

HURRIANS IN THE KÜLTEPE TEXTS

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There is general agreement that those parts of the Fertile Crescent which were settled earliest by Hurrian-speaking populations were the north-eastern Jazira and northern Assyria. They are well-attested in the eastern Jazira and in Assyria as early as the Akkad period. It has been traditional belief that the Hurrians were “mountain-dwellers”, living in the Eastern Taurus and Northern Zagros ranges and beyond, before they entered the plains. Recently, however, new arguments were presented which support the view that Hurrians had participated in the culture, institutions and interactions of the Ancient Near East for hundreds of years before they appear in written documentation; Giorgio Buccellati and Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati argued that the temple platform at Tell Mozan / Urkeš shows a continuity of permanent use from the Nineveh 5 period to the end of the third millennium BC and concluded that Hurrians had lived there since the beginning of the third millennium at the latest.¹ This hypothesis coincides well with this writer’s argument that Hurrian anthroponymy points at a long “*Sprachbund*” situation between Hurrian and ancient Semitic languages, because Hurrian shares a certain type of sentence-names with Akkadian, Amorite and Canaanite. The important point is that the Hurrian sentence-names place the finite verbal form in the initial position as is the case with Semitic sentence-names, though the normal position of verbal forms in all Hurrian texts including the oldest ones is the final position (at least if not topicalized).²

It is also considered common knowledge that there were movements which implied a westward shift of the Hurrian language, i.e. to south-central Anatolia, to northern and central Syria, and eventually – possibly – as far south as Palestine. It is much less clear, however, when exactly this happened. A safe, though not very exact *terminus ante quem* for the introduction of the Hurrian language in regions west of the upper Euphrates is provided by texts from Kültepe, Mari and Alalah VII, and the late pre-Sargonic period texts from Ebla mark the *terminus post quem* at least for a significant part of northern Syria.

Not all the Hurrian names in Kültepe texts can be used for defining the linguistic status of Hurrian in the west. Assyria itself borders Hurrian-speaking areas, and Assyrians

¹ G. Buccellati - M. Kelly-Buccellati, “Das archäologische Projekt Tall Mozan/Urkeš”, *MDOG* 131 (1999) 7-16, esp. 12, 14.

² G. Wilhelm, “Name. Namengebung. Bei den Hurritern”, *RLA* 9, 1998-2001, 122 § 3.1 (with some reserve).

operating in Anatolia may have born Hurrian names, or they may otherwise be related to Assyrians with Hurrian names.³

The first question that has to be answered is: Which names in the Old Assyrian texts from Anatolia can safely be identified as Hurrian? In this respect we should use rigorous criteria that guarantee the exclusion of linguistically insufficiently defined names.

Patterns of Hurrian Names from Kültepe Tablets

Typical Hurrian names of the well-known sentence-name type like Ar=i=p—Teššob “Teššob gave (it, i.e. the child)” with a finite verbal form in initial position are extremely rare at Kültepe.⁴

Here are some examples:

Ag=a=b—Še ⁵	<i>A-ga-áb-šé</i> EL 91, A: 12, B: 1	“The Brother-numen ⁶ ascended”
Nan=i=b—Adal	<i>Na-ni-ba-tal</i> I 753: 4	“‘The Strong One’ ...-ed (it)”
Nan=i=b—Šarri	<i>Na-ni-ib-LUGAL</i> TCL IV 33: 10	“The (divine) king ...-ed (it)”
FAR=i=(m<b)—Muža ⁷	<i>WA-ri-mu-ša</i> CCT 5, 39c: 7	“‘The Legitimate One’ ...-ed (it)”
Haž=i=(m<b)—Nawar	<i>Ha-ši-im-na-wa-ar</i> KTS 2, 29: 9 ⁸	“Nawar listened” ⁹

³ J. G. Dercksen, *The Old Assyrian Copper Trade in Anatolia* (PIHANS 75), Istanbul-Leiden 1996, 163 with fn. 508f. refers to the father of an Assyrian merchant (Nubar-šarri) and to an Assyrian *limmum* (Ari/dal-šarri).

⁴ P. Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce*, Paris 1963, 155-158. E. Laroche deliberately did not include Hurrian names from Kültepe texts in *Les noms des Hittites*, Paris 1966 (see p. 9). In 1977 A. Kammenhuber published and discussed her own – reduced – list of Hurrian names from Kültepe sources: “Die Arier im Vorderen Orient und die historischen Wohnsitze der Hurriter”, *Or* 46 (1977) 129-144, esp. 142f.

⁵ Short form of Ag=a=b—Šenni.

⁶ Kinship terms in Hurrian personal names take the same position as divine names in theophoric personal names. Contrary to the normal use of kinship terms they are not *a*-stems (like *šena* “brother”, *ela* “sister”, *šala* “daughter”, *mena* “female twin”(?!)), but regularly carry the so-called “individualizing” suffix *-ni* (*šenni*, *elli*, *šalli*, *menni*). For the interpretation as *numina* of relationship see Wilhelm, *RIA* 9, 124f., § 3.1.7.

⁷ Parallel form to FAR=i=m—Mužni, cf. Nuzi: *WA-ri-im-mu-uš-ni* AdŠ 45:20, 46:25, 47:6, 251:3, 41, 97, 258:25. The root could be *fur-* “to see” or *fir-* “to solve”. For the alternation *muža* / *mužni* cf. the examples given in fn. 6, and cf. *tiža* / *tižni* “heart”, *paba* / *pabni* “mountain”, also *a*-stems with honorificum *-i*: *alla-i* “lady, queen” / *Allani* (name of the queen of the Netherworld), *atta-i* / *attani* “father”, *ušta-i* / *ušan(n)i* “warrior, hero”.

