

## The Earliest Evidences of the Hurrians Before the Formation of the Reign of Mittanni

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The Mesopotamian plain is bound to the north and east by the mountain ranges of the eastern Taurus and the Zagros. In the vast fertile area of the foothills, from the second half of the third millennium, the Hurrian ethnic element begins to appear. We may rely on two kinds of sources in reconstructing the earliest history of the Hurrians, a non-Semitic and non-Indo-European people: historical accounts of the Sumerian-Semitic civilizations and documents of the local political formations. Both are written at the beginning in Sumerian-Akkadian cuneiform script which, from the third millennium on, represented an universal means of communication. In fact, at a very early date the Hurrians began to write their historical records also in their own language. Having entered the cultural sphere of the Mesopotamian civilizations, the Hurrians, from the very start, can be seen to have had a bilingual culture: Sumero-Akkadian and Hurrian.

The first documents registering their existence are names of people connected with political formations and place-names which provide material for historical geographical research.

### The Old Akkadian Period

#### Taḫiṣ-atili of Azuḫinum

The earliest mention of a Hurrian sovereign dates to the period of the Empire of Akkad (24th-22nd centuries B.C.). A certain Taḫiṣ-atili of Azuḫinum is cited in a year name of Narām-sîn (2254-2218 B.C.): "Year in which Narām-sîn was victorious over

the land of Subir in Azuḫinum and took prisoner Taḫiṣ-atili.”<sup>1</sup> The region of Subir (in Sumerian, Subartu in Akkadian) in sources of the third millennium is a vast area stretching from the Euphrates to the region of Kirkuk at the foot of the Zagros.<sup>2</sup> The place-name Azuḫinum also appears in another Akkadian text which we know from a much later Old Babylonian copy from Nippur.<sup>3</sup> This is the chronicle of a military campaign, probably by Narām-sîn himself, towards the region to the east of the Tigris with, in all likelihood, an incursion to the west of the river. Old Babylonian documents from Mari and Tell ar-Rimah also mention Azuḫinum,<sup>4</sup> but its actual location is controversial. Some place it at Uzuḫinum, a stage on the Old Assyrian route between Aššur and Kaniš in Cappadocia,<sup>5</sup> which is to be sought to the north of Djebel Sindjar on the very eastern edges of the Syrian Djezireh. It has also been suggested that it should be identified with Tell al-Hawâ, between Tell Hamukar and the Tigris.<sup>6</sup> According to J.-R. Kupper, Azuḫinum is to be found in the Habur triangle.<sup>7</sup>

The texts of Nuzi also mention a city of Azuḫinni<sup>8</sup> which is identified with Kuk Tepe to the north of Kirkuk.<sup>9</sup> This corresponds to Arzuḫina of a Middle Assyrian text<sup>10</sup> which suggest a location along the Little Zab and it is there, in fact, that the map TAVO B II 8.1 (“The Empire of Akkade”) places the third millennium city of Azuḫinum.

<sup>1</sup> B. Foster, ASJ 4 42, N.8, 22-24; W. G. Lambert, RA 77, 1983, 95; I. J. Gelb-B. Kienast, Die altakkadischen Königsinschriften des 3. Jahrtausends v. Chr., Stuttgart 1990 (Freiburger Altorientalische Studien, 7), 51 s. Narām-sîn 6). Both the components of the personal name Taḫiṣ-atili are Hurrian: -atili is an archaic form of -atal, a very common element in PN, and means apparently “strong” (E. Laroche, Glossaire de la langue hurrite, Paris 1980 [= GLH] 35, s.v. adali. The translation depends on the correct interpretation of a synonym list: see CAD A I 94f. and G s.v. gašru). As for the first element we can recognize the same root of the substantive taḫe “man” (GLH 251) enlarged with a suffix -iṣ, which should be the same of the PN Tupk=iṣ (see below note 27).

<sup>2</sup> RGTC 1, 147; 2, 175, 3, 224 s.

<sup>3</sup> P. Michalowski, ZA 76 (1986), 4-11.

<sup>4</sup> RGTC 3, 27s.: add ARM XXVI/2, 431, 435, 437.

<sup>5</sup> RGTC 4, 131s.

<sup>6</sup> RGTC 4 (Kh. Nashef), 132. Its position is marked on the maps TAVO B II, Mesopotamien in altbabylonischer Zeit, 12.1 “Besiedlung” and B III 7, Babylonien und Assyrien in der zweiten Hälfte des zweiten Jahrtausends v. Chr.

<sup>7</sup> RHA 36, 1978, 124.

<sup>8</sup> RGTC 10, 66s.

<sup>9</sup> See again map TAVO B II 12.

<sup>10</sup> RGTC 5, 40.

