruḫanni and Nuzi alone, *irana* (Fadhil 1981, 369-70), *ašlu* (Abed 2023, 100), and *tidennūtu* (CAD J, 393a-96a; Rawi 1977, 173 and *passim*; 1980; Abed 2023).

³⁹ *RATK* 20:20; Fadhil 1972, 94 comment on l. 20; Deller 1978, 300; 1983, 157.

⁴⁰ Löhnert (2015, 339) touches on this issue.

⁴¹ However, as noted above, *HSS XV*, 1 suggests that *šaknu* responsibilities could rise above the mere moving around of stuff from one place to another. See also below for occasional judicial activities ascribed to the *šaknu*. The bureaucratic hierarchy is fluid to an extent. Löhnert (2015, 341-2) notes other officials who *sometimes* belong to the hierarchy.

⁴² Lewy 1959, 19 fn. Correct CAD Š/I, 184a: from Irḫa ubil to Irḫaḥḫe ubil.

⁴³ A detailed description of the text is found in Zaccagnini 2020, 181-4. Using seed barley (as in *HSS XV*, 264) for food signifies famine or other condition resulting in a shortage of food.

⁴⁴ Cf. Lewy 1959, 21; 1968, 158-9.

⁴⁵ For further on this text, see Zaccagnini 1979, 13.

⁴⁶ He is a sealer of this text and so, at the least, he, along with others, attests to this distribution.

person. *RATK 30* also notes the transfer of livestock as does *Rawi 59*. The latter also notes the transfer of a woman.⁴⁷

In addition to foodstuffs and animals, the *šaknu* distributes different metals, in lieu of food rations, at least in part, to palace personnel and in different locations in *HSS XV*, 160⁴⁸ and 161.⁴⁹ Another text describes the transfer of metal to the *šaknu*, *HSS XIV*, 258.⁵⁰

The transfer of horses to a *šaknu* in one town and his transfer of the same horses to another town may be described in a royal order, *HSS XIV*, 14.⁵¹ (As noted immediately above, the *šaknu* Wantiya is involved in the transfer of other animals – donkeys.) The name of the agent is Hutip-apu, but he is not called *šaknu* there. One Hutip-apu is named as *šaknu* in *JEN 321*.⁵² If the two Hutip-apus are the same,⁵³ then this is another instance of a *šaknu* involved in the transfer of goods (in addition to Tieš-urhe and Akip-tašenni). A transfer of humans (constituting an escort) to a *šaknu* and transshipped by him is described in *HSS XIII*, 36. This is not a transshipment of goods such as is described above, but, rather, a royal order involving a particular series of events. *Rawi 59* has a *šaknu*, Turariya, seal a receipt for a woman and an ox.

Women (and some of their goods) are transferred to a *šaknu* (directly once, and once to his deputy) according to *HSS XVI*, 387 and 398 – closely related texts that must allude to the same sequence of events.⁵⁴ Bricks are returned to a *šaknu* in *HSS IX*, 150. In *Rawi 31*,⁵⁵ describing separate events, two *šaknus* (and others as well), receive goods. *RATK 20* is a Kurruḥanni declaration regarding a personal *tidennūtu*. The sealers of this text include a *šaknu*.⁵⁶ *RATK 28* seemingly has the same person (without title) sealing a trial document.

Overwhelmingly, it transpires, *šaknus* function mainly (according to the tablets) as distributors and conduits of mobilia, “vegetable, animal, and mineral”. This function appears predominantly in the civilian, not military, sphere. However, Tieš-urhe *does* deliver goods during wartime to foci of battle, both as *šaknu*, in *HSS XIV*, 92 and *XV*, 264, and without title in *HSS XIV*, 174 (probably) and *LNT 80* (probably).⁵⁷

Another function of the *šaknu*, albeit one that seems *ad hoc* from the contexts at our disposal and their small number, seems to be that of a judicial intermediary or bringer of evidence in real estate disputes between the crown and the parties in dispute. *JEN 321* describes one such case.⁵⁸ Another instance is represented by *HSS IX*, 9, a case before judges involving a female slave. The text counts a *šaknu*, named ...lu, among the eight sealers. Despite the fact that the trial took place before “judges,” only one of the sealers is so designated (l. 27). Therefore, it is clear that those who judged, *šaknus* included, need not have been called judges, *per se*.⁵⁹ Apart from those sealers who are not identified as judges or by occupation at all, is one Akiya, a SUKKAL. This same person with the same descriptor seems to act as judge in *JEN 135* and *321*. (In *JEN 321*, he is one of two[!] SUKKALS who so act.)

HSS XVI, 398 states that a *šaknu* possesses a *tarkumassu*. The latter is an agent or assistant or even squire of the *šaknu* – and of others as well.⁶⁰

47 Fadhil 1981, 370.

48 For this text, see Lion 2013, 136.

49 Lion 2013, 134-5. Line 20 represents the first three signs on what is then numbered l. 21, but this does not constitute separate text. Thus, there are two sealers and two seal impressions. Lacheman's notes show that he already realized this flaw in his copy. GAR.KUR appears in l. 10. “Tieš-urhe” is found in ll. 18 and 20, and so his identification as *šaknu* is hardly in doubt. See already Mayer 1978, 123; Lion 2013, 135. Lacheman expressed in his notes the judgement that Tieš-urhe sealed the tablet with the seal of Tehip-tilla.

