

HURRIANS AND SUBARIANS



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STUDIES IN ANCIENT ORIENTAL CIVILIZATION · NO. 22

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS · CHICAGO · ILLINOIS

International Standard Book Number: 0-226-62393-9
Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 44-4506

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS, CHICAGO 60637
The University of Chicago Press, Ltd., London

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Printed by Cushing-Malloy, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan,
United States of America

PREFACE

The present monograph grew out of what was originally intended to be merely a chapter serving as historical introduction to *Nuzi Personal Names* ("Oriental Institute Publications," Vol. LVII). But during preparation of the manuscript it soon became apparent that such a sober volume as *Nuzi Personal Names* was no place for complicated discussions on the history and relationship of the Hurrians and Subarians. This fact, coupled with the steady growth of the manuscript, made it imperative to give up the original intention and to publish it separately. To Dr. John A. Wilson and Dr. T. George Allen are due my thanks and gratitude for having accepted the monograph for publication in the Oriental Institute's "Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization."

The manuscript had attained approximately its present size, if not its present form, at the beginning of 1940. The gist of it was presented in a lecture, "The Hurrian-Subarian Problem," given February 26, 1940, at a meeting of the Near East Club of the University of Chicago.

The main object of this monograph is the elucidation of the status of Hurrians and Subarians within the historical framework of the ancient Near East. As is generally known, two scholars in particular—Speiser in his book *Mesopotamian Origins* and Ungnad in his book *Subartu*—have in recent years rendered outstanding service in assembling and presenting data on the Hurrians and Subarians. They both treated of the aboriginal population of Mesopotamia; but, while Speiser called it "Hurrian," Ungnad called it "Subarian." In accordance with their conclusions the practical equivalence of the two terms has become generally accepted.

Study of early Sumerian and Akkadian sources hitherto overlooked or differently interpreted has, however, led me to an entirely different conclusion. The terms are not used for one and the same ethnic unit, as generally assumed; they do not even apply to separate branches of a single ethnic family, as Speiser seems to imply in a later treatise on "Ethnic Movements in the Near East." On the contrary, I hope to be able to prove in this monograph that from now on it will be necessary to distinguish sharply between two entirely different and unrelated ethnic units: the Subarians, who from the earliest historical periods are found not only occupying vast mountainous areas north of Babylonia but also living peacefully within Babylonia side by side with Sumerians and Akkadians, and the much younger Hurrians, who appeared relatively late on the Mesopotamian scene and who played an important role in the history of the Near East in the middle of the 2d millennium B.C. At the time when the Hurrians first enter the Mesopotamian scene the Subarians can look back on a long past. The subsequent histories of the two ethnic units develop along independent and unrelated courses. Only in the 2d millennium, when the Hurrians

occupied territories previously inhabited by the Subarians, may there have been some confusion of the two.

In spite of the fact that the final results of this monograph are so different from those reached by Speiser and Ungnad, it is but fair to state how much it owes to the works of these two scholars. Certainly it owes more to them than one might realize from a casual perusal of the remarks and criticisms scattered throughout this study. It was not my intention to write a complete history of the Hurrians and Subarians which would supersede entirely the works of my predecessors. Since my chief aim is to show that Hurrians and Subarians were of different and unrelated origins, it was only natural for me to treat the earliest sources, that is, those of the 3d millennium B.C., more exhaustively than those of the next two millennia. For this reason the treatment of these later sources remains in some respects fuller in the works of my predecessors.

Grown as it has from a historical introduction to *Nuzi Personal Names*, the present study was intended to be a historical monograph on the Hurrians and the Subarians. In theory a historical monograph should be based on studies involving numerous avenues of approach, including philology, physical anthropology, archeology, history of art, and history of religion. The reader can see at a glance how little this monograph approaches such an ideal.

I have intentionally avoided calling upon physical anthropology and archeology, not because of skepticism as regards their validity in general but because for the determination of ethnic relationships and ethnic movements in the ancient Near East they still have too little to offer. In the years after the first World War great enthusiasm prevailed in the fields of physical anthropology and archeology. In contrast to the custom formerly prevalent of throwing away as useless most of the excavated skeletal and material remains which did not have the flashiness of gold objects or the immediate appeal of written records, recent excavators have saved and studied diligently everything recovered from the earth. The newly acquired materials were soon given exaggerated value. Often on the basis of a few skulls "races" were identified, and from scattered artifacts new "cultures" were reconstructed. We know how short-lived have been such reconstructions. The time is now ripe to take a definite stand toward such methods. Just as a language usually cannot be safely identified on the basis of a few scattered linguistic phenomena, so new races and cultures cannot be reconstructed on the basis of a few skulls or artifacts. Not until further excavations have filled many lacunae in our knowledge and all the available materials have been thoroughly analyzed and classified shall we be ready to propose any synthetic conclusions as to race and culture. And only after the principles governing the relations of race and culture to tribe, people, and nation have been established will the time be ripe for applying the data of physical anthropology and archeology to the solution of the ethnic problems of the ancient Near East.

