

Middle Assyrian Letters: a New Survey*

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[In this paper the most relevant types of Middle Assyrian letters (ca. 1500-1000 BC) and the features of their language are discussed. A catalogue of the Middle Assyrian letters is offered.]

Keywords: Middle Assyrian letters.

1. Introduction

Letters constitute one of the most fascinating genres in the cuneiform tradition: they bring the spoken language of the period directly to us from the past, and, as they did not pass through the filter of officialdom, they provide us with unvarnished formulations of the language and history of the ancient Mesopotamian civilization.¹ The messages contained in the letters can be considered to be highly reliable sources of information, conditioned only by the subjectivity of the author.² For these reasons they are highly valued by assyriologists, both philologists and for historians.

In this short paper, I will up-date the catalogue of the Middle Assyrian letters (ca. 1500-1000 BC), i.e. letters in Middle Assyrian language, or letters sent from Assyria to foreign countries in this period. I describe the most important types and discuss the most relevant features of the language used.

* This is the paper that I read at the “7º Centenario de los Estudios Orientales en Salamanca”, September 28th-30th, 2011. The bibliographical abbreviations used in this article can be found in M. P. Streck (ed.), *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie*. Berlin, 2011, volume 12, I-L. Other abbreviations not included there are the following:

ALA = O. Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the City of Assur*. Uppsala 1985.

Mora – Giorgieri, *Lettere* = C. Mora and M. Giorgieri, *Le lettere tra i re ittiti e i re assiri ritrovate a Hattuša*. Padova, 2004.

MVA = J. Llop, *Mittelassyrische Verwaltungsurkunden aus Assur. Texte aus den "grossen Speichern" und dem Ubrü-Archiv*. Wiesbaden, 2009.

This project was possible thanks to financing by the Gerda Henkel Stiftung (Germany) and the Spanish Ministry of Economy /FFI2011-25290. I would like to thank Mikko Luukko for inspiring this paper. Any remaining error is the responsibility of the author.

1. See as an introduction: O. Schroeder, “Briefe (in Keilschrift)”, *RIA* 2 (1938) 62-68.

2. M. van de Mieroop, *Cuneiform Texts and the Writing of History*. London and New York, 1999, 22-25.

2. Number and origin of the Middle Assyrian letters

Compared with the thousands Old Assyrian and Neo-Assyrian letters, which have survived, the Middle Assyrian letters are few in number. These letters have been surveyed twice. In 1970, Claudio Saporetti listed 65 items in his “Bibliografia delle Lettere Private Medio-Assire”,³ and in 1996, Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum listed 132 letters in her catalogue of Middle Assyrian letters, published in her monograph: *Die mittelassyrischen Briefe aus Tell Šēḫ Hamad*.⁴ To date (September 2011), 238 published and unpublished letters (and fragments of letter) from sites in Iraq, Syria and Turkey are known. This corpus probably represents only a small fraction of the letters sent in the period.

Most of these letters come from Assur and Kār-Tukultī-Nīnūrta, the capitals of the kingdom (92 letters, of which 14 remain still unpublished).⁵ The second most numerous group of tablets comes from provincial centres of the kingdom, such as Dūr-katlimmu (Tell Šeh Hamad; 32 letters),⁶ Harbe (Tell Huera; 25 letters),⁷ Tell Sabi Abyad (up to now 20 letters are known, of which only five are published).⁸ It is possible that among the 400 texts from this latter site more letters will appear). Other sites have produced fewer than ten letters each: Karāna (Tell al-Rimah; seven letters),⁹ Šibanibe (Tell Billa; nine letters)¹⁰ and Uššukanni (Tell Fekheriye; five letters).¹¹ Tabete (Tell Taban), the capital of a vassal kingdom on the Habur, has provided 14 letters, all of them still unpublished.¹² Letters and fragments of letters have also been found in other sites of the Middle Assyrian kingdom such as Tell Bazmusian (seven letters),¹³ Kahat (Tell Barri; one letter)¹⁴ and Tell Brak (one letter).¹⁵ Most of these letters deal with subjects of royal administration.

3. Cl. Saporetti, “Bibliografia delle Lettere Private Medio-Assire”, *AIUON* 30 (NS 20; 1970) 141-152.

4. E. C. Cancik-Kirschbaum, *Die mittelassyrischen Briefe aus Tell Šēḫ Hamad*. Berlin, 1996 (BATSH 4), 232-245.

5. Most MA letters have been published in: O. Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur Verschiedenen Inhalts*. Leipzig 1920; E. Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur juristischen Inhalts*. Leipzig, 1927 and H. Freydank, *Mittelassyrische Rechtsurkunden und Verwaltungstexte* I-X. Berlin – Saarbrücken – Wiesbaden, 1976-2011, but also in other scattered publications, e.g. V. Donbaz, “Selected Middle Assyrian Private letters Housed in Istanbul.” In J. G. Dercksen (ed.), *Assyria and Beyond. Studies Presented to Mogens Trolle Larsen*. Leiden, 2004, 67-80, etc.; see the catalogue below.

6. Mostly in E. C. Cancik-Kirschbaum, *Die Mittelassyrischen Briefe*; but also A. Tsukimoto, “Aus einer japanischen Privatsammlung: Drei Verwaltungstexte und ein Brief aus mittelassyrischer Zeit”, *WO* 23 (1992), 36-38 (Tokio D).

7. S. Jakob, *Die mittelassyrischen Texte aus Tell Chuēra in Nordost-Syrien*. Wiesbaden, 2009.

8. F. A. M. Wiggermann, “Agriculture in the Northern Balikh Valley. The Case of the Middle Assyrian Tell Sabi Abyad.” in R. M. Jas (ed.), *Rainfall and Agriculture in Northern Mesopotamia. Third MOS Symposium, Leiden May 21-22*, Leiden, 1999, nos. 10-12; Wiggermann, “The seal of Ilī-padā, Grand Vizier of the Middle Assyrian Empire.” In P. Taylor, (ed.) *The Iconography of the Cylinder Seals*. London - Turin, 2006, page 94 note 3 and Wiggermann, “Cuneiform Texts from Tell Sabi Abyad Related to Pottery.” In: K. Duistermaat, *The Pots and Potters of Assyria. technology and Organisation of production, Ceramic Sequence and Vessel Function at Late Bronze Age Tell Sabi Abyad, Syria*. Turnhout, 2008, 561-562.

9. H. W. F. Saggs, “The Tell al Rimah Tablets, 1965.” *Iraq* 30 (1968) 154-174; D. J. Wiseman, “The Tell al Rimah Tablets, 1966.” *Iraq* 30 (1968) 175-205.

10. J. Finkelstein, “Cuneiform Texts from Tell Billa.” *JCS* 7 (1953) 111-176.

11. H. G. Güterbock, “The Cuneiform Tablets.” In: C. W. McEwan *et al.*, *Soundings at Tell Fakhariyah*. Chicago, 1958, pp. 86-90 and pls. 81-85.

12. D. Shibata, “Middle Assyrian Administrative and Legal Texts from the 2005 Excavation at Tell Taban: A Preliminary Report.” *Al-Rāfidān* 28 (2007) 71 n. 52.

13. J. Laessoe, “The Bazmusian Tablets.” *Sumer* 15 (1959) 15-16, pls. 1-5.

14. M. Salvini, “I testi cuneiformi delle campagne 1989 e 1993 a Tell Barri/ Kahat.” In: P.E. Pecorella (ed.), *Tell Barri/Kahat 2. Relazione sulle campagne 1980-1993 a Tell Barri/Kahat, nel bacino del Habur (Siria)*. Roma, 1998, 187-198.

15. I. Finkel, “Inscriptions from Tell Brak 1985.” *Iraq* 50 (1988) 83-85.

The archive from Assur or Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta with the diplomatic correspondence of the Middle Assyrian kings has not been found; nor have copies of the letters sent by the Middle Assyrian kings to the kings of other countries. Exemplars of the diplomatic correspondence of the Assyrian kings, or letters sent by Assyrian officials abroad have been found in Akhetaton (Tell el-Amarna, Egypt; two letters),¹⁶ Hattuša (12 letters),¹⁷ Nippur (three letters)¹⁸ and Ugarit (six letters).¹⁹ A Middle Assyrian private letter in a Japanese private collection probably comes from Emar.²⁰

The increase in the number of Middle Assyrian letters in recent years is mainly due to publication of tablets from the old excavations at Assur and Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta (between 1903-1914), which were stored in the museums in Berlin and Istanbul. To these tablets, we should add, the findings of more modern excavations in Syria, in particular, Tell Sabi Abyad (in the 1990's and 2002-04) and Tell Taban (in 2005). Most of the latter are still unpublished, including 14 tablets from the older excavations in Assur. In 2009 and 2010, Middle Assyrian tablets were found in Tell Fekheriye (Syria), among the *ca.* 50 tablets unearthed are an undefined number of letters.²¹

Middle Assyrian is the language used in most of the letters. Whereas the cuneiform correspondence found in the capitals and the provincial centres of Assyria is written in this language, some specimens found in centres outside of the Assyrian kingdom were also written in Middle Babylonian with some Assyrianisms. Middle Babylonian was the language used in the diplomatic correspondence of the Ancient Near East during the Late Bronze Age.