50 Cf. Mayer 1978, 123-4.

51 For this text, see Deller, Fadhil 1972, 210-11; Negri Scafa 2009, 466-7; Löhnert 2015, 336-9 with fn. 11, 340-1.

52 Possibly, he appears as *šaknu* in *JEN 135* as well. Whether or not he is designated as *šaknu* there, his presence is certain.

53 This is the position of Jankowska 1969, 277; Mayer 1978, 123.

54 For this pair of texts, see Löhnert 2015, 339 fn. 20.

55 *Rawi 1977*, 467; *Rawi 31* = IM.73237. The text may be a series of depositions for a trial.

56 That a *šaknu* seals a private text is unattested elsewhere in Nuzi-type texts.

57 For this text, see below fn. 63.

58 See, conveniently, Maidman 2010, 135-6 (*JEN 135* = text #59 there), 138-41 (*JEN 321* = text #61 there). *JEN 135* sees him acting in the same capacity, whether or not he is dubbed *šaknu*. See also below, § 2.2.2., where Tieš-urhe acts as, and is called, “judge”, very possibly in his capacity as *šaknu*, in *JEN 337*.

59 Were there even full-time judges at all?

60 I discuss this profession in a forthcoming study.

2.2.2 Tieš-urḫe as *šaknu*

This detailed description of the activities of the Nuzi *šaknu* serves a double purpose. It represents the fourth line of evidence for the preference for *šaknu* over *šakin māti* for GAR(.)KUR. It also points forward to establishing the bureaucratic context of Tieš-urḫe's activities in the administrative sphere. More narrowly, the question may be asked: do Tieš-urḫe's activities as *šaknu* point to one category only of all *šaknu* activities as described above? If so, then we may not extrapolate from Tieš-urḫe's acts as *šaknu* to the general picture we have drawn. If, however, a pattern of correspondence obtains between the deeds of Tieš-urḫe as *šaknu* and those of other *šaknus*, then we may safely conclude that Tieš-urḫe's bureaucratic career may substantially be viewed through the activities of all *šaknus*. Thus, the texts treated immediately above are rehearsed here, now comparing Tieš-urḫe's activities with those of other *šaknus*.

Of the six texts where Tieš-urḫe appears as *šaknu*, in four he distributes barley or wheat as rations (barley HSS XIV, 92, 175; XV, 264 – both military contexts; wheat: HSS XIII, 498);⁶¹ in two, metal (HSS XV, 160, 161; the latter and probably the former in lieu of food rations).

In addition, note that Tieš-urḫe, not called *šaknu*, is involved in *šaknu*-like activities, both military and possibly civilian. He takes barley of the queen for redistribution to the chariotry in Lubti in HSS XIV, 174.⁶² In LNT 80, Tieš-urḫe is involved in the transfer of military equipment.⁶³ In HSS XIV, 587, he takes copper from one place to be given in another.⁶⁴ In HSS XVI, 352, he transfers palace slaves to a scribe. Tieš-urḫe also appears in HSS XIII, 187, where he receives textiles on his return to Natmani. A final such text, HSS XV, 41, is noted below in the context of Tieš-urḫe's direct military activity.

In the other, non-Tieš-urḫe, texts, the *šaknus* are involved in the transfer/distribution of beer (HSS XIV, 135), cress (*Rawi* 47), metal (HSS XIV, 258); a horse (HSS IX, 42 [implicitly]; to Šilwa-tešup); HSS XIV, 14; a donkey (*EN* 9/3, 295); clothes (HSS XVI, 398); bricks (HSS IX, 150; to Šilwa-tešup); and people (HSS XVI, 387). A *šaknu* supplies an escort (HSS XIII, 36). *šaknus* act, *de facto*, as judges, though not named as judges (HSS IX, 9; *JEN* 135, 321; *RATK* 20, 28, as noted above).

It transpires that the spectrum of activities is not very broad. However, Tieš-urḫe, and the other *šaknus* do distribute, receive, and transfer foodstuffs, metals, and livestock.⁶⁵ Like other *šaknus*, Tieš-urḫe is also attested here in *JEN* 337 as having acted as judge,⁶⁶ an apparently minor function of other officials as well.⁶⁷ Given the few bits of evidence at our disposal, perfect overlap is not to be expected. However, on balance, at the level of bureaucratic function, Tieš-urḫe seems to have been a typical *šaknu*, transferring food stuffs and metals, and he judges. His acts as *šaknu* may, therefore, be viewed reasonably through the prism of the acts of *all* Nuzi *šaknus*.

He was not involved in real estate (as he was in his private capacity). He did transfer goods as a *šaknu* in what appears to be a military context. In this, he was not a typical *šaknu*. Mostly, in that domain, he – and they – had the responsibility of transferring mobilia within the jurisdiction of the regional government. But, though those activities were mostly, if not entirely, undertaken in a civilian economic and administrative context and were not dependent on military activity, this does not preclude Tieš-urḫe's direct involvement in the military. Indeed, as we shall see below, not only did Tieš-urḫe transfer military supplies, he was deeply involved in Nuzi's war, fought and lost against the Assyrians.

⁶¹ Lacheman restores [Nu-zi] in l. 1. Zaccagnini (1979, 13) restores [Zi-iz-za] – with better reason.

⁶² Maidman 2010, 73-4 (text #27).