Contributions from the history of art and the history of religion would have been very valuable, but unfortunately limitations in the sources or in our understanding of them prevent us from making full use of these two disciplines. Our slight knowledge of the art and religion of the Hurrians and our total ignorance of the art and religion of the Subarians make any constructive comparisons impossible at present.

In view of the circumstances just outlined I have depended almost exclusively upon written records—historical inscriptions, legends, traditions, year names, administrative documents, letters, syllabaries, lists of synonyms—bearing directly or indirectly upon my subject. If points of philological interest have been overemphasized, I hope that professional historians will look with forbearance upon the digressions of a philologist. Proper names, especially personal names, have been particularly useful. Even in the ancient Near East, however, personal names are not wholly dependable indicators of ethnic relationships. For example, some Hurrians at Nuzi and some Subarians in Babylonia were given Akkadian names such as were borne by the people among whom they lived. Though such exceptions occur, they do not invalidate the principle that a personal name is normally couched in the language spoken by the recipient's parents. In general the principle of *testis unus testis nullus* has been observed. But occasionally a name found only once had to be used when it furnished a badly needed link in some reconstruction and fitted into the picture I was trying to give.

Of course I am fully aware of the fact that objections similar in nature to those voiced above against anthropology and archeology might be raised against philology. Is language sufficiently characteristic of a people to justify dependence upon it as an ethnic criterion? In answer to this question we must try to define "people" (*ethnos*) as opposed to "nation" (*dēmos*). The definition of "nation" is relatively easy: "nation" is a political term denoting a body of persons linked together by a state or by the common will to a state. Definition of the ethnic term "people" is more difficult, as the traits characterizing a people are more numerous and more complex. The main traits of a people are community of tradition, customs, religion, culture, language, and geographic position. Not all of these traits are of equal strength, and indeed some of them may even be absent. Quite influential are the ties of common tradition in respect to descent. Compactness of geographic position is an important factor, even though parts of the same ethnic unit may at times inhabit widely scattered areas. Religion as an ethnic tie varies in strength. Language as the vehicle of tradition is one of the strongest foundations of a people. As an outward expression language becomes the symbol with which a people is most easily identified. For a people to give up its language in favor of another normally means the renunciation of its own ethnic identity and subsequent assimilation into the ethnic group from which the new language has been taken.

The importance of language in ethnic reconstructions is more evident in connec-

tion with ancient than with modern times, for in our day ethnic values are frequently confused with political, nationalistic, and racial attitudes. The ancient Near East is full of pertinent illustrations proving the closest connections between language and people. To quote just a few examples, we know that the Sumerians lost their ethnic identity when they gave up their language in favor of Babylonian, and that later the Babylonians and Assyrians disappeared as a people when they accepted the Aramaic language. The same trend continued when with the advent of Islam the Arabic language spread over the broad area extending from Mesopotamia to Egypt and beyond. Such cases as these, I believe, justify my acceptance of language as a basic means of distinguishing various ethnic units in the ancient Near East.

At present there is no generally accepted Mesopotamian chronology. Recent discoveries at Mari and a recently published Assyrian king list from Khorsabad have helped to clarify many problems; but even with them scholars have not yet attained a firm basis. This monograph follows provisionally Albright's latest reconstruction.¹ For Assyria Albright accepts Poebel's conclusions² except that he assigns to the two kings Aššur-rabi I and Aššur-nādin-aḥḥē I together 22 years of rule in place of Poebel's 0. With this change he dates all the kings who ruled previous to those two 22 years earlier than does Poebel. For Babylonia Albright proposes to utilize the astronomical basis established by S. Langdon and J. K. Fotheringham³ and carried farther by Smith and Sewell,⁴ but to lower by 64 more years even Smith's dating of the Hammurabi dynasty. The resulting dates for Šamši-Adad I, 1748-1716, and for Hammurabi, 1728-1686, seem to him to fit a mention of Hammurabi and Šamši-Adad together in a Babylonian tablet dated to the former's 10th year⁵ and are in line with the general opinion of Mari scholars, who consider Šamši-Adad I a contemporary of Hammurabi.

In spite of some misgivings about the correctness of Albright's reconstruction, I am using it in this study because it fills the need for at least an approximately correct relative chronology by which events can be correlated and because I am not yet able to clear up remaining difficulties by a reconstruction of my own. I should like, however, to mention a few points which may deserve consideration. Intensive study of the Mari texts within the last few months has made it apparent to me that instead of favoring the commonly accepted Šamši-Adad I-Hammurabi synchronism the published texts actually present evidence which would make Hammurabi's rule

¹ W. F. Albright, "A third revision of the early chronology of Western Asia," *BASOR* No. 88 (1942) 28-33.