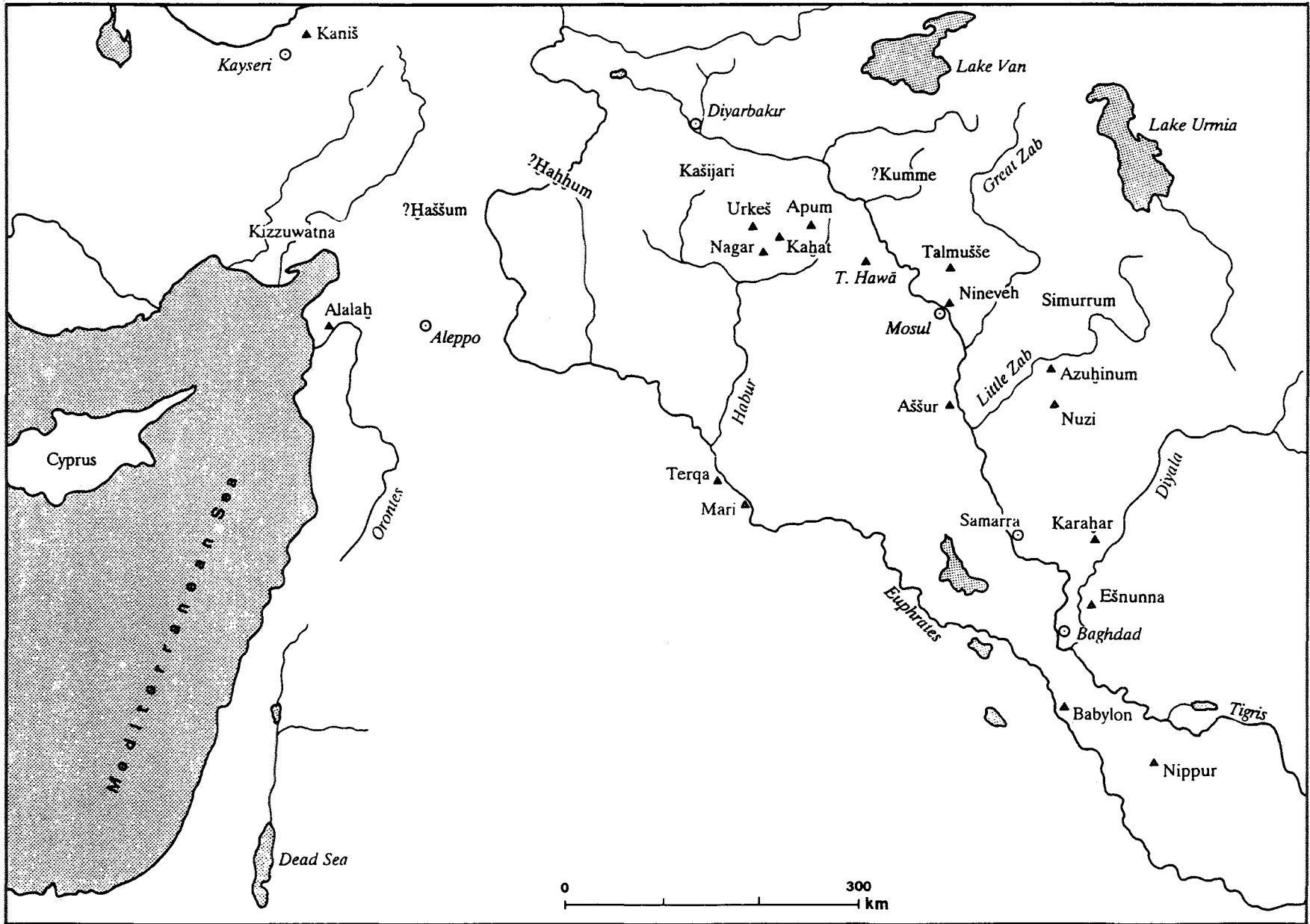


Fig. 1. The Hurrian centers of the third and second millennium B.C. in Upper Mesopotamia.

The evident contradiction between the sources cited above can only be resolved if we separate the information from Nuzi from that of the Old Babylonian tradition and propose the existence of two homophone place-names located in two different regions. A. Fadhil, in his study of the topography of Arrapha,<sup>11</sup> maintains that there is only one toponym with this name throughout the eras, but it seems impossible to reconcile the position of Old Assyrian and Old Babylonian Uzuḫinum with the Azuḫinni of Nuzi and the Middle Assyrian Arzuḫina.

We may have an analogous example in the case of Tarmanni, the name of two separate cities, one of which—according to the Mari texts—would be in the region of the Ida-Maraş (roughly speaking, the river basin of the Habur in the northern Djezireh), the other in the land of Alalaḫ.<sup>12</sup> The example may also be given of Razama which, in the Old Babylonian era, denotes two distinct cities.<sup>13</sup>

The difficulty lies, however, in deciding whether the city of the Hurrian prince Taḫiṣ-Atili should be identified with the site to the west of the Tigris or with that in the region of Nuzi. If one accepts the hypothesis of a number of homonymous Hurrian place names in various regions starting from the second half of the third millennium, this could suggest that Hurrian penetration into the area of the foothills had started even earlier. This question must be borne in mind since we are dealing with the earliest Hurrian toponym known to date.<sup>14</sup>

#### Kirašeniwe and Puttim-adal A City and a King of Šimurru

Of an equally early date is the Hurrian place name Kirašeniwe, a city of Šimurru, also mentioned in a year-name of Narām-Sîn<sup>15</sup> and which must have lain at the foot of the Zagros in the upper reaches of the Little Zab.<sup>16</sup> This may be analyzed as follows:

<sup>11</sup> BaF 6 (1983) 67ss.

<sup>12</sup> The name means “spring, fountain” in the Hurrian language; cf. J.-R. Kupper, RHA 36, 1978, 123, n. 43. See also M. Salvini, SMEA 14, 1971, 171-183.

<sup>13</sup> RGTC 3, 197.

<sup>14</sup> The suffix -ḫini or -ḫina indicates a Hurrian character; on this suffix in certain nouns attested in the Akkadian period, see the study by I. J. Gelb, Fs. Friedrich, Heidelberg 1959, 183ss.

<sup>15</sup> Gelb-Kienast, op. cit. p. 51: Narām-sîn 5 a.

