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Hurrian Place Names in -š(š)e

I

In the Nuzu¹⁾ text SMN 1000 (=HSS IX 1) - one of the first to be published²⁾ - occurs the place name

āl³⁾ Pa-aḥ-ḥa-ar-ra-še(KI) (l. 3)

Thus, but without the final KI, also HSS XIII 454 22. The same town also figures in HSS IX 34 where we read in line 33

āl Pa-ḥa-ar-ra-aš-we⁴⁾

but in line 17

(ša) āl Pa-ḥa-ar-ri-we.

The form āl Pa-ḥa-ar-ra-aš-we recurs in HSS XIII 299 3; 428 7; the variant āl Pa-ḥa-ra-aš-we HSS IX 14 7, 20; 255 1; 287 6; XV 241 12.

The name is obviously Hurrian; the variation shows this with all desirable clarity. A tentative analysis⁵⁾ was offered RHA 39 (1940) fn. 69; it has since been confirmed.⁶⁾ The analysis of the longer form is:

āl Paḥ(h)ar-na=š=we,⁷⁾

i. e. nomen regens and nomen rectum + plural article + plural suffix + genitive suffix. The observation was added already then that in other examples of the same construction⁸⁾ for =š=we normally =š(š)e is found. The shorter form must be analyzed thus:

al Paḥ(h)ar=ni=we,

i. e. nomen regens and nomen rectum + singular article + genitive suffix.⁹⁾

In the Nuzu texts quite a number of additional examples of such genitive constructions is encountered; e.g.

(ina/ana) arhi at-ta-an-na-aš-we HSS XIII 177 9; 322 3;
HSS XIV 169 7; 216 7; 218 4; i.e. "month of the
ancestors"

(atta(=n)=na=š=we).¹⁰⁾

(ša) āl DINGIR-še.MEŠ HSS XIV 542 14¹¹⁾; i.e. "city of
the gods"; it seems that (arte) ennaše, i.e. en(i)=na=š=we
was pronounced.

2 ša-nu-ri hu-mu-un-na-aš-we¹²⁾ HSS XIII 160 7 f.

"2 lamps of (or for) thes" (humun(i)=na=š=we).

[dīmta x] -ge-el-la-aš-we JEN I 96 6

Of course such expressions do not necessarily require the plural
article. Without it we find, e.g.

(ša) āl Ab-za-hu-lu-uš-še JEN VI 590 6

(ina) āl Ab-za-hu-lu-uš-ši RA 28 1 6

(ša) āl Ar-te-ku-uš-še HSS XVI 105 8

(ina) āl Ša-qar-ru-uš-še HSS XIII 93 2; HSS XIV 2 2

[...] āl x - x] -ak-ku-uš-še-na HSS XVI 17 67¹³⁾

(i-na) āl [l x - x] -ab-ra-aš-še(-mi) JEN VI 670 43

(i-na) dīmti Ib-hu-uš-ši JEN I 1 4

(i-na) dīmta ša Ša-ak-ru-uš-še JEN I 40 4 f.; JEN IV
401 7; HSS XIII 93

(i-na) dīmti [x-] x-še-eš-we JEN III 288 8

eqlēti ša za-ta-ru-uš-še Gadd (RA 23) No. 29 22 cf. 38 8

(with i-na); i-na šu-ri za-za-ru-uš-še ibid. 40 7;

i.e. zat/zaru=š=we.¹⁴⁾

Just as in analogous singular constructions the final -we may be
present or omitted - a sign that the Nuzu scribes were not always

aware of the function of the suffix - we also encounter cases with
lacking -we in the plural. Place names of this type then end in
-na=š. Here belong the names

āl A-be-na-aš¹⁵⁾

āl Te-em-te-na-aš¹⁶⁾

māt Mu-ur-ku-na-aš¹⁷⁾

(ša) ku-li-na-aš HSS XIII 431 32¹⁸⁾

II

The formations in -na-še also figure in the Alalah tablets,¹⁹⁾ both
from level VII²⁰⁾ (a little younger than the Mari tablets) and
level IV (time of the Younger Hittite Empire). The examples are
as follows:²¹⁾

āl A-an-na-še(KI) *58 1; 181 1; āl An-na-aš-še 50 3;

āl An-na-aš-x 311 5; āl An-na-aš-te!(KI) 429 2;

awīl A-na-še [(KI)] *8 38; i.e. An-na=š=we.