² A. Poebel, "The Assyrian king list from Khorsabad," *JNES* I (1942) 247-306, 460-92; II (1943) 56-90.

³ *The Venus Tablets of Ammizaduga* (London, 1928).

⁴ Sidney Smith, *Alalakh and Chronology* (London, 1940).

⁵ *BE VI 1* No. 26 (collated at my request by Dr. S. N. Kramer).

in Babylonia correspond to the period of disorganization under Išmē-Dagan I in Assyria. This would mean that the reign of the powerful Assyrian king Šamši-Adad I paralleled the reigns of the weak rulers Apil-Sin and Sin-muballiṭ in Babylonia. Mathematical calculations which cannot be presented here lead me to believe that the reigns of Išmē-Dagan in Assyria, Hammurabi in Babylonia, and Zimri-Lim in Mari all began within about five years after Šamši-Adad's death. This reconstruction disregards the Šamši-Adad-Hammurabi synchronism of the BE VI 1 tablet, since it is quite possible that the Šamši-Adad there mentioned may be not the well known Assyrian king but a local Babylonian ruler. For further clarification we must await future Mari publications.

In this study proper names have in general been transliterated in their respective ancient or modern spellings. For familiar geographic names, however, such as Amarna, Carchemish, Hamath, and Lagash, standard English forms are used. Thus the name of the people whom we call Hurrians in English is transliterated from cuneiform as Ḫurri and the like; and the name of the Subarians in its Akkadian form appears as Šubarijū. For use of plain *s* in the anglicized form of the last term see page 30. Its simplified spelling with final *-ian* (in contrast with the previous spellings "Subarean" and "Subaraean") is based on the current tendency in English gentile formation.

Sign-by-sign transliterations, including determinatives, are italicized, with questionable syllables in roman instead. Logograms (e.g. *SU.BIR₄^{KI}* in Akkadian texts) and signs with undetermined reading (cf. e.g. *Ū-na-ap-KAL*, p. 112) are printed in small roman capitals. In connected writing both names and determinatives appear in roman, with question marks instead of change of type to indicate uncertainties. Parentheses in sign-by-sign spellings inclose logograms whose reading precedes (cf. e.g. *Šubarītum(SAL.SU.BIR₄^{KI})*), whole signs sometimes present, sometimes omitted (cf. e.g. *SU(.A^{KI})*), or final components unpronounced (cf. e.g. *si(g)-šè*, p. 93, n. 7); in normalized connected spellings by elements they inclose components sometimes written, sometimes unwritten (cf. e.g. the name *Taḫ(i)š-atal*). The notation *sic* indicates that a sign is unexpected or unusual in its context; contrasting with this, an exclamation point means that a sign is abnormal in form but is to be read as transliterated. For use of standard symbols, not explained above, see Nuzi Personal Names pp. xvii f.

Wherever Nuzi personal names or name elements are mentioned without references it is understood that they are taken up in the Nuzi Personal Names volume and can be found there in their alphabetic order in the lists concerned.

In the preparation of this monograph I enjoyed the constant help of several scholars. Professors G. G. Cameron, S. I. Feigin, F. W. Geers, and T. Jacobsen and Drs. P. M. Purves and A. Sachs kindly read the whole manuscript at one stage or

another and offered many valuable suggestions which helped greatly to clarify facts and to make the presentation of the argument more logical. It is impossible here to list in detail the contributions of these scholars. Some of them are noted in the work itself. I should like, however, to single out gratefully the suggestions of Dr. Cameron which led me to adopt the present order of chapters iii and iv and the constant help received from Dr. Jacobsen in matters of Sumerian history and philology. Dr. T. G. Allen as one of the editors of the series in which this monograph is published supervised capably its preparation and printing, and to him chiefly is due the organization of the index.⁶ Miss E. Porada kindly contributed the drawing of the Nuzi seal reproduced on the title-page. To all of these scholars may I offer in this place my warmest thanks and appreciation.

IGNACE J. GELB

⁶[Dr. Gelb examined and offered suggestions on a preliminary version of the index, but his military duties prevented him from checking its final form. For the latter Dr. Allen in his editorial capacity assumes responsibility.]