<sup>16</sup> See map TAVO B II 8.1.

kiraše=ni=we, showing the adjective kiraši, “lengthened”<sup>17</sup>—or the personal name, Keraše<sup>18</sup>—the identifying suffix -ni and the genitive -we. Place names deriving from personal names in the genitive form with -we are frequent at Nuzi in the fifteenth century.<sup>19</sup>

In effect, Šimurrum is one of those political formations of the foothill region which is considered the gateway to Hurrian territory.<sup>20</sup> An Old Babylonian source, historically related to the Old Babylonian legend of Narām-Sîn, gives Šimurrum a king with the Hurrian name Puttim-adal,<sup>21</sup> which should probably read \*Puttum=atal.<sup>22</sup> Whilst the second part of this name is well known, the first may be connected to puttukki (Mit. III 60), meaning “achievement.”<sup>23</sup>

### Nippur

Another text indirectly testifying to contacts with the Hurrians in the Akkadian period is the white marble tablet found at Nippur and held at the University Museum of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia) and published by I. J. Gelb.<sup>24</sup> This contains a list of clothing (note the Hurrian terms ḫišelu=ḫina, zimze=ḫina and 'aku=ḫina) offered by a lady named Tupin to a lord of the obviously Hurrian name Šehrin-ipri. We cannot know whether there were high-ranking Hurrian prisoners of war at Nippur in this early period (given the quality of the text) or whether we are dealing with a forwarding of clothing from a Hurrian land of upper Mesopotamia or the Zagros area. However, the wars of Narām-Sîn provide the historical framework in which to place this document.

<sup>17</sup> E. Laroche, GLH 143. Remember the Latin city of Alba Longa.

<sup>18</sup> NPN 223.

<sup>19</sup> RGTC 10, 1993 (J. Finke), *passim*: we are not merely dealing with the genitive of PN. Cf. Tupšarri=we / Tupšarri=ni=we, RGTC 10, 302. An early Hurrian place-name, also formed with the genitive suffix is Zipuḫuliwe, found on the tablet from Kültepe kt k/k 4, a letter sent by a certain Eḫli-Addu to one Unapše: K. Hecker, SCCNH 8, 1996, 294, l.14; G. Wilhelm, *ibid.* 342 f.

<sup>20</sup> W. W. Hallo, *Šimurrum and the Hurrian Frontier*, RHA XXXVI, 1978, 71-83.

<sup>21</sup> A. K. Grayson-E. Sollberger, *L'insurrection générale contre Narām-Suen*, RA 70, 1976, 103-128.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. I. J. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, Chicago 1944, 55.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Chr. Girbal, ZA 78, 1988, 130.

<sup>24</sup> Fs. Friedrich 1959, 183ss.

### Tell Brak/Nagar and Tell Mozan/Urkes

The written material found in sites of northern Mesopotamia, corresponding to places inhabited by Hurrians from the third millennium on, belongs to the second category of sources.

From Tell Brak we have the seal impression of a Hurrian person who was called "Talpuš-atili,<sup>25</sup> sun of the land of Nagar, son of x." The date suggested by D. Matthews and J. Eidem, who published the seal, varies from the end of the Akkadian period to that immediately following.<sup>26</sup> For the consequences on the historical geography of the region, see below.

To this picture of the Old Akkadian Period must be added the recent discoveries made by Giorgio and Marilyn Buccellati at Tell Mozan with the first documents from the archive of "Tupkiš, endan Urkeš<sup>KI</sup>."<sup>27</sup> The two Akkadian texts found during the 1990 campaign<sup>28</sup> provided already interesting onomastic material. At least one personal name is certainly Hurrian and of a "classical" type. This is Unap-šeni, known from other archives.<sup>29</sup> Un=a=p-šeni is a phrase-name which means "The brother has come," like Akkadian Aḫu-illika. In later archives this name is also found in the abbreviated version Unapše.<sup>30</sup> But the new material adds very important elements to the Hurrian problem. The title of endan, worn by Tupkiš on the Mozan sealings, is already known from the famous document of "Tiš-atal, endan of Urkeš" (see below). This title is not attested elsewhere. The only comparable terms are <sup>Mf</sup>entanni, meaning "priestess" and the epithet entašši<sup>31</sup> of the goddess Ḫebat in Hittite-Hurrian texts in the Kizzuwatna cultural area, Cilicia/Cappadocia of the fourteenth-thirteenth centuries,<sup>32</sup> but the connection is not sure.

<sup>25</sup> Again, an archaic form of -atal, "the strong."

<sup>26</sup> D. Matthews and J. Eidem, "Tell Brak and Nagar," *Iraq* LV, 1993, 201-207.

<sup>27</sup> See the excursus on the Hurrian personal name Tupkiš in : G. Buccellati and M. Kelly-Buccellati, *WZKM* 86, 1996, 84-86.

<sup>28</sup> Published by Lucio Milano, *Mozan 2. The Epigraphic Finds of the Sixth Season*, Malibu 1991, 23f.

<sup>29</sup> Already in the Old Akkadian period this is attested in the form Ú-[n]a-ap-šè-na (šena "brother" without the individualizing -ni): *BiMes* 1 (A. Westenholz), 1975, N°47 V 4.

<sup>30</sup> Letter kt k/k 4 from level Kaniš Ib is addressed to an individual of this name, Ú-na-ap-šé. See K. Hecker, *SCCNH* 8, 1996, 291-303. Analysis of personal names by G. Wilhelm, *ibid*, 335f.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. M.-C. Trémouille, *Ḫebat, une déesse syro-anatolienne*, Florence 1997, Chapter 4.3.1.

<sup>32</sup> E. Laroche, *Glossaire de la langue hourrite*, Paris 1980 (= GLH ), 82.