3. *Types of Letters and their language*

A first classification of the Middle Assyrian letters according to their contents, senders and addressees may distinguish between the letters sent by private and official individuals. The private letters were sent among private individuals with private issues. The official letters were sent by the king or the officials of the royal administration to other kings or royal officials and addressed official matters. The language and information in these letters depends mainly on the respective status of the sender and recipient.

16. W. L. Moran, "Amarna Texts." In: I. Spar (ed.), *Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York, 1988, volume 1, text 102, pp. 149-150, pls. 112-113; Moran, *The Amarna Letters*. Baltimore – London, 1992, 38-41; see the recent translation by D. Schwemer, "Briefe aus dem Archiv von el-Amarna." In: B. Janowski and G. Wilhelm (eds.), *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments. Neue Folge. Band 3: Briefe*. Gütersloh, 2006, 178-180 (EA 15 and 16) with previous bibliography.

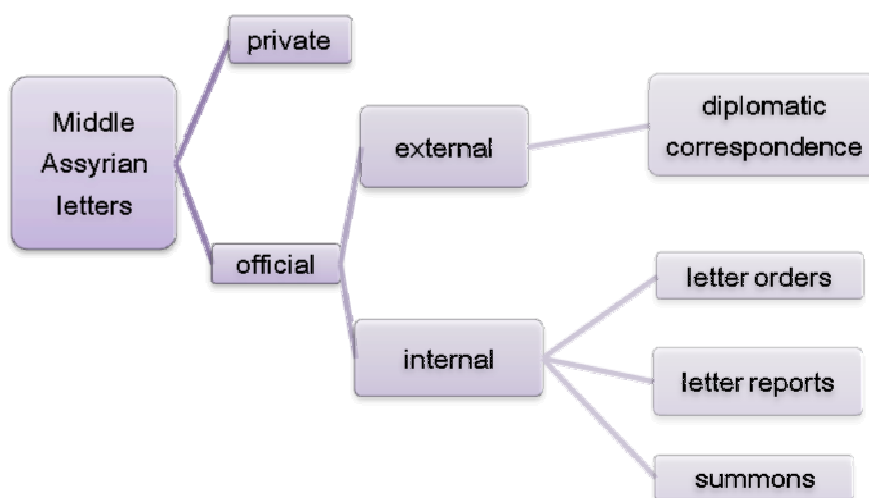
17. C. Mora and M. Giorgieri, *Le lettere tra i re ittiti e i re assiri ritrovate a Hattuša*. Padova 2004.

18. W. von Soden, "Drei mittelassyrische Briefe aus Nippur." *AfO* 18 (1957-58) 368-371.

19. F. Thureau-Dangin, "Une lettre assyrienne à Ras Shamra." *Syria* 16 (1935) 189-193; J. Nougayrol, *Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit IV. Textes accadiens des archives sud (Archives internationales)*. Paris, 1956; J. Nougayrol et al., *Ugaritica V. Nouveaux textes accadiens, hourrites et ugaritiques des archives et bibliothèques privés d'ugarit commentaires des textes historiques (première partie)*. Paris, 1968.

20. B. Faist, *Der Fernhandel des assyrischen Reiches zwischen dem 14. und 11. Jh. v. Chr.* Münster, 2001, pp. 251-252, pls. 3-4.

21. D. Bonatz, "Tell Fekheriye and the Question of Political Spaces in Late Bronze Syria" conference held at the international colloquium: *100 Jahre Archäologische Feldforschungen in Nordost-Syrien -Eine Bilanz-* (Pergamon Museum, Berlin, July 23rd, 2011). See <http://www.fekheriye.de>.



3.1. *Private and official letters:*

The first division we can make in the Middle Assyrian correspondence is between the **private** and **official** letters.

3.1.1. *Private letters*

The private letters are extremely rare among the findings of the Middle Assyrian correspondence. In fact, only three private Middle Assyrian letters are currently known.²²

Example:

A 845 (Donbaz, *GS Cagni*, 238):

¹⁾ To the daughter of Qibi-ili ²⁾ speak, ³⁾ Buraqu (says) the following:

⁴⁾ May there be health for you.

⁵⁾ There is health for me here.

⁶⁾ Who could see your beautiful eyes and ⁷⁻⁸⁾ hear your sweet words?

⁸⁻⁹⁾ [My heart] desires greatly to see you.

¹¹⁻¹³⁾ I am sending to you a [...] with Bēl-iddin.

¹⁴⁻¹⁸⁾ May my sister (or My Lady), Ahāte send me two sickles of copper or bronze.

¹⁹⁻²²⁾ May my sister, Ahāte send me her greeting.

Sometimes, it is difficult to decide whether a letter is private or official. This distinction is not always clear cut. We find letters from individuals, who are clearly identified as royal officials, in which is not clear, whether they are dealing with official or private matters, e.g. the letters of Bābu-aha-iddina (in

22. V. Donbaz, "A Middle Assyrian Private Letter." In: S. Graziani (ed.), *Studi sul vicino oriente antico dedicati alla memoria di Luigi Cagni*. Napoli, 2000 pub. 2002, 237-241; J. Llop, *Mittelassyrische Verwaltungsurkunden aus Assur. Texte aus den "grossen Speichern" und dem Ubru-Archiv*. Wiesbaden, 2009, no. 150 and Faist, *Fernhandel*, 251-254.

the archive known as Assur M 11)²³ or the letter of an the administrator of Tell Sabi Abyad to a woman (possibly his wife, TSA T 96-36).²⁴

3.1.2. *Official letters*

Official letters may be classified into two groups, **external** correspondence, directed to other kingdoms, i.e. diplomatic correspondence, and **internal** correspondence, to be sent to sites in the Assyrian kingdom.

3.1.2.1. *External correspondence*

These letters make up the **diplomatic correspondence**, i.e. between kingdoms. They are usually written between equals, from the Assyrian king to a foreign king, but also from Assyrian royal officials to foreign royal officials.

The international archive of the Middle Assyrian kings has not been found. Some letters from the Babylonian king to his Assyrian counterpart have been found in later copies,²⁵ but no copies of the letters sent by the Assyrian kings have been found in Assur or Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta, the capitals of the Assyrian kingdom during this period.

The letters making up the Assyrian diplomatic correspondence have been found in sites outside the territory of Assyria, such as Hattuša (Bogazkoy, Turkey), Ugarit (Ras Shamra, Syria) and Akhetaton (Tell el Amarna, Egypt). Among the 20 letters and letter fragments of the Middle Assyrian diplomatic correspondence found, two were addressed to the Egyptian Pharaoh, nine letters to the Hittite king and one to the king of Ugarit.

The international correspondence of the period was usually written in Middle Babylonian. The Middle Assyrian correspondence contained Assyrianisms. However, some of the letters sent were written in Middle Assyrian. One of them is a letter of Aššur-uballit I (1353-1318) to the Pharaoh:

EA 15

- 1-2) To the king of Egypt speak,
- 3) the following (says) Aššur-uballit, the king of Assur:
- 4-6) May there be health for you, your house, your land, your war-chariots and your troops.
- 7) I am sending to you my messenger
- 8) to see you and your country.
- 9-10) Until now, my predecessors did not send (anything);
- 11) today, I am sending to you
- 12) one magnificent chariot, two horses,
- 13) one date-stone made of lapis lazuli.
- 14-15) I have sent to you as my greeting-present.
- 16-18) The messenger, who I am sending to you, in order to see (you), do not delay him.
- 19) Let him see and come back.
- 20-22) May he see your intention and the intention of your land and may he come back.