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xi
I. HISTORY OF THE HURRIAN-SUBARIAN PROBLEM	1
Earliest Interpretations	1
Amarna Discoveries	2
Hurrian Personal Names from Kirkuk, Nippur, and Dilbat	3
Boğazköy Discoveries	4
Nuzi Discoveries	5
Speiser's Earlier Interpretations	6
Gasur Documents	7
Speiser's New Interpretation	8
Ungnad's Subartu	9
Latest Excavations	10
Latest Hurrian Studies	11
II. ARE HURRIANS IDENTICAL WITH SUBARIANS?	12
Terminology: Mittannian, Hurrian, Subarian	12
Definition of Terms	15
Premises Alleged to Favor Identification of Hurrians with Subarians	15
Hurrian Words Used in Subartu	15
Hurrians in Subartu	17
Subarians' Names Alleged to Be Hurrian	17
Résumé	19
Premises Favoring Distinction of Hurrians from Subarians	20
Names of Subarians of the Ur III Period Definitely Non-Hurrian	20
Hurrians and Subarians Distinguished in a Ra's Shamrah Text	20
Hurrian Names of Tigris and Euphrates Different from Those Used in Subartu	21
Other Evidence	22
Conclusion	22
III. HISTORY OF THE SUBARIANS	23
Terminology	23
Logographic Writings	23
Syllabic Writings	28
Earliest Traces	31
𒂗𒂗𒂗 Dynasty?	31
Fara	31
Pre-Sargonic Period	32
Old Akkadian Period	34
Ur III Period	37
Old Babylonian Period	41
Kassite and Late Babylonian Periods	44
Middle and Late Assyrian Periods	45
Non-Mesopotamian Sources	48

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
Amarna	48
Ra's Shamrah	49
Boğazköy	49
IV. HISTORY OF THE HURRIANS	50
Terminology	50
Earliest Traces	52
Ur III Period	58
Old Assyrian Period	60
Old Babylonian Period	62
Tell Ḥariri	62
Chagar Bazar	63
Tell ʿAṭshāneh	64
Egyptian Execration Texts	64
Dilbat	65
Middle of Second Millennium	65
Babylonia and Elam	65
Assyria	66
Anatolia	68
Egypt	68
Syria and Palestine	69
Résumé	70
Mittanni	70
Terminology: Mittanni, Ḥanigalbat, Ḥurri, Naḥrīma	70
History	75
Latest Traces	81
V. CONCLUSIONS	84
Subarians	84
Hurrians	89
APPENDIX	
I. SUBARTU IN SYNONYM LISTS AND SYLLABARIES	92
Equations	92
ḤA.A ^{KI} and A.ḤA ^{KI}	94
Does A Have the Value <i>bur</i> ?	98
II. SUBARIAN PERSONAL NAMES OF THE UR III PERIOD AND OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON	100
Names of Persons Called <i>lú su</i> (.A ^{KI})	100
Name of an <i>ensi</i> of <i>Su-bir</i> ₄ ^{KI}	105
Names of Persons Called <i>Šubari</i> ₄ ^ū	105
Résumé	107
III. HURRIAN PERSONAL NAMES OF THE UR III PERIOD	109
Names Not Connected with Places	109
Names Connected with Places	112
Résumé	114
INDEX	116
MAP	<i>at end</i>

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AAA Annals of archaeology and anthropology (Liverpool, 1908—).
- AASOR American Schools of Oriental Research. The annual (New Haven, Conn., 1920—).
- ABL HARPER, ROBERT FRANCIS. Assyrian and Babylonian letters belonging to the Kouyunjik collections of the British Museum (14 vols.; Chicago, 1892–1914). This abbreviation covers also the transliteration, translation, and commentary by LEROY WATERMAN, Royal correspondence of the Assyrian empire . . . (4 vols.; Ann Arbor, Mich., 1930–36).
- AJ Antiquaries journal (London, 1921—).
- AJSL American journal of Semitic languages and literatures (Chicago etc., 1884–1941).
- An. Or. Analecta orientalia (Roma, 1931—).
- AOB Altorientalische Bibliothek, hrsg. von F. M. TH. BÖHL, BRUNO MEISSNER, ERNST F. WEIDNER (Leipzig, 1926—).
- AOF Archiv für Orientforschung. III— (Berlin, 1926—).
- AOr Archiv orientální (Praha, 1929—).
- AS Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute. Assyriological studies (Chicago, 1931—).
- BA Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft (Leipzig, 1890—).
- BASOR American Schools of Oriental Research. Bulletin (South Hadley, Mass., etc., 1919—).
- BE Pennsylvania. University. Babylonian expedition. Series A: Cuneiform texts, ed. by H. V. HILPRECHT (Philadelphia, 1893–1914).
- BKS Boghazköi-Studien, hrsg. von OTTO WEBER (Leipzig, 1917–24).
- Bo Berlin. Staatliche Museen. Bogazköy tablets.
- Boson, TCS BOSON, GIUSTINO. Tavolette cuneiformi sumere, degli archivi di Drehem e di Djoha, dell'ultima dinastia di Ur (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Pubblicazioni, serie 12.: "Scienze orientali" II [Milano, 1936]).
- BoTU FORRER, EMIL O. Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift (WVDOG XLI–XLII [1922–26]).
- Cameron, HEI CAMERON, GEORGE G. History of early Iran (Chicago, 1936).
- CCT British Museum. Cuneiform texts from Cappadocian tablets in the British Museum (London, 1921—).
- Clay, PNCP CLAY, ALBERT T. Personal names from cuneiform inscriptions of the Cassite period (YOSR I [1912]).