Together with other considerations noted by G. and M. Buccellati, it assures the identification of Tell Mozan with the Hurrian city of Urkeš.<sup>33</sup> From the point of view of his function, it seems clear that such a title (endan) must be equated with that of “king,” and the new evidence from Tell Mozan corroborates this. The queen’s seals with the legends Uqnītum DAM Tupkiš “Uqnītum, the wife of Tupkiš,” and Uqnītum NIN “Uqnītum, the queen,”<sup>34</sup> provide the definite proof that Tupkiš was the king of Urkeš, the oldest Hurrian king of Urkeš that we know.

The onomastic data shows that, even from this early period, the Hurrians lived in the northern stretches of Mesopotamia alongside the Semitic people and other, unknown populations which we may call Subareans, although this is essentially a geographic concept in the view of the southern Mesopotamian countries.

This is the evidence of the Hurrians in northern Mesopotamia in the Old Akkadian Period; they are the pieces in a still mainly incomplete mosaic which do not enable us to have a precise idea about the question of the origin of the Hurrians. The generic idea of their provenance from the mountains north of Mesopotamia is only supported by their linguistic kinship with the Urartians of the first millennium B.C., who lived on the plateau around lake Van.<sup>35</sup>

#### The Late Third Millennium Atal-Šen of Urkesh and Nawar

For the Post Akkadian period we have well-known documents—original pieces—going back directly to Hurrian sovereigns, but unfortunately not coming from regular excavations. The earliest historical record (excluding the sealings mentioned above) relating to a Hurrian sovereign (LUGAL) is the bronze tablet “of Samarra” in the Louvre (AO 5678), the name coming from the city where it was bought, its origin being unknown. This was published in 1912 by Thureau-Dangin<sup>36</sup> who dated it to the Old

<sup>33</sup> G. Buccellati and M. Kelly-Buccellati, “The Identification of Urkesh with Tell Mozan (Syria),” *Orient Express* 1995/3, Cover Page and 67-70. See also below.

<sup>34</sup> G. Buccellati and M. Kelly-Buccellati, *The Royal Storehouse of Urkesh: The Glyptic Evidence from the Southwestern Wing*, AfO XLII-LXIII (1995/1996), 1-32.

<sup>35</sup> See, on the Urartian culture, M. Salvini, *Geschichte und Kultur der Urartäer*, Darmstadt 1995.

<sup>36</sup> RA 9, 1912, 1-4. For attestations of Nuzi, see NPN, 272.

Akkadian period. It was recently studied again by G. Wilhelm<sup>37</sup> who dates it later, to the period either preceding or at the very start of the Ur dynasty.

The text is written in the Akkadian language:

“To Nergal, king (LUGAL) of Ḫawalum, Atal-šen, the worthy shepherd, the king (LUGAL) of Urkeš and of Nawar, the son of king Šatar-mat, builder (DIM) of the temple of Nergal, he who destroys his rivals. He who destroys this tablet, may Šamaš and Ištar eliminate their offspring. Šaum-šen did this.”

This is the foundation tablet of a temple of Nergal, written by a Hurrian king, son of another Hurrian king. It is also the earliest document of the Hurrian dynasty known to us. The name of the scribe, Šaumšen, is also Hurrian.<sup>38</sup> In ša=u=m=šen, apart from -šen, “brother,” we can identify the root ša-, common to both the noun “weapon” (šauri) and the name of Šawuška, the Hurrian Ištar.<sup>39</sup>

It is difficult to establish the location of Ḫawalum, where the sanctuary of Nergal was built, although its identification with the Old Babylonian Kawila has been proposed, probably in the western part of the Habur triangle.<sup>40</sup>

#### Tiš-atal of Urkeš

The place-name Urkeš recurs in another, famous text. The foundation document of Tiš-atal, endan of Urkeš, inscribed on a stone tablet held between the paws of a bronze lion (Louvre AO 19937-38) is the earliest known document in the Hurrian language.<sup>41</sup> The same text is repeated on the bronze plaque of the statuette but is poorly conserved. A twin statuette is to be found in the Metropolitan Museum<sup>42</sup> but the stone tablet is

<sup>37</sup> In: V. Haas, ed., “Hurriter und Hurritisch,” *Xenia* 21, Konstanz 1988, 47.

<sup>38</sup> The same kind of personal name as Pus=u=m=šen (Ur III period), cf. I. J. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, Chicago 1944, 111.

<sup>39</sup> See the analysis ša=wuš=k=a given by Ilse Wegner in *Xenia* 21, Konstanz 1988, 150. For the verbal suffix =u=m(=o=m) in personal names, see G. Wilhelm, *Fs. K. Heger, Heidelberg* 1992, 667 f.

<sup>40</sup> RGTC 1, 71.

<sup>41</sup> A. Parrot-J. Nougayrol, *Un document de fondation hurrite*, RA 42, 1948, 1-20. See also the article by G. Wilhelm in the present volume.

<sup>42</sup> O. W. Muscarella, *Bronze and Iron. Ancient Near Eastern Artifacts in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York 1988, 374-377; “Comments on the Urkish Lion Pegs,” in *Mozan* 1, 1988, pp. 93-99.



missing. It is clear that the two foundation deposits come from the same building that has to be looked for on Tell Mozan. The translation is:

“Tiš-atal, endan of Urkeš, has built a temple for Nergal. May the god Lubadag (archaic form of Nupatik) protect it. He who destroys this temple, may Lubadag destroy. May the god...not hear his prayers. May the lady of Nagar (<sup>d</sup>NIN na-gà<sup>K1</sup>), (the Sun god) Šimiga (<sup>d</sup>UTU-ga-an) and the storm god (<sup>d</sup>IŠKUR) curse ten thousand times he who destroys it.”