Cf. the PN A-na-we, A-na-ni (alone and in compounds like Anani-
šarri, Anani-mušni), *A-na-i-lim-ma. Ana is apparently not only
the name of a deity,²²⁾ but also an appellative noun.

āl A-re-en-na-še 185 11; i.e. Aren-na=š=we.

This name must be combined with (āl)A-ri-na of Shalmaneser I
(AOB I p. 114 f. with fn.) and the (āl)A-ri-ni of Tiglat-Pileser I
prism V77. This town certainly lies in Hurrian territory.²³⁾

āl A-wi-ir-ra-še(KI) *64 2; āl A-me-er-ra-še(KI) *64 3;

māt A-wi-ir-ra-še(KI) 69 5; āl A-ir-ra-še(KI) *98d 6;²⁴⁾

āl A-i-ir-ra-še *455 (JCS 8 30) 6, 22; i.e. Awir-na=š=we.

Cf. Nuzu a-wi-i-ru JEN I 101 3; Ras Shamra Voc.: a-wa-ri-we (gen.)
"field"(= sum. a.šā); Boğ. awari "field".²⁵⁾

āl Ha-lu-la-še(KI) 231 3; 284 9; i.e. Halul=na=š=we. The name appears as Ha-ru-ra-sa in the Syro-Palestinian list of Thutmosis III²⁶) as No. 22; see Albright-Lambdin, JSS 2 (1957) 120.²⁷) Compare āl Ha-lu-ul-li-we JEN IV 367 3 ff.; HSS XVI 29 14 r (i.e. Halul=ni=we).

āl Hu-ti-lu-ra-še 342 1; i.e. Hutel(l)ur=na=š=we.²⁸)

The Hurrian goddesses of fate Hutena and Hutel(l)urra are well known; see C.-G. von Brandenstein ZDMG 91 (1937) 563; E. Laroche, Rech. sur les noms des dieux hittites (1947) 49 f.; A. Goetze, JAOS 69 (1949) 180 fn. 14; E. Laroche, JCS 6 (1952) 121.

āl Na-ra-še 163 14, most likely for Nar=na=š=we.²⁹) Compare the Hurrian deity Nara on whom see E. Laroche, Rech. sur les noms des dieux hittites (1947) 55.

āl Nu-um-ma-na-še 187 14; i.e. Numma=na=š=we. The name appears as Nú-ma-na, Nú-ma-'-na under No. 83a in the Syro-Palestinian list of Thutmosis III; see Albright-Lambdin, JSS 2 (1957) 119. Cf. the proper name Nu-ma-aḫ-ḫe and the town *Numḫum (in the country east of the Tigris).³⁰)

āl Ša-ú-ra-še 185 9, most likely for Šaur=na=š=we. Cf. Nuzu proper name Ša-wi-ir-na-a-a (= Še-wi-ir-na-a-a).³¹)

āl Ši-tu-ra-še 187 17; 341 19;³²) Ši-du-ra-še 343 5;³²) i.e. Šidur=na=š=we. Hurrian Šiduri- is the word for "girl, daughter", see A. Goetze, RHA 39 (1940) 199 fn. 46.

āl Šu-ur-ra-še 165 8, r 4;³²) 185 2; i.e. Šur=na=š=we. Cf. Šu-ri Mari 1 8 (RA 36 2); Šu-ú-ur-ri KUB VII 58 ii 15; etc.

āl Tar-ma-na-še(KI) 342 13; āl Tar-ru-ma-na-še(KI) 341 8; āl Tar-ma-na 163 13; i.e. Tarman=na=š=(w)e. Cf. also āl Ta-ar-ma-an-

ni-e(KI) *56, 2, i.e. Tarman=ni=(w)e. The name Tar-ma-na also occurs in the Syro-Palestinian list of Thutmosis III³³) under No. 125; see Albright-Lambdin, JSS 2 (1957) 119. It is highly interesting that Tiglat-Pileser III knows³⁴) the town as (āl) Ta-ar-ma-na-zi (Annals 144). For Hurrian tarman(a/i)- see von Brandenstein, ZA 46 98 fn. 4.

āl Zi-ú-ra-še(KI) 185 31; 305 32.³⁵) The name appears as Ti-yu-ra-sa in the Syro-Palestinian list of Thutmosis III under No. 199; see Albright-Lambdin, JSS 2 (1957) 120.