- CT British Museum. Cuneiform texts from Babylonian tablets, &c., in the British Museum (London, 1896—).
- Deimel, Fara Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, *Berlin*. Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Fara und Abu Hatab. Die Inschriften von Fara, hrsg. von ANTON DEIMEL. I–III (WVDOG XL, XLIII, XLV [1922–24]).
- Deimel, ŠL DEIMEL, ANTON. Šumerisches Lexikon (Rom, 1925–37).
- Drevnosti Moskovskoe Arkheologicheskoe Obshchestvo. Vostochnaiâ Kommissiâ. Drevnosti vostochnyiâ. Trudy III 2. NIKOL'SKII, M. V. Dokumenty khoziâstvennoi otchetnosti drevneišeï epokhi Khaldei iz sobraniâ N. P. Likhacheva. Part 1 (St. Petersburg, 1908). V. Same. Part 2 (Moskva, 1915).
- EA Die El-Amarna-Tafeln, mit Einleitung und Erläuterungen hrsg. von J. A. KNUDTZON. Anmerkungen und Register bearb. von OTTO WEBER und ERICH EBELING ("Vorderasiatische Bibliothek," 2. Stück [2 vols.; Leipzig, 1915]).
- Fish, CST John Rylands Library, *Manchester*. Catalogue of Sumerian tablets . . . by T. FISH (Manchester, 1932).
- Friedrich, KASD FRIEDRICH, JOHANNES. Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler ("Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen," hrsg. von HANS LIETZMANN, No. 163 [Berlin, 1932]).
- Gelb, IAV GELB, IGNAË J. Inscriptions from Alishar and vicinity (OIP XXVII [1935]).
- Gelb, OAIFM GELB, IGNAË J. Old Akkadian inscriptions chiefly of legal and business interest in Field Museum of Natural History (in press).
- Genouillac, TrD GENUILLAC, HENRI DE. La trouvaille de Dréhem. Étude avec un choix de textes de Constantinople et Bruxelles (Paris, 1911).
- Goetze, HCA GOETZE, ALBRECHT. Hethiter, Churriter und Assyrer. Hauptlinien der vorderasiatischen Kulturentwicklung im II. Jahrtausend v. Chr. Geb. (Oslo, 1936).
- Goetze, Kizzuwatna GOETZE, ALBRECHT. Kizzuwatna and the problem of Hittite geography (YOSR XXII [1940]).
- Goetze, Kleinasien GOETZE, ALBRECHT. Kleinasien ("Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft," begründet von IWAN v. MÜLLER, in neuer Bearb. hrsg. von WALTER OTTO, 3. Abt., 1. Teil, 3. Bd.: Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients, 3. Abschnitt, 1. Lfg. [München, 1933]).
- HSS Harvard Semitic series (Cambridge, Mass., 1912—).
- ITT İstanbul. Asarı Atika Müzeleri. Inventaire des tablettes de Tello conservées au Musée impérial ottoman (Paris, 1910–21).
- JAOS American Oriental Society. Journal (Boston etc., 1849—).
- Jean, ŠA JEAN, CHARLES F. Šumer et Akkad. Contribution à l'histoire de la civilisation dans la Basse-Mésopotamie (Paris, 1923).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