⁸ V. Donbaz, *Keilschrifttexte in den Antiken-Museen zu Stambul II* (FAOS Bh. 2), Stuttgart 1989, 55 and 120: delete *-na*. The name has already been mentioned by E. Bilgiç, “Die Ortsnamen der ‘kappadokischen’ Urkunden im Rahmen der alten Sprachen Anatoliens”, *AfO* 15 (1945-1951) 1-37, esp. 27. The bearer of the name is a scribe at Hur(a)ma.

⁹ Delete the entry “Hašim” in Kh. Nashef, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der altassyrischen Zeit* (RGTC 4), Wiesbaden 1991, 56.

Another group of Hurrian names consists of nominal sentences. There are four subgroups:

(1) A noun and an adjective or a second noun without additional elements:

Araššig—adal	<i>A-ra-ši-ḥa-tal</i> c/k 440: 33 ¹⁰	“The Tigris is strong”
Erve—šarri	<i>Er-we-LUGAL</i> TC 3, 276: 14, 19	“The Lord is the (divine) king”
Evri—muža	<i>[E-wa-r]i-mu-ša</i> I 666: 5	“Ewari is legitimate”

(2) A noun and an adjective connected by the morpheme /n/ which has to be explained as the well-known shortened form of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd ps. sg. *-nna*¹¹:

Kubi—n—adal	<i>Ku-bi-na-tal</i> TC 3, 91: 49 ¹²	“Kubi is strong”
Tidi—n—adal	<i>Ti-ti-na-tal</i> EL 1: 2, 248: 3, i/k 132: 9 ¹³ , I 751: 16, TPAK 2: 9, 21b: 6', 143: 7	“Tidi is strong”

(3) A noun and an adjective connected by the morpheme /m/:

Evri—m—adal	<i>Eb-ri-ma-da-al</i> g/k 188: 4 ¹⁴	“The Lord is strong”
Evri—m—adal	<i>E-wa-ri-ma-da-al</i> c/k 305: 9 ¹⁵	“Ewari is strong”
Šim(i)ge—m—adal ¹⁶	<i>Ši-im-ge-ma-tal</i> c/k 101: 2, <i>Ši-ig-ma-tal</i> c/k 357: 2f.	“The Sungod is strong”
Šim(i)ge—m—Ad(d)u (?)	<i>Ši-im-ki-ma-du</i> , c/k 277: 5, 29, <i>Ši-im-ki-ma-dim</i> (gen.) c/k 277: 1	“The sun is Addu”(?) ¹⁷

¹⁰ Quoted by Balkan, *OLZ* 60 (1965) 148 fn. 1; Dercksen, *The Old Assyrian Copper Trade*, 163 fn. 508.

¹¹ Wilhelm, *RIA* 9, 124, § 3.1.5.

¹² Quoted by Balkan, *OLZ* 60, 148 fn. 1.

¹³ Quoted by Balkan, *OLZ* 60, 148 fn. 1.

¹⁴ Quoted by Balkan, *OLZ* 60, 148 fn. 1.

¹⁵ Quoted by Balkan, *OLZ* 60, 148 fn. 1; Dercksen, *The Old Assyrian Copper Trade*, 163 fn. 508.

¹⁶ Cf. Šimig(a)—adal at Nuzi, passim.

¹⁷ As in Akkadian (*šamšu*, *šamaš*), Hurrian uses the word for sun as a normal noun and as the name of the Sun-god, as is shown by the “article” /ne/ that is absent at names except in cases in which the name is understood as an appellative. The name might imitate the Akkadian Šamši-Adad and the Amorite Samsi-Addu, though the Hurrian name does not contain a possessive suffix of the 1st ps. sg.

This morpheme /m/ has not been defined so far. It may, however, be connected with the suffix *-me/-ma*, if this is indeed an enclitic personal pronoun 3rd ps. sg.¹⁸ *-me/-ma* is rarely attested in the Mittani letter and restricted to a position following clause-initial conjunctions. Its definition as a pronoun 3rd ps. sg. has been strengthened by the identification of the independent pronoun of the 3rd ps. *mani* (sg.) and *man=ž/z-* (pl.).¹⁹

(4) I would like to suggest here that the hitherto unexplained archaic personal names of the structure <noun+*/am/*>²⁰ contain this same enclitic pronoun *-m*, following a noun in the essive case. The essive case has a wide variety of functions. One of them is illustrated by the example *tapšag(i)=a* "as/like a cupbearer".²¹ Examples are:

Ḫabir(i)=a—m "He is like a *Ḫabiri*"

Ḫabiram is attested in an Old Akkadian text from Tell Brak.²² I. J. Gelb refers to the same name without the final *-m* in the Nuzi texts.²³ The drop of the final *-m* might be compared with the widespread loss of the 3rd ps. sg. verbal ending *-m* of Old Hurrian in the Late Bronze Age. Thus, the restricted use of the pronominal suffix *-me/-ma* might also be explained as the result of obsolescence.

Šenn(i)=a—m "He is like a brother"

¹⁸ This is the view of E. A. Speiser, *Introduction to Hurrian* (AASOR 20), New Haven 1941, 186f., § 217; I. M. Diakonoff, *Hurrisch und Urartäisch*, München 1971, 108; M. L. Chačikyan, *Churritskij i urartiskij jazyki*, Erevan 1985, 82; I. Wegner, *Hurritisch. Eine Einführung*, Wiesbaden 2000, 68; M. Giorgieri, "Schizzo grammaticale della lingua hurrica", *La Parola del passato* 55 (2000) 220. Different opinions were expressed by L. Messerschmidt, *Mitanni-Studien* (MVAG 1899,4), Berlin 1899, 55; A. Goetze, *JCS* 2 (1948) 257-259; F. W. Bush, *A Grammar of the Hurrian Language*, Dissertation Brandeis University 1964, 255.

¹⁹ Sg.: Ch. Girbal apud I. Wegner, "Die selbständigen Personalpronomina des Hurritischen", *SMEA* 29 (1992) 234f., Pl.: Wegner, *SMEA* 29, 233, eadem, "Hurritische Verba dicendi mit einfacher und doppelter Absolutiv-Rektion", *AoF* 21 (1994) 169.