The dating of this important document, which was initially dated to the end of the Akkadian period (Parrot and Nougayrol) has been altered to that of Ur III. Here I refer, above all, to an article by R. Whiting<sup>43</sup> who recalls two further texts relating to persons bearing the same name: Dišatal, king of Karaḥar (a region on the Diyala river) on a seal of Ur III (or proto-Isin-Larsa) in the de Clercq collection of the Louvre, and Tiš-atal, “the man of Nineveh” cited in an administrative document of Ešnunna (Tell Asmar) dating from the third year of Šū-sîn (2034 B.C. according to the middle chronology).

In effect, one cannot say that we are dealing with the same person, as D. Collon thinks,<sup>44</sup> but rather that the name was common throughout the lands inhabited by the Hurrians in the last century of the third millennium.

The city of Urkeš is known in the Hittite religious literature of Boğazköy as the land of Kumarbi, father of the Hurrian gods, who the Hittites associated with Enlil, head of the Sumerian pantheon.<sup>45</sup> However, we must note that the name of Kumarbi, who has a primary role in the Hurrian mythology of Hittite tradition, is not mentioned either in the “Samarra” Tablet of Atal-šen or in the Lion text of Tiš-atal. The first kings historically and epigraphically cited, as we have seen, are, instead, linked to the cult of Nergal, the god of the underworld to whom they apparently owed their political success in the north of Mesopotamia.

On the basis of the mentioned textual evidence, which is concentrated in the period of the Ur III dynasty, the city of Urkeš appears as the most important Hurrian center before the formation of the Mittanni reign, towards the middle of the second millennium. We also know—still in the Ur III period—the name of another Hurrian king connected with Urkeš. This is a certain Annatal.<sup>46</sup> The relative frequency of these attestations

<sup>43</sup> *Tiš-Atal of Nineveh and Babati, Uncle of Šū-Sîn*, JCS 28 (1976) 173-182.

<sup>44</sup> RA 84, 1990, 129f.

<sup>45</sup> See H. G. Güterbock, RIA VI 1980-1983, 325-330 s.v. Kumarbi; V. Haas, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion*, (Brill) 1994, 83f., 123f.

<sup>46</sup> Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians* 114; RGTC 2, 224.

shows the importance of this political and religious center which was connected to the Hurrians. In the Old Babylonian period, instead, Urkeš (Urgiš) would appear to have been completely immersed in the Semitic element and no names are known of Hurrians connected with the city. It has even been thought that this was a different city, and not that of Tiš-atal.<sup>47</sup>

### The Identification of Urkeš with Tell Mozan and the Question of Nawar

Historical geographical studies in the North Djezireh received new input from the identification of Urkeš with Tell Mozan. G. Buccellati took up again the problem of the Urkeš documentation ten years ago,<sup>48</sup> correcting what had by then become the classic hypothesis which identified the tell with the city of ʿAmūda, near the Turkish border. The absence of important traces of the third millennium, however, has led to excluding the identification with the so-called Tell ʿAmūda, whose name is in reality Tell Shermola.<sup>49</sup> Buccellati instead suggested that Urkeš is to be identified with the site of Mozan,<sup>50</sup> the most important tell in the region of ʿAmūda giving evidence of the third millennium. The rest—the discovery of many hundreds of clay bullae with sealings of Tupkiš, endan of Urkeš—is recent history.<sup>51</sup>

The question of Urkeš and its now certain identification with Tell Mozan, however, provides a precise reference point for the reconstruction of the historical geography of northern Mesopotamia. And here we return to the problem of the location of Nawar and, therefore, the extent of the reign of Atalšen and, secondly, the equation Nawar = Nagar. On the bronze tablet of Samarra, Atal-šen is named “king of Urkeš and of Nawar” whilst the document of Tiš-atal, “endan of Urkeš” cites, in the curse, the “lady of Nagar.”<sup>52</sup>

<sup>47</sup> G. Wilhelm, *Grundzüge der Geschichte und Kultur der Hurriter*, Darmstadt 1982, 12.

<sup>48</sup> *Mozan 1. The Soundings of the First Two Seasons* (BiMes 20) 1988, 29f.

<sup>49</sup> V. a. X. Faivre, “Le Tell d’Amuda,” in *Mémoires de N.A.B.U.* 2 (1992) 113-150. The results of the 1986 sounding revealed the absence of occupation during the III millennium.

<sup>50</sup> D. Charpin, instead, is skeptical, *M.A.R.I.* 7 (1993) 165 n.1.

<sup>51</sup> G. Buccellati and Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati, “The Identification of Urkesh with Tell Mozan,” *Orient-Express* 1995/3, 67-70; *AfO* 42-43 (1995-96) 1-36; *WZKM* 86, 1996 (Fs. H. Hirsch), 65-99.

<sup>52</sup> Belet Nagar is venerated also by the prince of Kaḥat who sends a letter to Till-Abnû of Šeḥnā (Tell Leilan), see J. Eidem, *RA* 85, 1991, 125.

The cult of this goddess in the Habur region is fairly ancient and she is mentioned in a pre-Sargonic text from Mari as <sup>d</sup>NIN Na-gàr<sup>KI</sup>.<sup>53</sup>

But is what has been noted so far enough to prove the identity of the two place names? In the first volume of RGTC, Edzard, Farber and Sollberger declare themselves in favor of this identification whilst, in the third volume of the series, B. Groneberg<sup>54</sup> does not consider it possible. This is an important point since Tell Brak has produced the seal of “Talpuš-atili, sun of the land of Nagar.” At this point, if Nawar is Nagar and if Nagar coincides with Tell Brak, we have two exact coordinates for putting on the map this first Hurrian reign over which Atal-šen, “king of Urkeš and Nawar,” ruled.

