

Where is thy Home, Zike s. Šurki-Tilla? On the Original Distribution of the Findings of Nuzi Texts before 1925

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[This paper deals with the circumstances in which cuneiform texts were discovered in Yorgān Tepe, ancient Nuzi, before regular excavations started in 1925. Before that moment, texts had been recovered from different points of the ancient Kingdom of Arraphē, some of them being related to Zike, son of Šurki-Tilla, a descendant of the well-known family of Tehip-Tilla. This paper analyses the role of Zike within the Nuzi society, and proposes a specific place where his archives might have been stored before clandestine excavations took place at the end of the 19th century.]

Keywords: Kirkūk, Nuzi, Tehip-Tilla.

1. Introduction

One of the main problems raised by cuneiform sources recovered in non-official diggings is that they lack almost any archæological context. This occurs in cases of illegal removal and sale on the antiquities market, as well as, more simply, being the result of landslides that bring pieces to the surface.

In the case of cuneiform texts from the Kingdom of Arraphē, we are faced with a number of situations. The first relates to the official excavations carried out from 1925 to 1931 at Yorgān Tepe, ancient Nuzi.¹ In addition, from 1967–1969, official excavations were carried out at Tell al-Faḥḥār, a site that is about 30 kilometres from Yorgān Tepe, but very few texts have been published.² The second situation is that of the texts that were exposed as the result of a series of fortuitous landslides, and that were later sold on the antiquities market. That involves all the texts

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2. See the previous note. Various titles need to be added that are indicated by Fadhil (2004: 199f., 205–207).

found in the city of Arrapḫe, the capital of the kingdom; its site is currently occupied by the city of Kirkūk.³ The third situation arose when, prior to the official excavations, hundreds of documents were illegally recovered from a location in Yorgān Tepe.

The texts recovered in Kirkūk as well as those from Yorgān Tepe before 1925 were distributed on the antiquities market, and ended up in various museums. Those that benefited the most were the Musée du Louvre in Paris and the British Museum in London, although part did find its way to other cities: Baghdad, Saint Petersburg, Berlin, etc. (*cf.* § 2).

Given that those texts were acquired piecemeal and are of uncertain provenance, their origin can only be established using internal criteria. The presence of certain figures, witnesses, scribes, etc., provide data on the affiliation of the tablet to a site (Nuzi or Arrapḫe), and even with a specific archive therein. In the case of Arrapḫe, the study by Grosz (1988) revealed that there may have existed a number of family archives within the same site. That seems to have also been the case for Nuzi. Two of those archives in Nuzi were those of Zilip-Tilla s. Kelip-šarri⁴ and Urḫi-Teššup s. Tarmiya.⁵ However, the most significant one relates to Zike and his father, Šurki-Tilla, who belonged to a branch of the Teḫip-Tilla family. Zike and his archive are the subject of this work.

2. The first discoveries in Nuzi (Yorgān Tepe)

The story of the first discoveries in Nuzi is mainly told in the first important edition of texts from Nuzi and Arrapḫe, as well as in the excavation report.⁶ Based on those data, the story can be summed up as follows. During the 1890s, an inhabitant of the area, a man named ‘Aṭīyah, discovered a group of tablets on one of the hills of the site at Yorgān Tepe (i. e., ancient Nuzi). Over a period of time (between six months and two years), ‘Aṭīyah continued to dig out cuneiform texts and sell them on more than one occasion in the Baghdad antiquities market. Institutions like the British Museum acquired those tablets at various points in time, as is shown by entry registers (from 1891, 1894, 1896, 1899, 1901, etc.).⁷

At the same time, it was evident that certain tablets that had been circulating in the market of antiquities, and that were similar to those from Yorgān Tepe, actually came from landslides that occurred in Kirkūk in 1914–1915 and 1922.⁸ After several investigations, it was noted that excavating at those exact points was impossible, given that the place was inhabited. For that reason, it was decided that the first campaign (1925) would take place at the site where ‘Aṭīyah had presumably carried out clandestine excavations. Indirect references from a number of informants

3. See Grosz 1988.

4. For example, see Lion 1999: 42; however, it should be observed that some texts from that archive would have been found in the official excavations, e. g., JEN 794 (transcribed in Maidman 2002: 58f.).

5. See especially Maidman 1993.

6. Gadd 1926: 50f.; R. F. S. Starr 1939: xxix; see also Fincke 1998a: 49, 2009: 229f.

7. See Maidman 1986: 258, although not all the texts are from Nuzi; some are from Arrapḫe.

8. Gadd 1926: 51f., Fincke 1998a: 49f. Given the chronology, it is possible that texts from Kirkūk (less probably, texts from Yorgān Tepe) were offered to P. Ubach during his journey across the area. According to his diary, on May 7th, 1923 in Kirkūk, he was approached by clandestine sellers who offered him a batch of tablets. He declined the offer because he considered the tablets to be fake (Ubach 2009: 144). The palaeography specific to the Kingdom of Arrapḫe was not well known at that time, thus his possible impression that the tablets might have been fake (Márquez Rowe et al. 2006: 290); I would like to thank I. Márquez Rowe (CSIC, Madrid) for that reference (*cf.* also Vidal 2015: 336).

led to the conclusion that the place in question was Yorgān Tepe. This site was officially excavated in 1925–1931 (Fig. 1, below).



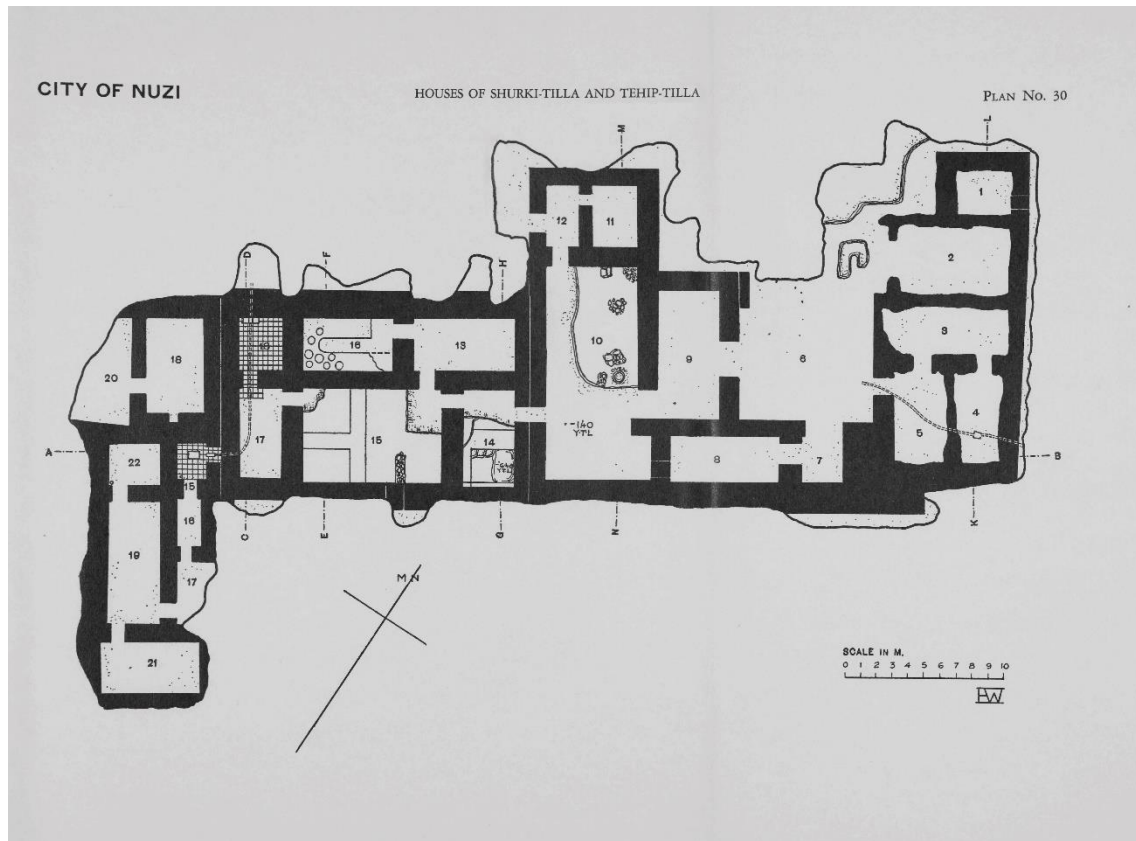
Plan of the complete site of Yorgān Tepe in R. F. S. Starr 1937, plan no. 2

Official excavations in Yorgān Tepe, i. e., Nuzi, started in 1925 in the so-called “western suburban area”, about 300 m to the north of the main *tell*. The tablets that were brought to light during that first campaign went to the Oriental Institute Museum in Chicago.⁹ The area was designated by the symbol T for T(e)hip-Tilla, a figure who appears repeatedly in the documentation that was excavated in that place (§ 3). That group of structures would have contained a number of family areas that were possibly inhabited (Fig. 2, below). Subsequent work done on reading, studying, and classifying those texts showed that in that “western suburban area”, there would have existed a number of family archives, like those of Kizzuk’s family (T 10–12)¹⁰ or Hašiya’s family (T 1 and T 4).¹¹ However, the western part of that “western suburban area” was used by several generations of a single family that has been referred to, that of T(e)hip-Tilla, and those members who had him as a common ancestor – or even T(e)hip-Tilla’s parents as common ancestors.

9. See, especially, Maidman 1999.

10. See, especially, Dosch et al. 1981, and *cf.* Maidman 1984. The numbers after the T sign refer to the rooms in which tablets were found.

11. See the bibliography concerning the family in Lion 1999: 45 n. 23.



Plan of the area in R. F. S. Starr 1937, plan no. 30

3. *Tehip-Tilla's family*

Several hundred texts, excavated during the first season at Yorgān Tepe and conserved in Chicago, come from the archives of Tehip-Tilla, his ancestors, and his descendants. Those texts are from official excavations, and have been published in the “Joint Expedition at Nuzi” series. The main studies on that family have been carried out by Maidman.¹² Moreover, hundreds of additional documents of unknown provenance, i. e., not discovered in that first campaign or in the second one (which was also partially carried out in the “western suburban area”)¹³, would have also belonged to Tehip-Tilla's family.

Based on that entire set of texts, those from official excavations as well as the clandestine ones, one may have a good idea of the family tree and the internal relationships between members

12. See, especially, Maidman 1976a, 1976b, 1979, 1994, 2003.

13. From the second campaign onwards, that documentation was held at the Harvard Semitic Museum. According to Lion (1999: 46), that is why some documents that doubtless belonged to Tehip-Tilla's family appear in Harvard and not in Chicago (e. g., JEN 13+ in Maidman 1987b, JEN 384 jf+ in Spring 2009: 683f., JEN 662+ in Maidman 1989, JEN 659+ in Wilhelm 1995, SMN 1721 in Maidman 1987a, EN 11/2 107 in Maidman 2020, with additional bibliography).

of the family.¹⁴ It had been traditionally considered that Tehip-Tilla's family headquarters in Nuzi would be in various rooms of the "western suburban area". In particular, the excavations identified two separate areas that are called "Tehip-Tilla's house" (T 15–22) and "Šurki-tilla's house" (T 1–12), to reflect the texts that were found in them.¹⁵ However, various studies have led to that view being qualified. In particular, following Lacheman,¹⁶ the so-called "Tehip-Tilla's house" would, however, have been first occupied by the latter's son, Enna-mati. According to the same author, a "Šurki-Tilla's house" would not have existed, and that area would have been occupied by various families: the family of Ḫašiya and his children (T 1–4), the family of Ḫilpiš-šuḫ and his son Kurpazah (T 10), and that of Ḫutiya s. Kuššiya (T 11–12). The texts that appeared in T 13 would have been Tarmi-Tilla s. Šurki-Tilla's archives.¹⁷ More recently, and based on archæological data, Battini (2012) established that it was not probable that those families would have lived in those areas, so it is a matter of archiving rather than inhabiting. The author also indicated that there may be various errors in interpreting the architecture of those areas;¹⁸ she indicates: "Une lecture des données archéologiques et textuelles qui considère des lots d'archives plutôt que des habitants simplifie l'histoire de la maison : la famille de Tehip-Tilla (maison occidentale, pièces 14-18 de la maison dite de Šurki-Tilla et pièces de la maison de Tehip-Tilla) vivait à côté d'une famille kassite habitant dans douze pièces (maison orientale). On peut faire l'hypothèse que cette famille, à un certain moment, a acheté les pièces 14-18 qui ensuite ont été achetées par Tarmi-Tilla (donc le petit-fils de Tehip-Tilla, qui aurait racheté une partie qui avait appartenu à son grand-père). Dans ce cas il aurait acheté soit toute la maison orientale et les pièces 14-18, en gardant les archives des kassites pour une raison inconnue, soit seulement les 6 pièces médianes et ainsi il aurait bloqué la porte entre les pièces 10 et 14, blocage qui au moment des fouilles n'a pas été reconnu."¹⁹

In short, a fair portion of the "western suburban area" would have been occupied by Tehip-Tilla's family archives. It is currently not possible to reliably establish the development of those archives, their *raisons d'être*, or their definitive ascription to members of the family. However, it is clear that part of the finds in rooms T 15–22 would originally have belonged to Tehip-Tilla and would, perhaps, have been passed on to one of his descendants (i. e., through Enna-mati); and that (at least part of) the documentation located in T 13 would originally have belonged to Tarmi-Tilla s. Šurki-Tilla, grandson of Tehip-Tilla.

14. The latest family tree is in Maidman 2010: xxiv; similarly, see Müller 1998: cxxii f. and here § 4.

15. See R. F. S. Starr 1937, plan no. 30, and 1939: 333–337 for descriptions of the architecture of those areas (although it may contain a number of contradictions, see Maidman 1976a: 24f.). For a full listing of the cuneiform tablets found in that area, to the extent known, see Maidman 2005, a study on which I base part of my general idea (see esp. § 5.2).

16. Lacheman 1958: v–vi, 1974: 359–361.

17. Similarly, see Pedersén 1998: 24–26, Lion 1999: 42–45.

18. To those possible errors could be added the fact that the registers do not always reliably indicate the room in which the tablets were found. On that point, see, in particular, Maidman 2005: 6.

19. Battini 2012: 113. The author provides proof that, after the acquisition of any immovable property, documents regarding that transaction could be incorporated into the buyer's archives (see in this sense Maidman 1976a: 300, 494, 518, as well as Maidman 1979: 4). However, there are other possibilities to be considered, for which see below.

4. *Who is Zike s. Šurki-Tilla?*

From the time that the Nuzi texts (from clandestine and official excavations alike, *cf.* § 2) were first published, it was observed that the figure named Zike s. Šurki-Tilla appeared fairly frequently, as can be seen from the prosopographical directories.²⁰

However, before speaking of the figure, mention must be made of a purely methodological problem, quite typical of prosopographical studies.²¹ Zike was a very common name in the Kingdom of Arrapḫe. Hence, unless the text contains a reference to the patronym (i. e., Zike s. Šurki-Tilla), it is a complicated matter to establish that the mere mention of a Zike refers to that specific figure. For that reason, Appendix I contains various tables that set out Zike s. Šurki-Tilla's (possible) presence:²²

- A: with patronym indicated (thus, with full certainty that it is our figure²³);
- B: with patronym not indicated, but the context and the persons mentioned made it certain that it is Zike s. Šurki-Tilla, or his wife / children;
- C: less certain references to persons called Zike, as well as to Zike's wife and children.