²⁰ See already I. J. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians* (SAOC 22), Chicago 1944, 115.

²¹ KBo 32, 13 obv. i 29, translated into Hittite as ^{LÜ}SAGI-aš iwar "like a cupbearer", s. M. Giorgieri, "Beiträge zu den hurritischen Texten aus Boğazköy", in: P. Taracha (ed.), *Silva Anatolica* [Fs. Popko], Warsaw 2002, 111 with fn. 10. Cf. also *ebern(i)=a* KBo 32, 20 obv. i 4', 16' "as king", see G. Wilhelm, "Die Könige von Ebla nach der hurritisch-hethitischen Serie 'Freilassung'", *AoF* 24 (1997) 277-293, esp. 291, accepted by Giorgieri, *Parola del passato* 55, 218; *šug(i)=a* "as (the only) one", see G. Wilhelm, "MitN no. 9-1: Mit. IV 52", *SCCNH* 9 (1998) 181-185, esp. 183.

²² *Ḫa-bi-ra-am*, see C. J. Gadd, *Iraq* 7 (1940) 42.

²³ Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, 54, fn 37. For attestations see I. J. Gelb, P. M. Purves, A. A. MacRae, *Nuzi Personal Names* (OIP 57), Chicago 1943, 55.

Šennam is attested as early as the late reign of Šulgi²⁴ and later appears as the name of a king of Uršu,²⁵ a contemporary of Zimrilim of Mari (Zimrilim's years of reign 8' and 10'). It is also known from Chagar Bazar.²⁶

Pušš(i)=a—m "He is like ..."

Puššam is attested on a seal found at Urkeš²⁷, in documents referring to a ruler of Simanum of this name²⁸, and at Puzriš-Dagan, all from the Ur III period.²⁹

In the Kültepe texts the name *Ḫubid(i)=a—m* "He is like a bull-calf" appears for several individuals:

Ḫu-bi-da-am EL 82: 21

Ḫu-bi-da-am CCT 1, 9b: 21

With Akkadian nominative ending: *Ḫu-bi-dum* VS 26, 32: 18

Ḫu-bi-dum FAOS Bh. 3, 87: 36, 40

Ḫubidam is attested several times during the Ur III period.³⁰ Evidently, the names in *-am* follow an archaic pattern of name formation.

Many other names attested in Old Assyrian texts from Anatolia that have been considered Hurrian, are too short for a sound judgement. Their linguistic background remains in the dark; some of them presumably belong to non-Indo-European Anatolian languages, others to non-Semitic and non-Sumerian languages which left their traces in the anthroponymy of early Assyria. The evidence may be summarized by stating that (1) unambiguously Hurrian names are very rare, and that (2) they display archaic features with better parallels in the Ur III and Mari periods than in Late Bronze Age sources.

²⁴ *Šé-en-nam* M. Çiğ - H. Kızılyay - A. Salonen, *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde bulunan Puzriš-Dagan metinleri, kısım I: No. 1-725 / Die Puzriš-Dagan-Texte der Istanbul Archäologischen Museen Teil I, Nrr. 1-725*, Helsinki 1954, 29f., no. 79: 3.

²⁵ *Še-na-am* A. 3412: 6, 14 = ARM 23, 447f., no. 524 (with older lit.); *Še-en-nam* A. 1264+: 11 = ARM 31, 458-463, no. 161; without the final *-m*: *Še-en-na* ARM 25, 10, no. 23.

²⁶ Ph. Talon, *Old Babylonian Texts from Chagar Bazar* (Akkadica Suppl. 10), Brussels 1997: [*Še-na-a*]*m* no. 12 rev. iii 15; *Še-en-nam* no. 81 rev. iii 23 and no. 82 rev. iii 21, *Še-na-am* no. 88 rev. iii 10. For hand copies see O. Loretz, *Texte aus Chagar Bazar und Tell Brak, Teil I* (AOAT 3), Kevelaer / Neukirchen-Vluyn 1969 (Talon no. 12 = Loretz no. 7 rev. iii 1', Talon no. 81 = Loretz no. 42 rev. iii 16, Talon no. 88 = Loretz no. 45 rev. iii 8).

²⁷ *Pu-uš-ša₁₀-am*, see K. Volk, "Beschriftete Objekte aus Tall Mozan/Urkeš", *MDOG* 136 (2004) 87-101, esp. 88f., 91, 93.

²⁸ P. Michalowski, "The Bride of Simanum", *JAOS* 95 (1975) 716-719.

²⁹ For more examples from the Ur III and OB periods and a note on *-am* see already I. J. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, Chicago 1944, 115. There seems to be an attestation also from the eastern fringes of the Hurrian world: *Ni-ib-ra-am*, see J. Eidem - J. Læssøe, *The Shemshara Archives, vol. I: The Letters*, 2001, no. 64: 5, 33.

³⁰ R. Zadok, "Hurrians as well as Individuals Bearing Hurrian and Strange Names in Sumerian Sources", in: *kinattūti ša dārāti. Raphael Kutscher Memorial Volume* (Tel Aviv, Occasional Publications 1), Tel Aviv 1993, 229.

There is no reason to assume that in Kaneš and its vicinity Hurrian was a language spoken by the indigenous population.

The letter Kt k/k 4

A special case is constituted by some tablets found at Kültepe that contain an unusually large number of Hurrian personal names and a Hurrian place name. The letter Kt k/k 4 was published by Karl Hecker, and related material was identified by Cécile Michel, Klaas Veenhof and Salih Çeçen.³¹ As Hecker demonstrated, the letter deviates in many respects from the Old Assyrian tablets found at Kārum Kaneš. Michaël Guichard referred to a Mari text written at Ugarit, which according to him shows similarities with the script of Kt k/k 4.³²

The letter was sent by a certain Eḫli-Addu to one Unap-Še; both, the sender and the addressee bear Hurrian names. The addressee Unap-Še evidently lived in Kārum Kaneš where the letter was found in 1959.³³ According to Hecker it is likely that it comes from Level Ib.