Nawar may be interpreted as a Hurrian place-name connected with the verb root naw- “to graze” with the iterative suffix -ar-,<sup>55</sup> as well as with the deverbal substantive nauni- “pasture.”<sup>56</sup> It is, however, quite frequent as an element in Hurrian names in all the archives and in all periods: Mari, Rimah, Alalah, Ugarit, etc.<sup>57</sup> See, for example, Ḥašim-nawar in Old-Assyrian Kaniš.<sup>58</sup> The presence of names such as Nawar-kanazi, Nawar-nišḫi and Nawar-tupki at Chagar-Bazar is especially interesting.<sup>59</sup>

The fact that Nawar is used in the personal names, as is the case of Kumme,<sup>60</sup> shows that Nawar was, like Urkeš, above all a place of cult. Eidem quotes a text from Ur III which mentions a Nawar-šen, priest of Ninḫursag, man of Nawar.<sup>61</sup> This confirms the link between that place name and the Hurrian ethnic element.

But we know of a treaty between the king of Apum (Leilan) and the king of Kaḫat (Tell Barri)<sup>62</sup> which adds a new element. There were two, contemporary cities of Nawar, since the reign of Kaḫat is defined as the land “between Nawar and Nawar”! It is likely, as Eidem believes, that one was to the south and the other to the north of Tell

<sup>53</sup> J.-M. Durand, *M.A.R.I.* 5, 1987, 79, 20 II 4.

<sup>54</sup> RGTC 3, 176, s.v. - <sup>M</sup>nawaritam, nisbe at Mari.

<sup>55</sup> G. Wilhelm, *Amurru* 1, 1996, 178.

<sup>56</sup> Cited by G. Wilhelm, *Or.* 61, 1992, 132.

<sup>57</sup> J. Eidem, in note 6 of his article, cites many texts from Mari and Nuzi.

<sup>58</sup> RGTC 4, 56.

<sup>59</sup> AOAT 3, 23.

<sup>60</sup> RIA VI, 1980-83, s.v. Kumme (W. Röllig).

<sup>61</sup> Cf. I. J. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, 113.

<sup>62</sup> L87-1362+, cf. J. Eidem, AAAS XXXVII-XXXVIII (1987-88) 116.

Barri. If the one lying to the south is to be identified with Tell Brak, that to the north may well be identified with the Nawali mentioned in the texts from Tell Leilan (Nawala/u at Mari) which, in turn, would be the Neo Assyrian Nabula, located at Girnavaz.<sup>63</sup> This should be identified with the Nawar of the Atalšen inscription.

It could be useful to refer to the Hurrian literary tradition of Boğazköy, still the richest to date. In a Hurrian magical text of the category itkalzi (“purification of the mouth”),<sup>64</sup> the sacred cities of Talmušše,<sup>65</sup> Nineveh, Urkeš and Nawar are mentioned, the last two in the form <sup>URU</sup>Urkini(n) and <sup>URU</sup>Nawari,<sup>66</sup> and associated with the names of mountains: Nawari with Kašijari (<sup>HUR.SAG</sup>Gašijarri-), therefore with modern Tūr-<sup>c</sup>Abdīn, and Urkini with another, unknown mountain called Napri.

If Nawar and the Kašijari/Tūr-<sup>c</sup>Abdīn were not far from each other, as suggested by the Boğazköy text, we must opt for a location with a site in northern Djezireh (Girnavaz or some other) rather than with Tell Brak. This latter, however, is still the best candidate for Nagar, the earliest evidence of which dates back to the pre-Sargonic texts.<sup>67</sup> The city was an extremely important center in the third millennium and is mentioned numerous times in the Ebla texts.<sup>68</sup>

An Old Akkadian tablet from Tell Brak gives the neighboring powers of the time: Nagar<sup>KI</sup>, Ur-keš<sup>KI</sup>, and Šeḥna (written Šuḥna) i.e. Tell Leilan, as well as Lilabšinum.<sup>69</sup> In the Old Babylonian period the city is known mainly as the seat of the cult of the “lady of Nagar” who was worshipped from Kaḥat to Šubat-Enlil.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>63</sup> V. Donbaz, SAAB 2, 1988, 5.

<sup>64</sup> ChS I/1, N°5 col.I-II, with duplicate N°6 col. I.

<sup>65</sup> RGTC 5, 258.

<sup>66</sup> In the same form in the Hurrian Old Babylonian tablet from Mari 2: F. Thureau-Dangin, RA 36, 1939, 5.

<sup>67</sup> RGTC 1, 125.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. A. Archi-P. Piacentini-F. Pomponio, I nomi di luogo dei testi di Ebla (ARES II), Roma 1993, 391-395.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. the new reading of AOAT 3/1, 69, given by A. Catagnoti and M. Bonechi, N.A.B.U. 1992, 65, of the text studied by K. Kessler in SMEA 24, 1984, 22-23.

<sup>70</sup> We know from a letter (L87-1317) of the prince of Kaḥat Ea-Malik to the king of Apum (Tell Leilan), Till-Abnû (post-Mari period): J. Eidem, RA 85-1991, 125.

These facts lead one to agree with J. Eidem's conclusion which connects Atalšen—the author of the bronze tablet of Samarra—with a small reign in the northern part of the Habur triangle.