23. H. Freydank and Cl. Saporetti, *Bābu-aḥa-iddina. Die Texte*. Rome, 1989.

24. Wiggermann, "Agriculture," no. 10.

25. J. Llop and A. R. George, "Die babylonisch-assyrischen Beziehungen und die innere Lage Assyriens in der Zeit der Auseinandersetzung zwischen Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur und Mutakkil-Nusku nach neuen keilschriftlichen Quellen." *AfO* 48-49 (2001-2002) 1-23.

3.1.2.2. Internal correspondence: *letter orders, letter reports and summons*

A second, larger, group of letters comprises the correspondence concerning the internal administration of the Assyrian kingdom. Three groups can be distinguished: *letter orders, letter reports and summons*.

In contrast to the diplomatic correspondence, where the exchange is between equals (usually kings), few letters between people of equal rank are found in the Assyrian administration, which was extremely hierarchical. The Middle Assyrian letters are from a superior to an inferior, issuing commands (i.e. letter orders) or from an inferior to a superior, reporting his actions or those of others and asking for instructions (letter report). A third, less numerous group of letters, coming exclusively from Assur, comprises correspondence from a judge to an official, summoning him to a trial (i.e. summons).

a) **Letter orders:** The sender of letters of this type is of a higher rank than addressee or recipient of the letter. They are letters from the king or from high officials to lower officials, requesting information about a particular subject and/or giving commands to the lower official as to how a particular subject should be dealt with: hence the name “letter orders”. This group of letters is the most numerous in the Middle Assyrian correspondence: 105 letter orders or fragments of letter order have been found.

Example:

TSA T 97-17 (Wiggermann, “Agriculture”, no. 11)

¹⁾ To Igaršu-ēmedi

²⁻³⁾ speak: the following (says) Tammitte:

⁴⁻⁵⁾ Sarniqu, I am sending to you.

⁶⁻⁷⁾ Receive (*muḥur*) a cow of the sphere of responsibility of Kitteya (and) give (it) (*dinaššu*) to him (Sarniqu).

⁸⁻¹¹⁾ May he gather (*lupaḥḥira*) all his cattle and transfer (*lūšazziz*) (it) to your sphere of responsibility.

¹²⁻¹⁴⁾ (As for) you, choose (*ussuq*) three bulls for the threshing-sledge

¹⁵⁻¹⁷⁾ (and) take (*leqe*) these bulls. He may take (*lilqe*) the rest.

¹⁸⁻¹⁹⁾ May he remove (*lissuh*) the beams of his fortified farm and take (*lilqe*) (them).

²⁰⁻²²⁾ May he take (*lilqe*) all his goods and the goods of his house.

²²⁻²³⁾ Nobody should stop him (*lā ikallašu*).

The introductory formula (*praescriptio*) of this type of letter is always:²⁶

Ana PN₁ (addressee) *qibīma umma* PN₂ (sender)

“To PN₁ speak, the following (says) PN₂”

Apart from the introductory formula, the feature that most clearly distinguishes letter orders is their language. The predominant verbal form in the body of these letters is the imperative (for positive orders), in the example above:

muḥur, “receive”; *dinaššu*, “give to him”; *ussuq*, “choose”; *leqe*, “take”.

The prohibitive (*lā* + present) is used for negative orders, in the example above: *mamma lā ikallašu* “Nobody should stop him”. The commands to a third person, i.e. which have to be transmitted by the addressee, are formulated in the precative, in the example above:

26. Cancik-Kirschbaum, *Die mittelassyrischen Briefe*, 54-56.

lupahhira, “may he gather”; *lūšazziz*, “may he transfer”; *lilqe*, “may he take”; *lissuh*, “may he remove”.

b) **Letter reports:** The sender of letters of this type is usually of a lower administrative rank than the recipient. Surprisingly, we do not have Middle Assyrian letter reports from a royal official to the king, but only letter orders from the Assyrian king to officials or diplomatic messages directed to other kings (see the diplomatic correspondence). Possibly, this is because the royal correspondence archive has not been found. In the letter reports, the officials frequently present information that the addressee, a higher official, had previously requested (*ša bēlī išpuranni*, “(concerning) what my lord wrote to me”), i.e. the higher official had sent a letter order.

Examples:

BATSH 4, 2: 15-21

¹⁵⁻¹⁶ (About) what my lord wrote to me (*ša bēlī išpuranni*): “Why did Aššukanæan troops not go (*lā illikū*) after them (Karkemišean fugitives)?”

¹⁶⁻¹⁷ The grasshopper has eaten (*ētakal*) their harvest; they have eaten (*ētaklū*) the *elmeltu*-grass thereafter.

¹⁸⁻²¹ There is nobody (*mamman laššu*) in the city. Fifty Kassites, hostages or captives, and 50 Subareans, hostages, live (*usbū*) in the city. There is no one (*ailuttu laššu*) for the garrison of the city.

BATSH 4, 6: 8'-15'

^{8'-9'} The flax, that they have harvested (*ēšidūni*) this year is (amounts to; *ibašši*) ten talents (ca. 300 kg.).

^{9'-11'} When there is not (*laššūni*) more flax, may he look after (*liqāl*) the walls and the courtyard of the cloth or should we do (it)? (*lū nēpuš*)

^{11'-13'} The days will be cold (*ikaššū*) again (and) it will not be suitable (*lā illak*) for washing. I am waiting (*adaggal*) for the communication of my lord.

^{13'-14'} May my lord write (*lišpura*) to me in order to bind (*ana kašāri*). May they bind (*likšurū*) and web (*limhīšū*).

^{15'} May they wash (*limsiū*) as long as the days are good (*tābūni*).

The introductory formula to this type of letter is usually:²⁷

Ana PN₁ (addressee) *bēlīya tuppi PN₂* (sender) *urdīka ultaka* 'in *ana dinān bēlīya attalak*

“To PN₁, my lord, tablet of PN₂, your servant,

I prostrate myself, I would lay down my life (lit. may I be a substitute) for my lord” (i.e. I am at the disposition of my lord).”

The predominant verbal form in the body of these letters is the precative, which is used to suggest further actions or to ask for the higher official’s permission to undertake further actions, see above:

liqāl, “may he look after”; *lū nēpuš*, “should we do (it)?”; *lišpura*, “may he write”; *likšurū*, “may they bind”; *limhīšū*, “may they web”.

27. Cancik-Kirschbaum, *Die mittelassyrischen Briefe*, 56-60.

The narrative tense *par excellence* in the letters (in all groups, not only the letter reports) is the perfect. The perfect is used to report past actions, see above:

ētakal, “he has eaten”; *ētaklū*, “they have eaten”.

The preterite is used only in the subordinate sentences or is negated in the main sentences, for example above:

ša bēlī išpuranni, “what my lord wrote to me”; *lā illikū*, “they did not go”; *ša ... ēšidūni*, “that they have harvested”.

The estative and the present are used for estates and durative actions. Estative: *usbū*, “they live”; *adi ... tībūni*, “as long as they are good”; *laššu; laššūni*, “there is not”.

Present: *ikaššū*, “they become cold”; *adaggal*, “I am waiting”; *lā illak*, “it is not suited (literally, it does not go)”.

c) **The summons** (German: gerichtliche Ladungen, French: assignations à comparaître; Spanish: citaciones judiciales)

The third group of letters were found only in Assur (and could be included under *letter orders*). Only seven exemplars of this kind of letter have been found.²⁸ They are letters from an official, probably acting as a judge, to another official, requiring him to appear in court as a consequence of the complaint from a wronged individual. All the seven summons belong to the same archive, the Ubru archive (i.e. Assur M 8).

Example:

A 133 (Donbaz, *FS Grayson*, no. 1)

¹⁻³⁾ To Ubru speak, the following (says) Narām-Aššur:

⁴⁻⁵⁾ Aššur-bēl-apli came to me (saying): ⁶⁻¹⁰⁾ “I am neither in debt nor am I a liar (and in spite of that) he (Ubru) has taken from me a slave woman (and) a 10-year-old she-donkey.”

¹¹⁻¹⁶⁾ Take your witnesses and everything that speaks in your defence and come to declare at your trial.

¹⁷⁻¹⁹⁾ Month Kuzallu (V); 26th day; eponyme Abattu, son of Adad-šumu-lēšir (11th year of Tukultī-Ninurta).