xiii

- Jestin, Šuruppak İstanbul. Asarî Atika Müzeleri. Tablettes sumériennes de Šuruppak conservées au Musée de Stamboul, par RAYMOND JESTIN (Paris, 1937).
- KAH Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts. 1. Heft hrsg. von L. MESSERSCHMIDT; 2. Heft hrsg. von O. SCHROEDER (WVDOG XVI [1911] and XXXVII [1922]).
- KAJ EBELING, ERICH. Keilschrifttexte aus Assur juristischen Inhalts (WVDOG L [1927]).
- KAR EBELING, ERICH. Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts (WVDOG XXVIII [1915-19] and XXXIV [1920—]).
- KAV SCHROEDER, O. Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts (WVDOG XXXV [1920]).
- KB Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek. Sammlung von assyrischen und babylonischen Texten in Umschrift und Übersetzung in Verbindung mit Dr. L. ABEL, Dr. C. BEZOLD, Dr. P. JENSEN, Dr. F. E. PEISER, Dr. H. WINCKLER hrsg. von EBERHARD SCHRADER (6 vols.; Berlin, 1889-1915).
- KBo Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi, autographiert von H. H. FIGULLA, E. FORRER, E. F. WEIDNER [und] F. HROZNÝ (6 Hefte, 4 in WVDOG XXX [1916-23] and 2 in WVDOG XXXVI [1921]).
- KUB Berlin. Staatliche Museen. Vorderasiatische Abteilung. Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi (Berlin, 1921—).
- Langdon, TAD LANGDON, STEPHEN H. Tablets from the archives of Drehem, with a complete account of the origin of the Sumerian calendar, translation, commentary and 23 plates (Paris, 1911).
- Legrain, TRU LEGRAIN, LÉON. Le temps des rois d'Ur. Recherches sur la société antique d'après des textes nouveaux (Paris, 1912).
- LTBA Berlin. Staatliche Museen. Vorderasiatische Abteilung. Die lexikalischen Tafelserien der Babylonier und Assyrer in den Berliner Museen. I hrsg. von LUBOR MATOUŠ, II von WOLFRAM VON SODEN (Berlin, 1933).
- Luckenbill, ARAB LUCKENBILL, DANIEL D. Ancient records of Assyria and Babylonia. I-II. Historical records of Assyria (Chicago, 1926-27).
- MAOG Altorientalische Gesellschaft, *Berlin*. Mitteilungen (Leipzig, 1925—).
- MDOG Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, *Berlin*. Mitteilungen (Berlin, 1899—).
- Mém. France. Délégation en Perse. Mémoires (Paris, 1900—).
- MVAG Vorderasiatisch-ägyptische Gesellschaft, *Berlin*. Mitteilungen (Berlin, 1896-1908; Leipzig, 1909—).
- Nies, UDT NIES, JAMES B. Ur dynasty tablets, texts chiefly from Tello and Drehem ("Assyriologische Bibliothek" XXV [Leipzig, 1920]).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

NPN	GELB, IGNACE J., PURVES, PIERRE M., and MACRAE, ALLAN A. Nuzi personal names (OIP LVII [1943]).
OIM	Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute Museum.
OIP	Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute. Oriental Institute publications (Chicago, 1924—).
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung (Berlin, 1898–1908; Leipzig, 1909—).
Orientalia	Orientalia. Commentarii de rebus Assyro-Babylonicis, Arabicis, Aegyptiacis etc. editi a Pontificio Instituto Biblico (Roma, 1920–30). Same, nova series (1932—).
PBS	Pennsylvania. University. University Museum. Publications of the Babylonian Section (Philadelphia, 1911—).
R	RAWLINSON, Sir HENRY. The cuneiform inscriptions of Western Asia. I–V (London, 1861–84; Vol. IV, 2d ed., 1891).
RA	Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale (Paris, 1884—).
RHA	Revue hittite et asianique (Paris, 1930—).
RLA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie, hrsg. von ERICH EBELING und BRUNO MEISSNER (Berlin und Leipzig, 1928—).
SAOC	Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute. Studies in ancient oriental civilization (Chicago, 1931—).
Speiser, IH	SPEISER, EPHRAIM A. Introduction to Hurrian (AASOR XX [1941]).
Speiser, Mes. Or.	SPEISER, EPHRAIM A. Mesopotamian origins. The basic population of the Near East (Philadelphia and London, 1930).
Stephens, PNC	STEPHENS, FERRIS J. Personal names from cuneiform inscriptions of Cappadocia (YOSR XIII 1 [1928]).
Syria	Syria. Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie (Paris, 1920—).
TCL	Paris. Musée National du Louvre. Textes cunéiformes (Paris, 1910—).
Thureau-Dangin, RTC	THUREAU-DANGIN, FR. Recueil de tablettes chaldéennes (Paris, 1903).
Thureau-Dangin, SAKI	THUREAU-DANGIN, FR. Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften ("Vorderasiatische Bibliothek," 1. Stück [Leipzig, 1907]).
TMH	Jena. Universität. Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities im Eigentum der Universität Jena . . . (Leipzig, 1932—).
TTKB	Türk Tarih Kurumu. Belleten (Ankara, 1937—).
Ungnad, Subartu	UNGNAD, ARTHUR. Subartu. Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Völkerkunde Vorderasiens (Berlin und Leipzig, 1936).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

xv

URI	Joint expedition of the British Museum and of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia. Ur excavations. Texts. I. Royal inscriptions, by C. J. GADD and LEON LEGRAIN, with contributions by SIDNEY SMITH and E. R. BURROWS (London, 1928).
VAS	Berlin. Staatliche Museen. Vorderasiatische Abteilung. Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler (Leipzig, 1907—).
VAT	Berlin. Staatliche Museen. Vorderasiatische Abteilung. Thontafelsammlung.
WVDOG	Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, <i>Berlin</i> . Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen (Leipzig, 1900—).
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (Wien, 1887—).
YOS	Yale Oriental series. Babylonian texts (New Haven, Conn., 1915—).
YOSR	Yale Oriental series. Researches (New Haven, Conn., 1912—).
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete (Leipzig, 1886—).
ZDMG	Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft. Zeitschrift (Leipzig, 1847—).