As a general rule and to the extent possible, it has been possible to determine the following: almost all the persons called Zike whose ascription is unclear (because there was no patronym or because the context was unclear) and who appeared in texts from illegal excavations correspond to Zike s. Šurki-Tilla (see Appendix I, B for specific arguments). Only a few exceptions have been identified. For example, various persons called Zike, who appear in texts that were excavated clandestinely, are certainly not Zike s. Šurki-Tilla, since they come from Arrapḫe, not from Nuzi, and they would have belonged to Wullu's family archive.²⁴

For a long time, from two old references (JEN 538 and 662+, see below), it has been clear that this Zike was a son of Šurki-Tilla and a brother of Tarmi-Tilla, thus a grandson of Teḫip-Tilla. Hence, Zike was a member of Teḫip-Tilla's family, whose branch is represented in the

20. *NPN*, Cassin/Glassner 1977, *PNKA* and some volumes of recent text editions such as Santag 4 (= Müller 1998); fully updated directories do not exist.

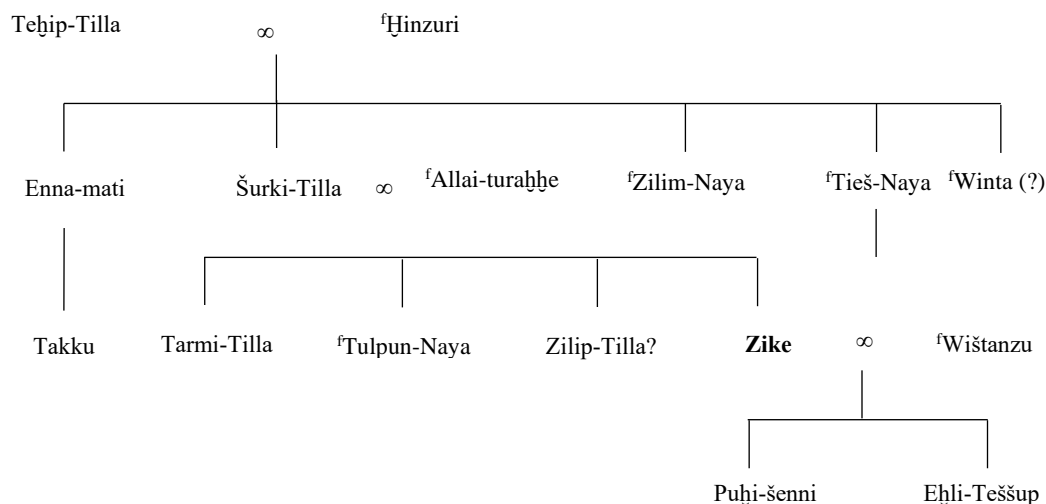
21. A problem that had already been set out by Maidman 1976b: 142f.; see also Maidman 1976a: 17f., 56–59.

22. I refer to Appendix I for specific arguments. Note that, since the main studies on the Teḫip-Tilla family (Maidman 1976a, 1976b), some sixty new documents mentioning Zike s. Šurki-Tilla (or, at least, probably mentioning him) have been published – these texts are marked with an asterisk in Appendix I. Up to that moment, only forty-one were known. Note also that texts are marked in grey when they have a high chance of having belonged to the archives of Zike (i. e., these texts not only mention him, but they would have belonged to his archives).

23. In this sense see Maidman 1976a: 131f., 2010: 219f.

24. CNIP 5: 163f. = BM 104808, 181f. = BM 120067, 182 = BM 120109, as well as, probably, TCL 9, 33. That also occurs in the unpublished London texts, e. g., BM 102364: 10', where one can read [z]i-*ké* DUMU ki-i[p?]- (the only names that agree with the rest of the signs are not attested as patronyms of a Zike: they may be Kip-kewar, Kip-kušuh, Kip-tašenni, etc.). The unpublished BM texts mention other patronyms named Zike on several occasions (without a patronym), but those documents were also not included in the study, given that there is nothing that allows him to be identified at least possibly as Zike s. Šurki-Tilla (e. g., BM 95228: 8, 95444: 11', 95452: 1', 3', 95552: 3', 9', 13', etc.). BM 95534: 7'' may be an exception, but the only link with Zike s. Šurki-Tilla would be that a person named Ila-nīšu impressed his seal; a number of persons called Ila-nīšu have been attested in Nuzi so far, and one of them is mentioned in RA 23, 70: 5 as the father of a person who contracted Zike s. Šurki-Tilla. As is seen, the link is not certain; moreover, the text is too fragmented for its publication to be of any use.

genealogical table below.²⁵ In accordance with the most accepted chronology of Nuzi (*ca.* 1430–1350 B.C.)²⁶ and the synchronisms from generations of a number of families,²⁷ Zike may have flourished around 1370 B.C.



Apart from being the son of Šurki-Tilla,²⁸ the main relationship established in respect of Zike was his close collaboration with his brother Tarmi-Tilla s. Šurki-Tilla. This fact was already noted in texts from official excavations, such as those mentioned before. In JEN 538, it is observed that both figures lent wool to other people; according to JEN 662+, Tarmi-Tilla and Zike won a case concerning ownership of a plot of land that had been acquired by Tehip-Tilla before being inherited by Šurki-Tilla and then his children. And the court record JEN 849 (T 13), published after the main studies on the Tehip-Tilla family, is a case to which both brothers acted together against one man concerning three female slaves (see further on these texts in Appendix I). In addition, the clandestine texts published over the last few decades also contain cases of direct collaboration between the brothers Tarmi-Tilla and Zike. For example, Santag 4, 47, shows that both figures bought grain, doing so together with their mother (Allai-turaḥḥe) and another person called Nizzuk. In Santag 4, 32, a letter sent by a person named Mušteya to Nul-Teššup indicates that Zike s. Šurki-Tilla brought proceedings in respect of an orchard, being assisted by his brother Tarmi-Tilla. Other texts, of which the contents are set out in Appendix I, also seek to link that joint activities of the

25. The table shows a number of figures mentioned in the article, not all the known descendants of Tehip-Tilla. For the controversial presence of Zilip-Tilla as son of Šurki-Tilla and Allai-turaḥḥe, see § 5.2 (referring to text YOS 15, 16); other, unclear characters have been proposed as sons of Šurki-Tilla (see, e.g., Ninu-atal in Müller 1998: 21 or Nanip-šarri in Maidman 2010: xxiv).

26. See, in particular, Stein 1989, but note that the specific dates are still subject to scholarly debate; for example, Maidman (2010: xxvi, 4; 2013; 2016–2017: 20b) points out that the written sources from Nuzi covers a time span of *ca.* 1475–1350 B.C.

27. See, in particular, Maidman 2010: xxvi.

28. See Appendix I, A (texts with an indication of patronym).

two brothers.²⁹ Tarmi-Tilla even impressed his seal on legal documents concerning his brother Zike (RA 23, 70; Santag 4, 24).³⁰

Finally, Zike s. Šurki-Tilla was married to Wištanžu d. Kettura³¹ and had two children, Puḫi-šenni and Eḫli-Teššup. The presence of all those figures in the clandestine Nuzi texts is reflected in Appendix I, B–C.

What were Zike s. Šurki-Tilla's activities, based on data shown to date and the data set out in Appendix I?³² It is possible to observe the following aspects.

In the first place, Zike s. Šurki-Tilla, like the rest of his family, carried out operations involving real property through the so-called “pseudo-adoptions”.³³ There are cases that are very clear, because the state of conservation is good and we know for certain that it is our Zike s. Šurki-Tilla;³⁴ on other occasions, it has been possible to deduce that detail from the context (Santag 4, 2 and 126);³⁵ other texts are less certain.³⁶ In any case, it is undeniable that Zike s. Šurki-Tilla owned properties in various parts of the Kingdom of Arrapḫe, in addition to Nuzi itself: the land acquired by Zike s. Šurki-Tilla in Jank. 30 is in Turša, a town where the family of Teḫip-Tilla owned several properties;³⁷ the memorandum on “pseudo-adoptions” HSAO 7, 25 includes a field in Zizza;³⁸ and – if the reconstruction of JEN 27 is correct – it is also possible that he owned land in Zizza itself. In addition, it seems that the field acquired by Zike s. Šurki-Tilla in HSAO 7, 29 is in Ḫurazina rabû, to the west of Ḫurazina šeḫru,³⁹ and that in Santag 4, 84 the property acquired is close to a *dimtu* whose name has not been retained.

In the second place, Zike s. Šurki-Tilla appears in some documents setting out loans of property. Those texts may be loan agreements or they may be indirect references, but in any case, the properties lent are of a different type. Zike was mainly involved in lending grain.⁴⁰ Another aspect in which he stood out was lending large quantities of bricks,⁴¹ as was already the custom in

29. See HSS 13, 221; JEN 27; Santag 4, 13, 24, 39, 144. Cf. also Jank. 27.

30. Cf. also HSS 13, 221; Santag 4, 13, 32, 47, 137.

31. See Maidman 1976b: 142f. and, more recently, Müller 1998: 21.

32. See Maidman 1976a: 287–289, updated with data from the new, numerous publications presented in Appendix I.

33. Maidman 1976a: 287f.; on the “pseudo-adoptions” in general see esp. Fincke 2010.

34. BM 17623 (= Appendix II, no. 1); HSAO 7, 25, 26, 29; JEN 966; Jank. 30; Santag 4, 11, 84, 143 (the latter is very fragmented). Neither JEN 662+ nor Santag 4, 32 are “pseudo-adoptions”; rather, they are litigations on the acquisition of plots of land and in which another figure is mentioned. The nature of BM 17605 (= Justel 2019) has been controversial but I have suggested (Appendix I, A) that it would be a “genuine adoption” (i. e., *pension viagère*); in any case, it mentions the inheritance of properties by Zike.

35. In addition, JEN 27 constitutes possible evidence of a plot of land being owned by Zike s. Šurki-Tilla.

36. Jank. 27; Santag 4, 85, 86, 97, 98.

37. See Müller 1994: 127f.

38. See Müller 1994: 157f. for other members of Zike's family who owned properties in Zizza.

39. See Fincke 1993a: 106f. See Müller 1994: 49 for other members of Zike's family who owned properties in this town.

40. BM 95533+ (= Appendix II, no. 3); JEN 626 (badly broken); RA 23, 64, 75 (indirect reference; the loan was originally negotiated by Šurki-Tilla); Santag 4, 10, 17, 20, 23, 39, 41, 101? (very fragmented; the item lent is not indicated), 156. With a fair level of certainty, Zike s. Šurki-Tilla appears to be the lender in BM 102372 (= Appendix II, no. 4; very fragmented; the item lent is not indicated); CT 51, 2, 6 (indirect reference); RA 23, 55 (together with his mother), 75 (indirect reference); SCCNH 10: 381f. Less certainly: Santag 4, 94; TCL 9, 21, 34.

41. Jank. 4; RA 23, 65, 80; Santag 4, 27, 37, 68. On those cases and on texts relating to bricks in Nuzi, see, in particular, Lion et al. 2005: 89–91 (with previous bibliography).

his family; his mother, Allai-turaḥḥe, appeared in that role in RA 23, 68, and his grandfather Teḥip-Tilla s. Puḥi-šenni acted in a similar loan in HSS 13, 86. In the same way, Zike s. Šurki-Tilla and his brother Tarmi-Tilla appear to have lent an amount of wool (JEN 538) and animals (CT 51, 8, and maybe JEN 865; cf. Jank. 57+). In Santag 4, 78 Zike s. Šurki-Tilla's wife takes back an amount of "Zike's oil", whence it can be assumed that the latter would have lent it in the past.⁴² Finally, in a fragmentary document, it appears that in the past, a woman had taken on a debt of various items (wool, tin, grain, etc.) and that she had to renegotiate it with Zike s. Šurki-Tilla – and, perhaps, with another partner in the loan.⁴³ It is clear that Zike's wife (Wištanu) and his son Puḥi-šenni continued with the property-lending activity and, where appropriate, the enforcement of loans made by Zike s. Šurki-Tilla.⁴⁴

Zike s. Šurki-Tilla is also found as the receiver of various types of properties and as the subsequent distributor of others. For example, he received grain, according to a series of administrative lists⁴⁵ from various points of the Nuzi site – house of Šilwa-Teššup and S 112 in the neighbour to the east of the palace, but never tablets from clandestine excavations (cf. Santag 4, 93). He also received sickles in a text from F 24, in Nuzi's south-western section (HSS 15, 298), and he is included amongst weavers in a pair of texts recovered in the palace (HSS 14, 593; HSS 16, 348).

We also know Zike s. Šurki-Tilla's role in administering his own properties or family businesses. Two texts of unknown provenance showed that he distributed arms or military tools.⁴⁶ He was also involved in distributing oil⁴⁷ and grain,⁴⁸ and in caring for animals.⁴⁹ Other texts from the archive have content that is more obscure, but they may also refer to Zike s. Šurki-Tilla's financial transactions.⁵⁰ The set of transactions involving receiving properties, checking staff, reallocating assets, etc., is present in other texts from the archive; those transactions were carried out by Zike's wife, Wištanu,⁵¹ or his son Eḥli-Teššup⁵² (see, in general, Appendix I, C).

Finally, Zike s. Šurki-Tilla appeared on several occasions in legal documents of a family nature:⁵³ in HSS 9, 24, he is witness in the marriage contract relating to the marriage of the sister of the *mār šarri* Šilwa-Teššup; and in Santag 4, 152, it is certified that Zike gave his sister Tulpun-Naya in marriage to a man. A special case is Santag 4, 24, which establishes that Šurki-Tilla designated a series of men and women as "part of the inheritance" (*zittu*) intended for Zike.⁵⁴

42. See below, HSS 14, 525 and HSAO 7, 12 for Zike s. Šurki-Tilla's role in distributing oil.

43. HSAO 7, 20; see also the comments by Maidman 1986: 272.

44. Jank. 15; RA 23, 57, 62; Santag 4, 31, 45, 78. Also cf. the role of Nai-šeri, probably a male slave owned by Zike, in RA 23, 54.

45. HSS 13, 221; HSS 16, 456; also, perhaps, HSS 16, 348 (*šib/pā'u*), from the palace (see below on this text).

46. TCL 9, 31; HSAO 7, 10; Santag 4, 5. Note that according to Maidman (1976a: 288), Zike's brother Tarmi-Tilla was linked to the army in some way.

47. HSS 14, 525; HSAO 7, 12; cf. Santag 4, 78 above.

48. Santag 4, 93; TCL 9, 24.

49. Santag 4, 137, cf. HSAO 7, 36; TCL 9, 26.

50. E. g., RA 23, 66 or TCL 9, 1.

51. E. g., CT 51, 7; Santag 4, 8, 24, 34, 58, 136; SCCNH 1: 441 no. 1.

52. E. g., RA 23, 76.

53. Cf. also Santag 4, 13, in which Zike's son Puḥi-šenni intervenes.

54. Cf. Santag 4, 65.

5. *Where do Zike s. Šurki-Tilla's texts come from?*

As was explained in § 2, a fair number of texts from the Kingdom of Arrapḫe circulated in the markets at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. It appears that they came from two points in the kingdom: the capital, Arrapḫe (modern Kirkūk) and Nuzi itself. Zike s. Šurki-Tilla (and, to a lesser extent, his brother Tarmi-Tilla, as well as Zike's wife and children) mostly appear in the texts excavated illegally from Nuzi, so it must be supposed that his archives were discovered during that early period, when the site at Nuzi had not yet been officially excavated.