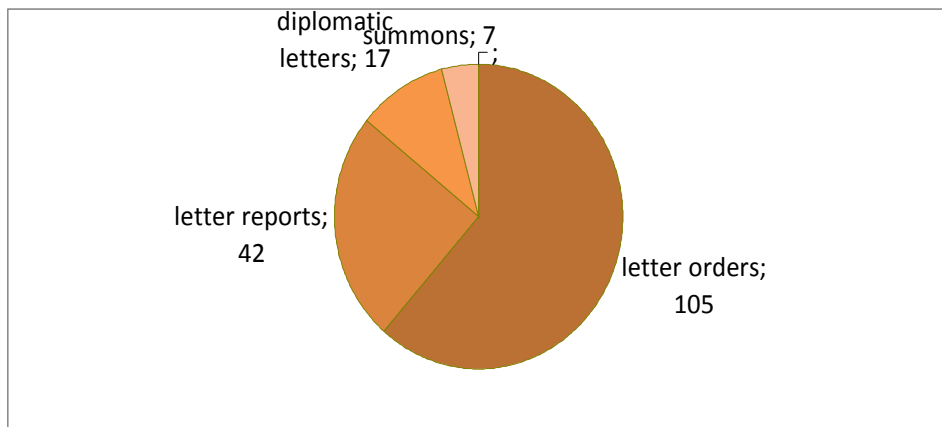
The Middle Assyrian letters may carry a *subscriptio*, usually a date, at their end, i.e. at the lower part of the reverse or the left side of the tablet. It usually states the month, day and eponyme (year) in which the letter was written:

ITI NN UD.n.KÁM *līmu* NN;

Sometimes, only the day is noted: UD.n.KÁM. Very often, the letters do not carry date at all.

One hundred and seventy one out of 238 Middle Assyrian letters can be assigned to the groups above, i.e. they are official letters with an identified subject:

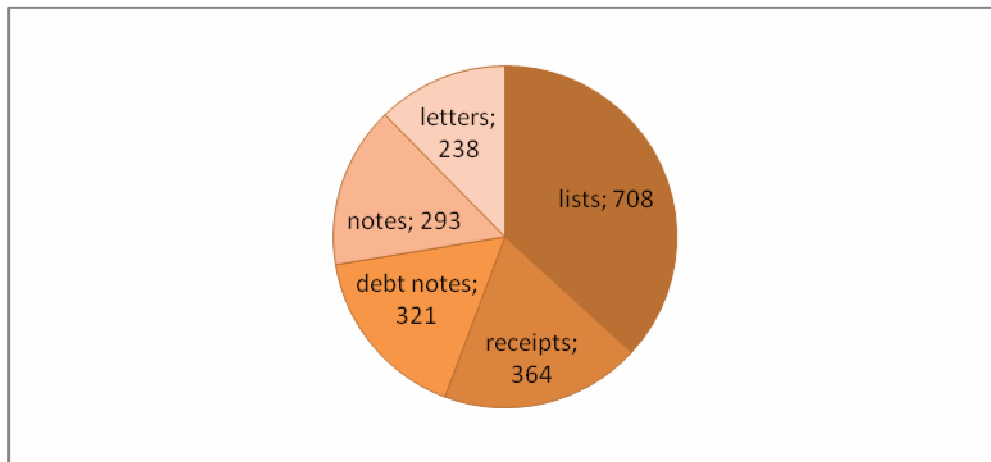
28. *MARV* 1, 13; A 133 (Donbaz, *FS Grayson*, no. 1); A 748 (Donbaz, *FS Grayson*, no. 2); A 988+ (unpublished); M. Hall, “A Middle-Assyrian Legal Summons.” *ZA* 73 (1983) 75-81; *KAV* 169 (*MARV* 5, 86); *KAV* 168; *KAV* 201 (*MARV* 5, 88), Freydank, “*bitqi bataqu* ‘Abschneidungen abschneiden.’” *AoF* 24 (1997) 105-114.



Of the remaining 67 letters, three are private letters, 47 are still unpublished and the rest are too fragmentary to be assigned to one of these groups.

4. Conclusions

The letter genre is not as widely attested as other genres in the Middle Assyrian cuneiform documentation; in fact, in terms of types of cuneiform documents, letters are the fifth most frequent after lists (at least 708 tablets), receipts (at least 364 tablets), debt-notes (at least 321 tablets) and notes (at least 293 tablets).



The royal or official correspondence is far more common than the private correspondence: of the total of 238 letters only three are private, compared with 171 official letters. This is because most of the archives unearthed belong to the royal administration. According to the information published by O. Pedersén,²⁹ eight of the fourteen archives unearthed in Assur are official. The archives found in the other sites of the Middle Assyrian kingdom mentioned above are also official or related to the palace.

29. Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries of the City of Assur*. Uppsala, 1985, volume 1.

The contribution of the Middle Assyrian letters to the reconstruction of the diplomacy and the relations of Assyria with foreign kingdoms is limited, as only 20 exemplars have been found; but some exemplars are vitally important as historical sources (for example EA 15, as a testimony of the resurgence of Assyria in the 14th century during the reign of Aššur-uballit I).

The Middle Assyrian letters reflect the existence of a strict hierarchical and well-functioning royal administration, shown by the presence of two main types: the letter orders and the letter reports. Indeed, letters play a decisive role in the reconstruction of the Middle Assyrian administration.

Finally, women appear in only eight letters (five times as addressees and three as senders) among the Middle Assyrian correspondence.³⁰ This scarce presence is probably a reflection of the absence of women in the Assyrian administration and of their role in Assyrian society.

Catalogue of the Middle Assyrian letters according to the sites where they were found. (15/9/2011)

I. Assur (Qalat Šerqat) and Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta (Tulul al-Aqr)

a) Ass. 7252

1) Ass. 7252 = A 1020; letter order (fragment); Donbaz, *FS Grayson*, no. 4.

b) Ass. 11017

2) Ass. 11017b = A 342; unpublished; *ALA M 8* no. 12; BATSH 4, p. 232a no. 1.

3) Ass. 11017c = A 748; summon; Donbaz, *FS Grayson*, 77 (no. 2); *ALA M 8* no. 13; BATSH 4, p. 232a no. 2.

4) Ass. 11017d^I = A 318 + A 354 + A 2428; envelope to Ass 11017^{II}, unpublished; *ALA M 8* no. 14.

Ass. 11017d^{II} = AO 19227; letter report; M.-J. Aynard and J. M. Durand, *Assur 3/1*, 3 ff. no. 1; *ALA M 8* no. 14; BATSH 4, p. 232a, no. 3.

5) Ass. 11017e = A 1947 + A 873; letter report; Donbaz, *FS Grayson*, 72; *ALA M 8* no. 15; BATSH 4, p. 232a, no. 4; Donbaz, *FS Grayson*, 72.

6) Ass. 11007g = VAT 19467; *MVA* 143; letter order (?).

7) Ass. 11017n = A 133; summon; Donbaz, *FS Grayson*, 68-70, no. 1; *ALA M 8* no. 23; BATSH 4, p. 232b, no. 5.

8) Ass. 11017o+q = A 988+; summon, unpublished; *ALA I, M 8*, no. 24; BATSH 4, p. 232b, no. 6.

9) Ass. 11017p = A 1100; letter report; Donbaz, *FS Grayson*, 75 f., no. 8; *ALA M 8* no. 25.

10) Ass. 11017u = A 2429; letter order; Donbaz, *FS Grayson*, 71 f., no. 3; letter order; *ALA M 8* no. 27; BATSH 4, p. 232b, no. 7.

11) Ass. 11017v = Erlenmeyer collection (Basel); Hall, *ZA* 73, 75-81; Faist, *AOAT* 265, 191; *ALA M 8* no. 28; BATSH 4, p. 232b, no. 8.

c) Ass. 11018

12) Ass. 11018h = VAT 16367; letter report; *MARV* 1, 15; *ALA M 8* no. 40; BATSH 4, p. 232b, no. 9.

13) Ass. 11018i = VAT 16368; private? letter; *MVA* 150; *ALA M 8* no. 41; BATSH 4, p. 232a, no. 10.

30. A 845 (Donbaz, *GS Cagni*, 237-241); A 2704 (Brinkman – Donbaz, *ZA* 75, 80-83); A 2705 (Donbaz, *FS Garelli*, 75-79); Billa 61 (Finkelstein, *JCS* 7, 135 and 166); *MARV* 2, 25; *MARV* 4, 15; TAB T05A-134 (pers. com. D. Shibata) and TSA T 96-36 (Wiggermann, "Agriculture", no. 10).