Eḫli-Addu is the oldest attestation of a name which frequently appears in the tablets from Alalah Level VII. Hecker says that the exact place from which Eḫli-Addu wrote his letter cannot be detected, but he thinks it has to be looked for in northern Syria. The question deserves more discussion, and we will try to give a closer definition of the area where Eḫli-Addu and his witnesses were operating.

The sender of the letter apparently urges the addressee, Unap-Še, to pay back a long-term loan of silver. In this context the sender says:

⁽⁶⁾ ... *šumma lā tašappar-ma*

⁽⁷⁾ *kīma ša Tunip kaspī* ⁽⁸⁾ *ina māt Kuzzi ša* ⁽⁹⁾ *īteneppešu ippeš*

Hecker translated this passage the following way:

„Wenn du nicht schreibst, so wird, wie Tunip mein Silber im Land Kuzzi zu behandeln pflegt, er(es?) handeln.“

(“If you do not write, he(it?) will act, as Tunip uses to deal with my silver in the land of Kuzzi.”)

³¹ See K. Hecker, “Zur Herkunft der hethitischen Keilschrift”, *SCCNH* 8 (1996) 291-303 (first published in Turkish and German in: *Uluslararası 1. Hititoloji Kongresi bildirileri* (19-21 Temmuz 1990), [Çorum 1992], 43-63.

³² M. Guichard, *NABU* 2003 no. 7, and in: *La vaisselle de luxe des rois de Mari* (ARM 31), Paris 2005, 456ff. with fn. 182.

³³ For a new attestation of the name see İ. Albayrak, *Kültepe Tabletleri* 4, Ankara 2006, 78, no. 34: 23.

If Tunip is correctly identified with the middle-Syrian city of this name,³⁴ well-documented in Late Bronze Age texts, the trade connections of Eḫli-Addu extend far to the South, even south of Ebla whose ruler and whose merchants are attested at Kaneš.³⁵ Perhaps the city of Tunip is even Eḫli-Addu's base and acts in his support; in this case the enigmatic passage may be interpreted in the following way: If the capital that Eḫli-Addu invested in Kaneš is not returned, the city of Tunip will protect its citizen's interest in the same way as it did in Kuzzi.

During the Amarna period, the elders of Tunip use Hurrian glosses in their letter to pharao by calling Thutmosis III *ammadi*=*v=uz* “your forefather (erg.)” (EA 59: 8). The last king of Tunip before the Hittite takeover bears the Hurrian or – like Eḫli-Addu³⁶ – semi-Hurrian name Agi(t)-Teššob / Addu (*A-ki-^dİŠKUR*, 18). If Eḫli-Addu is indeed from Tunip, his name supports the view that the Hurrian language spread up the Orontes valley as early as the early Middle Bronze period.

The witnesses mentioned in the letter Kt k/k 4, 10-14 are:

⁽¹⁰⁾ *IGI Šu-šu-ku pá-ar-ku-li*

⁽¹¹⁾ *IGI A-mi-ḫé-pá ša Qá-ta-an*

⁽¹²⁾ *IGI Du-ḫu-uš-ma-ti* ⁽¹³⁾ *ša ḫa-ra-ni*

⁽¹⁴⁾ *IGI İ-li-a ša Si-bu-ḫu-* ^(14a) *li-we*

In the following two lines these witnesses are defined as witnesses of the town of Ḫaššum:

⁽¹⁵⁾ *šī-bu an-nu-tum* ⁽¹⁶⁾ *ša a-lim Ḫa-aš-ši*

Hecker takes *šībū annūtum* as a nominative pendens functioning as direct object of the following phrase (*ina ḫarrāni aštanappar-ma kaspī lā tušabbal*) and translates:

„Diese Zeugen aus der Stadt Ḫaššu schreibe ich immer wieder mit der Karawane, ohne daß du mein Silber schickst.“³⁷

(“These witnesses from the city of Ḫaššu I write with the caravan again and again, without your sending my silver.”)

³⁴ H. Klengel, “Tunip und andere Probleme der historischen Geographie Mittelsyriens”, in: K. van Lerberghe – A. Schoors, *Immigration and Emigration within the Ancient Near East. Festschrift E. Lipiński* (OLA 65), Leuven 1995, 125-134; pace Klengel, *Geschichte des Hethitischen Reiches* (HdO I 34), Leiden 1999, 52, fn. 92, the name of king Tunip-Teššub of Tigunanu does not contain the name of the city as its first element; rather, to/un=i=b is a verbal form, presumably “(Teššub) has enabled(?)”.

³⁵ For attestations and literature see Nashef, *RGTC* 4, 38.

³⁶ For the first element of this name see G. Wilhelm, “Zu den hurritischen Namen der Kültepe-Tafel kt k/k 4”, *SCCNH* 8 (1996) 335-343, esp. 339-342.

³⁷ Hecker, *SCCNH* 8, 294.

Deviating from Heckers translation, it seems preferable to interpret ll. 15f. as a nominal sentence:

“These are the witnesses of the city of Ḥaššu.”

The following sentence does not need an object, because it focuses on the verbal action, namely sending repeatedly (in vain). I translate:

“I am constantly sending (a message) with a caravan, but you do not dispatch my silver.”

The first witness, Šušuku, is only identified by his profession (*parkullu* “stone carver”); it is difficult to connect his name with any language; Hurrian, however, is not excluded, because the name could be interpreted as a negative intransitive verbal form (R-o=kko).

The second witness, who bears the West-Semitic name ‘Ammī-Ḥeba (“My ‘Uncle’³⁸ is Ḥeba(t)”), is said to be a citizen from *Qa-ta-an* which Hecker correctly identifies with Qaṭna in the middle Orontes valley.