I

HISTORY OF THE HURRIAN-SUBARIAN PROBLEM

EARLIEST INTERPRETATIONS

The Hurrian-Subarian problem is as old as the history of Assyriology itself. From the very beginnings of Assyriology until the present hardly a single scholar in that field has failed to discuss somewhere some points bearing upon the Hurrian-Subarian question. Since a complete presentation would extend beyond the scope of this monograph, here only the main ideas brought forth can be discussed to show the gradual growth of our knowledge and to make clear the current situation. Less important contributions shedding some light upon secondary matters will find mention in their appropriate places in other chapters.

Both Hurrians and Subarians, their lands and their languages, are mentioned frequently in the cuneiform inscriptions discovered in the early 19th century during the British excavations at Kuyunjik, ancient Nineveh, capital of the Assyrian Empire. The results of early investigations of those sources are best summarized in Friedrich Delitzsch's well known geographic monograph, *Wo lag das Paradies?* (Leipzig, 1881), a book which even today has more than historical value.

Delitzsch knew of the frequent occurrence in Assyrian historical inscriptions of a land or people *'Šu-ba-ri-i*, *'Šu-ba-ri-e*, *'Šu-bar-te*, for the location of which he looked toward Syria.¹ He also knew of a land SU.EDIN^{KI}, read by him as *Su-maš^{KI}*, and of a land *Su-bar-tu*, read by him as *Su-maš-tu*, a name which he took to be the feminine form of *Su-maš^{KI}*.² Both Sumaš and Sumaštu he explained as terms almost interchangeable with *Su-ti-um^{KI}* (later Sutû), which he placed east of the Tigris between the rivers Diyala and Kerkhah.³ Delitzsch was the first to call attention to the occurrence in cuneiform syllabaries of some foreign (i.e., non-Akkadian and non-Sumerian) words with the notations ELAM^(KI), SU^(KI), and SU.EDIN^{KI}.⁴ He assumed that, just as the notation ELAM^(KI) referred to words spoken in the land of Elam, so the notation SU^(KI) or SU.EDIN^{KI} must refer to words spoken in the land of su, the name of which he explained as an abbreviation of *Su-ti-um^{KI}*.⁵

Besides that of Delitzsch, three other interpretations of the difficult geographic terms concerned are worthy of mention here. J. N. Strassmaier tried to prove by parallels from other syllabaries the readings *Su-ri^{KI}* for SU.EDIN^{KI} and *Su-ri-ti* for

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 234.

² *Op. cit.* p. 235.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 236.

⁵ *Ibid.* Even in his *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1896) p. 414 Delitzsch still explained *na-ma-al-lum* (see below, p. 16) as "der im Land der Sutäer übliche Name des Bettes, *iršu*."

Su-bar-ti and to derive the name Syria from the alleged Akkadian appellation *Suri*.⁶ J. Oppert saw in *SU*^{KI} an abbreviation for "Sumerian"⁷—a fact excusable perhaps in a period in which even the independent existence of the Sumerian language was contested. A. H. Sayce justly rejected Delitzsch's connection of *SU*^{KI} with *Sutium* but wrongly followed Strassmaier's readings *Su-ri*^{KI} for *SU.EDIN*^{KI} and *Su-ri-ti* for *Su-bar-ti*. Sayce was the first to recognize that the *SU* words belong to a language cognate with that of the Vannic inscriptions; he drew from this the conclusion that the *SU* words must have been used in the Van region.⁸

As can be seen from what precedes, the notions of early Assyriologists about Hurrians and Subarians were truly confused. The Hurrians as such had not yet been recognized. The one positive result concerning the Subarians was their differentiation as a non-Semitic ethnic unit, to be localized north of Mesopotamia, from the nomadic Semitic *Sutians*, who lived south of the Euphrates.⁹

AMARNA DISCOVERIES

Thus matters stood when the epoch-making discovery of the Amarna tablets in Egypt in 1887 opened a new era in the history of the Hurrian-Subarian problem. Among these tablets, comprising correspondence of Egyptian pharaohs with kings, princes, and officials of various states in Asia, was discovered one very long letter in a hitherto unknown language addressed by *Tušratta*, king of *Mittanni*,¹⁰ to *Amenhotep III*, king of Egypt (1413–1377 B.C.).¹¹ Independent attempts at the decipherment of this unknown language were soon made by P. Jensen,¹² R. E. Brünnow,¹³ and A. H. Sayce.¹⁴ All these scholars called the new language "Mittannian" simply, because the letter came from *Tušratta*, king of *Mittanni*. Jensen eliminated Delitzsch's reading *Sumaštu* as well as Strassmaier's reading *Suritu*; his own new reading *Subartu* he identified with the forms *Šubartu* and *Šubarû*. He was likewise the

⁶ "Aus einem Briefe des Herrn J. N. Strassmaier an Dr. C. Bezold," *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung* I (1884) 71; cf. also his *Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der assyrischen und akkadischen Wörter* (Leipzig, 1886) No. 6770.