The ethnic-political picture in the last quarter of the third millennium is, therefore, that of a Hurrian presence organized into small states in the northern Habur which form a co-ordinated system. The presence of a Hurrian sovereign at Tell Brak (Talpuš-atili of Nagar) would appear to interrupt the Akkadian domination in the Habur region. This would also explain the veneration which Tiš-atal of Urkeš, the builder of the temple of Nergal, had for the goddess of Nagar. The sanctuaries, at the end of the third millennium, would appear to have been important points of reference for the Hurrian populations. This situation will be repeated in south-eastern Anatolia in the second half of the second millennium around the religious center of Kummanni in Kizzuwatna.<sup>71</sup>

At the same time as Ur III we know of a series of names of Hurrians<sup>72</sup> linked to centers that can be located in the foothill area of the eastern Taurus and the Zagros. Apart from Urkeš and Nawar, these are Mardaman,<sup>73</sup> Urbilum (= Arbela), Šimanum, Šimurum (on the upper reaches of the Little Zab), Talmuš, a city north of Nineveh also mentioned in the Middle Assyrian texts as Talmuše/-ššu.<sup>74</sup>

### The Old Babylonian Period

For the following, Old Babylonian period, the Mari texts have long revealed a series of sovereigns and Hurrian principalities in the region of the northern Djezireh.<sup>75</sup> Further elements are added thanks to new excavations being carried out: a fragment of a treaty found at Tell Leilan (Šubat-Enlil) gives us the name of the Hurrian prince Ḫazip-Teššup of Razama, to the north of Tell-ar-Rimah (region of the Sindjar).<sup>76</sup> Again from the Tell

<sup>71</sup> RIA VI, 1980-83, s.v. Kummanni (H. Otten).

<sup>72</sup> I. J. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, 112ff.

<sup>73</sup> Its identification with Mardin is uncertain: see K. Kessler, *Untersuchungen zur historischen Topographie Nordmesopotamiens* (Beihefte zum TAVO, Reihe B, Nr. 26), Wiesbaden 1980, 63f., RGTC 4 27.

<sup>74</sup> RGTC 5, 258.

<sup>75</sup> J.-R. Kupper, *RHA XXVIII* 1978, 123.

<sup>76</sup> J. Eidem, in: *Mélanges Garelli*, Paris 1991, 185 n.2.

Leilan texts, we know of a certain Ewri<sup>77</sup>—whose name is the same as the Hurrian noun for “lord”—and of a Ḫawur(ni)-atal, king of Nawali.<sup>78</sup> This city perhaps corresponds with the Neo-Assyrian Nabula (=Girnavaz, north of Qamishli in Turkish territory).<sup>79</sup> Names formed with the element -atal are particularly frequent in Hurrian personal names of the Old Babylonian period, cf. Kummen-atal, Kirip-atal, Pirḫen-atal, Šadum-atal, etc.<sup>80</sup>

The list of the Hurrian princes who ruled over cities in northern Mesopotamia, set down by J.-R. Kupper on the basis of the Mari texts, is extremely long and other names have been added since. We must not, however, think that all the political formations governed at a given time by a prince of Hurrian name were necessarily Hurrian. One need only think of Turum-natki, for example, king of Apum,<sup>81</sup> region of Tell Leilan which is certainly not to be considered a Hurrian state. Or of the name Kuwari or Kuari which we find, long before the archives of Nuzi,<sup>82</sup> at Mari, Chagar Bazar and in the archives of Tell Shemshara: Kuwari was the governor of Šušarra at the time of Šamšī-Adad I.<sup>83</sup>

For the same period we now also have another source on the Hurrians in northern Mesopotamia which is beginning to furnish initial information. This is Kültepe and its most recent level, Ib. A tablet recently published by Karl Hecker, together with other interesting implications, bears witness to the Hurrians in the area of the upper Euphrates. It consists of a letter written by one Hurrian (Eḫli-Addu) to another (Unapše) who lives at Kaniš. The writer speaks of an undefined area in northern Syria, delimited by the quotation of Ḫaššu(m),<sup>84</sup> and also mentions a previously unknown place-name,

<sup>77</sup> He is the governor of a city in the land of Apum; cf. J. Eidem, AAAS XXXVII-XXXVIII (1987-88) 116, RA 85 (1991) 122s.

<sup>78</sup> J. Eidem, RA 85 (1991) 128.

<sup>79</sup> V. Donbaz, SAAB 2 (1988) 5.

<sup>80</sup> J. R. Kupper, in D. Charpin-F. Joannès (eds.), *Marchands, diplomates et empereurs (Mélanges Garelli)*, Paris 1991, 180. Another Hurrian personage at Leilan is Ki-le-eš-ew-ri, cf. M. van de Mieroop, Or 63, 1994, 305-344.

<sup>81</sup> J.-R. Kupper RHA 36, 1978, 125 ss. Cf. “Masum-atal, king of Alilenum,” in J. Eidem, AAAS 37/38, 1987-88, 120, n. 29.

<sup>82</sup> NPN 228.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. J. Laessøe, *The Shemshara Tablets*, Copenhagen 1959, 29.

<sup>84</sup> An identification with Maraş has been suggested: M. Forlanini, M. Marazzi, *Atlante Storico del Vicino Oriente Antico*, fasc. 4.3, Roma 1986.