The third witness bears a name that is presumably Semitic. The first element seems to be a construct form of *duḥšu*, a word that appears in *Duḥšatum*, a name of several women in the Mari texts.³⁹ *Duḥšu-māti* is identified as *ša ḥa-ra-ni*. Hecker discusses the question whether this means “of the caravan” or “of (the city) of Ḥarrān” and argues for the first option. Kh. Nashef, however, opts for the place-name because of the other place-names.⁴⁰ Identifying a person as “from the caravan” is indeed not very specific.

The last witness who bears an Akkadian hypocoristic name is said to be from a place named *Sibuḥuliwe*.

This place-name *Sibuḥuliwe* deserves further discussion. It belongs to the wide-spread type of Hurrian toponyms in the genitive, abundantly used in the kingdom of Arrapha, but also attested elsewhere. Morphologically the name follows the pattern of terms of profession ending in *-uḥuli* like *mardatuḥuli* “*mardatu*-textile-worker” or *pu/arkulluḥuli* “stone cutter” typical of the Hurrian of Alalakh; in other parts of the Hurrian-speaking world the ending is *-uḥli*.⁴¹ In the case of *Sibuḥuliwe*, however, I would suggest a connection with the place name **Sibuḥa*. **Sibuḥa* is attested twice as a nisbe – *sibuḥaiyūm*, akk. *sibuḥaiyām* – in the letter of Anum-Ḥirbi, king of Mama, to Waršama of Kaneš. It is a small state under the supremacy of

³⁸ For the use of this term in connection with the name of a goddess, see M. Streck, *Das amurritische Onomastikon der altbabylonischen Zeit* (AOAT 272/1), Münster 2000, 265, fn. 2 (*Ammī-‘Anat).

³⁹ M. Birot – J.-R. Kupper – O. Rouault, *Répertoire analytique: Noms propres* (ARM 16/1), Paris 1979, 87.

⁴⁰ Nashef, RGTC 4, 51f.

⁴¹ For a morphological and semantic interpretation of these endings, see G. Wilhelm, „Hurritische Berufsbezeichnungen auf -li“, *SMEA* 29 (1992) 239-244.

Anum-Ḥirbi,⁴² which is – according to the context of the letter – situated close to the border of Waršama’s realm.

What does it mean that these men of different origins are the witnesses “of the city of Ḥaššu”? The most likely interpretation is that, despite their varying origins, they lived in the city of Ḥaššum.

Ḥaššum, its location and its ruler

Ḥaššum does not appear in the Kültepe tablets as a place touched by Assyrian merchants. It seems, however, that merchants of other areas visited the city, and some of them – like the persons mentioned in Kt k/k 4 – apparently lived there long enough to serve as a witness. Jan Gerrit Dercksen mentions a “Babylonian merchant, presumably from Sippar” who went to Ḥaššum;⁴³ this also shows that Ḥaššum was an important place in long-distance trade.

In the time of Zimrilim of Mari, the king of Ḥaššum was Aniš-Ḥurbi⁴⁴ who has been identified with Anu-Ḥarwi of Zalwar⁴⁵ and Anum-Ḥirbi of Mama.⁴⁶ On the basis of this identification some authors proposed to identify Mama with Ḥaššum.⁴⁷ Jared L. Miller, however, suggests keeping them apart; following older literature⁴⁸ he places Mama between Maraš and Gökşun and supports this position by pointing at the lance- or arrowheads inscribed with the name of Anum-Ḥirwi and allegedly found at the village of Hasancık in the

⁴² Waršama calls Sibuḥa’s ruler “your servant” (*IR-ra-ad-kà*), Anum-Ḥirbi himself calls him “my dog” (*kà-al-bi*).

⁴³ Dercksen, *The Old Assyrian Copper Trade*, 163, quoting AbB 12, no. 51.

⁴⁴ *a-na A-ni-iš-ḥu-ur-bi LUGAL Ḥa-aš-ši-im*^(ki) ARM 25, 10f., no. 14: 2, 9 (for the reading see J.-M. Durand, “Rois de Syrie du Nord”, *NABU* 1988, 2f., no. 2, who quotes a further variant of the name: *A-ni-iš-ḥu-ul-bi LU Ḥa-aš-ši-im*^(ki) M.11397). Aplaḥanda sends a letter *a-na ṣ[e-e]r^m A’-[ni-iš-ḥ]u-ur-bi*ⁱ in support of a man who is travelling *a-na Ḥa-aš-ši*^(ki) M.7536 (S. M. Maul, “Die Korrespondenz des Iašim-Sūmū. Ein Nachtrag zu ARM XIII 25-27”, in: D. Charpin – J.-M. Durand (edd.), *Florilegium marianum II. Recueil d’études à la mémoire de Maurice Birot* (Mémoires de NABU 3), Paris 1994, 29f.

⁴⁵ *a-na A-nu-ḥa-ar-wi LUGAL Za-al-wa-ar*^(ki) ARM 22/1, 268, no. 151: 29f.; MU.TU *A-ni-iš-ḥu-ur-bi LUGAL Za-ar-wa-ar*^(ki) ARM 25, 10, no. 25: 1; M. Guichard, “La conquête de Ḥaššum par le roi de Zarwar”, *NABU* 1993, 46f., no. 54, suggests that the king of Zarwar became king of Ḥaššum by conquest.

⁴⁶ M. Forlanini, “Remarques géographiques sur les textes cappadociens”, *Hethitica* 6 (1985) 55; J. L. Miller, “Anum-Ḥirbi and His Kingdom”, *AoF* 28 (2001) 65-101, esp. 68-70.

⁴⁷ For bibliography see Miller, *AoF* 28, 81; see now M. Forlanini, “Quelques notes sur la géographie historique de la Cilicie”, in: É. Jean e.a. (edd.), *La Cilicie: Espaces et pouvoirs locaux (2^e millénaire av. J.-C. – 4^e siècle ap. J.-C.)*. Actes de la Table ronde internationale d’Istanbul, 2-5 novembre 1999, Istanbul 2001, 555f.; the author defends his position (identity of Ḥaššum and Mama, location in the region of Maraš) against M. Astour, “Ḥaššu and Hasuwan. A Contribution in North Syrian History and Geography”, *UF* 29 (1997) 1-66, who identifies Ḥaššum with Tilmen Höyük (p. 15) and places Mama far towards the northwest of Maraš (p. 54f.).