⁶³ I believe, very tentatively, that he acts here as a *šaknu*, not as a *rāḫib narkabti*, because transfer of goods is involved, a typical *šaknu* activity. LNT 80 is unique: it is a letter from Tieš-urḫe ordering the transfer of military gear, i.e., it is a military context and one where the transfer of goods is involved; and Tieš-urḫe is not called *šaknu*. Therefore, somewhat arbitrarily, I assign this letter – as stated at the start of this note – to Tieš-urḫe the *šaknu* rather than to Tieš-urḫe the *rāḫib narkabti*. This transfer perhaps involves high military personnel. See l. 10, where Deller (pers. comm.) reads: *a-na é ma-ri-in-ni*, i.e., *bīt maryanni*. However, this interpretation is difficult: the lexeme would be very rare in Nuzi texts and the spelling unexpected. CAD M/I, 282, implicitly opts for this interpretation in *JEN* 256:14. However, Wilhelm (1987-90, 420b) rejects it – with good reason. Yet, note that neither Wilhelm nor CAD M/I takes into account the present text. See also Maidman 1986, 274 *sub* [BM].85557.

⁶⁴ For this text, see Fadhlil 1983, 97b and, especially, Justel 2020, 347-8. As to the GN itself, Eruna or Karāna or another name, see Fadhlil 1983, 97b; Fincke 1993, 132-3; Justel 2020, 347-8.

⁶⁵ The other *šaknus* deliver other goods as well, e.g., clothing in HSS XVI, 398.

⁶⁶ He seals the tablet (l. 34: [N]A₄ ^mTi-e-<šu>-ur-ḫé, with no title), likely in his judicial capacity (ll. 4, 9, 25). Note that this could represent an activity of his in his capacity as *rāḫib narkabti*. *rāḫib narkabtis* are conspicuous as judges. See below, § 2.4.1.

⁶⁷ For example, SUKKALS act as judge in *JEN* 321:3, 58.

2.3 Tieš-urḫe as Mayor

In one document, *JEN* 433, Tieš-urḫe appears as a *ḫazannu*, conventionally rendered “mayor”. In this capacity, he is the single witness to the writing of the tablet (l. 37) and is one of its sealers (l. 39).⁶⁸ The contract is a tablet of daughtership and daughter-in-lawship wherein, among other features, Tieš-urḫe’s cousin, Tarmi-tilla son of Šurki-tilla, purchases a woman to be given to a slave of his.⁶⁹

2.4 Tieš-urḫe as Soldier: The Recorded Military Activities⁷⁰

Tieš-urḫe appears in nine texts where he acts in a military capacity. Among these is a cluster of eight such documents included in Dosch’s study of a larger corpus of *rāḫib narkabti* texts. These eight are: *HSS* XV, 14,⁷¹ 26+, 29,⁷² 34, 40, 114; XVI, 331, 332. Also noted above, Dosch assigns to the eight of these *HSS* documents numbers internal to her article. *GD* (i.e., Gudrun Dosch) 44 (*HSS* XVI, 332), 45 (*HSS* XVI, 331), 49 (*HSS* XV, 34), 54 (*HSS* XV, 114), 56 (*HSS* XV, 26+),⁷³ 57 (*HSS* XV, 40),⁷⁴ 58 (*HSS* XV, 29), 59 (*HSS* XV, 14).⁷⁵ Here and henceforth, texts in the Dosch corpus are identified by *GD* number. Now, the documents Dosch identifies as *rāḫib narkabti* texts do not all mention *rāḫib narkabti*. (And none of the above eight does.) Rather they share either that designation or are implicitly to be considered *rāḫib narkabti* texts based on indirect evidence and prosopographical analysis.⁷⁶ Her choice of the texts in her corpus is persuasive. To Dosch’s list of eight texts where Tieš-urḫe appears (implicitly) as a *rāḫib narkabti* fulfilling military duties, the following nine less homogeneous documents should be added: *HSS* XV, 18, 21, 39, 41, 107, 237; XVI, 91, 100, 109. Yet other texts, considered here to represent *šaknu* activity, may be that of *rāḫib narkabtis*. Probably the most ambiguous of these texts is *LNT* 80.⁷⁷

Indeed, texts in which Tieš-urḫe may be acting as a *šaknu* or as a *rāḫib narkabti* raise the possibility that some of what a *rāḫib narkabti* does is in his capacity as *šaknu*. Are there *šaknus* who are not *rāḫib narkabtis*?

2.4.1 The Functions of *rāḫib narkabtis*

Unlike the situation above regarding the meaning of *šaknu*, our understanding of the sense of *rāḫib narkabti* is reasonably certain, as is reflected by the great consistency of scholarly opinion regarding the phrase.⁷⁸ The *rāḫib narkabti* (lit. ‘chariot rider’) is a high social class that retained a strong tie to the

⁶⁸ Note the two eccentric spellings of his name in this text.

⁶⁹ Implications of this text are further considered below, fn. 123.

⁷⁰ Part of this picture of the military hierarchy and its activities is captured in Zaccagnini 2021, 100-2.

⁷¹ Tieš-urḫe’s name is here reasonably restored by Dosch (2009, 155, 157 [translation at ll. 17-19, note at “26-45”]) at l. 19. See already above, fn. 7. Similarly, perhaps, l. 30’s *Na-an-[]* (Dosch 2009, 155 restores *Na-an-[te-šup]*) with *GD* 45:19’s [= *HSS* XVI, 331] *Na-an-te-šup*. *GD* 45 is itself a Tieš-urḫe text. See l. 5. (For the use of *GD*, see immediately below.) The format of this text is significantly different from that of the other seven. Those texts often differ among themselves regarding the type of data being communicated. However, they are all extended bureaucratic lists of charioteers, mostly with regard to their supplies or equipment or their units in the army. However, *HSS* XV, 14 emphasizes equipment lost and, in each instance, those responsible for that equipment. This is made explicit in the superscription to this tablet. *En passant*, this text reveals elements of quartermaster-account-keeping.