However, there is no agreement on the location of that point, i. e., there is no certainty over where 'Aṭīyah excavated hundreds of cuneiform tablets at the end of the 19th century at the Yorḡān Tepe site.⁵⁵ Some authors seem to indicate that the excavation point could not be identified by archaeologists.⁵⁶ Müller himself recently indicated the following: "Mit über 1000 Keilschrifturkunden ist das Archiv der Familie [von Teḫip-Tilla] eines der größten Privatarhive des Alten Orients überhaupt, gefunden in Villen der nördl. Vorstadt von Nuzi, die T. bzw. seinem Enkel Tarmi-tilla gehörten; weitere Texte von Tarmi-tillas Bruder Zige [= Zike S. Šurki-Tilla] und beider Vater Šurki-tilla stammen aus illegalen Grabungen und sind nicht sicher lokalisiert."⁵⁷ In other words, the texts illegally recovered may have been excavated from an unknown point within the site. Other authors have specified that the written documentation excavated in the 19th century would undeniably have come from one of the suburbs of Yorḡān Tepe.⁵⁸ To my knowledge, Lacheman (1949: 49) was the first scholar pointing out that a great deal of the unprovenanced texts from the Kingdom of Arrapḫe are ultimately traceable to the archive of the Teḫip-Tilla family.

In my opinion, those texts recovered illegally by 'Aṭīyah from a single location, which has come to be called "Zike s. Šurki-Tilla's house", would come from the so-called "western suburban area". In addition, various clues seem to indicate that 'Aṭīyah recovered those tablets from a specific point between T 13 and T 22, or perhaps from a larger complex attached to these rooms (see § 5.2, at the end, for a survey of the possibilities). The arguments are varied in nature and in their degree of certainty.

5.1. *External arguments*

The first argument comes from Gadd's own publication of 1926, our main source (to the extent known) for the clandestine finds in Nuzi and Kirkūk. The general circumstances have been presented in § 2: in essence, Edward Chiera decided to start official excavations at the Yorḡān Tepe site because it was impossible to do so at Arrapḫe, given that the latter was inhabited (being modern Kirkūk); moreover, Yorḡān Tepe had been identified as the place of origin of the cuneiform documents excavated illegally in the 19th century. Gadd (1926: 51) himself indicates the

55. The fact that what 'Aṭīyah excavated was Zike s. Šurki-Tilla's cache was already highlighted by Maidman 1976a: 23 n. 24, 1976b: 131 n. 113.

56. That is the idea of, for example, Maidman 1976a: 287 (and, partially, Maidman 1976b: 131), Lion 1998: 184b, 1999: 42, 59, Müller 2011–2013: 504.

57. Müller 2011–2013: 504b; in his publication of the Nuzi texts currently kept in the British Museum (Santag 4 = Müller 1998), he makes no reference to this subject.

58. See Maidman 1976b: 130 n. 12 for more details. He explicitly indicates: "... [E]xcept for the few Kirkuk texts in Gadd, TCL 9, and Jankowska, it is probable not only that virtually all the miscellaneous texts of this type were excavated from Yorghan Tepe, but that most stem from a single, highly important archive" (cf. also Maidman 1986: 257f.).

following: “Dr. CORNER informs me that, surface exploration having shewn the presence of fragments of baked cuneiform tablets, Professor CHIERA began digging about the place where the marks of Atyah’s old work might still plainly be traced, which ‘was part of a very low series of mounds at the side of the main mound of Yalghan Tepe’.” Thus, the start of official excavations (carried in area T) took place approximately at the site where ‘Aṭīyah excavated hundreds of tablets in the 19th century. That indication may seem lax (“about the place” ...), but it would have been strange if Chiera had decided to excavate on another of the hills around the main one (for example, the hill on which Šilwa-Teššup’s house stands). The logical conclusion is that ‘Aṭīyah extracted the documentation from the hill that would later be called the “western suburban area”.

The second argument comes from the official excavation report.⁵⁹ Richard Starr reviews, by way of introduction, the circumstances that led the excavators to select the work areas. After ruling out the excavation of Kirkūk itself, R. F. S. Starr (1939: xxix) indicates the following about the Yorgān Tepe site at which ‘Aṭīyah excavated the tablets in the 19th century: “This place, obviously, was worth investigating. Eventually the site was identified as a small mound (Plan 2) near the foot of the larger mound of Yorgan Tapa, three kilometers south-west of the village of Tarkhalan and thirteen kilometers southwest of Kirkuk itself.” The aforesaid Plan 2, which is set out in volume II (here, Fig. 1 above), presents the whole esplanade, including the main hill and the two smaller ones: the “western suburban area” (Teḥip-Tilla’s house, etc.) and the one that lies further east (Šilwa-Teššup’s house, Akkuya’s house, etc.). Once again, the information provided by Starr does not specify which of those two smaller hills is referred to, but it seems obvious that, based on the additional information, it was the “western suburban area”. One of those items of information comes from another, subsequent, detail (R. F. S. Starr 1939: xxxiii): “The point of excavation chosen was the small rise three hundred meters north of Yorgan Tapa, reputed locally to be the spot where ‘Aṭīyah found his legendary twenty donkey-loads of inscribed tablets. This site proved to be a private house, divided into courtyard, living rooms, storage rooms, etc., all of which will be described in greater detail in their proper place. The tablets found here conformed to the Kirkuk type and gave ample proof that this building, in antiquity, had been the property of an individual named Shurki-tilla.” Thus, it seems that the first official mission in Nuzi, the one that explored the “western suburban area” and the so-called “Teḥip-Tilla house”, took place exactly where ‘Aṭīyah worked decades before.

Finally, a third source of information is the travel diary kept by Dorothy Clara Simpson Starr (1906–1982), wife of Richard F. S. Starr. She wrote around 1931: “Corner knew a lot about the folklore of the vicinity, he had heard tales of a native named Atiya. Rumor had it that twenty years ago, or more, this man had dug on a mound thereabouts and had unearthed twenty donkey loads of tablets. These he was reported to have carried to Baghdad and sold. Chiera and Corner realized that the truth was being exaggerated, but that Atiya or anyone who had found tablets was of sufficient

59. R. F. S. Starr 1937, 1939. Apart from the statements presented below, he also indicates (R. F. S. Starr 1939: 333): “The rise on the northeast, between the two roads to Tarkhalan (Plan 2), was not excavated, but surface finds of terracotta and inscribed tablet fragments show with certainty that its last period of occupancy was in Nuzi times.” The very existence of such “tablet fragments” might indicate that other archives remain to be excavated in the Nuzi suburbs (personal communication by M. P. Maidman). One could even argue that these “tablet fragments” were incorporated into the official findings, e. g., some of the tablets recovered in this very first season, bearing no findspot (just to mention some of those included in Appendix I: JEN 626, and 966). However, this idea is just conjectural and is not supported by any further proof.

importance. They set out to run down the source of the story. In the village of Tarkhalan, ten miles southwest of Kirkuk, they found someone who knew about Atiya, and knew in general the location of the mound where he had dug. Further investigation brought them to our *Yorgan Tepe*, and to what seemed to be the marks of Atiya's scratching — not on the big mound itself, but on an adjacent mound of smaller size".⁶⁰

The preceding data come from separate publications, but it is possible that they have the same original source, i. e., Dr. Corner's report to which Gadd refers (see above). It is also true that those statements are second- and third-hand and even then, they are quite vague;⁶¹ the exception would be the second quotation of R. F. S. Starr, who specifically indicated that official excavations took place in the spot where 'Aṭīyah recovered the documents.

5.2. Internal arguments

A group of arguments is rather more complex and requires a detailed explanation. As was established in § 3, according to the immense work of compiling data from the first campaign at Yorgān Tepe (see Maidman 2005: 6–46), it has been determined that the "western suburban area" would have contained various well-differentiated areas (or archives): the ones belonging to the family of Tehip-Tilla himself or his parents, and of Tehip-Tilla's son Enna-mati (T 15–22); Tarmi-Tilla s. Šurki-Tilla's family (T 13), a descendant of Tehip-Tilla; Hašiya's family (T 1 and T 4); and Kizzuk's family (T 10–12). Zike's archives (which were illegally excavated at the end of the 19th century) would have come from an unidentified site in Nuzi, probably in one of the suburbs, and specifically in the "western suburban area" itself.

However, there is a basic problem with respect to the texts excavated illegally at the end of the 19th century. Based on the description presented above, that set of texts should, in theory, belong only to Zike's archives. But the set of texts found in Nuzi in the 19th century shows that they would have belonged to the archives of other members of the Tehip-Tilla family as well – as presented below. One possible explanation is that Zike might have inherited all that documentation, perhaps because he had an interest in the properties mentioned in the texts; in some cases, it is possible that they might have belonged originally to Šurki-Tilla and that Zike would have received them thereafter, since he inherited several properties (and, thus, the associated documentation) from Šurki-Tilla (*cf.* the clear case of Santag 4, 24). In fact, that was a fairly common mechanism in the Nuzi family archives, and doubtless also occurred in Tehip-Tilla's family.⁶² However, that would be more the case with relatives in the ascending line or with direct relatives, i. e., it would make sense for Zike to have inherited documentation from his father, Šurki-Tilla, and even from his grandfather, Tehip-Tilla, but not from his uncle Enna-mati, whose son Takku also appears frequently in the documentation excavated from the "western suburban area". Thus, the documentation excavated by 'Aṭīyah in Yorgān Tepe is not limited only to Zike s. Šurki-Tilla, but includes various other members of his family.

60. D. C. S. Starr 1996: 156f. In reality, after the Starrs were married in 1930, Dorothy only assisted her husband during the final excavation season, but her diary passes on important details regarding previous excavations, reconstructed from conversations with the people who took part. The diary was edited by David Owen in 1996, which is why it could not be taken into account in previous works.

61. I therefore recognize the critiques expressed in personal communication by Prof. Maidman, whom I thank for his insightful opinions on this matter.

62. See, in particular, Maidman 1976a: 300, 494, 518, and § 3 above.

The first member is Tehip-Tilla s. Puhi-šenni himself.⁶³ For example, those texts included pseudo-adoptions through which Tehip-Tilla acquired land.⁶⁴ A special case is HSAO 7, 19, a memorandum of acquisitions of fields by Tehip-Tilla, probably through pseudo-adoptions, in the city of Apenaš. There are also various contracts relating to exchanges of properties;⁶⁵ and a litigation lost by Tehip-Tilla himself (*Genava NS* 15: 19 no. 10). Finally, there is a list of men who were handed over to Tehip-Tilla (*Fs. C. H. Gordon*: 232) and another document of which the ascription to Tehip-Tilla is probable (*Genava NS* 15: 12 no. 4⁶⁶). It should be remembered, as has already been stated, that it is probable that the so-called “Tehip-Tilla’s house” was, in reality, first occupied by his son Enna-mati (see immediately below), who would have inherited a significant number of documents from his father.

Enna-mati s. Tehip-Tilla is also represented in the texts illegally recovered in the 19th century.⁶⁷ That appears to be the case in a set of three texts in which Zilim-Naya, Tehip-Tilla’s daughter, appears together with her brother Enna-mati (*Genava NS* 15: 14 no. 5, 16 nos. 7 and 8).⁶⁸ The key text indicating that the set would have belonged to Enna-mati’s archive is *Genava NS* 15: 16 no. 8: a number of people stated that [Zilim]-Naya, Tehip-Tilla’s daughter, was handed over to her brother Enna-mati, and that the same happened with a series of slaves owned by the declarers. *Genava NS* 15: 14 no. 5 is a very similar document, although the declarers are different and there is no indication of Enna-mati having received slaves. *Genava NS* 15: 16 no. 7 is very fragmented: “Ce

63. However, Lacheman (1958: vi) indicated that “[n]ot a single document of Tehip-tilla was found elsewhere” (meaning that Tehip-Tilla’s documents had been only found in the “western suburban area” and were therefore in the JEN/JENu collection). Note that text SCCNH 9: 64 no. 1 has been not included in the analysis that follows; it probably relates to Tehip-Tilla’s activities, and it is plausible that Starr himself would have taken it from the official excavations (maybe from the “western suburban area”) and incorporated into his personal belongings (see the comments by Fincke 1998b: 63).

64. *Genava NS* 15: 7 no. 1, 9 no. 2, 11 no. 3; HSAO 7, 22; RA 23, 59; RA 28: 35 no. 2, 36 no. 3; SCCNH 1: 421 no. 15.

65. RA 28: 33f. no. 1, between Tehip-Tilla and Zilip-ampa s. Wa[...]; SCCNH 1: 422 no. 16, between Tehip-Tilla and Hanaya s. Ithip-Tilla; *Fs. C. H. Gordon*: 233, the other parties are Nai-Tilla and Wantip-šarri. Concerning SCCNH 1: 422 no. 16, Lacheman et al. 1981: 396f. indicate that since some of the mentioned properties were in Arraphe, it is probable that the text came from Kirkūk, and they propose the parallel *Fs. C. H. Gordon*: 233. That is not necessarily the case, given that one of the properties mentioned was in Ulamme, in SCCNH 1: 422 no. 16: 10 (and perhaps in *Fs. C. H. Gordon*: 233: 7, fragmented at that point; cf. comments on the reading of place names in that document in Deller 1976: 36f.). The aforementioned Hanaya s. Ithip-Tilla is known in Tehip-Tilla’s archive dossier referring to the locality of Ulamme (Lacheman et al. 1981: 397, and cf. Fincke 1993a: 319f.; other unpublished texts of Tehip-Tilla’s archive mention Ulamme, such as JENu 1060h+i, see Maidman 2005: 119). Thus, it is fairly probable that, in reality, SCCNH 1: 422 no. 16 comes from the illegal excavations at Yorgān Tepe, like the rest of the texts that are enumerated here.

66. A declaration by Tieš-Naya d. Tehip-Tilla stating that her children have been handed over to Hinzuri w. Tehip-Tilla (i. e., their grandmother) for the latter to bring them up. It is possible that the document might have been housed in the very archives of Tehip-Tilla and his wife, since Tieš-Naya does not appear in other documents, thus she does not appear to have had her own archive (cf. Maidman 1976b: 137f., with additional bibliography).

67. See also HSAO 7, 3 and SCCNH 7: 58f. = Santag 4, 15 below. It is possible that JCS 46: 105 may belong to that archive as well. The document is an administrative register through which a number of men received straw; among them was one named Enna-mati, and another named Takku. As is known (see the genealogical table in § 4), Enna-mati s. Tehip-Tilla had a son called Takku, whose presence is reasonably important in the archives of the “western suburban area” (see, e.g., Maidman 1976a: 252–256).