- 14) Ass. 11018p = VAT 8748; summon; *KAV* 169; *MARV* 5, 86; Jakob, CM 29, 186 s.; *ALA M* 8 no. 47; BATSH 4, 233a
- 15) Ass. 11018q = VAT 16374; summon; *MARV* 1, 13; Jakob, CM 29, 186; *ALA M* 8 no. 48.
- 16) Ass. 11018r = VAT 8743; letter order; *KAJ* 291; Ebeling, MAOG 7, 25; *ALA M* 8 no. 49.
- 17) Ass. 11018t = VAT 16375; *MARV* 1, 71; letter report; Llop, *AoF* 30, 3-10; *ALA M* 8 no. 51; BATSH 4, p. 233a, no. 13;

d) Ass. 11019

- 18) Ass. 11019a = VAT 8752; *KAV* 168; summon; *ALA M* 8 no. 57; BATSH 4, p. 233a, no. 14.
- 19) Ass. 11019c = VAT 8745; *KAV* 201; *MARV* 5, 88; summon; Freydank, *AoF* 24, 110-111; *ALA M* 8 no. 59; BATSH 4, p. 233a, no. 15.
- 20) Ass. 11019g = VAT 8596; *KAJ* 316; *MARV* 1, 22; letter order; *ALA M* 8 no. 63; BATSH 4, p. 233b, no. 16.

e) Ass. 11032

- 21) Ass. 11032 = VAT 20417; *MARV* 8, 84; letter order.

f) Ass. 13058

- 22) Ass. 13058hi = VAT 19582; *MARV* 3, 63; letter (?); *ALA M* 7, no. 143.

g) Ass. 13662

- 23) Ass. 13662 = A 1476; letter report; Donbaz, *FS Grayson*, no. 7.

h) Ass. 14033

- 24) Ass. 14033 = A 877; letter order; Donbaz, *FS Grayson*, no. 5.

i) Ass. 14410 and 14445

- 25) Ass. 14410c = VAT 8011; *KAV* 99; letter order; Freydank - Saporetti, *Babu-aha-iddina*, 20, 61; *ALA M* 11 no. 2; BATSH 4, 233 no. 17.
- 26) Ass. 14410d = VAT 8231; *KAV* 98; letter order; Freydank - Saporetti, *Babu-aha-iddina*, 18, 59; Faist, AOAT 265, 100-101; *ALA M* 11 no. 3; BATSH 4, p. 233b, no. 18.
- 27) Ass. 14410f = VAT 8033; *KAV* 103; letter order; Freydank - Saporetti, *Babu-aha-iddina*, 23, 64; *ALA M* 11 no. 4; BATSH 4, p. 233b, no. 19.
- 28) Ass. 14410h = VAT 8028; *KAV* 105; letter order; Freydank - Saporetti, *Babu-aha-iddina*, 25, 65; *ALA M* 11, no. 6; BATSH 4, p. 233b, no. 20.
- 29) Ass. 14410i = VAT 8030; *KAV* 109; letter order; Freydank - Saporetti, *Babu-aha-iddina*, 28, 68; Faist, AOAT 265, 104-106; *ALA M* 11, no. 7; BATSH 4, p. 234a, no. 21.
- 30) Ass. 14410k = VAT 8032; *KAV* 102; letter order; Freydank - Saporetti, *Babu-aha-iddina*, 22, 63; Hecker, TUAT NF 3, 106 f. no.1.1; *ALA* 11, no. 8; BATSH 4, p. 234a, no. 22;
- 31) Ass. 14410l = VAT 8024; *KAV* 100; letter order; Freydank - Saporetti, *Babu-aha-iddina*, 21, 62; *ALA M* 11, no. 9; BATSH 4, p. 234a, no. 23.
- 32) Ass. 14410m = VAT 8259; *KAV* 205; letter order; Freydank - Saporetti, *Babu-aha-iddina*, 33, 73; *ALA M* 11, no. 10; BATSH 4, p. 234a, no. 24.
- 33) Ass. 14410o = VAT 8225; *KAV* 104; letter order; Freydank - Saporetti, *Babu-aha-iddina*, 24, 65; *ALA M* 11, no. 12; BATSH 4, p. 234a, no. 25.
- 34) Ass. 14410q = VAT 8851; Weidner, *AfO* 19, pl. 5; Freydank - Saporetti, *Babu-aha-iddina*, 9, 51; *ALA M* 11, no. 14; BATSH 4, p. 234, no. 26.

- 35) Ass. 14410r = VAT 8861; *KAV* 108; letter order; Freydank - Saporetti, *Babu-aha-iddina*, 27, 67; *ALA M* 11, no. 15; BATSH 4, p. 234b, no. 27.
- 36) Ass. 14410t = VAT 8842; *KAV* 107; letter order; Freydank - Saporetti, *Babu-aha-iddina*, 27, 67; *ALA M* 11, no. 17; BATSH 4, p. 234b, no. 28.
- 37) Ass. 14410v = VAT 8865; *KAV* 106; letter order; Freydank - Saporetti, *Babu-aha-iddina*, 26, 66; *ALA M* 11, no. 18; BATSH 4, p. 234b, no. 29.
- 38) Ass. 14410x = VAT 8862; *KAV* 194; letter order; Freydank - Saporetti, *Babu-aha-iddina*, 30, 70; Jakob, CM 29, 484; *ALA M* 11, no. 20; BATSH 4, p. 234b, no. 30.
- 39) Ass. 14410af = VAT 8013; *KAV* 96; letter order; Freydank - Saporetti, *Babu-aha-iddina*, 17f., 58; *ALA M* 11, no. 28; BATSH 4, p. 234b, no. 31.
- 40) Ass. 14410ak = VAT 8863; *MARV* 3, 64; letter order; Freydank - Saporetti, *Babu-aha-iddina*, 36, 75; *ALA M* 11, no. 30; BATSH 4, p. 235a, no. 32.
- 41) Ass. 14410 (?) = VAT 8979; *KAJ* 5; letter order; Freydank - Saporetti, *Babu-aha-iddina*, 48, 85; BATSH 4, p. 237a, no. 52.
- 42) Ass. 14410 = VAT 8993; *KAV* 200; letter order; Freydank - Saporetti, *Babu-aha-iddina*, 32, 72; *ALA M* 11, no. 35; BATSH 4, p. 235a, no. 33.
- 43) Ass. 14410 = VAT 9001 + VAT 9033; *KAV* 195 + *KAV* 203; letter order; Freydank - Saporetti, *Babu-aha-iddina*, 31, 70; *ALA M* 11, nos. 36 + 39; BATSH 4, p. 235a, no. 34.
- 44) Ass. 14410 = VAT 9025; *KAV* 196; letter order; Freydank - Saporetti, *Babu-aha-iddina*, 32, 71; *ALA M* 11, no. 38; BATSH 4, p. 235a, no. 35.
- 45) Ass. 14410 = Manchester; *MCS* 2, 14, 2; letter order; Freydank - Saporetti, *Babu-aha-iddina*, 34, 74; *ALA M* 11, no. 62; BATSH 4, p. 235a, no. 36.
- 46) Ass. 14410 = A 778; unpublished; letter order (?); Donbaz, *Archivum Anatolicum* 3 (1997) 103; BATSH 4, p. 235a, no. 37.
- 47) Ass. 14410 = A 1438 + A 1559; unpublished; letter order (?); Donbaz, *Archivum Anatolicum* 3 (1997) 103; BATSH 4, p. 235a, no. 38.
- 48) Ass. 14445 = A 1551; unpublished; Donbaz, *Archivum Anatolicum* 3 (1997) 105.
- 49) Ass. 14410 = A 1539; unpublished; letter (?); Donbaz, *Archivum Anatolicum* 3 (1997) 104; BATSH 4, p. 235a, no. 39.
- 50) Ass. 14410 = A 1563; unpublished; letter (?); Donbaz, *Archivum Anatolicum* 3 (1997) 105; BATSH 4, p. 235a, no. 40.
- 51) Ass. 14410 = A 1577; unpublished; letter order (?); Donbaz, *Archivum Anatolicum* 3 (1997) 105; BATSH 4, p. 235a, no. 41.
- 52) Ass. 14410 = A 1734; unpublished envelope fragment; Donbaz, *Archivum Anatolicum* 3 (1997) 105.
- 53) Ass. 14410 = A 2174; unpublished; Donbaz, *Archivum Anatolicum* 3 (1997) 105.
- 54) Ass. 14410 = A 2424; unpublished; letter order (?); Donbaz, *Archivum Anatolicum* 3 (1997) 104.
- 55) Ass. 14410 = A 2704; unpublished; letter report; Brinkman – Donbaz, *ZA* 75 (1985) 80-83; BATSH 4, p. 236a, no. 43.
- 56) Ass. 14445 = A 2705; letter order; Donbaz, *FS Garelli*, 75-79; BATSH 4, p. 236a, no. 44.
- 57) Ass. 160081 = VAT 18003; *MARV* 1, 39; letter order; Freydank - Saporetti, *Babu-aha-iddina*, 45, 83; *ALA M* 5, no. 29; BATSH 4, p. 236a, no. 45. In spite of the Ass.-no., the letter is probable to belong to the archive of Bābu-aha-iddina.