III

The type of geographic name with which I am dealing here should be universally present wherever Hurrians appear. I cannot claim to have made an exhaustive search. But I would like to list here some occurrences which I noticed more or less accidentally:

āl Ku-ba-na-še KAV 94 16³⁷)

Cf. Ku-ú-ba-a-sa Nuzu; Ku-pa-an, Ku-pi-en Alalah; furthermore ku-u-up-pa-an-na-al KUB XXVII 38 i 12.

lú Gu-ma-ra-ši(KI) Langdon, Tabl. from the Archives of Drehem 67; AO 5500 (TCL II pl. 15) ii 5,³⁸) i.e.

K/Gumar=na=š=we.

Compare the name of the god Kumar-bi, i.e. Kumar=we "(the one) of Kumar".

Šad Nu-ba-na-a-še Tigl.-Pil. I Prism iv 64.

Compare the town (āl) Nu-ba-an-na in Ugarit texts (RŠ 17.146 38 = PRU IV 154 ff.) and the goddess Ningal bēlet (āl) Nu-ba-an-ni (RŠ 17.146 51; RŠ 17.340 rev. 20 = PRU IV 48 ff.).³⁹)

On the assumption that the n of the article is assimilated there

very probably belong here:

(hur.sag) He-eš-ma-ra-ši RŠ 17.624 = PRU IV 65 ff.;
RŠ 17.366 14 = PRU IV 69 f.⁴⁰⁾

Cf. hišmi Nuzu; hi-iš-ma etc. Boğazköy; see I.J. Gelb, NPN 217;
A. Goetze, RHA 35 (1939) 104; E.A. Speiser, Introduction to Hurrian
(1942) 178 fn. 294.

mē(.MEŠ) Hu-un-du-ra-ši RŠ 17.623 = PRU IV 65 ff.⁴¹⁾
Cf. HUR.SAG ku-un-du-ur-ra Bo 3682 (Otten, Kumarbi pl. 6 =
KUB XXXVI No. 15) variant of HUR.SAG Kán-dur-na KUB XXXIII
106 ii 14; here also belongs É.MEŠ ka-ri-im-nu-uš ku-un-tar-ra-an-na
I Kumarbi iv 32; É ku-un-tar-ra-an KUB XXXIII 106 i 19. In
Hurrian we have the word as ku-un-ta-ri (IBOT II 39 i 38), ku-un-
da-a(-ar)-ri(-in) (ibid. 35 etc.); ku-un-da-ri (RŠ 14.18 13 = PRU III
332 f.).⁴²⁾

The following examples are comparable with Abenaš, Temtenaš etc.,
of the Nuzu tablets:

māt Mu-qa-na-aš KAH II 60 71. Cf. Mu-uq-qa Nuzu;
Mu-uq-qa-na Alalah. (āl) Ur-ra-ḫi-na-aš Tigr. -Pil.
I Prism ii 36 ff.⁴³⁾ Cf. U-ra-ḫe-na Alalah 174 8
(no copy is available).

(āl) x-ḫi-na-aš⁴¹⁾ (AfO 10 21 with fn. 148) (Ninurta-
tukulti-Aššur and lists of Tiglat-Pileser I).

- 1) The question as to whether Nuzi, Nuzu or Nuza is the correct
for seems to be a perennial one. Since preference for Nuzi has
been expressed by several scholars (most recently by E.A.

Speiser, JAOS 57, 1955, 52-55), may I, as one of the culprits
who advocates reading Nuzu, be allowed the following brief re-
marks:

(1) The gentilic of which we are sure is Nuzu=ḫe; it occurs as
an attribute of Ištar (HSS XIV 237 4; HSS XV 57, also RA 36
p. 120, 7; SMN 3361 according to BASOR 81 15) and of Teššub
(HSS XIV 248 5). The customarily quoted Nuza=ḫe is found only
as a proper name (see Gelb etc., NPN); for its explanation
compare Nu-ul-za-ḫa, Nu-la-za-ḫe which may be itself the
older form or may suggest an older Nuz(a/u)=zaḫe. Two different
gentilics of the city name have hardly existed simultaneously.

(2) The argument based on the genitive is not that URU Nuzu(w)e
exists pointing to the nom. Nuzu, but rather that the suffix of
the genitive -we is spelled with the sign WA with stems in -a
and -i/e, but with -ū-e (or -e, or -ū) with stems in -u. The
letter spellings are never found with a- or i- stems. Hence, the
presence of -ū-e establishes those nouns (and names) with which
it does occur as u- stems.