68. See also JEN 163 (transcription and translation in Saarisalo 1934: 45f.), from T 16, a text in which Enna-mati negotiates the ownership of a male slave belonging to his sister Zilim-Naya or his mother, Hinzuri, with a man named Zikuya.

texte est un inventaire de différents objets de métal, de vêtements et d'objets de cuir. Parmi les noms mentionnés il y a la fille de Tehip-tilla, ¹Zilimnaia (...)" (Lacheman 1967: 22). At l. 9 there is a mention of Enna-mati, who might have, in some way, received or brought the assets referred to above. In addition, it is very probable that the Enna-mati mentioned in the agreement document (*tuppi tamgurti*) SCCNH 18: 238 no. 3, which is very fragmented, is Enna-mati s. Tehip-Tilla.⁶⁹

One of the family members who appears in more documentation recovered in the 19th century is Šurki-Tilla s. Tehip-Tilla (and his wife Allai-turaḥḥe).⁷⁰ The circumstances of that documentation are very varied. Šurki-Tilla acquired various plots of land through pseudo-adoptions (HSAO 7, 7, 22, 32; SCCNH 10: 308f.).⁷¹ Litigations of various types are very common to which Šurki-Tilla himself is a party (BM 17621, unpublished; HSAO 7, 3,⁷² 37; Jank. 72, 73?; TCL 9, 42);⁷³ his acquisitions of grain and animals (CT 51, 11; HSAO 7, 24); loans of grain (Jank. 1, 2, 9?);⁷⁴ and Šurki-Tilla allocating grain to other men for them to mill it (CT 2, 21).⁷⁵ It will be observed that such types of handover and receipt of assets also occur with some frequency in the case of Allai-turaḥḥe w. Šurki-Tilla (CT 51, 5, 14;⁷⁶ HSAO 7, 14). A special case of Šurki-Tilla's documentation is made up of "self-slavery agreements", whereby one or more persons voluntarily enter servitude in Šurki-Tilla's household (*AoF* 21: 344f.; Jank. 44); similarly of note is a list of the witnesses present at the sale of a female slave by Šurki-Tilla (HSAO 7, 16), and, in particular, the agreement reached by Enna-mati, Šurki-Tilla, and their mother, Hinzuri, concerning a slave (SCCNH 7: 58f. = Santag 4, 15).⁷⁷ Finally, it was probably Šurki-Tilla who would have conserved a set of two documents that were family in nature and related to one another: SCCNH 7: 29f., a litigation between Tehip-Tilla and Šukriya relating to the *terḥatu* of a Winta, who might have been a daughter of Tehip-Tilla;⁷⁸ and Jank. 47, a document in which Šurki-Tilla finally seems to accept a series of conditions and hands Winta over as Šukriya's wife.⁷⁹

69. See the arguments made by Fincke 2009: 237.

70. It may be that the archive is the source of YOS 15, 16, an administrative register indicating that a man named Zilip-Tilla s. Allai-turaḥḥe received grain; Maidman indicates in the comments (YOS 15: 3) that the figure might well have been another son of Šurki-Tilla of whom we have had no indication until now (*cf.* HSAO 7, 27: 16'; BM 85453: 2, 8, 95437: 7'): "The tablet would then belong to the well-attested archive of Šurki-tilla and his (now: 'other') sons, Tarmittilla and Zike". If that is the case, the document might probably have been housed in Šurki-Tilla's and Allai-turaḥḥe's archives. Given that no transcription of that recently-published text has ever been offered, the latter is: (1) 3 *ma-a-ti* ù (2) 62 ANŠE ŠE.MEŠ (—) (3) *ša* ŠU-ti ¹*zi-li-ip-til-la* (4) DUMU¹ *al-la-<i>-tu-ra-a-ḥe* (5) ¹*EN-li-pá-a-pu* (6) ¹*ni-zu-uk* ù (7) ¹*xxx*¹(erased?) (8) *im-ḥu-rù*.

71. Another case possibly related to that circumstance is SCCNH 7: 25f. no. 1, even though it is fragmented and contains unusual clauses. *Cf.* also HSAO 7, 37.

72. In this case, the main party to the litigation is Enna-mati s. Tehip-Tilla, but the litigation is brought in relation to an ewe owned by Šurki-Tilla, so it is plausible that the document was incorporated into the latter's archives.

73. Perhaps there should be added TCL 9, 18, a very fragmented document.

74. *Cf.* also HSAO 7, 37.

75. Perhaps also in Jank. 28 Šurki-Tilla appears (Jankowska 1961: 515), but the documented is too fragmented for the real context to be known (doubts also expressed by Maidman 1976a: 272, 463 n. 1230).

76. In that case as well, many of the women who receive allocations appear in other texts in Zike s. Šurki-Tilla's archives; see Mayer 1976: 86f.

77. See also Jank. 9, which may constitute a *tidennūtu* agreement involving a slave.

78. As proposed by Fincke 1995: 31, whose arguments seems plausible (see the genealogical diagram presented above, § 3); but note too that there seems to be no definitive proof for such an interpretation.

79. See the comments by Fincke 1995: 31f.

Finally, a certain number of texts from the excavations of the 19th century may originate from Tarmi-Tilla s. Šurki-Tilla's archives.⁸⁰ The clearest is undeniably Jank. 52, a fragmentary memorandum of legal acts to which a person named Tarmi-Tilla was a party. But there appear to be more cases. For example, some administrative registers in which Tarmi-Tilla handed over or received grain or animals (CT 51, 9; HSAO 7, 11; SCCNH 18: 233 no. 1⁸¹), a letter in which he handled delivery of the king's grain (*OLZ* 5: 245), or the acquisition of land by pseudo-adoptions (Jank. 27;⁸² SCCNH 7: 27f. no. 3⁸³). One case may be an *ana aḥḥūti* agreement between Tarmi-Tilla and another person (VS 1, 110⁸⁴).

Hence, these texts – recovered in Nuzi before the official excavations started – seem to come not only from Zike's archives, but from the archives of other members of the Teḥip-Tilla family as well. How is that? The more plausible explanation, based on the data provided throughout this section, is that the excavations carried out by 'Aṭīyah in Yorgān Tepe would have been done in the "western suburban area".

In this sense, archaeology of this specific part of the site remains inconclusive. In such an area (T) there seems to exist no further rooms, at least according to the official excavations and Starr's plans (see Fig. 2 above), but he recognizes: "That which remains is but an indication of what was once probably a building of considerable size" (R. F. S. Starr 1939: 333). One might even think that other rooms existed in that building, a part of which were still on the edge of the bank before the official excavations took place.

Therefore, the possibilities of the "western suburban area" to have been the place where 'Aṭīyah recovered the bulk of the texts are different. My first guess is that, within this area, there would have existed a small part or even a room that housed the archives of Zike s. Šurki-Tilla (a parallel to Tarmi-Tilla's room T 13); and that 'Aṭīyah would have recovered most (but not all) of those cuneiform texts, and additionally others from the neighbouring rooms T 13–22 (i. e., in the formerly named "Šurki-Tilla's house" and "Teḥip-Tilla's house").⁸⁵ In that way, 'Aṭīyah would have recovered documentation from various members of the family: from Teḥip-Tilla and Ennamati in T 15–22, and from Tarmi-Tilla in T 13. That theory is supported by the fact that various documents presumably belonging to Zike's archives appeared in the official excavations of the

80. Although none of the cases listed below have the patronym, i. e., Tarmi-Tilla s. Šurki-Tilla. The identification of Tarmi-Tilla in those texts as Zike's brother was done using prosographical criteria and by similarity with the characteristics of Tarmi-Tilla's remaining documentation from the official excavations (T 13).

81. In that case, a person named Tarmi-Tilla took charge of the management of twenty horses. It may be Tarmi-Tilla s. Ḫutiya, who, like Šurki-Tilla's son, belonged to the chariot-driver class (sing. *rākib narkabti*); but that is less probable, because Tarmi-Tilla s. Ḫutiya is only named in HSS 15, 82: 9, and, as we see, Tarmi-Tilla s. Šurki-Tilla appears much more in the documentation. See also the comments by Maidman 1976a: 471 n. 1311 and Fincke 2009: 232.

82. It is a very fragmentary document in which appears the names of ^l*tar-mi-til-la* (l. 2') and *šur-ki-til-la* (l. 4'). It is possible that, as in other documents, Šurki-Tilla's sons acted jointly (Maidman 1976a: 289 n. 1351).

83. The name of Tarmi-Tilla has not been preserved, but one of the witnesses appeared frequently in Tarmi-Tilla's documentation (and once in Zike s. Šurki-Tilla's documentation); see the comments by Fincke 1995: 28f.

84. Only the patronym (DUMU *šur-ki-til-la*, l. 3) has been preserved. However, based on the context and the blank space before the name of ^l*tar-mi-til-la*, the reconstruction is possible (in no case ^l*zi-ké*); on the context, see Dosch 1986: 195.

85. It is even possible that the excavations carried out by 'Aṭīyah in Yorgān Tepe would have been done superficially in T 13–22, but this theory must remain conjectural.

“western suburban area”, as is the case with JEN 626, JEN 865, JEN 966, and JENu 1155i.⁸⁶ Unfortunately, none of those three cases records the specific room of the find; but, in any case, that fact shows that Zike s. Šurki-Tilla’s archives are spread among the official and illegal excavations. Exactly the same occurs with other members of his family; the only change would be the proportion of both parameters according to the family member. In the case of Enna-mati (who would have probably inherited the major portion of Tehip-Tilla’s documentation), most documents come from official excavation, and a small group from ‘Aṭīyah’s excavations; the same occurs in the case of Tarmi-Tilla, who appears to have inherited part of Šurki-Tilla’s documentation (another part was probably inherited by Zike). It is plausible that Zike’s cache was the first that ‘Aṭīyah reached in his illegal excavations, thus it is the most complete one to have reached us in scattered publications, not in the official series. Another, less likely, possibility is to think that Zike’s archives would have been kept not on the floor but “à l’étage”⁸⁷ in a specific point of T 13–22, and therefore those documents were the first ones that ‘Aṭīyah was able to recover.

6. Conclusions

This article relates to a branch of the family of Tehip-Tilla, a well-known group of businesspeople documented in the written sources of Nuzi throughout the lifespan of the site. Specifically, the focus of attention has been one concrete figure, Zike, the son of Šurki-Tilla and hence a grandson of Tehip-Tilla himself, and the nature and location of his archives.

Firstly, it has been possible to review the documentation referring to Zike and his role in the economic, political and social life of the site. That figure’s presence in the Nuzi texts has already been highlighted by other authors, but to date there has been no systematic effort at bringing together the texts in which he was mentioned, or the texts which he would have kept in his archives (see Appendix I; Appendix II for four as yet unpublished texts). Zike s. Šurki-Tilla appears to have been an important figure, from the socio-economic perspective, in Nuzi during 1380–1360 B.C. According to the documentation available to us, he may have mainly dealt with his personal businesses, which he owned in part because he was Šurki-Tilla’s son and Tehip-Tilla’s grandson, and because he was a member of a leading family of landowners. Those activities appear to be exclusively documented in texts illegally recovered in Nuzi, and in texts from regular excavations in the “western suburban area” (mainly T 13). He appears in other types of documents, especially of the administrative variety, originating from regular excavations and from other areas (the palace, Šilwa-Teššup’s house, etc.). However, in that regard, nothing seems to indicate that this Zike s. Šurki-Tilla fulfils a relevant function within the administrative machinery of Nuzi or the Kingdom of Arrapḫe; he is even labelled as a “weaver” in two texts from the palace.

The paper also relates to the nature and circumstances in which cuneiform texts – Zike’s archives in particular, but also others in general – were discovered in Yorgān Tepe, ancient Nuzi, at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. One of the proposals that was considered from the first publications of the texts was that those texts would have been excavated in the so-

86. Other similar cases, such as JEN 538 (T 13), JEN 662+ (of unknown origin), and JEN 849 (T 13), may come from Tarmi-Tilla’s archives, given that the two brothers acted jointly in them. The same may have occurred with JENu 1149a (Maidman 2005: 161), which may have been conserved in Enna-mati’s archives, since he is one of the main parties, although Šurki-Tilla’s sons appear to be mentioned too.

87. For this reconstruction see Battini 2012: 98, and a further example in R. F. S. Starr 1939: 244.

called “western suburban area”, on a hill a few hundred metres from Nuzi’s main tell. In fact, that was the site where, during the official excavations, Tehip-Tilla’s family archives were found (i. e., the archives of Tehip-Tilla himself and of his descendants). However, that idea did not garner sufficient argument and fell partially into oblivion, to the point that recent works still indicate that the clandestine texts found at Yorgān Tepe before the official excavations are of unknown origin; hence some authors talk of a so-called “Zike’s house”, which has been never found.

I provide a series of arguments to support the assertion that those texts were found in the so-called “western suburban area”, specifically in the areas occupied by Tarmi-Tilla’s archives and those of his father, Šurki-Tilla (T 13), as well as Enna-mati’s archives and those of his father, Tehip-Tilla (T 15–22). Those arguments are two in number. On the one hand, use was made of excavation reports, information included in the first editions of the clandestine texts, and the travel diaries of one of the participants in the excavations. The three sources, perhaps with a common origin, all highlight the fact that the official excavations in the “western suburban area” were carried out where clandestine excavations were carried out at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. The second argument is internal. Although the major portion of that clandestine documentation may have belonged to Zike s. Šurki-Tilla’s archives, there is also a part that doubtless would have belonged to other family members: Tarmi-Tilla (whose main archives were found in T 13), Šurki-Tilla (whose archives would have been conserved by Tarmi-Tilla and Zike), Enna-mati (whose main archives were found in T 15–22), and Tehip-Tilla (whose archives would have been conserved by Enna-mati and Šurki-Tilla, and eventually by his grandsons Tarmi-Tilla and Zike). In addition, various documents, doubtless from Zike s. Šurki-Tilla’s archives, were found during the official excavations in the “western suburban area”.

Based on all the foregoing, the most plausible scenario is that the clandestine excavations took place next to those areas within the “western suburban area”, or perhaps in the upper layers or at some points along T 13–22. The final, logical conclusion is that the so-called “Zike’s house” would not have existed. The random nature of the finds meant that most of Zike’s archives were found at that time, and a small part during the official excavations; on the contrary, most of Enna-mati’s and Tarmi-Tilla’s archives were found during the official excavations, with a small part being discovered during the clandestine excavations.

7. Appendix I: Texts and possible texts referring to Zike s. Šurki-Tilla

Notes:

a) The asterisk before the text reference marks those published after the main studies on the Tehip-Tilla family (Maidman 1976a, 1976b); hence, these texts provide new insights into the nature and functioning of this family and, eventually, into the character of Zike s. Šurki-Tilla.

b) Texts marked in **grey** have a high chance of having actually belonged to the archives of Zike, his wife, and/or children, according to their content – as presented in the main argument of the paper.