⁴⁸ Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce*, 108.

vicinity of Maraš.⁴⁹ When visiting the area of Gaziantep in 1970, A. Archi, P. E. Peccorella and M. Salvini thought the impressive höyük of Araban might be Haššum.⁵⁰ J. L. Miller with good reasons prefers a location somewhat further to the South, but in any case in the area of Gaziantep, not Maraš.⁵¹

The letter Kt k/k 4 suggests that trade with Kaneš during the Kārum Ib period was not completely in the hands of merchants from Assyria, but that merchants from Anum-Hirbi's kingdom of Mama, Haššum and Zarpar – as the direct neighbour of the kingdom of Kaneš – also participated in this trade. It is true that the letter of Anum-Hirbi refers to a situation of diplomatic irritation when the king of Kaneš – or more precisely his vassal, the ruler of Taišama – took advantage of a military defeat of Anum-Hirbi, but the letter also refers to peaceful relations during the time of Waršama's father Inar.

Haššum – an early centre of Hurrian language and culture ?

The names Anum-Hirwi and Aniš-Hurwi were considered Hurrian already by the editor of the letter, Kemal Balkan. He, however, identified the first element as the name of the Akkadian god Anum⁵² and analyzed the first part of the name Aniš-Hurbi as an ergative of the Hurrian form of the god's name. This provoked doubts whether the name was Hurrian or not, because – as Laroche stated – Anum is not otherwise attested in Hurrian personal names.⁵³ He also argued that the form Aniš-Hurbi could not be explained by Hurrian grammar. Both objections, however, are based on a wrong analysis of the name, as I have already mentioned some time ago.⁵⁴ In Hurrian sentence-names the verbal element usually precedes the divine name. Anum as well as Aniš can easily be explained as verbal forms frequent in personal names, and the lexeme *an-* is attested in the Boğazköy bilingual: “to rejoice (intr.), to please (trans.)”. The name means “Hirbi/Hurbi pleased him” (i.e. presumably the father of the child). As far as I see, this interpretation has not been rejected until now.

The place-names Haššu(m) and Sibuhuliwe mentioned in Ešli-Addu's letter in connection with Hurrian personal names including that of Anum-Hirbi suggest that during the Kārum Kaneš Ib period the Hurrian language was well established in the area west of the Euphrates and south of the Antitaurus – well established to the point that the ruler had a Hurrian name and a town had a name with Hurrian suffixes.

⁴⁹ V. Donbaz, “Inscribed Spear Heads and Some Tablets at the Gaziantep Archaeological Museum”, *AoF* 25 (1998) 173-185, esp. 178-181, drawing: 175, photos: 185.

⁵⁰ *Gaziantep e la sua regione*, Roma 1971, 44, 49ff. with pl. IX fig. 27, 28.

⁵¹ Miller, *AoF* 28, 80f.

⁵² K. Balkan, *Letter of King Anum-hirbi of Mama to King Warshama of Kanish* (TTKY VII, 31a), Ankara 1957, 34.

⁵³ Laroche, *Les noms des Hittites*, 346.

⁵⁴ G. Wilhelm, “L'état actuel et les perspectives des études hurrites”, in: J.-M. Durand (éd.), *Mari, Ébla et les Hourrites. Dix ans de travaux* (Amurru 1), Paris 1996, 176, fn. 15.

We have no information about the cult at Haššum in the time of Anum-Hirbi. The deities of the city carried away by Hattušili I more than a century later comprised the Weathergod of Armaruk/Arruzza⁵⁵ the Weathergod of Aleppo, Hebat, Allatum/Allani, (mount) Adalur and Lel(l)uri. Much later, Lelluri is particularly prominent in the *(h)išuwa*-festival of Kizzuwatna attested abundantly at Hattuša.⁵⁶

Traditionally the spread of Hurrians in Central Syria has been considered a result of the expansion of the kingdom of Mittani.⁵⁷ Our data are not yet sufficient to prove that a substantial Hurrian infiltration took place much earlier, before the period of Kārum Kaneš Ib, but it should be accepted as a possibility. It would suit the claim well that Hurrian infiltration into areas as far south as Palestine had already begun “in the late-Middle Bronze IIB” period,⁵⁸ though it has to be admitted that the positive material is still scanty and not always unambiguous as far as the evidence as Hurrian is concerned.

The question of the role the Hurrian language played during the Middle Bronze period in the western regions of the Ancient Near East is relevant to the discussion about the Ebla epic discovered at Hattuša in 1983.⁵⁹ The Hurro-Hittite bilingual text was written in the typical middle-Hittite script and language, i.e. about 1400 BC. The historical background of the story, however, seems to be the Middle Bronze period II, the period of the so-called “Tomb of the Lord of the Goats” excavated at Ebla in 1978. At the end of this period Ebla was destroyed. No text known to us refers to this event, and the theories that it was Hattušili I or Muršili I⁶⁰ remain speculation, though well possible. According to the composition called

⁵⁵ Cf. St. de Martino, *Annali e res gestae antico ittiti* (StudMed 12), Pavia 2003, 55 with fn. 172.

⁵⁶ For the assumption that the *(h)išuwa* festival was influenced by the cult of Haššu, see already G. Wilhelm, “Zum eblaitischen Gott Kura”, *Vicino oriente* 8 (1992) 28-31.

⁵⁷ M. S. Drower, “Syria c. 1550-1400 B.C.”, *Cambridge Ancient History II/1*, Cambridge 1973, 417-421.