(3) The gentilics in -ḫe provide no possibility of separating u-
stems from i- stems; they only separate u- and i- stems from
a- stems. Gentilics of a- stems end in -aḫe, gentilics of i- and
u- stems both end in -uḫe.

(4) The Nu-ū-za of the Elamite inscription is just as "un-Nu-
zian" as Arrapha that accompanies it. In Nuzu texts the name
invariably appears in the form Arraphi.

To sum up, the gentilic Nuzuḫe can belong either to *Nuzi or
to *Nuzu; the genitive Nu-zu-ū-e (Nu-zu-e, Nu-zu-ū) however
can only belong to *Nuzu. Hence, I continue to normalize the

name of the town as Nuzu. I indeed consider the form Nu-zi which is by far the most frequent one as an Akkadianizing genitive used by scribes who wrote Akkadian and interpreted Nuzu as an Akkadian nominative.

- 2) Chiera and Speiser, JAOS 49 (1929) 269-75; cf. also H. Lewy, Orient. 11 (1942) 7 ff.
- 3) It is by now well known that, in Hurrian, URU (i. e. arte) is not merely a determinative but is to be pronounced; see E. A. Speiser, JAOS 49 (1929) 269 fn. 3; A. L. Oppenheim, WZKM 45 (1938) 42; C. -G. von Brandenstein, Orient. 8 (1939) 85 f.
- 4) In genitive forms the suffix WA must be read -we, with datives -wa, see F. Thureau-Dangin, Syria 12 (1931) 255 ff.; E. A. Speiser, Introduction to Hurrian (1941) 109 f.
- 5) Cf. C. -G. von Brandenstein, Orient. 8 (1939) 83-6 who was as yet unaware of the grammatical structure of the name.
- 6) See E. A. Speiser, Introduction to Hurrian (1941) 101 ff. The analysis which can no longer be doubted had remained unknown to A. Alt, ZDPV 71 (1955) 60-69; he collected the pertinent material but was rather reluctant to ascribe the name and those listed below to the Hurrians. His combination with the Anatolian type of names in -šša must be rejected. To be valid such comparisons must not ignore the milieu in which the respective names exist. The Anatolian names which have their analogues in Greece (see now beside P. Kretschmer also F. Schachermeyr, PWRE 44, 1954, 1498 ff. in the article "Præhistorische Kulturen Griechenlands"; A. Goetze, Kleinasien 2nd ed., 1957, 46 and 61; E. Laroche, Mnemes Xarin 2, 1957, 1-7) are certainly not Hurrian. W. F. Albright and O. H. Lambdin, who included in their

joint article in JSS 2 (1957) 113-28 those names of our type which have come down to us in hieroglyphic as well as cuneiform spelling, were not aware of their Hurrian nature either.

- 7) For the assimilation of the n in -na and -ni to an -n, -l, or -r of the stem see J. Friedrich, Kleine Beiträge zur churritischen Grammatik (1939) 5 f.
- 8) Much material is assembled in my paper on the Hurrian genitive in RHA 39 (1940) 193-204.
- 9) The singular not only replaces -na by -ni, but also lacks the š. - Note also (āl) Pa-ḫa-ra-a-ni KAV 75 6 (a different town).
- 10) Cf. C. -G. von Brandenstein, ZDMG 91 (1937) 560; ZA 46 (1940) 113 f.
- 11) The -še is normally omitted so that the name appears as URU. DINGIR. MEŠ or even as URU. DINGIR.
- 12) Quoted in CAD in this form.
- 13) The plural article at the end indicates that the regens was in the plural.
- 14) Cf. i-na sú-ú-qí zi-za-ar-ri Gadd (RA 23) No. 31 12 f. and furthermore E. R. Lacheman, BASOR 81 (1941) 13.
- 15) For occurrences see A. L. Oppenheim, RA 35 (1938) 139, 144. In more recent volumes, e. g., HSS XIII 363 21, 27; 417 7 f.; HSS XV 43 17; HSS XVI 147 3; 287 7; 362 8 f. The -š may be lacking as, e. g., HSS XIII 94 10; HSS XV 32 28; 115 1; 246 17.
- 16) e. g., AASOR XVI 15 7; 16 5; 17 4; 18 6; 19 6; 32 42. Here too the -š may be dispensed with as, e. g., ibid. 28 14; 31 12; 41 5; JEN III 311 20; HSS XV 126 7.