A: Texts that undoubtedly allude to Zike s. Šurki-Tilla

Text and line(s) in which Zike is mentioned	Provenance	Summary
<u>Texts from official excavations</u>		
HSS 9, 24 (= AdŠ 548): 36	A 26 (House of Šilwa-Teššup)	Zike s. Šurki-Tilla testifies in the marriage contract governing the marriage of Šilwa-Teššup's sister.
HSS 13, 221 (= AdŠ 152): 65 (see now photographs in CDLI no. P408430)	A 23 (House of Šilwa-Teššup)	Administrative list in which Zike s. Šurki-Tilla receives barley – probably noting a previous loan; at l. 67, the recipient is Tarmi-Tilla s. Šurki-Tilla.
HSS 14, 593: 4 (see now photographs in CDLI no. P408850)	R 76 (palace)	Administrative list in which Zike s. Šurki-Tilla is called (l. 13) <i>išparu</i> , “weaver”. Note that CDLI interprets that the obverse and reverse should be swapped around with respect to the original edition.
HSS 15, 298: 4	F 24 (SW section; on the presence of figures linked to Tehip-Tilla's family in this part of the site, see Negri-Scafa 2012: 224f.)	Administrative list in which Zike s. Šurki-Tilla receives sickles.
HSS 16, 348: 3	R 76 (palace)	Administrative list in which Zike s. Šurki-Tilla, included amongst the <i>išparūtu</i> (“weavers”) (l. 8), receives allocations <i>šib/pā'u</i> , a term that the dictionaries do not translate (see <i>BGH</i> 390b, with indication of the preceding bibliography, and add Abrahami 2015).
HSS 16, 455: 5 (see now photographs in CDLI no. P409400)	A 34 (House of Akkuya), as set out in the <i>editio princeps</i> ; however, it has been suggested that it may come from the palace (<i>cf.</i> Stein 1988: 205)	List of persons whom Turari and Šar-Teššup “have caused to go out” (l. 11, <i>ú-še-eš-ší-šu-nu-ti</i>), amongst whom is Zike s. Šurki-Tilla (see Maidman 1976a: 288).
HSS 16, 456: 2	S 112 (group 19)	List of grain allocations to various people, including Zike s. Šurki-Tilla.
JEN 538: 7' (translit. by Owen 1969: 86)	T 13 (but it has also been indicated that it may come from T 15, see Maidman 2005: 18)	Tarmi-Tilla and Zike s. Šurki-Tilla lend wool to two men (<i>contra</i> Maidman 1976a: 288, 474 n. 1337, who establishes that it constitutes a grain loan).
JEN 626: 9	Unknown	Zike s. Šurki-Tilla is involved in a grain loan. No transliteration is available (see Maidman 2005:

		247a). (Beginning destroyed, 1') [xxx]- ¹ x ¹ [xxx] ¹ x ¹ [(2') [xxx]-nu ¹ DUMU ¹ ké-en-na-<na>- ¹ a ¹ -bi ¹ ¹ xx ¹ (3') [xxx] ¹ ha-al-še-en-ni DUMU ut-háp-še (4') [i+na EG]IR-ki EBUR ¹ -ri it-ti MÁŠ-ti-šu (5', Low.) [xxx].MEŠ-ru i+na LÚ.MEŠ an-nu-ti LÚ a-na LÚ (6') [ma-ḫi-iš pu-t]i aš- ¹ bu ¹ ŠE.MEŠ SUM-la šum-ma LÚ ša (7') [xxx n] ¹ a ¹ -aš-ši ¹ D ¹ AM ² .MEŠ-šu-nu ù še-er-ri-šu-nu (8') [xxx]- ¹ x ¹ -du-ú ŠE.MEŠ ú-ma-al-lu-ú (9') [xxx]- ¹ x ¹ -di-pa-ar (10', R) [x] ¹ zi-ké DUMU š[ur-k]i-til-la a-na MÁŠ-ti (11') [xxx]- ¹ x ¹ DUMU ar-ta-še-en-ni ¹ a-pa-zi DUMU ma-li-ia (12') [xxx] ¹ ar ¹ -ta-a-a ¹ hu-i-te DUMU ¹ xx ¹ [xxx] (13') [xxx] ¹ xxx ¹ [xxx] (rest destroyed).
JEN 662+: 1, 6, etc. (republished in Maidman 1989)	Unknown	Zike and Tarmi-Tilla s. Šurki-Tilla win a litigation concerning a field and brought against three men in Nuzi.
*JEN 849: 1, 5, 24, 27	T 13	Zike and Tarmi-Tilla s. Šurki-Tilla win a litigation against a man, and Zike recovers three female slaves. No transliteration is available, in accordance with Maidman (2005: 255), but he has already prepared the editing of the document (I thank Prof. Maidman for generously having put such materials at my disposal).
*JEN 966: 2, 5?	Unknown	Zike s. Šurki-Tilla acquires a field.
*JENu 1155i	Unknown	Broken; a transaction involving Zike, son of Šurki-Tilla. Unpublished; Maidman's abstract (2005: 165) states: "Corner of a tablet, upper right probably. If so, the ends of the first 4 lines of the obv. are preserved, as well as the end of the last line of the rev. and the end of the u[pper] e[dge]. A transaction involving Zike son of Šurki-Tilla. 2 legends and a s[eal] i[mpression] are also preserved". A. Planelles' collation (March, 2019) could not provide any further information.

<u>Texts from clandestine excavations</u>		
*BM 17605: 2–3, [9], 11, 15, etc. (= Justel 2019)		Fragment of a genuine adoption to which Zike s. Šurki-Tilla is a party. On the presence of the scribe Zini, see the comments in Santag 4, 97.
*BM 17623: 9, 8, 12 (= Appendix II, no. 1)		Zike s. Šurki-Tilla releases a plot of land to another man; the performance of the <i>ilku</i> tax appears to be regulated.
*BM 95533+: 1, 5, 6 (= Appendix II, no. 3)		Fragment of a memorandum that contains at least two grain loans made by Zike s. Šurki-Tilla to various men.
CT 51, 8: 7 (translit. in Zaccagnini 1975: 87 and Mayer 1976: 200f.)		Zike s. Šurki-Tilla lends ewes and nanny goats to two men; the seal of Zike himself is included (l. 16).
*HSAO 7, 10: 2, 8, 11 (see now photographs in CDLI no. P491391)		Zike s. Šurki-Tilla delivers 52 helmets and 2 pairs of protectors for horses to a man (<i>cf.</i> Santag 4, 51).
*HSAO 7, 20: 9, 21		Fragmentary declaration by a woman indicating that she contracted an antichretic debt to which Zike s. Šurki-Tilla is a party (ll. 20–21, the woman hands over a property).
*HSAO 7, 25: [2'], 7', 11', [12'], 15', 19', etc. (see now photographs in CDLI no. 469289)		Fragmentary memorandum of pseudo-adoptions through which Zike s. Šurki-Tilla acquires various fields from different people.
*HSAO 7, 26: 3 (see now photographs in CDLI no. 469290)		Zike s. Šurki-Tilla acquires a field from three men.
*HSAO 7, 29: 2, 7, 11–12, 15		Zike s. Šurki-Tilla acquires a field from a man.
Jank. 4: 2 (corrected translit. in Mayer 1977, 201)		Zike s. <i>súk-ki'</i> -[<i>til-la</i>] lends bricks to a man (for the identification of that person with our Zike s. Šurki-Tilla, see, in particular, Lion et al. 2005: 91).
Jank. 30: 2, 7, 10, 11, 26		Zike s. Šurki-Tilla acquires plots of land in the locality of Turša.
Jank. 57+: 1, 4, 4', 11' (Join in Fincke 1998a: 60–62)		Zike s. Šurki-Tilla wins a litigation against a man, who returns a series of animals to him.
RA 23, 64: 5, 9		Zike s. Šurki-Tilla lends grain to a man.
RA 23, 65: 2, 12		Zike s. Šurki-Tilla lends bricks to a man.
RA 23, 74: 4–5 (see now photograph in CDLI no. P469238)		[...] s. Šekaru and his partner Zike s. Šurki-Tilla appear to

		negotiate the delivery or receipt of a series of items (see Maidman 1976a: 289, 475 n. 1349; <i>contra</i> Sigrist et al. 1996: 80: “Record of fish delivered in 2 lots”, probably because of the presence of the sign <i>ha</i> = KU ₆). My own reading of the photograph is: (1) 2 <i>ša-an</i> TÚG ² <i>az-tu₄</i> ¹ ku-ul-ta-šu-nu (2) 1 <i>ma-na-ḫi</i> ¹ 1/3 ¹ <i>ka₄-ḫa-t[u₄]</i> (3) <i>ù</i> <i>ku-ul-ta-šu-nu</i> (4) 35 GÍN 1/3 <i>ša</i> ¹ x ¹ -[xx <i>ù</i> ¹ še-ka ₄ -ru aḫ-ḫu <i>ša</i> ¹ z[i-k]é (5) DUMU <i>šur-ki-til-[la</i> <i>ù</i> ¹ z[i-líp-a-pu (6) DUMU <i>ḫu-ia</i> ¹ x ¹ -[xxx] (7, ———) NA ₄ ¹ zi-líp-a-pu.
RA 23, 80: 2, 12		Zike s. Šurki-Tilla lends bricks to a man.
*Santag 4, 10: 5–6		Zike s. Šurki-Tilla lends grain to a man.
*Santag 4, 11: 5′, 6′, 13′, 16′		Zike s. Šurki-Tilla acquires a field.
*Santag 4, 17: 1–2, etc.		Memorandum that sets out five grain loans made by Zike s. Šurki-Tilla to various men and one woman.
*Santag 4, 20: 3–4, 15		Declaration in which it is established that Zike s. Šurki-Tilla had lent grain to two men, who remain in his house until they repay the loan.
*Santag 4, 23: 1–2, 15–16		Memorandum that sets out two grain loans made by Zike s. Šurki-Tilla to various men (for that interpretation, see the corrections by Maidman 2004: 308).
*Santag 4, 24: 13–14		List of men and women who Zike received as an inheritance from his father, Šurki-Tilla (l. 13, ḪA.LA-šu). One of the seals belongs to Tarmi-Tilla s. Šurki-Tilla.
*Santag 4, 27: 4–5, 9		Zike s. Šurki-Tilla lends 2,000 bricks to another man.
*Santag 4, 32: 4		Letter from a person named Muštēya to Nul-Teššup (<i>cf.</i> Santag 4, 68), in which he states that Zike s. Šurki-Tilla, assisted by his brother Tarmi-Tilla, initiated a litigation in respect of an orchard.
*Santag 4, 37: 6, 12		Zike s. Šurki-Tilla lends 1,000 bricks to another man.

*Santag 4, 39: 2		Zike s. Šurki-Tilla lends grain to various men, all of them closely linked to Tarmi-Tilla's activities.
*Santag 4, 41: 4, 9		Zike s. Šurki-Tilla lends grain to a man.
*Santag 4, 47: 11		Šurki-Tilla's wife, his sons Tarmi-Tilla and Zike, as well as Kizzuk, acquire grain.
*Santag 4, 48: 4, 8		Šuwar-ninu states that Zike s. Šurki-Tilla had exchanged a quantity of grain; half of this quantity still remains on the debt of Puḫi-šenni, the son of Zike.
*Santag 4, 51: 3		Zike s. Šurki-Tilla delivers 52 helmets for horses to a man (<i>cf.</i> HSAO 7, 10).
*Santag 4, 68: 2		Zike s. Šurki-Tilla lends bricks to Nul-Teššup s. Purussa (<i>cf.</i> Santag 4, 32).
*Santag 4, 84: 3		Zike s. Šurki-Tilla acquires a field.
*Santag 4, 101: 6'		Fragmented loan to which Zike s. Šurki-Tilla is a party.
*Santag 4, 143: 7'		Zike s. Šurki-Tilla appears to receive grain.
*Santag 4, 144: 1'		Fragment of legal text, the main party involved being Zike s. Šurki-Tilla. Tarmi-Tilla is mentioned at l. 9'.
*Santag 4, 152: 2		Zike s. Šurki-Tilla hands over his sister Tulpun-Naya as wife to a man. The witnesses include Eḫli-Teššup, the son of Zike himself (l. 5').
*Santag 4, 156: 1, 6, 9, etc.		Memorandum that sets out (at least) four grain loans that Zike s. Šurki-Tilla made to various men.
TCL 9, 31: 2–3, 5, 11		Zike s. Šurki-Tilla consigns a quantity of bows (and, perhaps, arrows as well) to a man. I know no full transliteration of the text, see Wilhelm 1970: 58 and the collation by Arnaud 1974: 177: (1) [1 m]a- ^r at xx ¹ [(2) ^r x ¹ GIŠ.BAN.MEŠ [(3) an-nu-tu ₄ ša ¹ zi-k[é] (4) DUMU ^r šur ¹ -ki-til-la (5) ù ¹ zi-ké (6) a-na ŠU-ti ¹ mu-ú-[(7) it-ta-din (8) ù a-na na-ša-ri (9) [xx]- ^r x ¹ -za-am (10, R) [xxx]- ^r x ¹ - ^h e DÙ NÍG (11) [ša ² ¹ zi-ké (and traces of seals, according to Arnaud). Note the parallels to some texts

		commented by Von Dassow 2009; <i>contra</i> Maidman 1976a: 288, 474 n. 1334, who indicates that it is the probable transfer of 1 ANŠE A.ŠÀ.
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B: Texts that allude to Zike with no indication of patronym, but with a probability that they refer to Zike s. Šurki-Tilla or his wife, children and servants

Text and line(s) in which Zike is mentioned	Provenance	Summary
<u>Texts from official excavations</u>		
Note: I have not been able to check if the Zike who appears in other unpublished texts housed in Chicago, like JENu 1071f, 1146, 1151q and 1162au (Maidman 2005: 124, 160, 163, 170), may be Zike s. Šurki-Tilla (but see JENu 1155i above)		
HSS 14, 525 (see now photographs in CDLI no. 408810)	T 19	Letter in which Zike intervenes in the delivery or receipt of an amount of oil. Maidman (1976a: 289) identifies him as Zike s. Šurki-Tilla specifically because of his oil-dealing activity.
JEN 27 (translit. by Cassin 1938: 207–209)	T 13	Pseudo-adoption by Tarmi-Tilla s. Šurki-Tilla, whereby he acquires a field that borders another owned by a person called Zike (l. 10). Given the field's location in Zizza, Müller (1994: 158) identifies the Zike with the son of Šurki-Tilla.
<u>Texts from clandestine excavations</u>		
*BM 95221+: 26, 7', 9' (= Appendix II, no. 2)		Memorandum on various loans, probably made by Zike. The persons who sealed the document may include someone named Ippuhuya, who appears in RA 23, 61 and TCL 9, 26, documents that may come from Zike's archives (see below).
CT 51, 2: 16 (translit. by Mayer 1976: 195)	According to Dosch (1976: 269), the text may come from A 34, but she does not provide arguments for her assertion	List of grain loans made by Zike. Various debtors appear in CT 51, 3 (Zaccagnini 1975, 85), in which there appears Nai-šeriš, probably a male slave belonging to Zike (see comments in <i>Iraq</i> 77: 133).
CT 51, 6: 2, 5 (translit. by Zaccagnini 1975: 86 and Mayer 1976: 199)		Declaration by Hutip-Šimika in which he states that he took grain that originally belonged to Zike. Hutip-Šimika is associated with Zike s. Šurki-Tilla in RA 23, 74 (see above), and with Zike (without patronym) in RA 23, 66 (see below); cf. Zaccagnini 1975: 86.
*HSAO 7, 12: '1, 6, 11'		Zike distributes honey; a portion remains for his wife Wištanu.
*HSAO 7, 36: 3, 21		Letter from Zike to Turar-Teššup, indicating that Šurki-Tilla instructed that ewes be delivered to a person called Nai-šeri (see comments in <i>Iraq</i> 77: 133 below), and that the ewes should be fed. Includes Zike's seal.