j) Ass. 14424

- 58) Ass. 14424 = A 850; letter order; Donbaz, *FS Grayson*, no. 6.

k) Ass. 14385

59) Ass. 14385b = A 845; private letter; Donbaz, *GS Cagni*, 237-241.

l) Ass. 14446

60) Ass. 14446dc = VAT 8760; *MARV* 2, 25; letter order (?); *ALA M* 9, no. 102; *BATSH* 4, p. 236 f., no. 51.

m) Ass. 14580

61) Ass. 14580 = VAT 18048; *MARV* 5, 89; Llop, *SAAB* 18 (2009-2010) 14 f.

n) Ass. 16235

62) Ass. 16325s = VAT 18051; *MARV* 2, 5; letter; *ALA M* 5, no. 7; *BATSH* 4, p. 236a, no. 46.

o) Ass. 16343

63) Ass. 16343 = A 2709; letter (?); Donbaz, *FS Garelli*, p. 75.

p) Ass. 18767 - 18784

64) Ass. 18767y = VAT 20907; *MARV* 5, 19; letter report (fragment).

65) Ass. 18773c = VAT 13093; *MARV* 10, 90; letter report; *ALA M* 4, no. 71.

66) Ass. 18775c = VAT 18054; *MARV* 2, 8; letter report; *ALA M* 4, no. 79; *BATSH* 4, p. 236b, no. 48.

67) Ass. 18777r = VAT 20956; *MARV* 6, 43; letter order (?) (fragment).

68) Ass. 18778h = VAT 20980; *MARV* 7, 14; letter order.

69) Ass. 18783 (?) = VAT 20998; *MARV* 7, 17; letter order (?).

70) Ass. 19783ax = VAT 20986; *MARV* 7, 29; letter order.

71) Ass. 18784ga = VAT 15437; *KAJ* 302; letter report; Ebeling, *MAOG* 7, p. 23; *ALA M* 4, 136; *BATSH* 4, p. 236b, no. 47;

q) Ass. 21101

72) Ass. 21101aa; letter; *ALA M* 7, no. 207; D. Prechel and H. Freydank, *MARV* 10, "Vorwort" describe this tablet as "unauffindbar".

73) Ass. 21101; VAT 10003; *MARV* 10, 2; letter order (fragment).

r) Other

74) Ass. ?; A 2810; unpublished; Donbaz, *Archivum Anatolicum* 3 (1997) 105, 108.

75) Ass. ?; Manchester; *MCS* 2, 14, 1; letter order; *BATSH* 4, p. 236b, no. 49.

76) Ass. ?; VAT 5385; *VS* 1, 105; letter order; *BATSH* 4, 236b, no. 50.

77) Ass. ?; VAT 11187; *KAV* 97; letter (fragment).

78) Ass. ?; VAT 11283; *KAV* 204; letter (fragment).

79) Ass. ?; VAT 11519; *KAV* 202; letter (fragment).

80) Ass. ?; VAT 20429; *MARV* 8, 77; letter (fragment).

81) Ass. ?; VAT 20437; *MARV* 8, 49; letter order (?).

82) Ass. ?; VAT 20518; *MARV* 8, 33; letter order.

s) Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta

83) VAT 15493; *MARV* 4, 8; letter order.

84) VAT 15497; *MARV* 4, 153; letter order.

85) VAT 15502; *MARV* 4, 24; letter order.

86) VAT 15542; *MARV* 4, 15; letter order (fragment).

- 87) VAT 15543; *MARV* 4, 17; letter report.
 88) VAT 18063; *MARV* 9, 36; letter order.
 89) VAT 18139; *MARV* 4, 10; letter order (fragment).
 90) VAT 19580; *MARV* 4, 49; letter (fragment).
 91) VAT 20151; *MARV* 4, 137; letter order (?).
 92) VAT 20447; *MARV* 8, 45; letter (?).

II. Akhetaton (Amarna)

- 93) EA 15; Moran, CTMMA 1, pp. 149-150, no. 102; Faist, AOAT 265, 80 f.; BATSH 4, p. 244b, no. 130.
 94) EA 16; Winckler – Abel, *Der Tontafelfund von El-Amarna*, pl. 9; Faist, AOAT 265, 230 f.; BATSH 4, p. 244b no. 131.

III. Bazmusian

- 95) IM 60240; Laessoe, *Sumer* 15 (1959) pl. 1 (fragment); BATSH 4, p. 243b, no. 120.
 96) IM 60241A; Laessoe, *Sumer* 15, pl. 2 (fragment); BATSH 4, p. 243b, no. 121.
 97) IM 60241B; Laessoe, *Sumer* 15, pl. 2 (fragment); BATSH 4, p. 243b, no. 122.
 98) IM 61025; Laessoe, *Sumer* 15, pl. 3 (fragment); BATSH 4, p. 243b, no. 123.
 99) IM 61026; Laessoe, *Sumer* 15, pl. 4 (fragment); BATSH 4, p. 243b, no. 124.
 100) IM 61027; Laessoe, *Sumer* 15, pl. 5; BATSH 4, p. 243b, no. 125.
 101) IM 61028; Laessoe, *Sumer* 15, pl. 5; BATSH 4, p. 244a, no. 126.

IV. Dūr-Katlimmu (Tell Šeh Ḥamad)

- 102) SH 77/682 = DeZ 2230; BATSH 4, no. 1; letter order; BATSH 4, p. 238a, no. 66.
 103) SH 81/1527 I 188 = DeZ 3439; BATSH 4, no. 2; letter report; BATSH 4, p. 238b, no. 67.
 104) SH 82/1527 I 204 = DeZ 3818; BATSH 4, no. 3; letter report; BATSH 4, p. 238b, no. 68.
 105) SH 81/1527 I 189 + SH 82/1527 I 775 = DeZ 3396 + DeZ 3837; BATSH 4, no. 4; letter report; BATSH 4, p. 238b, no. 69.
 106) SH 82/1527 I 104 = DeZ 3847/1; BATSH 4, no. 5 (fragment); letter report; BATSH 4, p. 238b, no. 70.
 107) SH 80/1527 I 142 = DeZ 3320; BATSH 4, no. 6; letter report; BATSH 4, p. 238b, no. 71.
 108) SH 82/1527 I 835 = DeZ 3835; BATSH 4, no. 7; letter report; BATSH 4, p. 238b, no. 72.
 109) SH 80/1527 I 187 = DeZ 3293; BATSH 4, no. 8; letter report; BATSH 4, p. 239a, no. 73.
 110) SH 82/1527 I 836 + SH 83/1527 I 204 = DeZ 3836 + DeZ 4036; BATSH 4, no. 9; letter order; BATSH 4, p. 239a, no. 74.
 111) SH 81/1527 I 286 = DeZ 3490; BATSH 4, no. 10; letter report; BATSH 4, p. 239a, no. 75.
 112) SH 78/1527 I 074 = DeZ 2519; BATSH 4, no. 11; letter report; BATSH 4, p. 239a, no. 76.
 113) SH 80/1527 I 341 = DeZ 3289; BATSH 4, no. 12; letter report; BATSH 4, p. 239a, no. 77.
 114) SH 80/1527 I 040 + SH 82/1527 I 187; DeZ 3311 + DeZ 3848/9; BATSH 4, no. 13; letter report; BATSH 4, p. 239a, no. 78.
 115) SH 80/1527 I 270 = DeZ 3351; BATSH 4, no. 14; letter report; BATSH 4, p. 239, no. 79.
 116) SH 80/1527 I 263 = DeZ 3326; BATSH 4, no. 15; letter report; BATSH 4, p. 239b, no. 80.
 117) SH 80/1527 I 031 = DeZ 3292; BATSH 4, no. 16; letter report; BATSH 4, p. 239b, no. 81.
 118) SH 80/1527 I 312 = DeZ 3283; BATSH 4, no. 17; letter report; BATSH 4, p. 239b, no. 82.
 119) SH 80/1527 I 274 + SH 80/1527 I 284 = DeZ 3387/1; BATSH 4, no. 18; letter report; BATSH 4, p. 239b, no. 83.
 120) SH 80/1527 I 095 = DeZ 3317; BATSH 4, no. 19; letter report; BATSH 4, p. 239b, no. 84.