Zipuḫuliwe, of clearly Hurrian meaning.<sup>85</sup> The identification of Ḫaššu(m) and Mama has been proposed by Forlanini<sup>86</sup> who believes that Aniš-ḫurpi/Anu-ḫarwi, king of Zalwar and of Ḫaššum, is the same as Anum-ḫirbi, known from his letter to Waršama of Kaniš.<sup>87</sup> We may therefore expect further documentation which will shed light on the role of the Hurrians between northern Syria and Anatolia at the time of Kaniš and Mari. It will be interesting to discover something of the predecessors of those Hurrians who were the feared enemies of Ḫattušili I in his expansionist policies towards the east.

The personal name Ku(w)ari, discussed above, provides new information regarding the question of the relations between the Hurrians of Syria and Anatolia. At Terqa documents dating to 1700 B.C. have been discovered which mention in year names the victory of a certain Kuari over the Hittites (ḫa-at-tu, ḫa-at-te, ḫa-at-tum).<sup>88</sup>

In general, we must conclude that the Hurrian ethnic element, in its lengthy period of integration in Semitic society, often succeeded in achieving high social rank, even the highest. This is an extremely important aspect which will have to be examined in future research.

The existence of population layers which spoke the Hurrian language is demonstrated by the Hurrian texts of the Old Babylonian period found at Mari. These are six tablets, five of which are incantation texts. The main god is Teššub of Kumme, the sanctuary town which must have been located in the region of the eastern Habur river. The gods of Kumme recur also in the sixth tablet<sup>89</sup> and the mention of Zimri-lim makes the date certain. This is probably a prayer directed by the king of Mari to the Hurrian storm god, written in the language of the god.

Kumme at that time was an important cult center of Teššup, but also a place of magical practices: Jan van Dijk<sup>90</sup> published Hurrian magical texts from southern Mesopotamia which mention names of Hurrian cities of the upper Tigris such as Kume-ni (=Kumme) and Talmušše. These are conjurations against the bite of a snake or of a

<sup>85</sup> G. Wilhelm, SCCNH 8, 1996, 342 f. Cf. toponym Kirašeniwe, above.

<sup>86</sup> *Hethitica* VI, 1985, 54-55 and Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Hittitologia (Pavia 28 June - July 1993), Pavia 1995, 125.

<sup>87</sup> K. Balkan, *Letter of King Anum-Hirbi of Mama to King Warshama of Kanish*, Ankara 1957.

<sup>88</sup> O. Rouault, *SMEA* 30, 1992, 247-256.

<sup>89</sup> M. Salvini, *RA* 82 (1988) 59-69.

<sup>90</sup> *VS NF* 1, Berlin 1971, Nos. 5, 6, 7, 20, 22, 26. See also the study by M.L. Chačikjan, "Iz starochurritskich zaklinanij," in *Drevnij Vostok* 2 (Erevan 1976), 251-264.

scorpion. The texts may be compared to those of Mari and, although we still have only a few examples, these show how widespread the Hurrian magical-religious literature was throughout the Near East.

### The Mid Second Millennium

A recent publication offers new and complex documentation relating to the Hurrians in northern Mesopotamia. The archives of a city called Tikunani, which came to light in unknown circumstances in a undefined area between the upper courses of the Euphrates and the Tigris, contain material on historical, linguistic and onomastic matters that are of primary importance.<sup>91</sup> The presence in these archives of a letter from the Great King of Hatti, Ḫattušili I (1640-1610 approx.) represents a synchronism of the greatest importance.<sup>92</sup> A considerable number of Hurrian personal names—apart from providing excellent linguistic material—reveal to us the constituency of that social layer defined by the term Ḫabiru. The Hurrians lived alongside the Semitic element, for which we also have many personal names, in a political formation governed by a Hurrian king, Tunip-Teššup. Although the majority of these texts are written in the Akkadian language, at least one is written in Hurrian and this demonstrates the bilingual culture of this north Mesopotamian reign.

As far as the Middle Babylonian period is concerned which, in northern Mesopotamia meant the domination of the Mittanni Empire, we must note that the search for the capital Waššukkanni has still not borne fruit. The site of Tell Brak, which was an important city also in this period, has furnished the first incomplete tablet, written entirely in the Hurrian language, from the ancient Mittanni territory.<sup>93</sup> This is dated to the fifteenth century, and thus before the “Mittanni letter.”<sup>94</sup> The famous “Mittanni letter,” that is the diplomatic letter written in the Hurrian language and sent by king Tušratta to the pharaoh Amenophis III, was found, as is known, at El Amarna.<sup>95</sup> We may, therefore, reasonably hope for the discovery of archives written in Hurrian in many other sites of

<sup>91</sup> M. Salvini, *The Ḫabiru Prism of King Tunip-Teššup of Tikunani*, Rome 1996.

<sup>92</sup> M. Salvini, *Una lettera di Ḫattušili I relativa alla spedizione contro Ḫaḫḫum*, SMEA XXXIV, 1994, 61-80.

<sup>93</sup> Published by G. Wilhelm, *Iraq* 53 (1991) 159-168.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. D. Oates, *ibid.*, 158.

<sup>95</sup> EA 24: see W. L. Moran, *Les lettres d'El Amarna*, Paris 1987, 139-151 (G. Wilhelm).



the Mittanni empire which, in the fourteenth century, included the whole of northern Mesopotamia and whose influence extended as far as the Mediterranean Sea.

The Hurrian texts from Tikunani (seventeenth century) and from Tell Brak (sixteenth century), although still isolated cases, show that the Hurrian scribal culture of the Mittanni Empire had an ancient tradition. This receives further confirmation from the very recent news of the existence of a “scribe who understands and reads Hurrian,” who lived somewhere between eastern Anatolia and northern Syria at the time of Kaniš Ib (eighteenth century B.C.).<sup>96</sup>

<sup>96</sup> Cf. SCCNH 7, 1996, 303.