⁵⁸ N. Na'aman, “The Hurrians and the End of the Middle Bronze Age in Palestine”, *Levant* 36 (1994) 175-187, esp. 176; see also M. Anbar - N. Na'aman, “An Account Tablet of Sheep from Ancient Hebron”, *Tel Aviv* 13-14 (1986-87) 3-12, esp. 7; A. Shaffer, “Fragment of an Inscribed Envelope”, in: W. G. Dever e.a. (edd.), *Gezer I: Preliminary Report of the 1964-66 Seasons*, Jerusalem 1970, 111-113. (I am grateful to W. Horowitz who brought these and other relevant articles to my attention.)

⁵⁹ Cuneiform edition: H. Otten – Ch. Rüster, *Die hurritisch-hethitische Bilingue und weitere Texte aus der Oberstadt* (KBo 32), Berlin 1990, no. 10-11, 13, 15-20 (and numerous small fragments); translit., transl. and commentary: E. Neu, *Das hurritische Epos der Freilassung I. Untersuchungen zu einem hurritisch-hethitischem Textensemble aus Hattuša* (StBoT 32), Wiesbaden 1996. Last translations: H. A. Hoffner, Jr., *Hittite Myths. Second Edition*, Atlanta 1998, 65-80; G. Wilhelm, “Das hurritisch-hethitische «Lied der Freilassung»”, in: O. Kaiser (ed.), *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, Ergänzungslieferung*, Gütersloh 2001, 82-91.

⁶⁰ P. Matthiae, “Studies in the Relative and Absolute Chronology of Syria in the IInd Millennium B.C.”, in: M. Bietak (Ed.), *The Synchronisation of Civilisations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C.*, Wien 2000, 136-139, esp. 137; V. Haas - I. Wegner, “Baugrube und Fundament”, in: [Festschrift Peter Neve], *IstMitt* 43 (1993) 53-58, esp. 57 with fn. 21.

“*Res Gestae di Hattušili I*” in the latest edition by Stefano de Martino, the Prince of Ebla⁶¹ was still present at the time of Yarim-Lim (III) of Halab and his son and successor Hammurapi (II), presumably shortly before the destruction of Haššu whose ruler is a central figure in the same text.

Within the Boğazköy tradition, Ebla is rarely attested, and the few attestations all seem to be part of the Hurrian tradition of texts that preserve remembrances of the Mari period. KUB 45.84,⁶² e.g., is a Hurrian text that does not only mention Ebla (obv. 15': ^{URU}*E-eb-la-a-pa*, dat.), but also Mardaman (rev. 7: *Mar-da-ma-an-ni*), a place known from Mari texts, but absent in Late Bronze Age documents; the scribe presumably did not know this old place-name and thus wrote it without the determinative. The text also mentions Halpa/Halab (^{URU}*Hal-pa-a-pa* obv. 13') and Hatti (^{URU}*Ha-at-ti* rev. 16, 18) in a religious context (see ^DNIN.GAL obv. 18', DIJNGIR^{MES} *-na-ša at-ta-an-ni-bi-^rna-a-^rša* “to the gods of the father” rev. 22, *ha-wu-u-ru-un-ni-bi* “heaven” [gen.] obv. 3' and *e-še-ne-bi-na-ma* “earth” [gen. and suffix copying of pl. *-na*] obv. 8'). Repeatedly the text speaks about the “throne” (obv. 5', 19', 20', rev. 10, 12; rev. 11: *g]e-iš-^{hi} at-ta-aš-ši-ni-bi* “the paternal throne”) and about “queenship” (*al-la-(a)-aš-ši-ni-ne(-)* obv. 13', 15', 17', rev. 4, 7, 9, 17).

There is no doubt that the Hurrian version of the bilingual Ebla tale is the primary text, and the Hittite version a translation. But does the Hurrian text go back to the 17th century BC, as H. Otten⁶³ and E. Neu⁶⁴ assumed? V. Haas and I. Wegner argued for an Old Babylonian version as the source of the Hurrian one.⁶⁵ In my view the Ebla epic originally belonged to the tradition of the city of Igingalliš, because it tells the pathetic story of the slavery and liberation of the inhabitants of that city and it aggrandizes their leader Purra to mythical dimensions. If indeed it refers to the destruction of Ebla as the city of their suppressors, this might have been wishful thinking, because according to the historical texts referring to the time of Hattušili I, Igingalliš was destroyed as early as Hattušili's second regnal year whereas Ebla held on at least until Hattušili's campaign against Haššu (see above).⁶⁶

Igingalliš is difficult to place on the map. The annals of Hattušili I offer the only hint: After conquering Alalah, Hattušili marches to Uršu, from there to Ikakkališ, furtheron to Tišhīniya, and on the way back touches the territory of Uršu again. Without going into the details of the topographical discussion it is safe to say that Ikakalliš – undoubtedly identical

⁶¹ LÚ ^{URU}*Eb-la* KUB 40.4: 6', s. de Martino, *Stud.Med.* 12, 108f., 13'. The direct join between the fragments 535/t = KBo 12.13 and Bo 6415 = KUB 40.4 (for which see de Martino, *Stud.Med.* 12, 91 with fn. 260) was confirmed in 2007 (see photo on p. 194, below).

⁶² Transliteration: M.-Cl. Trémouille, *Texte verschiedenen Inhalts* (ChS I/8), Roma 2005, no. 65.

⁶³ H. Otten: “Blick in die altorientalische Geisteswelt. Neufund einer hethitischen Tempelbibliothek”, *Jahrbuch 1984 der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, Göttingen 1985, 59.

⁶⁴ Neu, *Das hurritische Epos der Freilassung*, 6.

⁶⁵ Haas – Wegner, *IstMitt* 43, 57; iidem, “Literarische und grammatikalische Betrachtungen zu einer hurritischen Dichtung”, *OLZ* 92 (1997) 438.