- 121) SH 82/1527 I 739 = DeZ 3858/6; BATSH 4, no. 20 (fragment); letter report; BATSH 4, p. 239b, no. 85.
 122) SH 80/1527 I 007 = DeZ 3318; BATSH 4, no. 21; letter order; BATSH 4, p. 240a, no. 86.
 123) SH 81/1527 I 310 = DeZ 3484; BATSH 4, no. 22; letter report; BATSH 4, p. 240a, no. 87.
 124) SH 80/1527 I 035 = DeZ 3336; BATSH 4, no. 23 (fragment); letter report; BATSH 4, p. 240a, no. 88.
 125) SH 80/1527 I 393 = DeZ 3288; BATSH 4, no. 24 (fragment); letter report; BATSH 4, p. 240a, no. 89.
 126) SH 82/1527 I 839 = DeZ 3846; BATSH 4, no. 25 (fragment); letter report; BATSH 4, p. 240a, no. 90.
 127) SH 82/1527 I 248 = DeZ 3848/11; BATSH 4, no. 26 (fragment); letter order (?); BATSH 4, p. 240a, no. 91.
 128) SH 78/1527 I 136 = DeZ 3107; BATSH 4, no. 27 (fragment); letter report (?); BATSH 4, p. 240b, no. 92.
 129) SH 80/1527 I 017 = DeZ 3305; BATSH 4, no. 28 (fragment); letter; BATSH 4, p. 240b, no. 93.
 130) SH 82/1527 I 786 = DeZ 3848/9; BATSH 4, no. 29 (fragment); letter; BATSH 4, p. 240b, no. 94.
 131) SH 78/1527 I 075 = DeZ 3109; BATSH 4, no. 30 (fragment); letter; BATSH 4, p. 240b, no. 95.
 132) SH 81/1527 I 404 = DeZ 3418; BATSH 4, no. 31 (fragment); letter; BATSH 4, p. 240b, no. 96.
 133) Tokio D; Tsukimoto, WO 23, 35-38; letter report; BATSH 4, p. 240b, no. 97.

V. Emar? (Meskene)

- 134) Faist, AOAT 265, 251-252, copy plate 3-4; private letter.

VI. Harbe (Tell Huera)

- 135) TCH 90.G.1; Jakob, *Tell Chuēra*, no. 1; letter order.
 136) TCH 92.G.128; Jakob, *Tell Chuēra*, no. 2; letter order.
 137) TCH 92.G.138; Jakob, *Tell Chuēra*, no. 3; letter order; BATSH 4, p. 241b, no. 103.
 138) TCH 92.G.143; Jakob, *Tell Chuēra*, no. 4; letter order; BATSH 4, p. 241b, no. 104.
 139) TCH 92.G.151; Jakob, *Tell Chuēra*, no. 5; letter order.
 140) TCH 92.G.152; Jakob, *Tell Chuēra*, no. 6; letter order.
 141) TCH 92.G.167; Jakob, *Tell Chuēra*, no. 7; letter order.
 142) TCH 92.G.169; Jakob, *Tell Chuēra*, no. 8; letter order.
 143) TCH 92.G.184; Jakob, *Tell Chuēra*, no. 9; letter order; BATSH 4, p. 242a, no. 106.
 144) TCH 92.G.216; Jakob, *Tell Chuēra*, no. 10; letter order.
 145) TCH 92.G.207; Jakob, *Tell Chuēra*, no. 11; letter order.
 146) TCH 92.G.218; Jakob, *Tell Chuēra*, no. 12; letter order.
 147) TCH 92.G.214; Jakob, *Tell Chuēra*, no. 15; letter order; BATSH 4, p. 242b, no. 110.
 148) TCH 92.G.130; Jakob, *Tell Chuēra*, no. 17; letter order.
 149) TCH 92.G.155; Jakob, *Tell Chuēra*, no. 18; letter order; BATSH 4, p. 242a, no. 105.
 150) TCH 92.G.231; Jakob, *Tell Chuēra*, no. 20; letter order (fragment).
 151) TCH 92.G.208; Jakob, *Tell Chuēra*, no. 22; letter order; BATSH 4, p. 242a, no. 107.
 152) TCH 92.G.212; Jakob, *Tell Chuēra*, no. 23; letter order; BATSH 4, p. 242, no. 109.
 153) TCH 92.G.222; Jakob, *Tell Chuēra*, no. 24; letter order.
 154) TCH 92.G.209; Jakob, *Tell Chuēra*, no. 25; letter order; BATSH 4, p. 242a, no. 108.
 155) TCH 92.G.211; Jakob, *Tell Chuēra*, no. 26; letter order.
 156) TCH 92.G.232; Jakob, *Tell Chuēra*, no. 27; letter order (fragment).
 157) TCH 92.G.233+; Jakob, *Tell Chuēra*, no. 28; letter order (fragment).

158) TCH 92.G.090; Jakob, *Tell Chuēra*, no. 29; letter order (fragment).

159) TCH 97.G.001; Jakob, *Tell Chuēra*, no. 30 (fragment).

VII. Hattuša (Bogazköy)

160) VAT 7430; KBo 1, 14; diplomatic letter; Mora – Giorgieri, *Lettere*, no. 1.

161) VAT 6173; KBo 1, 20; diplomatic letter; Mora – Giorgieri, *Lettere*, no. 2; BATSH 4, p. 242b, no. 113.

162) Bo 685/f; KBo 28, 59; diplomatic letter (fragment); Mora – Giorgieri, *Lettere* no. 6; BATSH 4, p.243a no. 115.

163) Bo 85/r; KBo 28, 60; diplomatic letter (fragment); Mora – Giorgieri, *Lettere*, no. 7; BATSH 4, p.243a, no. 116.

164) Bo 144/d, etc.; KBo 28, 61-64; diplomatic letter; Mora – Giorgieri, *Lettere*, no. 8; BATSH 4, p.243a, no. 117.

165) Bo 203/a; KBo 28, 67; diplomatic letter (fragment); Mora – Giorgieri, *Lettere*, no. 9.

166) Bo 1769/c; KBo 28, 73; diplomatic letter (fragment); Mora – Giorgieri, *Lettere*, no. 10).

167) Bo 613/f; KBo 28, 82; Güterbock, *Siegel aus Bögazköy II*, pp. 26.83 and pl. VII; BATSH 4, p. 243a, no. 118.

168) Bo 7285; KUB 3, 73; diplomatic letter; Mora - Giorgieri, *Lettere*, no. 11.

169) Bo 5897; KUB 3, 75; diplomatic letter (fragment); Mora – Giorgieri, *Lettere*, no. 13.

170) Bo 3581 + 3717; KUB 3, 77 (+) 78; diplomatic letter (fragment); Mora – Giorgieri, *Lettere*, no. 14.

171) Bo 8682; KUB 37, 114; diplomatic letter (fragment); Mora - Giorgieri, *Lettere*, no. 23; BATSH 4, p.243 no. 114.

VIII. Kahat (Tell Barri)

172) K9.T1 = DeZ 11447; letter order; Salvini, *Tell Barri/Kahat 2*, 187-188, no. 1.

IX. Karāna (Tell al-Rimah)

173) TR 124; Hawkins, *Iraq 30* (1968), pl. 73 (copy); letter order; Wiseman *Iraq 30*, 187; BATSH 4, p. 238a, no. 62.

174) TR 136; unpublished; see Wiseman, *Iraq 30*, 196 f.

175) TR 2019; unpublished; see Wiseman, *Iraq 30*, 196 f.

176) TR 2029; unreadable, see Saggs, *Iraq 30* (1968), 161 and photograph on plate 42.

177) TR 2031; Saggs, *Iraq 30*, pl. 47 (copy) and 161 f.; letter order; BATSH 4, p. 238a, no. 63.

178) TR 2038; Saggs, *Iraq 30*, pl. 48 (copy) and p. 164; letter order (?); BATSH 4, p. 238a, no. 65.