⁷² For this text, see (in addition to Dosch 2009, 154) Zaccagnini 2021, 94.

⁷³ Cf. Fincke 1999, 426-8.

⁷⁴ For this text, see the very illuminating exposition in Zaccagnini 2021, 99-102 with earlier literature.

⁷⁵ Dosch’s ordering (2009, 73) reflects a rough chronological order. However, the exact juxtaposition she proposes *within* (not between) each of her two generational groupings (*GD* 1-34, 35-70) reflects a logic nowhere articulated. (This lack probably results from her poor health and consequent premature death, *not* from scholarly sloppiness.) As it stands, the text order she establishes for the texts here considered is not inevitable. The order may go from #59 to #44, rather than from #44 to #59. It might be impossible to determine the order at all, that is, if there is indeed any extended chronological dimension to these texts. I assume for purposes of this paper that Dosch’s order is correct. In point of fact, it matters little, if at all, in the present context.

⁷⁶ Dosch 2009, *passim*. See further below, § 2.4.2, on why Tieš-urḫe, though not called *rāḫib narkabti*, must certainly be so considered.

⁷⁷ For this text, see above, fn. 63.

⁷⁸ See, in chronological order, Dosch 1993, 3-17; Maidman 1993, 32-4; 1995, 941-2; Dassow 2008, 352; 2009, 612-13; Dosch 2009, 72. The following description is adapted from Maidman 1995, 941-2.

chariotry, but not primarily by virtue of ownership of hardware.⁷⁹ Rather, *rākib narkabtis* seem to have been involved in all phases of the logistics of the chariot corps. They drove the vehicles, employed their armament, maintained them, and even served as quartermasters for their depots.⁸⁰ Their military status roughly corresponds to their economic status. As a group, they appear the wealthiest and economically most active of the Nuzi social classes. They owned prime real estate and purchased slaves for personal use. They engaged in commerce for private gain and perhaps as government agents. Of all their occupations, none appears with greater frequency than the office of judge.⁸¹ Not all *rākib narkabtis* were wealthy. Some were hired scribes. They were guards at various sites, not all of them military. Some members of the class became progressively poorer in the later generations of Nuzi; some sold or mortgaged their land.

2.4.2 The Functions of Tieš-urḫe as *rākib narkabti*

Returning to Dosch's cluster of eight *rākib narkabti* texts in which Tieš-urḫe is named, although never called a *rākib narkabti*, Tieš-urḫe is to be considered a member of this social class based on robust circumstantial evidence marshalled by Dosch.⁸² This evidence includes *GD* 28 (= *HSS* XIII, 6:21, 28), where the sons of Tešip-tilla son of Puḫi-šenni are defined as *rākib narkabti*.⁸³ Tieš-urḫe's *rākib narkabti* status is also implied by *GD* 35:3 (= *HSS* XIII, 464), 23, where Takku (almost certainly the son of Enna-mati⁸⁴ and father of Tieš-urḫe⁸⁵) is named as a *rākib narkabti*. Therefore, the concatenation of texts brought together by Dosch (i.e., *GD* 44-5, 49, 54, 56-9) should be considered evidence for the activities of Tieš-urḫe as a *rākib narkabti*. These functions, here as a member of this class, are clearly military. What are those activities?

He is, conspicuously, a commander, exercising authority over men (*GD* 56,⁸⁶ 57, 58; *HSS* XV, 41) and their equipment (chariots: *GD* 49; horses: *GD* 54, 58, 59,⁸⁷ *HSS* XV, 107, 237; armor/equipment: *GD* 59; and barley: *HSS* XVI, 91, 100, 109). Where the records reveal any GN at all, his campaigns are attested in the vicinity of Zizza almost exclusively (*GD* 57, 58, 59; *HSS* XV, 237 [probably]). Once, Tieš-urḫe campaigns in the land of Ḫa... (*GD* 54)⁸⁸ as a commander on the left wing⁸⁹ (*GD* 54, 56,⁹⁰ 57, 58; *HSS* XV, 107, XVI, 109) and, as such, experiences considerable losses of men and equipment (*GD* 56, 57, 58, 59).⁹¹ *HSS* XV, 41 names Tieš-urḫe as having men of Turša under his jurisdiction (ll. 61-6), certainly an allusion to military command. *HSS* XV, 39:5 notes that Tieš-urḫe's *tarkumassu*'s armor suffered damage, i.e., the armor of Tieš-urḫe's servant/aide/squire.⁹²

Note further that Tieš-urḫe possesses bows, according to *HSS* XV, 18:10; and bows and arrows in *HSS* XV, 21:9. These were likely part of his cohort's equipment.

⁷⁹ This description is adapted from Maidman 1995, 941-2.

⁸⁰ In this, they remind one of *šaknu*-like activities.

⁸¹ Tieš-urḫe acts as a judge. See above, fn. 58. *šaknus* also appear as judges. See above, § 2.2.1.

⁸² Dosch 1993, 33. See also below, § 3.

⁸³ See also Dosch 1993, 32-5.

⁸⁴ So too Dosch 1993, 33. "Takku" appears multiple times as the son of Enna-mati but only once as the son of anyone else. See Lacheman, *PNKA* T 54 "TAKKU".

⁸⁵ So too Dosch 2009, 119.

⁸⁶ Cf. Zaccagnini 2021, 100.

⁸⁷ Armor for horses.