*Iraq 77: 133: 8		<i>tidenūtu</i> contract between two men and Nai-šeri, a male slave belonging to Zike. Nai-šeri would doubtless have belonged to Zike s. Šurki-Tilla's circle, since he appears in a fair number of texts excavated clandestinely in Nuzi. In several of them (the current <i>Iraq</i> 77: 133: 7–8, as well as <i>RA</i> 23, 54: 4–5), he appears as Zike's slave. On other occasions, he appears as acting under the orders of Zike himself, the latter doubtless being Šurki-Tilla's son (HSAO 7, 36: 10, 20; see arguments in Müller 1994: 266); or another member of his family, like Zike's mother, Allai-turahhe (CT 51, 5: 4, 10, 18, 23; <i>RA</i> 23, 78: 2, 5). <i>Cf.</i> also CT 51, 3: 4, <i>na-i-še-ri</i> <i>ir-du</i> . Other unpublished texts in the BM mention him, but with no direct reference to Tehip-Tilla's family, e. g., BM 26228: 30, 39, etc.
Jank. 15: 5, 2'		Antichretic loan to which Puhi-šenni s. Zike is a party.
Jank. 73: 4'		Fragment of litigation that mentions various members of Tehip-Tilla's family, including Zike and Šurki-Tilla.
<i>RA</i> 23, 54: 5		Teħuya borrows a female slave from Nai-šeri, a male slave belonging to Zike (see comments in <i>Iraq</i> 77: 133 above).
<i>RA</i> 23, 55: 2, 8, 12, 13, 16		Loans made by Zike; Zike s. Šurki-Tilla's mother appears at l. 10 (<i>cf.</i> Maidman 1976b: 142f. n. 145).
<i>RA</i> 23, 57: 5	According to Dosch (1976: 269), the text may be from A 34, but she provides no arguments for her assertion	Puhi-šenni s. Zike lends grain to Urhiya.
<i>RA</i> 23, 61: 2–3		Wištanu w. Zike s. Šurki-Tilla explains that in the past, Zike carried out a financial transaction, and she now requires the return of certain assets, including a female slave (<i>cf.</i> <i>RA</i> 23, 62).
<i>RA</i> 23, 62: 7		Wištanu d. Kettura takes a field as <i>tidennu</i> (<i>cf.</i> <i>RA</i> 23, 61).
<i>RA</i> 23, 66: 6		"Cancellation of three tablets from the house of Zigi" (Gadd 1926: 136). The appearance of Hutip-Šimika in the document makes it certain that it is Zike s. Šurki-Tilla (Zaccagnini 1975: 86; and see comments in CT 51, 6 and <i>RA</i> 23, 74).
<i>RA</i> 23, 70: 11		List of persons contracted by Zike; one of the seals (l. 17) belongs to his brother Tarmi-Tilla.
<i>RA</i> 23, 75: 9	According to Dosch (1976: 269), the text may come from A34, but she does not provide arguments for her assertion	Note explaining that Šurki-Tilla has delivered grain to the troops, and that the debt (?) would be repaid to Zike (<i>cf.</i> Maidman 1976b: 142f. n. 145).

RA 23, 76: 15		Various people are given into the care of Eḫli-Teššup s. Zike.
*Santag 4, 2: 1		A field belonging to [Z]ike is handed over by other persons to his care. The identification of that figure with Zike s. Šurki-Tilla is based on the presence of the seals of two people who appear repeatedly in his archive. One of the seals corresponds to ^d AK.DINGIR.RA, whose presence in Zike s. Šurki-Tilla's archive is mentioned in speaking below about SCCNH 10: 381f. The second seal belongs to Eḫlip-apu, who, according to Müller (1998: 39), may be the <i>ḫazannu</i> , Nupa-nani's son, frequently present in the clandestine texts from Nuzi, and whose seal also appears in Santag 4, 17, which comes from Zike s. Šurki-Tilla's archive (see above).
*Santag 4, 5: 3, 5		Delivery of quivers and arrows to Zike. The document contains Zike's personal seal. There is high probability of him being Šurki-Tilla's son; see Müller 1998: 42, and <i>cf.</i> RA 23, 74.
*Santag 4, 13: 2		Memorandum (see the correction by Maidman 2004: 307 to the <i>editio princeps</i>) that sets out an order given by Puḫi-šenni, doubtless Zike s. Šurki-Tilla's son, wherein a soldier is ordered to hand over Tarmi-Tilla's daughter (i. e., the cousin of Puḫi-šenni himself) to Eḫli-Teššup (i. e., Puḫi-šenni's brother, thus also the girl's cousin). Note that, given the people involved in the document, one cannot rule out the fact that it may have belonged to Tarmi-Tilla s. Šurki-Tilla's archive more than that of his brother Zike.
*Santag 4, 31: 2, 7, 15		Puḫi-šenni s. Zike lends grain to another person.
*Santag 4, 34: 11		List of workers (mainly women) handed over to Ḫanaya; Wištanu w. Zike's seal (<i>cf.</i> the comments in Santag 4, 8 and 21).
*Santag 4, 45: 2, 11		Puḫi-šenni s. Zike lends grain to his aunt Tulpun-Naya d. Šurki-Tilla and to the latter's son, Wirraḫḫe s. Ith-apu (<i>cf.</i> Santag 4, 152).
*Santag 4, 58: 9'		Very fragmentary document in which Wištanu w. Zike probably has ewes delivered to Ḫulukka.
*Santag 4, 78: 2–3		List of oil belonging to Zike and that his wife Wištanu recovered from another man, to whom Zike s. Šurki-Tilla may have previously lent it (<i>cf.</i> RA 23, 61 and 62).
*Santag 4, 93: 10'		Fragment of a list of unknown intent, probably to do with grain distribution ([AN]ŠE in l. 9', according to Maidman 2004: 311). There appears Tieš-urḫe, who, in all probability is Takku's son and, thus, Zike s. Šurki-Tilla's cousin (the same idea in Maidman 1986: 276 and Müller 1998: 177). Zike's name at l. 10' is followed at l. 11' by [...]–til-la, but the space in the copy suggests that it is not [DUMU šur-ki]–til-la (no photograph in CDLI no. P481235).

*Santag 4, 96: 8´		Grain allocations to various people, including Wirrahḫe (l. 1´), probably Zike s. Šurki-Tilla's nephew. The document is sealed by Wištanu w. Zike.
*Santag 4, 126: 4´, 11´		Fragment of a pseudo-adoption. In all probability, the adoptee is Teḫiya, a male slave whom Zike s. Šurki-Tilla received from his father (Santag 4, 24); thus, the adopter would be Zike himself.
*Santag 4, 137: 4		List of ewes belonging to various people, among whom is a person named Zike. That is doubtless Zike s. Šurki-Tilla, since on at least two occasions, some of the animals belong to Tarmi-Tilla (ll. 2, 6). In addition, the list is sealed by Ḫulukka, a well-known shepherd who intervened in the archive belonging to Tarmi-Tilla, Zike, and his wife (Müller 1998: 213, and previously Morrison 1981: 289).
*SCCNH 1: 441 no 1: 5		Wištanu w. Zike delivers ewes to Wantiya.
*SCCNH 10: 381f.: 13		Memorandum that sets out several grain loans made by Zike. Surprisingly, of the tens of personal names (with patronyms), only a few appear in the corpus of the kingdom of Arrapḫe; one of them may indicate that this Zike is Šurki-Tilla's son. There appears the seal of ^d AK.DINGIR.RA, a scribe who drafted documents for many members of Teḫip-Tilla's family, including the generation containing Šurki-Tilla's sons and Zike himself (e. g., RA 23, 75 or TCL 9, 26, above). Also included is Nizzuk's seal, used in Santag 4, 23 (see above), a text in which Zike s. Šurki-Tilla appears. In l. 10 there appears Kuššiya s. Ḫaniyu, a decurion who appears in HSS 5, 77, text that mentions Al-teya s. Alippiya (l. 6), who appears with Tarmi-Tilla s. Šurki-Tilla in JEN 542 (see that parallel in Dosch 1976: 245, and a more up-to-date transcription in Fincke 1993b: 54). In addition, it should be observed l. 19 mentions Awīlu; a " <i>dimtu</i> of Awīlu" is well known in Arrapḫe (Fincke 1993a: 65), including in the text JEN 662+: 13, well known for mentioning Šurki-Tilla's two sons (see above).
TCL 9, 1: 25 (translit. by Transcription in Gordon 1935: 178f.)		List of objects delivered by Zike to a woman called Puḫu-menni (who, in addition, seals the document). That woman is probably Kerašše's daughter, who appears in RA 23, 76: 10 as being handed over, together with other people, to Eḫli-Teššup, Zike s. Šurki-Tilla's son. There is lesser probability of it being the Puḫu-menni d. Ḫana[...] who appears in JEN 722 and who, together with Turari's children, transfers plots of land in Nuzi to Teḫip-Tilla s. Puḫi-šenni.

TCL 9, 24: 6' (translit. by Fadhil 1972: 11, and see additional comments by Müller 1994: 70)		Tarmi-Tilla and Zike deliver a certain amount of grain, perhaps to provision the chariot-transport horses.
TCL 9, 26: 8', 13'		Fragment of the reverse (Arnaud 1974: 177) of a litigation concerning the ownership of some ewes and to which Zike is a party. One of the litigants, Ħutiya s. Ippuĥuya (l. 2'), appears several times in RA 23, 61 (see above), document in which Wistanzu w. Zike s. Šurki-Tilla is a participant. Ippuĥuya himself probably appears in BM 95221+: 2'' (= Appendix II, no. 2). In addition, it has been shown (Lion et al. 2016: 65) that the document bears the seal of Ataya s. Muš-Teššup/Ariya, who appears in various documents of which the main party is Zike s. Šurki-Tilla (e. g., RA 23, 70 or JEN 662+, see above). No transcription exists of TCL 9, 26: (1')]- ¹ pu ² ul im- ¹ ĥu ¹ -(2') ¹ ĥu-ti-ia DUMU ip-pu ¹ -ĥu-[ia] (3') ¹ ú-na-ap-ta-e (4') [DU]MU ti-ri-ku ù ¹ zi-l[i-xx] (5') [1]+2 LÚ.MEŠ an-nu-tu ₄ ma-an-za-t[ù-uh-le-(e)] (6') [i]š-tap-ru ¹ -uš ù ¹ ak-ku-l[e-en-ni] (7') [i]š-tu DINGIR.MEŠ ¹ it ¹ -tù-ur-ra (8') [a/i]-na di-ni ¹ [z]i-ké SIPA ¹ x ¹ -(9') ¹ ù ¹ DI.KU ₅ .MEŠ ak-ku-le-en-[ni] (10') [a-n]a 20 UDU.MUNUS.MEŠ ša ù.TU (11') [a-n]a 8 UDU.NITA.MEŠ GAL 3 bá-[aq-nu] (12') ka ₄ -lu-mu MUNUS ša ti-ši- ¹ e ¹ -(13') ¹ zi-ké ki-i ma- ¹ tu ₄ -(14') [i]t-ta-du-uš ša 6 U[DU] ² (15') [š]a ² U.TU ú-x-lum-[(16') KU]S ² 6 ka ₄ -lu-mi e- ¹ x ¹ -(17')]- ¹ x ¹ KUS.MES ša UDU a-na (18')]- ¹ x ¹ -ir (20') ^[d] AK.DINGIR.RA DUB.SAR

C: Other possible references (sometimes indirect ones) to Zike s. Šurki-Tilla, or possible references to his wife and children (not to his mother, Allai-turaĥĥē, or to his uncle Tarmi-Tilla)

Text	Provenance	Summary
<u>Texts from official excavations</u>		
*JEN 865	T 15? See the discrepancies on that datum in Lacheman et al. 1989: 42, Maidman 2005: 29 (= JENu 580a; Maidman does not consider a join with JENu 580b in Maidman 2005: 281).	Zike intervenes with Ith-apu in allocating a bull. For the possible identification of that Zike with Šurki-Tilla's son, see Maidman 1976a: 289 n. 1352. No transcription of the document exists: (1) ¹ it ¹ -ĥa-pu ¹ DUMU a ¹ -(coll. NPN, p. 75a) (2) ir-ta-ak-ma (3) ù 1 GU ₄ tá-bu (4) i-zi-ib-mi ¹ x ¹ [(5) ¹ zi ¹ -ké IGL.MEŠ (6) ¹ ù ¹ [i]t-ĥa-pu (7) ù ¹ [z]i-ké IGL.[MEŠ ²] (8) ¹ ú-[n] ¹ a ¹ -a-a DUMU ¹ a ¹ [r ² -ĥu] (9) ¹ pí- ¹ x ¹ -am- ¹ x ¹ -(10) ¹ x ¹ [(R, 11) [NA ₄] ¹ a ¹ (copy: i)-ni-na-pí (12) NA ₄ ¹ it-ĥa-pu (13) ¹ N ¹ [A ₄] i]t-ĥi-til-la (14) [N]A ₄ ¹ ma-li-ia (U, 15) [NA ₄ ¹ x]-za-ta-e.

<u>Texts from clandestine excavations</u>	
* <i>AoF</i> 41: 17 no. 1	List of people (mainly women) who receive allocations. Many of those people frequently appear in the archives of Zike s. Šurki-Tilla or, more specifically, those of his wife Wištanžu (see Fincke 2014: 16; the documents in which those figures appear together are set out in that same table, below: CT 51, 7; Santag 4, 21; TCL 9, 22; etc.).
*BM 102372 (= Appendix II, no. 4)	Very fragmentary loan in which Zike is mentioned. The scribe is ^d AK.DINGIR.RA, on whose presence together with Zike s. Šurki-Tilla see the comments in SCCNH 10: 381f. above (and <i>cf.</i> Santag 4, 2). Also appearing is Nai-šeri, on whom see the comments in <i>Iraq</i> 77: 133 above; and probably the woman called Wellat-kui, similarly present in TCL 9, 22 (see below).
CT 51, 7 (translit. by Mayer 1976: 200)	List of women who receive allocations of grain. At l. 12 there appears ^f <i>pá-i-ma</i> , who would doubtless have been a member of Wištanžu w. Zike's staff, and may previously have served on the staff of other members of the family (<i>cf.</i> the comments by Zaccagnini 1975: 87 and Fincke 2014: 16, and see documents <i>AoF</i> 41: 17 no. 1: 10, Santag 4, 21: 6, 136: 4' and TCL 9, 22: 12). One may add CT 51, 14, not highlighted by the mentioned scholars.
*Santag 4, 8	Šar-Tilla receives grain and seed. No mention is made of a person called Zike, but Müller (1998: 45) indicates that one of the people who delivers the grain may be the Hanaya who worked for Wištanžu w. Zike (Santag 4, 34: 9), who here may be acting as her representative. On the other person who appears, it is also possible that the person belonged to Zike's administration or, at least, that of his children (see Müller 1998: 46).
*Santag 4, 21	List of men and women who receive grain allocations, and mention of allocations to horses. It may be slaves belonging to Zike s. Šurki-Tilla, since his wife Wištanžu disposes of several of them in Santag 4, 34 (see below); see the discussion in Müller 1998: 75. It is also indicated that some personal names appear in texts from the previous generation (i. e., Šurki-Tilla or his wife Allai-turaḥḥe), so Santag 4, 21 may not have belonged to Zike s. Šurki-Tilla's archive.
*Santag 4, 25	List of ewes distributed to people. One of those people is Nai-šeri (l. 14), who, in all probability, is a male slave belonging to Zike. (arguments in Müller 1998: 85, and see comments in <i>Iraq</i> 77: 133 above). It is also possible that the text might have belonged to Wištanžu w. Zike.
*Santag 4, 65	Fragmentary transaction concerning a female slave. The presence of several figures shows that the document may originally have belonged to Šurki-Tilla's archive or that of Tarmi-Tilla, with the probable mention of Puḥi-šenni s. Zike (l. 8). If the document has been correctly interpreted, the female slave's name is Kukku, and she is the one whom Zike inherited from his father, Šurki-Tilla, in Santag 4, 24: 5.
*Santag 4, 85	Very fragmentary pseudo-adoption in which a person named [Zi]ke (l. 8') is adopted by two people; no prosographical item links him directly with Zike s. Šurki-Tilla.
*Santag 4, 86	Similar to the previous one (mention of Zike at l. 23').
*Santag 4, 97	Very fragmentary pseudo-adoption in which the adoptee may be [Zike s. Šurki]-Tilla. That supposition is based mainly on the fact that the Zini who impressed his seal (l. 7') worked for Zike s. Šurki-Tilla (as in BM 17605 above). See Müller 1998: 181, and the same impression better preserved in Santag 4, 59 (with no reference to Zike or other members of the family).