- 17) See E.R. Lacheman, BASOR 78 (1940) 22.
- 18) There is a fair number of dative-locatives of this kind ending in -na-ša (i.e. =na=š=wa); I have noted i-na ad-di-na-ša JEN I 86 4; i-na ku-um-te-ni-we-na-ša HSS V 75 4; a-na (lú.meš) ta-lu-ḫul-la-a-ša (i.e. taluhul=na=š=wa) HSS XIII 322 19 (cf. a-na ta-lu-ḫul-la-aš HSS XIII 234 2); a-na šar-re-na-aš-wa HSS XIV 78 8; a-na ḫa-ni-ir-ra-aš-wa, HSS XVI 59 3 (i.e. ḫanir=na=š=wa); a-na bi-il-li-na-aš-wa HSS XVI 66 16 (cf. a-na bi-il-lu-ú HSS XIV 63 11; bi-la-ḫa-ú ša ēkalli HSS XIV 639 2). Without article -na and dative -wa, e.g., a-na numun a-na gal-te-ni-wa-aš HSS IX 44 7.
- 19) D.J. Wiseman, The Alalakh Tablets (Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara No.2, 1953). Cf. also JCS 8 (1954) 1-30.
- 20) Occurrences marked in the following by an asterisk.
- 21) It should be noted that -na with nouns ending in l or r results in -lla and -rra; see J. Friedrich, Kleine Beiträge zur churritischen Grammatik (1939) 5 f.
- 22) The Hurrian origin is shown by An-na-tal (a man from Urkiš: AO 5565 [TCL II pl.39] 2).
- 23) It is connected with the country Muzri; it certainly has nothing to do with the Anatolian Arinna, the cult center of the Sun-goddess.
- 24) No copy has been published.
- 25) C.-G. von Brandenstein, KUB XXVII Vorwort p.III.; ZDMG 91 (1937) 561.
- 26) J. Simons, Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical

Lists Relating to Western Asia (1937) 109-22.

- 27) All the pertinent names are written in "Syllabic orthography" and spelled with a sign group which W. F. Albright, The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography (1934) reads sa (p. 54 f.).
- 28) Wiseman also quotes 146 9 no copy of which has been published.
- 29) It is difficult to distinguish between formations with final -naše and simple -še (i.e. genitival -we attached to s-stems) in all those cases where n of the suffix -na is assimilated to n, l, r of the stem. In cases like āl *Al-li-še(KI), āl Ši-mi-ru-ši, āl Ti-li-še(KI), āl Ū-re-eš-še, it seems clear that we deal with names that ended in š like Mukiš, Paḫiliš, Šaniš. Note furthermore, e.g., māt Nu-ḫaš PRU IV (see index p. 255): māt Nu-ḫa-aš-ši/e, Nu-ḫaš-ši (Amarna, Boğazköy); Tal-muš (Ur III: JNES 12, 1953, 120), Ta-al-mu-úš (Mari): Tal-mu-še KAV 72 b 11; Talmuša- (Hittite; cf. JCS 7, 1953, 62), Tal-mu-uš-šu (Afo 10 21 fn. 184).
- 30) The evidence is collected by D.O. Edzard, Die Zweite Zwischenzeit Babyloniens (1957) 106.
- 31) This involves a linguistic problem: if *Saurasše derives from *Sawir=na=š=we, why do we not get *Sawirraše?
- 32) No copy is available.
- 33) See above fn. 26.
- 34) As pointed out by J.-R. Kupper, Bibl. Or. 11 (1954) 120.
- 35) No copy is available.
- 36) The list of Thutmosis contains additional examples which so far have not yet been found in cuneiform writing; I give here

the numbers: 160 (=177), 167, 186, 236, 323, 324.

- 37) The surrounding lines mention Našibina and Guzana.
- 38) Cf. A. Goetze, JNES 12 (1953) 119 f.
- 39) Nubanni/Nubanna belongs to Kargamiš.
- 40) This mountain forms part of the frontier between Ugarit and Mukiš.
- 41) Occurs together with the preceding.
- 42) Cf. E. Laroche, RA 47 192 and PRU III 333. In the quoted Hittite texts the Kundurra (i.e. Kundari=na, kunduri=na kundur=na) is the mythical dwelling place of the gods.
- 43) On the Tigris; the king bears the Hurrian name Šadi-Teššub.
- 44) Weidner transliterates the initial sign by KIxLiš. The place is to be located on the northern frontier of Tiglat-Pileser's realm in the general region of Nišibin.