⁸⁸ Zaccagnini (1979, 3) reconstructs 'Ḫa-lī-kal'-[bat]. This interpretation does not persuade. But see also Zaccagnini 1979, 20-2. I choose to guess that this is a local GN. If Ḫanigalbat were meant, what would the description actually signify? And why would this GN be used only here in such a context?

⁸⁹ On the left and right wings of the army, see Dosch 1993, 17-20. For an earlier appreciation of the significance of this designation, see Zaccagnini 1979, 22. Zaccagnini (2022, 410) recognizes Tieš-urḫe as belonging to the left wing of Nuzi's army. However, in fact, Tieš-urḫe probably appears in the left *and* right wings (*GD* numbers are here not employed):

Left: *HSS* XV, 26:6, 20; 29:19, 42; 40:15, 58; 107:7, 12; 114:6, 22; XVI, 109:4, 16.

Right: *HSS* XV, 18:10, 40; 39:5, 22; XVI, 91:17, 19 (right), 22 (left) (therefore ambiguously); 100:4, 10. Cf. *HSS* XV, 14:[19].

⁹⁰ The number of men lost in and/or casualties of this (possibly single) action is astonishingly high: 201. Tieš-urḫe, it seems, did not exercise direct control of his contingent. He appears to have "lived to fight another day". In general, men (*GD* 56), horses (*GD* 58), and equipment (*GD* 59, likely) under Tieš-urḫe's authority who did not return do not suggest his own death. See below, fn. 124. At least this seems implied by his repeated mention in these accounts. It is possible, of course, that his own demise would simply have been left unrecorded.

⁹¹ See immediately preceding footnote.

⁹² See above, the discussion of *HSS* XVI, 398, at § 2.2.1.

2.5 Tieš-urḫe: Miscellany

GD 45 has Tieš-urḫe, with other men and one woman,⁹³ bringing *pišanna* to Nuzi,⁹⁴ a notoriously obscure act and object.⁹⁵ If *GD* 45 implies cultic activity by Tieš-urḫe, then perhaps one ought to note here *HSS* XIV, 130, where Tieš-urḫe (no title) takes barley of the queen(?) to the town of Anzugalli for the gods.⁹⁶ *HSS* XVI, 456 includes Tieš-urḫe in a long list of men who received (or gave) barley or emmer. This context resembles *šaknu* activity. *šaknu* does not appear. *GD* 44 has Tieš-urḫe appearing in an unspecified list of men,⁹⁷ yielding no data other than his presence implicitly as a *rākib narkabti*. *LNT* 93 (Tiešurḫe's patronymic is now broken off, but the remaining context and the juxtaposition of this document with other BM tablets indicate that the patronymic should be "Takku"), is a broken tablet, and the remaining context is elusive. It is possibly a trial or a private transaction.

3 A Summary and Some Conclusions and Extrapolations

Let us now recapitulate, summarize, extrapolate and speculate. Above,⁹⁸ it was noted that Tieš-urḫe inherited real estate holdings in Nuzi, Zizza, and Unap-še. One may conclude that this real estate whose origins may well have been in the activities of Puḫi-šenni, Winnirke (Puḫi-šenni's wife), and Tehip-tilla, were passed down through the line of Enna-mati (who himself acquired properties through his own initiative) to Takku, and are still attested for, and apparently exploited, in the last generation, by Tieš-urḫe.⁹⁹ He may have purchased holdings in Nuzi and Zizza as well. Also, as stated above, conspicuously absent among his attested holdings is real estate in the town of Turša. Since references to Turša appear in tablets from Tieš-urḫe's forebears going all the way back to the first-attested generation, this absence could signify deliberate disinclination to deal with Turša, whether in real estate or commercial contexts.¹⁰⁰ It follows that Nuzi and other towns where Tieš-urḫe had real estate interests were not swept away in a continuation of the same Assyrian attack that ended Turša. Tieš-urḫe and his father must have been adults at the same time at Turša. This is because *JEN* 525 and 670, practically identical texts describing the results of the successful Assyrian attack on Turša, deal, in part, with Takku's property there.¹⁰¹ And Tieš-urḫe commands men of Turša, according to *HSS* XV, 41. Thus, he could well have been disinclined to acquire Turša real estate for the simple reason that by the time he was old enough to do so, Turša was already under threat of attack. If so, then all records of Tieš-urḫe must be dated between the lead-up to the destruction of Turša and that of Nuzi, where his records are found.

Turning from Tieš-urḫe's private to his administrative and military activities, his public career in inseparable from the last stage of the kingdom of Arrapha, before its disappearance at the end of its war with Assyria. Tieš-urḫe's deeds in the military relate to that war. Those deeds in that war – including

⁹³ For this, see Zaccagnini 2022, 409-10.

⁹⁴ For another interpretation, see Zaccagnini 2022, 409. The syntax of ll. 27-33 is difficult.

⁹⁵ Zaccagnini 2022, 409 is similarly befuddled. See also CAD P, 427a-b and Maidman 1976a, 459 fn. 1171.

⁹⁶ Mayer 1978, 62, #311.

⁹⁷ *GD* 44 and 45 share many PNs. Dosch rightly juxtaposes these two texts. (Note that these are the only two Dosch texts to name Tieš-urḫe's father.)

⁹⁸ The entire documentation for the following narrative is to be found in the immediately preceding section. Some of that documentation is repeated below for the sake of narrative clarity.

⁹⁹ For these data, see already Maidman 1976a, 503-7.