	However, it will be observed that the two documents indicated (Jank. 1: 26 and 28: 4') were drafted by Zini for Šurki-Tilla, not for Zike (the same as Santag 4, 6+151 in Fincke 1999: 308–310; or perhaps JEN 737, written for a slave of Tehip-Tilla); hence, the restoration that Müller offers for Santag 4, 97: 2 is possible, but not sure. The scribe Zini is attested in other unpublished texts from the “western suburban area” (see, e.g., JENu 1159a in Maidman 2005: 166).
*Santag 4, 98	Similar to the previous case (l. 3: [¹ zi-ké DUMU šu]r-ki-til-la); the scribe appears to be ^d AK.DINGIR.RA, on whose presence in Zike s. Šurki-Tilla's archive see the comments in SCCNH 10: 381f. (and cf. Santag 4, 2). Müller (1998: 278b) explicitly identifies this Zike as the son of Šurki-Tilla. Also similar to Santag 4, 97 and 98 are Santag 4, 99: 11' and 127: 2, but with fewer clues and more uncertain restorations.
*Santag 4, 132	Fragmentary list of cereal allocations to various men. One of them is Hulukka, who should probably be identified with the figure who appears in documents from Zike s. Šurki-Tilla, his wife Wištanzu, or Tarmi-Tilla s. Šurki-Tilla (see Müller 1998: 213).
*Santag 4, 136	Fragmentary list of the names of women who probably received allocations of some type. The situation is similar to AoF 41: 17 no. 1 above, so the document would probably have belonged to Wištanzu w. Zike.
TCL 9, 20	Probable barley loan by a person named Zike to various people. No transcription exists (see the collation by Arnaud 1974: 176): (1) [xx] ANŠE ŠE.MEŠ ša ¹ zi-k[é] (2) [¹ š]a-ka ₄ -ra-ak-ti DUMU ^d [(3) [¹ x]- ^r ur ¹ -ra DUMU wa-aḫ-r[i-x] (4) [¹ k]i-pá-a-a DUMU ké-wa-[(5) [¹ be]-li ² -ia DUMU a-ḫu-[ia ²] (6) [¹ wa]-an-ti-ia DUMU ^r x ¹ -[(7) [xx] šī-bu-ti ¹ ki a-[(8) [xx]-e DUMU ké-en-na-pí [(9) [a-na] ^r UR ₅ ¹ .RA il-[qú-ú] (Rest of obverse and lower edge destroyed) (1', R) [a-na] SAG.DU-šu-ma [(2') i-na URU nu-zi ^r x ¹ -[(3') ma-an-nu-um-me-e ^r KI ¹ ?, [BAL] (4') aš-bu ù 10 GÍ[N KÙ.BABBAR a-na] (5') ¹ zi-ké ú-[ma-al-la] (6') ¹ ar-til-l[a] (U, 7') NA ₄ ¹ ki-pá-a-a NA ₄ ¹ ka ₄ ² -[(Le, 8') NA ₄ ¹ xxx DUB].SAR DUMU en-na-ma-ti.
TCL 9, 22 (translit. by Gordon 1935: 183, but better see Zaccagnini 1975: 87)	Very fragmentary list of women who receive grain allocations. The situation is very similar to the one established above for CT 51, 7.
TCL 9 34	Probable barley loan by a person named Zike; Jankowska (1961: 521) assumes that it is Zike s. Šurki-Tilla. No transcription exists: (1) 1 ma-at 4 ANŠE ŠE (2) ša qà-ti ša (3) [¹ z]i-ké [(4, R) [xx] a-na še-ri (5) [NA ₄ ¹ i] ^r 1-ḫi-til-la.

8. Appendix II: Unpublished texts referring to Zike s. Šurki-Tilla and housed in London

(1) BM 17623

Dimensions: 85 × 55 × 26.5 mm.

Photograph: CDLI no. P469230.

Abstracts: Maidman 1986: 265: “Statement of Alki-tilla son of Urḫiya. He confirms that he has released land to Zike son of Šurki-tilla. Document written in Artiḫi. Scribe: ...-RI-tešup.” Sigrist et al. 1996, 79: “Transfer of land from Ahhi-tilla to Zigi.”

Other: Fincke 1995: 29: “Nach BM 17623 ist er [= Uṭṭap-Tae s. Akipta-šenni] Zeuge bei einer Transaktion von Zike, dem Sohn des Šurki-tilla.”

- 2 $\text{r}^1\text{um}^1\text{-ma}^1\text{al-ki-til-}\text{r}^1\text{la-ma}^1$
 $\text{r}^2\text{? ANŠE A.ŠÀ ša}^1\text{r}^1\text{xx}^1\text{-[x]-}\text{r}^1\text{x}^1\text{-ia}$
 $i\text{+na}^1\text{sú-ta-an}^1\text{r}^1\text{A}^?\text{.ŠÀ}^?\text{š}^1\text{[a}$
 4 $\text{DUMU š-i-mi-ka}_4\text{-ta}^1\text{[l}^2\text{]-}\text{r}^1\text{xx}^1$
 $\text{ù}^1\text{ut-ḥáp-}\text{r}^1\text{ta-e}^?\text{xx}^1\text{[A].ŠÀ}^?$
 6 $i\text{+na}^1\text{š-u-pa-}\text{r}^1\text{al x}^1\text{-[]-}\text{r}^1\text{mi}^1\text{?}$
 $i\text{+na}^1\text{il-ta-a[n]}^1\text{ma}^?\text{-[]-}\text{r}^1\text{am}^?\text{E}^1\text{?}$
 8 $\text{ša ku-ti-}\text{r}^1\text{xxx}^1$
 $\text{z}^1\text{i-ké DUMU šur-ki-til-}\text{r}^1\text{la}^1$
 10 $\text{un-te-š-i-}\text{r}^1\text{ir xx}^1\text{[]}\text{r}^1\text{x}^1$
 $\text{AS EGIR-ki}^1\text{il}^2\text{-ka}_4\text{?}^1\text{[}$
 12 $\text{la-a}^1\text{ša}^1\text{z}^1\text{i-k}^1\text{é x}^1\text{la}$
 $\text{r}^1\text{al-ki-til-}\text{r}^1\text{la x}^1\text{[]}\text{r}^1\text{x}^1$
 14 $\text{AS EGIR-}\text{r}^1\text{ki il}^2\text{-ka}_4\text{? ti-x}^1\text{-[}$
 $\text{DUMU.MES}^1\text{r}^1\text{la na-š}^1\text{[i]}\text{r}^1\text{xx}^1\text{[}$
 16 $\text{[x] [x] []}\text{r}^1\text{x i-x}^1$
 $\text{[]}\text{r}^1\text{x}^1$
 Lo $\text{[e]l}^2\text{-la-mi}$

 [] (Presumably another line)

 R $\text{r}^1\text{IGI}^1\text{ut-ḥáp}^1\text{-}\text{r}^1\text{ta}^1\text{-e DUMU a-kip-ta}^1\text{-še-}\text{r}^1\text{en-ni}^1$
 $\text{[IG]r}^1\text{i ki}^1\text{-in-ni DUMU nu-pu-e}$
 22 $\text{[IGI]}\text{r}^1\text{x}^1\text{-š-i-ia DUMU a-ta-te}$
 $\text{[IGI]}\text{r}^1\text{en}^1\text{-na-ma-ti DUMU pu-ut}^1\text{-t}^1\text{ù}^1$
 24 $\text{[IGI x]}\text{-}\text{r}^1\text{x}^1\text{-te-}\text{r}^1\text{šup}^1\text{PI}^1\text{GIR ka-al}^2\text{-}\text{r}^1\text{x}^1$
 $\text{[ŠU}^1\text{]ar-te-šup tup-šar-rù}$
 26 $\text{[xx]}\text{-}\text{r}^1\text{na}^1\text{-din-š-u-mi}$
 $\text{[tup-pu AS] EGIR-ki šu-du-ti}$
 28 $\text{[AŠ URU a]r-ti-ḥe šà-tì-ir}$

 (Seal)

 $\text{[NA}_4\text{r}^1\text{en]}\text{-na-ma-ti}$

 (Seal)

 30 $\text{[NA}_4\text{r}^1\text{]}^1\text{r}^1\text{ki}^1\text{-in-ni}$
 U $\text{[]}\text{r}^1\text{xx}^1$

 (Seal)

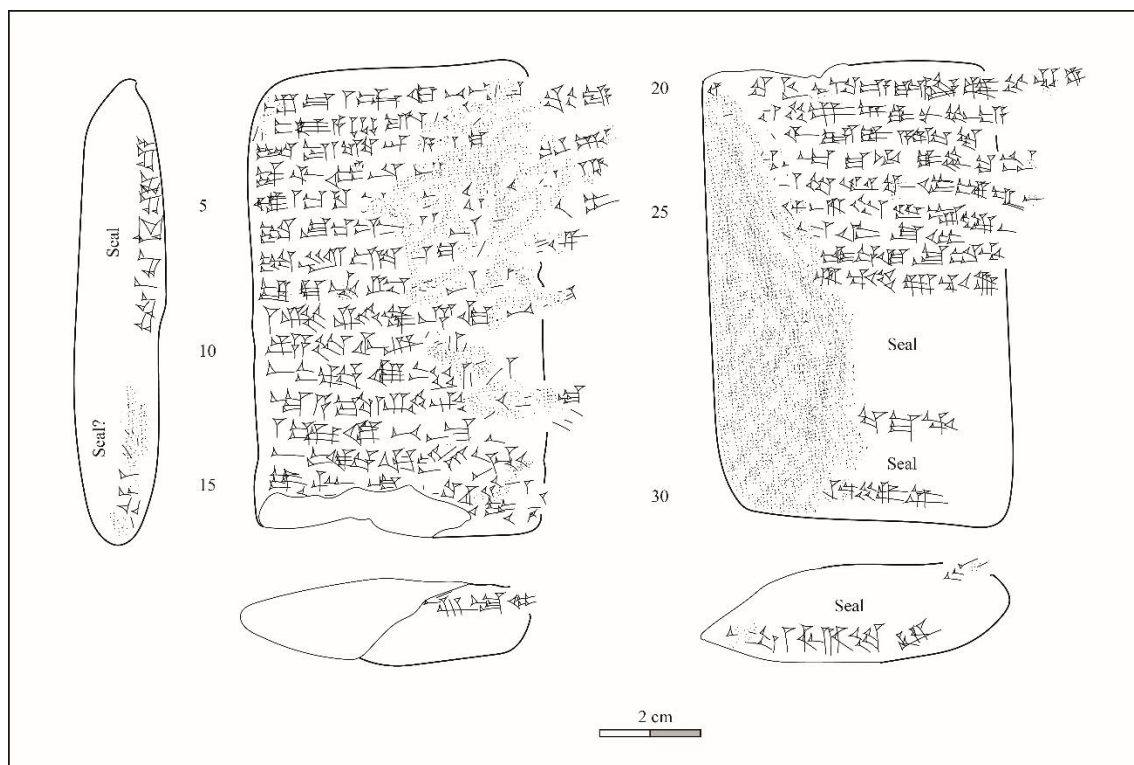
 32 $\text{r}^1\text{NA}_4\text{r}^1\text{ar-te-}\text{r}^1\text{šup}^1$

 (Seal) (Seal?)

 Le $\text{r}^1\text{NA}_4\text{r}^1\text{x}^1\text{[xx] NA}_4\text{r}^1\text{ut-ḥáp-ta-e}$

Notes:

- 4 Perhaps DUMU.MUNUS *ur-te-^re¹*, attested with the very same spelling in HSS 19, 64 (in *PNKA* U 209 Lacheman includes an *ur-te-e* in SMN 1600, but such a number corresponds to EN 11/1 2 and no Urte is mentioned). Note, however, that such a sign *te* is very different from others in this text (cf., e.g., l. 10).
- 20 Uthaptae s. Akipta-šenni acted in various adoption agreements of Tarmi-Tilla, the brother of Zike s. Šurki-Tilla (Fincke 1995: 28f.).
- 23 An *[en]-^rna¹-ma-ti* DUMU *^rpu¹-ut-tù* is attested in EN 11/2, 79: 9 (room not given).
- 21, 30 A personal name, Kinniya, is attested in AASOR 16, 54 (cf. *NPN* 83a), Nupue is not (Nupuya in JEN 308).
- 24 I am not able to see any coherence to the last sequence of the line.
- 25 Ar(i)-Teššup is a well-known scribe within Tehip-Tilla's family (*NPN* 38b).



No. 1 = BM 17623

(2) BM 95221+

Dimensions: 139 × 75 × 30.5 mm.

Abstract: Maidman 1986: 276: “A tablet recording at least four loans. At least one is to be repaid at Nuzi. *Z(ike?)* is possibly the lender.”

Other: Fincke 1993a: 195 includes several attestations of URU *Nuzi*.

- 12 A[NŠE?
 2 ù ᵀx¹-[
 ù ᵀᵀx¹-[
 4 ᵀú-
 ᵀna-
 6 ᵀ¹un-
 a-šar ᵀx¹-[
 8 si ra ᵀx¹ [
 12 ᵀAN¹[SE
 10 AS UR[U
 ma-an-[nu-um-me
 12 10¹? AN[ŠE
 ù [
 14 LÚ ir²-[
 ———[
 10 A[NŠE
 16 70 A[NŠE
 ᵀna¹¹-[
 18 ᵀk[é] ᵀz[i-l]i-pu-kùr ᵀx¹-[
 ᵀur-ᵀᵀi¹-ia DUMU a-ri-i[ᵀ-ᵀa-ma-an-na
 20 ù ᵀa-pá DUMU en-šúk-r[u]
 a-na MAS-ti il-te-qú ᵀú¹-[ta-ru
 22 ù U-ri SE.ME qa-du MA[S-ti
 5 LÚ.ME an-nu-tù 14+ᵀ¹¹ [
 24 AS URU nu-zi ú-ta-ru [
 ma-an-nu-um-me-e AŠ Š[À
 26 a-ši-ib ù ŠE.ME a-šar ᵀz[i-ké
 LU a-na LU ma-ᵀi-iš ᵀpu-ti¹ [
 ———[
 28 20 + 2(erased?) ANS[E] ᵀSE¹.ME ᵀi-na-an-di¹
 ᵀᵀki¹-ri-ᵀip-še-r¹[i-iš
 30 ᵀše-eš-w[a¹-a-a
 ᵀ¹ᵀa-x¹-[

(Rest of obverse and beginning of reverse destroyed)

- R ᵀxx¹ [
 2' ᵀxxx¹ [
 ma-ᵀan¹-[x]-ᵀx¹-[
 4' ù ᵀx¹-[
 LUGAL U[RU?
 6' ᵀe[n-
 ᵀz[i-ké
 8' LUGAL ᵀx¹-[
 ᵀzi-[ké

10' *ú-ma-[al-la*
 ù [
 12' *di-ṛx¹-[*
 ṛx¹ [

(Some lines destroyed)

(Seal?)

N[A₄

(Seal?)

2''NA₄ [

(Seal?)