179) TR 3026; Wiseman, *Iraq 30*, pl. 64 (copy) and p. 185; fragment; BATSH 4, p. 237a, no. 64.

X. Nagar (Tell Brak)

180) TB 7035; Finkel, *Iraq 50* (1988) 83-86 (copy and edition); letter order; BATSH 4, p. 241, no. 98.

XI. Nippur (Nuffar)

181) CBM 10575 = BE 17 no. 77; letter, fragment; von Soden, *AfO 18*, 369; BATSH 4, p. 244a, no. 128.

182) CBM 19796 = BE 17 no. 91; letter order; von Soden, *AfO 18*, 368; BATSH 4, p. 244a, no. 129.

183) Ni 669 = von Soden, *AfO 18*, 370 (copy and edition); royal letter; BATSH 4, p. 244a, no. 127.

XII. Sabi Abyad

184) TSA T 02-3; unpublished; TSA T 02-04 (envelope); see www.sabi.abiyad.nl.

- 185) TSA T 02-32; F.A.M. Wiggermann, “The Seal of Ilī-padā” in P. Taylor (ed.), *The Iconography*, London - Turin, 2006, p. 94 n. 3; letter report; see H. Freydank, “Bemerkungen zu dem Brief T 02-32” in P. Negri Scafa and P. Gentili (eds.), *Donum Natalicium. Studi presentati a Claudio Saporeti*, Roma, 2009, 149-156.
- 186) TSA T 04-13; unpublished; letter report; see Minx, *Suteans*, no. 82.
- 187) TSA T 93-2; unpublished; letter order; see Minx, *Suteans*, no. 61.
- 188) TSA T 93-3; letter order; Wiggermann, “Cuneiform Texts from Tell Sabi Abyad Related to Pottery”, in K. Duistermaat, *The Pots and Potters of Assyria*, Turnhout 2008, 562.
- 189) TSA T 93-6; unpublished; letter order; see Wiggermann, “Agriculture in the Northern Balikh Valley” in R. Jas (ed.) *Rainfall and Agriculture in Northern Mesopotamia*. Leiden, 2000, 173, 196 and 197.
- 190) TSA T 93-7; Wiggermann, “Agriculture”, 209 f., no. 12; letter order.
- 191) TSA T 93-10; unpublished; letter (?) according to *CAD P*, 432b; cf. Jakob CM 29, 201, receipt.
- 192) TSA T 93-12; unpublished.
- 193) TSA T 93-20; unpublished; letter order; see *CAD P*, 413a.
- 194) TSA T 93-54 unpublished; letter order; see Minx, *Suteans*, no. 88.
- 195) TSA T 96-1; unpublished; letter order; see Wiggermann, “Agriculture”, 196 f.
- 196) TSA T 96-8; unpublished.
- 197) TSA T 96-10; unpublished.
- 198) TSA T 96-11 unpublished; letter order, see Wiggermann, “Agriculture”, 173 and 197.
- 199) TSA T 96-15; unpublished; letter report; see Minx, *Suteans*, no. 60.
- 200) TSA T 96-36; letter order; Wiggermann, “Agricultura”, 208, no. 10.
- 201) TSA T 97-10; unpublished; see Wiggermann, “Cuneiform Texts”, 561a.
- 202) TSA T 97-17; Wiggermann, “Agriculture”, 209, no. 11; letter order.
- 203) TSA T 97-43; unpublished; letter order; see Wiggermann, “Agriculture”, 196.

XIII. Šibanibe (Tell Billa)

- 204) Billa 60; Finkelstein, *JCS* 7 (1953) 135.166; letter order; BATSH 4, p. 237a, no. 53.
- 205) Billa 61; Finkelstein, *JCS* 7, 135.166; letter order; BATSH 4, p. 237a, no. 54.
- 206) Billa 62; Finkelstein, *JCS* 7, 135.167; letter order; BATSH 4, p. 237a, no. 55.
- 207) Billa 63; Finkelstein, *JCS* 7, 135.167; letter report, fragment; BATSH 4, p. 237a, no. 56.
- 208) Billa 64; Finkelstein, *JCS* 7, 136.167; letter report, fragment; BATSH 4, p. 237b, no. 57.
- 209) Billa 65; Finkelstein, *JCS* 7, 136.168; fragment; BATSH 4, p. 237b, no. 58.
- 210) Billa 66; Finkelstein, *JCS* 7, 136.168; letter order; BATSH 4, p. 237b, no. 59.
- 211) Billa 67; Finkelstein, *JCS* 7, 136.168; letter order; BATSH 4, p. 237b, no. 60.
- 212) UM 33-58-26; unpublished; see Finkelstein, *JCS* 7, 121; BATSH 4, p. 237b, no. 61.

XIV. Ṭabete (Tell Taban)

- 213) TAB T05A-14; unpublished; see D. Shibata, *Al-Rāfidān* 28 (2007) 71 n. 52.
- 214) TAB T05A-134; unpublished; see Shibata, *Al-Rāfidān* 28, 71 n. 52.
- 215) TAB T05A-181; unpublished; see Shibata, *Al-Rāfidān* 28, 71 n. 52.
- 216) TAB T05A-248; unpublished; see Shibata, *Al-Rāfidān* 28, 71 n. 52.
- 217) TAB T05A-272; unpublished; see Shibata, *Al-Rāfidān* 28, 71 n. 52.
- 218) TAB T05A-273; unpublished; see Shibata, *Al-Rāfidān* 28, 71 n. 52.
- 219) TAB T05A-274+; unpublished; see Shibata, *Al-Rāfidān* 28, 71 n. 52.
- 220) TAB T05A-281; unpublished; see Shibata, *Al-Rāfidān* 28, 71 n. 52.

- 221) TAB T05A-354; unpublished; see Shibata, *Al-Rāfidān* 28, 71 n. 52.
 222) TAB T05A-370; unpublished; see Shibata, *Al-Rāfidān* 28, 71 n. 52.
 223) TAB T05A-454+; unpublished; see Shibata, *Al-Rāfidān* 28, 71 n. 52.
 224) TAB T05A-459; unpublished; see Shibata, *Al-Rāfidān* 28, 71 n. 52.
 225) TAB T05A-556+; unpublished; see Shibata, *Al-Rāfidān* 28, 71 n. 52.
 226) TAB T05A-649; unpublished; see Shibata, *Al-Rāfidān* 28, 71 n. 52.

XV. Ugarit (Ras Shamra)

- 227) RS 06.198 = AO 18889; F. Thureau-Dangin, *Syria* 16 (1935) 189; diplomatic letter; BATSH 4, p. 242b, no. 111.
 228) RS 18.054A; J. Nougayrol, PRU 4 (1956), pl. 81; diplomatic letter; Nougayrol, PRU 4, 229.
 229) RS 18.268; Nougayrol, PRU 4, pl. 84; diplomatic letter, fragment; Nougayrol, PRU 4, 229.
 230) RS 19.122; Nougayrol, PRU 4, pl. 90; diplomatic letter, fragment; Nougayrol, PRU 4, 289.
 231) RS 20.018; Nougayrol, *Ugaritica* 5 (1968) 382, 22; diplomatic letter; Nougayrol, *Ugaritica* 5, 83-85.
 232) RS 34.165; Lackenbacher, *RA* 76 (1982) 141 f.; diplomatic letter; BATSH 4, p. 242b, no. 112; see D. Schwemer, TUAT NF 3 (2006) 254-256.

XVI. Uššurkannu (Tell Fekheriye)

- 233) F 164; H. G. Güterbock, OIP 79 (1958) pl. 81, no. 1; letter (?), fragment; BATSH 4, p. 241a, no. 99.
 234) F 198; Güterbock, OIP 79, pl. 81, no. 2; letter order; Güterbock, OIP 79, p. 88; BATSH 4, p. 241a, no. 100.
 235) F 364; Güterbock, OIP 79, pl. 81, no. 3; letter order; Güterbock, OIP 79, p. 88; BATSH 4, p. 241a, no. 101.
 236) F 365; Güterbock, OIP 79, pl. 81, no. 4; letter order, fragment; Güterbock, OIP 79, p. 88 f.; BATSH 4, p. 241a, no. 102.
 237) C-146 TF 3168; G. Chambon, *MDOG* 140 (2008), 130 f. (copy and edition); letter fragment.

XVII. Unclear

- 238) Wilhelm, AOAT 247, 431-33; letter report; BATSH 4, p.244b, no. 132.