¹⁰⁰ Might this disinclination be linked to a deterioration in Assyria-Arrapha relations and/or an anticipated Assyrian invasion such as is described in *JEN* 525/670 and elsewhere? See, minimally, Maidman 2010, ch. 1. As already stated in Maidman 1976a, 257-8: "The absence of the mention of the town of Turša in the above contexts [...] suggests that he either abandoned that town for some reason (or was never associated with it) or retreated to Nuzi in the wake of the Assyrian raid (leaving any Turša tablets – of dubious value at that point – behind him). It seems clear, in either case, that, unlike his father and grandfather, Tieš-urḫe was singularly disinclined toward activity in that region". See further Maidman 1976a, 458 fn. 1166: "The [so-called] 'historical' texts, [*JEN* 525 and [*JEN* 670, products of Takku's initiative, must be viewed in this context [...]. [These documents] may have signified the loss of the Turša base of the activities of Enna-mati and of his family". See also Maidman 2011a, 80 fn. 16. As noted below, § 3, Tieš-urḫe may be linked to Turša in what appears to be a military context, *HSS* XV, 41:61-6. He is further linked to a town near Turša, Natmani in *HSS* XIII, 187, though not in a real estate connection.

¹⁰¹ Maidman 2013. Both tablets may well have been sealed. *JEN* 670 is certainly sealed. If unsealed, *JEN* 525 may have been a private, archival copy. *JEN* 670 might have been a sealed, official copy. If so, it was never dispatched.

his administrative acts as *šaknu* at around the same time – take place in several different places.¹⁰² In order to make sense of Tieš-urḫe's movements in his two professional capacities, we must locate those places with which he is associated (as best we can): Apena, Dūr-ubla, Irḫaḫḫe, Lubti, Natmani, Nuzi, Teliperra, Turša, and Zizza. In the far west (of the region in which Nuzi lies), the location of Natmani is known for certain: Tell 'Ali,¹⁰³ and that of nearby Turša, very probably known.¹⁰⁴ Moving from west to east, Apena appears next¹⁰⁵ and then Zizza,¹⁰⁶ all these before Nuzi (Yorghān Tepe) itself is reached.¹⁰⁷ East of Nuzi and relatively near the Babylonian border appear Irḫaḫḫe¹⁰⁸ and the nearby Dūr-ubla and Teliperra.¹⁰⁹ Farthest east is Lubti, at the very doorstep of Babylonia.¹¹⁰

Tieš-urḫe served the local Nuzian (not regional Arrapḫan) administration as a *šaknu*. In this capacity, he mostly delivered goods from one place to another. These goods consisted of foodstuffs, metals in lieu of food rations, and humans. His duties in transferring goods were performed both in peacetime¹¹¹ and later, during the Arrapḫa-Assyria war. This leads to the conclusion that Tieš-urḫe performed as a mid-/low-level bureaucrat at apparently the same time that he was involved in direct military activity as a *rākib narkabti*,¹¹² supervising other soldiers. In other words, Tieš-urḫe exercised military leadership as a *rākib narkabti* and performed civilian duties as a *šaknu*. However, this distinction of duties is not absolute. He is attested as having dealt with military matters several times both as *šaknu* and as bearing no title. In HSS XIV, 174, Tieš-urḫe (bearing no title) transfers the queen's barley to the chariotry at Lubti (i.e., at or near Arrapḫa's eastern border). HSS XIV, 92 identifies Tieš-urḫe as a *šaknu*, noting his delivery of barley to Irḫaḫḫe, which is near Lubti and attested almost always in connection with the eastern campaign. According to HSS XV, 264, Tieš-urḫe, *šaknu*, took barley from Nuzi, delivering it to Irḫaḫḫe.

At this point, we have determined, as precisely as possible, Tieš-urḫe's functions as *šaknu* and their applicability to Nuzi at peace and at war. Now we turn to Tieš-urḫe's position, exclusively wartime as far as our texts tell us, as *rākib narkabti*.

If Tieš-urḫe, as a *šaknu*, mostly transferred goods, as a *rākib narkabti* he had authority over (or, less likely, actually led) soldiers heading to battle. Actually, his authority was over troops *and* their equipment, provisions, and horses. He appears almost always at Zizza;¹¹³ once he appears in the land of Ḫa... as a commander of the left wing (as often at Zizza). He seems to have suffered considerable losses. He himself may well have survived the military reverses enumerated. HSS XV, 41:66 has him in charge of men of Turša. (This does not necessarily mean that he fought at Turša.)

Tieš-urḫe's military activity, therefore, involved Zizza, when, as a commander, he suffered losses among his soldiers, animals, and their equipment – and possibly at Turša as well. As noted above, he delivered, as a wartime *šaknu*, food to troops located in several places.

The descriptions of Tieš-urḫe's activities as *šaknu* and as *rākib narkabti* are confusing, in the sense that they point to no single, unambiguous reconstruction of the Assyrian advance through the Kingdom of Arrapḫa. There is good reason for this confusion regarding the course of the war. The spatial and chronological course of the successful Assyrian war against the kingdom of Arrapḫa is opaque.

¹⁰² It should here be recognized that the geographical horizon of Tieš-urḫe's war is not coterminous with that of the war as a whole. A few examples of GNs directly involved in the war but not attested in the Tieš-urḫe texts are the towns of Anzugalli (Cassin 1962, 67-8:30 [text #6] = GD 46:31 [sic]), Durdurra (JEN 533:14), Šamšamme (HSS XV, 126:6), Temtena (HSS XV, 126:7), and Tilpašte (HSS XV, 61:27). The list is hardly exhaustive. Careful perusal of *all* the war-related documents (from the Dosch corpus, other HSS XV documents, etc.) will certainly yield structures elucidating important personnel, military formations (the "wings"), types of weapons used and where they are used, and the provisioning of the whole of the Arrapḫa army, among other things.