NA₄ ṛx¹-[

Le (Seal)

(Seal)

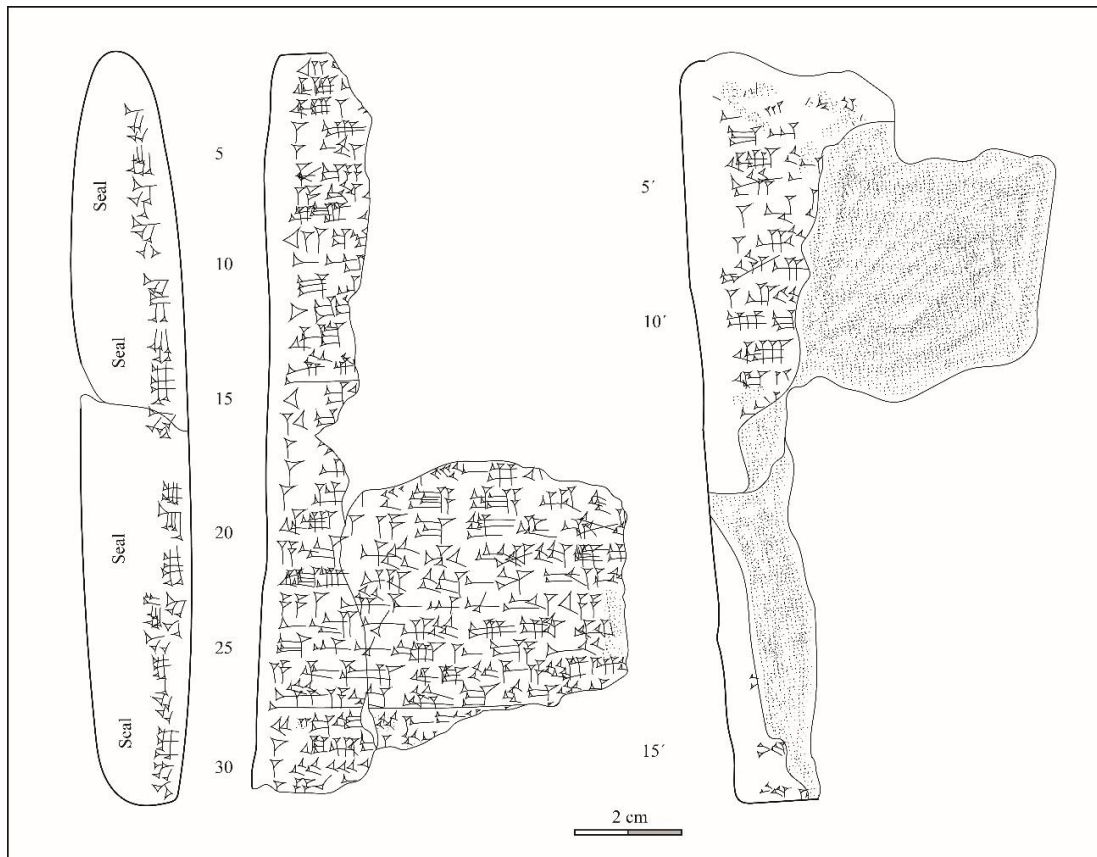
(Seal)

(Seal)

NA₄ *ip-pu-ṛhu'(tablet: ta?)-ia¹* NA₄ *ú-šu-ku* NA₄ *ú-i-ta* NA₄ *na-i-te*

Notes:

- 10 The initial sign is not the usual *Winkelhaken*, such as those in ll. 1, 9, 15, etc., but it seems more like an AŠ sign.
- 18 Both personal names, Kelip-ukur and Zilip-ukur, are well attested within the corpus of Nuzi (PNKA K 176 and Z 90); now add the Kelip-ukur s. Ḫa[...] of BM 95533+: 7 (see below, no. 3).
- 19 A certain Urḫiya has Ariḫamana as father in JEN 342, and Ari... in JEN 614.
- 20 En-šukru is the father of Apa, according to HSS 5, 95: 22.
- 22 Ú-ri, the significance escapes me. Palaeographically, it is not possible to read Ú-ti and therefore it is not an exchange agreement (see on such sequence Ú-ti, usually included in *šupe''ultu* transactions, Maidman 1994: 95 and additionally Andrews 1994: I 155–169). Another possibility, already proposed by Maidman (1994: 95), would be to interpret that the first sign Ú = DIRI in the Nuzi scribal system (= *atri*, see *MesZL* no. 207), hence the whole sequence Ú-ri might be read as *atri*, “the excess” of grain.
- 25 AŠ Š[À, or, perhaps, *mu-*], or AŠ *t[e*.
- 8' Perhaps LUGAL *a[r-ra-ap-ḫe]*?
- 1''' See *ip-pu-ḫu-ia* in JEN 27: 28, RA 23, 61: 3 and TCL 9, 26: 27.



No. 2 = BM 95221+

(3) BM 95533+95543

Dimensions: 70 × 94 × 24 mm.

Abstract: Maidman 1986: 282: “Two loans, at least, of barley. The first is extended by *Zike* son of *Šurki-tilla* to *Ipšaya* son *Erati*, *Tura* son of *Aḫ-ummiša*, *Pal-teya* son of *x-ḫip-šarri*, and *Ariḫ-ḫamanna* son of *A-x...* The second involves *Kelip-ukur* son of *Ḫa-x...*”

6 ANŠE ŠE.MEŠ ša ¹zi-ké DUMU šur-ki-til-la
 2 ¹ip-šá-a-a DUMU e-ra-ti ¹¹tù-ú-ra DUMU a-ḫu-um-m[i-ša]
¹pal-te-e-a DUMU el-ḫi-ip-LUGAL ù ¹a-ri-ḫa-ma-an-na DUMU a-¹x¹-[
 4 a-na UR₅.RA i[l-qú]-¹ú¹ i+na EGIR-ki EBUR-ri ù 6 ANŠ[E ŠE.MEŠ
 it-ti MÁ[Š¹²-ti]-¹x¹ ŠE¹.ME a-na ¹zi-ké ú-ta-ru
 6 ma-an-nu-[um-me-e i+na lib-bi-š]u-nu aš-bu ù ŠE.MEŠ ù 1 ¹qa¹² [
 —————]
 3 AN[ŠE ŠE.MEŠ ša ¹xx DUMU xx-t]ù⁷ ¹ké-li-ip-pu-kùr DUMU ḫa-[
 8 ša ¹[]-¹xxx¹ (erased)
¹a-[]-¹x¹
 10 e²-¹x¹-[i+na EGIR]-ki EBUR-ri

i[*t-ti* MÁŠ-*ti*
12 ʿ_x¹-[

]-ʿ_x¹.MEŠ *an*-ʿ_x¹-[
] ʿ_{xx}¹

(Rest of obverse and reverse destroyed)

U NA₄ ʿ_{xx}¹[

]-ʿ_{xx}¹

(Seal)

(Seal)

(Seal)

2'

NA₄ ʿBAL-*e-ka*₄-*li* NA₄ ʿ*t*[*a*²-*h*]*e-ia*

Le

NA₄ ʿ*ip-šá-a-a*

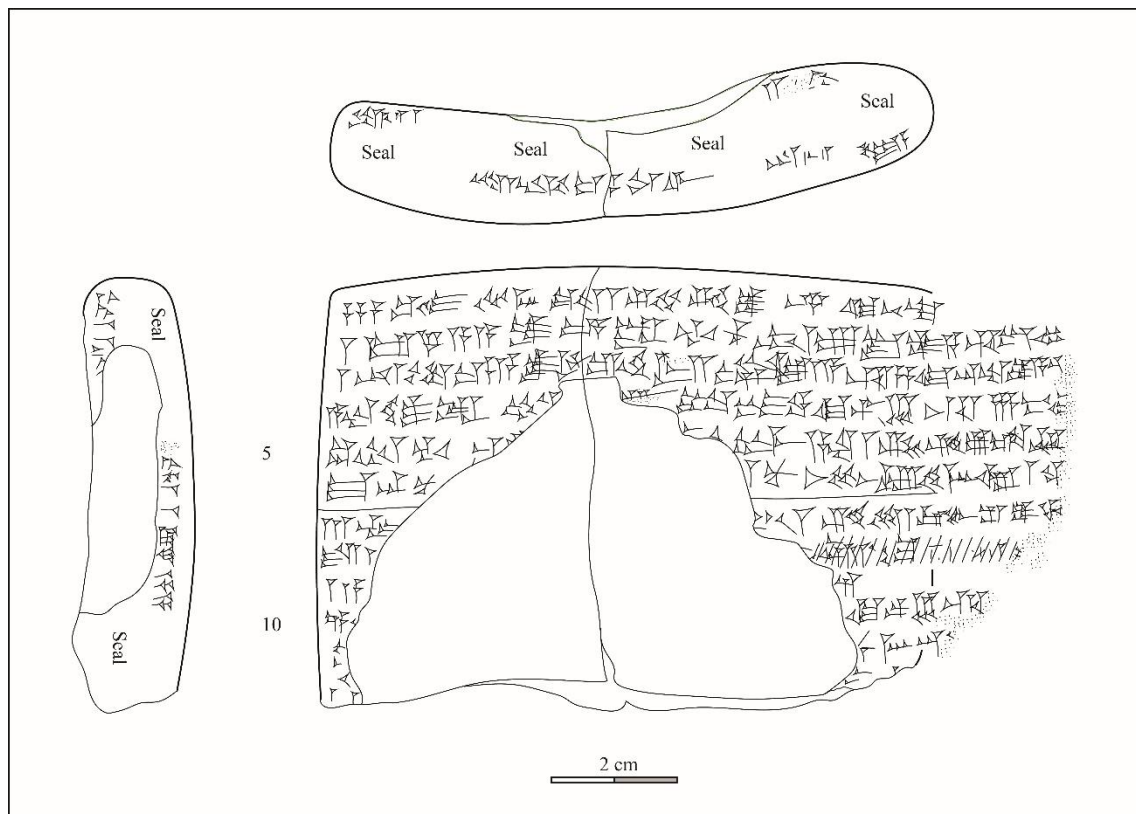
(Seal)

(Seal)

4' NA₄ ʿ_x¹-[

Notes:

2' Taḥeya (tentative reading), unattested personal name.



No. 3 = BM 95533+95543

(4) BM 102372

Dimensions: 125 × 42 × 18 mm.

Abstract: Maidman 1986: 284: “Loan text. *Zike* extends a loan to ... *Wunnukiya*, ...-*e*, *Nai-šeri*, ...-*x-atku* son of ‘ditto’, *Unaya*, ...-*x-šarri*, *Kubiya* son of *Huzi*..., and possibly others. Scribe(?): ^dAK.DINGIR.RA.”

^š]a ¹zi-*ké*
 2'] ¹wu-un-nu-ki-ia
]-e ¹na-i-š*e-ri*
 4' ¹we-el-l]a-at-ku-i ¹KI¹(erased?).MIN ¹ú-na-a-a
]-¹x¹-LUGAL ¹ku-pí-ia DUMU *hu-z*[i-
 6'] EBUR *it-ti* MÁŠ-š*u*
] *ú-ta-ar-ru*
 8' *m*]a-*hi-iš* pu-ti *š*¹a x¹-¹x¹
]-¹x¹ MAS-ti ¹ki-¹x¹-[
 10']-a-pu DUMU pu-¹x¹-[
]-a DUMU-š*u* zi-[*ké*
 12'] ¹x¹ (erased?) *i*¹(tablet: DUMU³)-*t*[*e*]-¹pu¹-uš ¹ú²¹ [
 -*r*]i-in ¹xxx¹ [
 14'] ¹z[*i*²-*ké*²

(Rest of obverse, lower edge and beginning of reverse destroyed)

]-¹x¹-[
 2'' -*n*]i-pu-[
]-z*a*²-¹a¹²-[
 4'']-¹x¹-*ha*²
]-pu

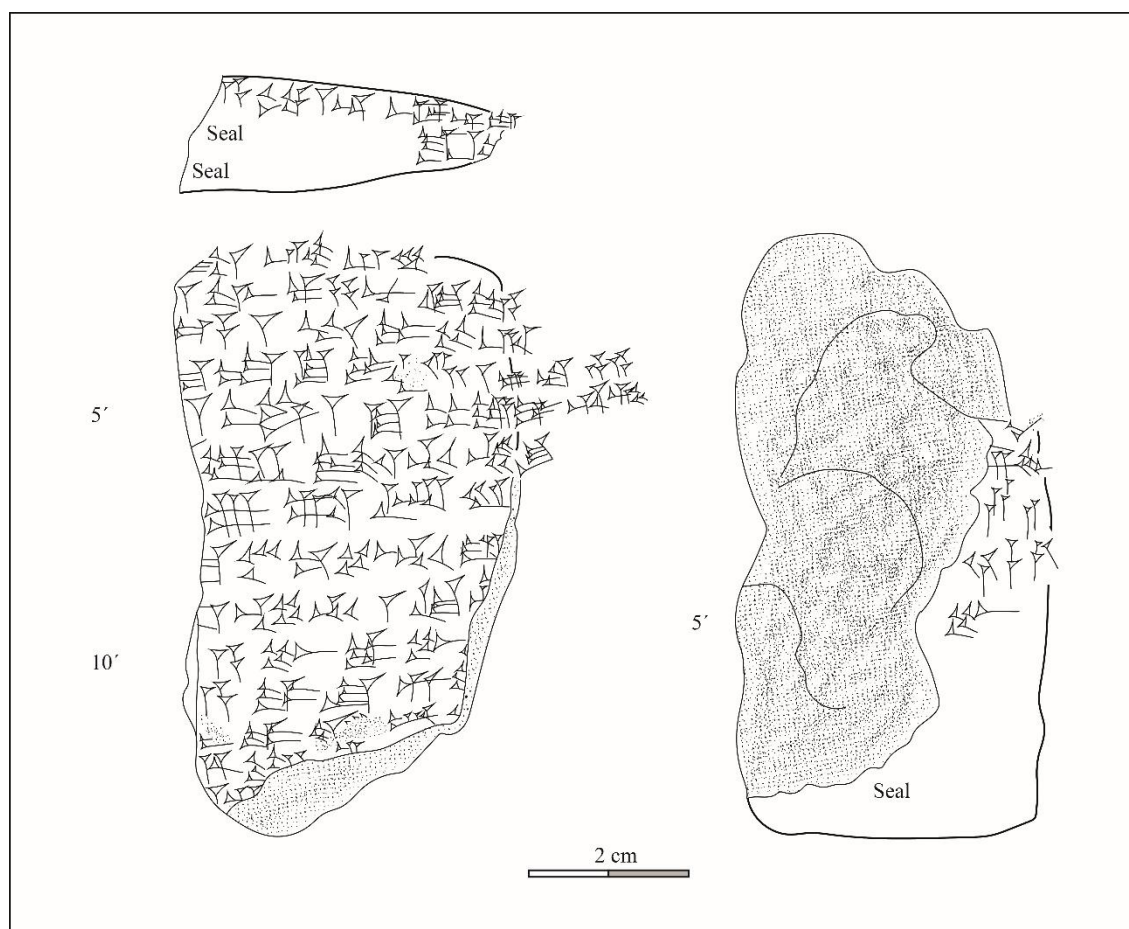
(Seal)

U [NA₄ ¹xxx]-a NA₄ ¹dAK.DINGIR.R[A
 DUB.S[AR

(Seal)

Notes:

- 4' Note that a woman named Wellat-kui is attested in TCL 9, 22: 27, a document presumably coming from the archives of Zike s. Šurki-Tilla (see Appendix I, C).
 9' The final personal name might well be ¹ki-i[n-ni], see, e.g., BM 17623: 30 (no. 1 above).
 2'' [n]i, perhaps [i]r.



No. 4 = BM 102372

9. Bibliography

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