⁶⁶ Cf. St. de Martino, “Il ‘Canto della Liberazione’: composizione letteraria bilingue hurritica sulla distruzione di Ebla”, *La parola del passato* 55 (2000) 297: “Tale narrazione può essere stata prodotta in un centro siriano di cultura siro-hurrita”.

with the Igingalliš of the Ebla epic – has to be looked for south of the Antitaurus and west of the Euphrates, in an area which at the height of Anum-Hirbi's power was close to his realm or under his control.

If this is true the Ebla epic might well have been composed in Hurrian from the beginning. It remains doubtful, of course, whether it was written down already at Igingalliš before the city's destruction. It may have been handed down to subsequent generations by oral tradition for a long time. It is likely, however, that it forms a part of old traditions about earlier events in the lands south of the Anatolian plateau and the Taurus chain, including events of the Mari period which presumably were written in Hurrian and later were adopted by the Hittites.⁶⁷ It has to be remembered that the Hurrian tradition attested at Hattuša preserves the memory of the ancient kings of Akkade⁶⁸ and other kings of the third millennium⁶⁹ unattested elsewhere.⁷⁰

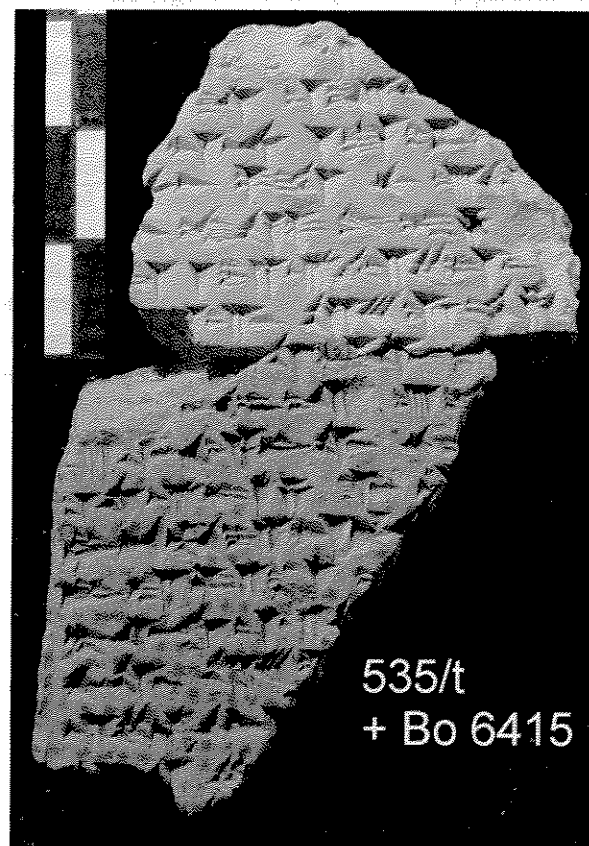
A good candidate for a Hurrian-speaking area where such traditions may have been preserved is the powerful and wealthy kingdom of Haššum itself, where, as we have seen, as early as the Kültepe Ib period the Hurrian language seems to have been well-established. Haššum's power was brought down by Hattušili I, but it was not completely destroyed. It was taken over by the Hittites, as shown by the “Palace Chronicle”, and later became independent again, until Telipinu, according to his own claims, once more conquered the city. Hurrian literary culture may well have radiated towards Haššum's neighbours, Halab, Mukiš and Kizzuwatna and via these intermediaries influenced the culture of the Hittite capital of the late 15th to the end of the 13th centuries.

⁶⁷ In this context it is worth noting that the late Empire period copy of a Hittite text referring to Anum-Hirbi writes his name *A-nu-um-^{he}-er-wa-aš-ša* (KBo 12.3 rev. iii 8'), thus using the subscribed WA typical of non-Hittite, including Hurrian, texts. This is very rare in Hittite texts, though – according to the kind information of Prof. Elisabeth Rieken – not completely unattested: *hu-hu-wa-a^ra-al^r-li* KBo 30.39+KUB 35.164+ rev. iii 18 (s. D. Groddek, “Fragmenta Hethitica dispersa V/VI”, *AoF* 25 [1998] 239).

⁶⁸ ^m*Ma-an-na-mi-iš-du-un e-we_e-er-ne* [^mLJUGAL.GI-e-we_e *ta-la-a-wa_a-še pu-ú-ut^rki^r* Mannamištu (= Manništušu), the king, Sargon's eldest son” KUB 27.38 (= ChS I/5, no. 87) rev. iv 22f.; ^m*Šar-ka[p]-šar-re-en u-mi-ni-i^re^r [0] a-ri-ir-e ul-li-wa_a* “Šarkapšarre (= Šar-kali-šarrī), who gave his country to a stranger” KUB 27.38 rev. iv 24f.

⁶⁹ ^m*A-ú-ta-lu-um-ma-an eb-ri e-we_e-er-ne* ^{URU}*E-la-mi-ne-e-we_e* “Aulamma, the lord, the king of Elam” KUB 27.38 rev. iv 9f.; ^m*Im-ma-aš-ku-un eb-ri e-we_e-er-ne* [^{URU}*Lu^r-ul-lu-e-ne-we_e* “Immašku, the lord, the king of Lullu” KUB 27.38 rev. iv 13f.; ^m*Ki^r-ik^r-li-pa-ta-al-li-in* ^{URU}*Du-uk-ri-iš-^{he} e-bé-er-ni* “Kiglib-adalli, the king of Tukriš” KUB 27.38 rev. iv 14.

⁷⁰ A. Kammenhuber, “Historisch-geographische Nachrichten aus der althurritischen Überlieferung ...”, *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 22 (1974) 166-168; St. de Martino, “KUB XXVII 38: Kulturelle und linguistische Überlagerung in einem Text aus dem Archiv von Boğazköy”, *SMEA* 31 (1993) 121-134; de Martino considers an Old Babylonian document that combines different older traditions, and he compares texts about Akkadian rulers like *šar tamhārim* or “Narām-Sîn's victory over 17 kings” (p. 133).



The joined fragments 535/t = KBo 12.13 and Bo 6415 = KUB 40.4
(photo by the author).