¹⁰³ See Müller 2009, 325; 2012, 188; Maidman 2011a, 84. The relevant Tieš-urḫe documents are HSS XIII, 187 and 264. For the former text, cf. Lewy 1964, 186 fn. 2; Mayer 1978, 71, #369; Fadhl 1983, 128a; Fincke 1993, 185; Zaccagnini 2020, 184. For the latter, see most recently, Zaccagnini 2020, 181-2. HSS XV, 243 is a pertinent text mentioning Natmani but fails to name Tieš-urḫe.

¹⁰⁴ Maidman 2011a, 85.

¹⁰⁵ Maidman 2011a, 90 fn. 71; 2021, 86.

¹⁰⁶ Maidman 2011a, 86-7 with fn. 45; and especially 2021, 78-9 with fn. 59, 85-6.

¹⁰⁷ Tieš-urḫe takes metal from Nuzi: HSS XV, 161.

¹⁰⁸ Maidman 2011a, 92.

¹⁰⁹ For both, see Maidman 2010, 19; 2011a, 92.

¹¹⁰ Maidman 2011a, 92.

¹¹¹ Probably. See JEN 433 and below, fn. 123.

¹¹² Already noted above, § 2.4.2, though Tieš-urḫe is never explicitly named as a *rākib narkabti*.

¹¹³ Where the location of his military activity is mentioned at all, Zizza is almost always the focus. One is tempted to link this phenomenon with the fact that an important component of his private real estate holdings is Zizza. However, this linkage is not made explicit (nor should one expect it to have been); it cannot be demonstrated.

Only a few data (apart from the data contained in the tablets themselves) are indisputable or nearly so. First, several loci associated with the war may be located (as noted above): Natmani, Turša, Nuzi, and Lubti. Second, Zizza must be located west of Nuzi, not east.¹¹⁴ To the extent that Zaccagnini's reconstruction of the campaign¹¹⁵ depends on an eastern Zizza, to that extent that reconstruction is untenable.¹¹⁶ Third, it is clear that, in general, Assyria's campaign against Arrapha must have begun in western Arrapha, closest to Assyria proper. *JEN* 525 and 670 are the clearest expressions of this, as Turša suffers predation from Assyria. The war extended as far east as Lubti, near Babylonian territory, though it probably did not end there, in the east.

This is so, because, fourth, though the campaign must have started in the west, certain documents demonstrate – in light of the first datum – that the war ‘proceeded’ in no single direction or course. Rather, it meandered or, at least, followed no consistent pattern that one can presently discern. The following documents illustrate the retrograde features belying a simple west to east movement. *HSS* XV, 264 has Tieš-urḫe delivering barley to Irḥaḫḫe and to Dur-ūbla (in the east) and, in the same document, barley is delivered to Natmani (in the west). It would appear that supplies are required at both ends of Arraphan territory at the same time. *HSS* XV, 243 has barley being brought to the men of Lubti (far east) and to the men of Natmani (far west), among men of other places.¹¹⁷ *HSS* XIV, 175 notes the presence of men from Dūr-ubla (an eastern GN) in Apena (in the west). If those men were refugees or fleeing fighters, then it is odd that they move west, where the Assyrians would presumably have gained control earlier. Less definitive, but possibly relevant, *HSS* XIII, 187 has Tieš-urḫe *returning* to Natmani,¹¹⁸ possibly from action elsewhere, i.e., he goes from the east to this westernmost point.

Recognition of this reality renders Maidman's earlier reconstruction also untenable,¹¹⁹ namely that the Assyrian onslaught went from west (Turša) to east (Lubti) more or less directly, bypassing Nuzi and Arrapha City, which centers were mopped up only at or toward the end of the war.

What, then, is a plausible alternative to Zaccagnini's initial reconstruction and to Maidman's? Zaccagnini¹²⁰ has already wrestled valiantly with these documents (and others) as they affect the chronology and geography of the war. Even without accepting all his judgments and conclusions, one can readily agree unreservedly that, the records “reveal a complex scenario, tak[ing] place simultaneously in two different regions of the kingdom of Arrapḫe in the northwest, close to the Assyrian border, and in the southeast, more or less near the Babylonian border”.¹²¹ It is, of course, also possible that, *faute de mieux*, the relevant texts are to be ordered chronologically in a way or in ways not here considered, employing principles not clear to me.¹²²

Returning to Tieš-urḫe in the world of this war, it seems to me that the following reconstruction does least violence to the data at our disposal. Tieš-urḫe held the administrative post of *šaknu* during the same time that he acted as a *rākib narkabti*, leading soldiers (and their kit). It appears that his administrative activities last through much of the Assyria-Arrapha war and involved his transferring goods at places from west (Turša, Natmani) all the way to the east (Irḥaḫḫe, Lubti). His strictly military activity perhaps started at Turša and ended with the defeat at Zizza, never to be resumed.

¹¹⁴ This is demonstrated in Maidman 2021, 85-6. Thus Zaccagnini's assertion to the contrary, i.e., Zizza is to be located to the east of Nuzi (2016, 54; 2020, 171-2) cannot hold.

¹¹⁵ Zaccagnini 2020, 182-5.

¹¹⁶ Zaccagnini (2020, 183-5) hazards a reconstruction of the order of events of the war dividing them into an earlier and later campaign over the course of a single year. Examining the texts Zaccagnini adduces (but only the dated ones), one notes that the mention of Zizza is confined to the former cluster of texts. Noting Zaccagnini's position of an eastern Zizza, this would mean that the start of the campaign would have taken place largely in the east. A western Zizza implies that the first of the campaigns took place, at least partially in the west, where one would expect it have taken place. The second group mentions eastern locations only, which is also what one would expect. In fact, if there were a two-part war, the places mentioned in the first campaign *do* mention both eastern and western GNs. Therefore, the conundrum remains. However, the scheme works less badly (though still badly) with a western Zizza.

¹¹⁷ See Zaccagnini 2020, 182 for this text. Much less likely: barley is brought to men *from* different places, representing contingents stationed in the same place. Tieš-urḫe is not mentioned in this document.

¹¹⁸ See Zaccagnini 2020, 184 (“comes safely(?) to Natmani”).

¹¹⁹ Maidman 2010, 18-19; 2011a, 89-90; 2011b, 214-16.

¹²⁰ Zaccagnini 2020, 179-85.

¹²¹ Zaccagnini 2020, 181; see also 182, 183.

¹²² See above, fn. 75.

The foregoing study has demonstrated that Tieš-urḫe was a landowner, actively involved in his real estate holdings, probably an entrepreneur, a bureaucrat in Nuzi's government, a judge, it seems even a mayor,¹²³ and a military officer, defending his home from the Assyrian aggressor. All this leads to another – and obvious – conclusion. Tieš-urḫe had to have lived into adulthood, and a reasonably mature adulthood at that. We are ignorant regarding the events surrounding his death.¹²⁴

All the actions and positions detailed above cannot have been achieved by a very young man. This further demonstrates that the fifth, and last, generation of the Teḫip-tilla family was a full generation. And since Nuzi itself lasted some 100-125 years,¹²⁵ this span of the family's existence might point to a 125 year Nuzi period, rather than 100 years, and a generation should be reckoned at closer to twenty-five than to twenty years.

Tieš-urḫe, the last known member of the family of Teḫip-tilla son of Puḫi-šenni, was not a flickering flame of a once vigorous fire. His known activities demonstrate that he was a worthy successor to his line. He may not have been as 'important' as Teḫip-tilla, his great-grandfather, if one measures importance in terms of economic acquisitiveness and breadth of initiative, but Tieš-urḫe was an impressive member of his family in communal terms, maybe *the* most important member in that regard, during the period of Nuzi's death throes.

Abbreviations

Abbreviations follow *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Vol. 20, *U* and *W* with the following additions:

GD = edited texts by, and according to the numeration of, Dosch 2009

HSOA = Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient

LNT = texts published in Müller 1998

PNKA = E.R. Lacheman unpublished

P-S = texts published in Pfeiffer, Speiser 1936

RATK = texts studied in Fadhil 1972

Rawi = texts studied in al-Rawi 1977

YNER = Yale Near Eastern Researches

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123 JEN 433 is curious: only here is Tieš-urḫe a mayor. Other mayors appear only once (Mayer 1978, 127-9), but Tieš-urḫe is the only one who is a conspicuous figure in other than mayoral contexts. But JEN 433 itself may offer a solution to this conundrum. The contents of the document likely suggest a time of peace. The transaction betrays no sense of impending crisis. It is a peaceful plan for the near and even medium future. In addition, it involves a probably much older cousin of Tieš-urḫe, Tarmi-tilla son of Šurki-tilla. This is consistent with an impression that the text is at least somewhat older than Arrapḫa's (and therefore Nuzi's) feverish military activity and its final, violent end. Therefore, the text – and Tieš-urḫe's mayoralty – preceded his vigorous military activity. It may well have preceded his duties as a *šaknu*. Those activities give the impression of having been undertaken over a relatively extended period of time and certainly in more than one location. (These include Nuzi, as well as points west and east of Nuzi. See HSS XIII, 498 [Zizza]; XIV, 92 [Irḫaḫḫe], 175 [Apena]; XV, 160 [Nuzi], 161 [Nuzi], 264 [Irḫaḫḫe]. See also HSS XIII, 187, as already noted, for his activity in nearby Natmani – though *šaknu* does not appear in that text.) This would push back JEN 433 as far as possible, an attractive notion, given Tarmi-tilla's probable significant seniority to Tieš-urḫe and the probably peaceful atmosphere implied by the text. But the following is to be considered. HSS XV, 1:1-30 suggests the mayor's superior position *vis-à-vis* the *šaknu*. First, one would expect that Tieš-urḫe would have achieved the position of mayor *after* his service as *šaknu*, not before. Second, one might surmise – nothing more – that if the military crisis became acute as Tieš-urḫe was newly occupying his position as mayor, then his term of office was correspondingly truncated. That would be the reason that his attestation as mayor is limited to a single text. However, it remains troubling that, if this were the case, how does one account for the pacific impression given by JEN 433 and for the fact that the older Tarmi-tilla son of Šurki-tilla is still on the scene and vigorously so?

124 Nothing secure may be said of the circumstances surrounding Tieš-urḫe's death. The fact that he suffers bad losses of men and materiel in the military action at Zizza, coupled with the fact that he is never elsewhere attested as an officer, does not effectively argue for his death late in this action (after the writing of the final text in the series pertaining to this battle). Tieš-urḫe does appear, after all, as a *šaknu* at points farther east than Zizza. That means that it is at least possible that Tieš-urḫe survived his Zizza action. He may have died in the east. He may have survived the war altogether.

125 Maidman 2018, 20b.

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