⁷ "La langue sumérienne dans les syllabaires assyriens," *ZA* IV (1889) 172 f.

⁸ "The language of the Šu," *ibid.* pp. 382–84.

⁹ Delitzsch's interpretation of *SU* as *Sutium* was still followed by A. Poebel in his *Grundzüge der sumerischen Grammatik* (Rostock, 1923) p. 160 and even by S. N. Kramer, *Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur* (*AS* No. 12 [1940]) pp. 3 and 45, justly criticized by T. Jacobsen in *AJSL* LVIII (1941) 220, n. 4.

¹⁰ The spelling *Mittanni* (see pp. 70 f.) replaces throughout my discussion the varying forms *Mitanni*, *Mitâni*, etc. used by other writers.

¹¹ First published by H. Winckler and L. Abel, *Der Thontafelfund von el Amarna* (Berlin [1889/90]) No. 27; latest copy by O. Schroeder in *VAS* XII 200; latest transliteration by J. Friedrich, *KASD* pp. 8–32, with full bibliography.

¹² "Vorstudien zur Entzifferung des Mitanni," *ZA* V (1890) 166–208 and VI (1891) 34–72.

¹³ "Die Mitâni-Sprache," *ZA* V 209–59.

¹⁴ "The language of Mitanni," *ZA* V 260–74.

first to show that some of the words called *SU*^{KI} or *SU.EDIN*^{KI} in Akkadian syllabaries occur in the vocabulary of the Mittanni letter, thereby definitely connecting the language of those words and of the Mittanni letter with northern Syria or western Mesopotamia, where the kingdom of Mittanni was supposed to be situated.¹⁵ Later L. Messerschmidt¹⁶ and F. Bork¹⁷ contributed much to the interpretation of the Mittanni letter. Strassmaier's untenable reading *Su-ri*^{KI} for *SU.EDIN*^{KI} was defended by H. Winckler in various studies, best summarized in his article "Suri."¹⁸ There Winckler pioneered in collecting material bearing upon the importance of Subartu in the history of Mesopotamia. A very important step forward was taken by F. Thureau-Dangin when he suggested the reading *Su-bir*₄^{KI} for *SU.EDIN*^{KI}¹⁹ and then proved it by additional and definite occurrences in Akkadian syllabaries.²⁰ Thus Strassmaier's theory, defended so ingeniously by Winckler, that a land Suri was mentioned in Akkadian sources was dealt its deathblow.²¹

HURRIAN PERSONAL NAMES FROM KIRKUK, NIPPUR, AND DILBAT

In the meantime several groups of texts from various sites were made known and were found to contain a considerable number of personal names of "Mittannian" type. T. G. Pinches successfully compared names on a tablet found in the vicinity of Kirkuk²² with the names of kings and princes of localities situated in northern Mesopotamia and Armenia.²³ Likewise from about the middle of the 2d millennium B.C. come the Nippur names first studied by A. T. Clay²⁴ and F. Bork,²⁵ later collected by Clay in his well known work on Kassite-period names.²⁶ Very important because of their greater age are the names found on Old Babylonian tablets from Dilbat copied by A. Ungnad.²⁷ In a large monograph the latter discussed the various "Mittannian" personal names and, following in the footsteps of Winckler, assigned to the "Mittannians" a very important role in the historical development of early

¹⁵ ZA VI 59 ff. and Assyrisch-babylonische Mythen und Epen (KB VI 1 [1900]) pp. 66 f. and 381 f.

¹⁶ In MVAG IV 4 (1899).

¹⁷ In MVAG XIV 1/2 (1909).

¹⁸ OLZ X (1907) 281-99, 345-57, 401-12.

¹⁹ OLZ X 410; TCL I p. 34, n. 2.

²⁰ "Subir-Subartu," RA XVII (1920) 32.

²¹ The unique occurrence of a land name *Su-ri* in an Amarna tablet now published in EA (108:17) had already been explained by Jensen, Assyrisch-babylonische Mythen und Epen pp. 381 f., as miswritten for *Su-(ba)-ri*.

²² Published in CT II 21.—On other Kirkuk tablets and on the extensive archives ultimately excavated at Nuzi near Kirkuk by Chiera and his successors see pp. 5 f.

²³ "Some early Babylonian contracts or legal documents," JRAS, 1897, pp. 589-613, esp. pp. 592 f.

²⁴ BE XV p. 25, n. 4.

²⁵ PNCP.

²⁶ "Mitanni-Namen aus Nippur," OLZ IX (1906) 588-91.

²⁷ VAS VII (1909).

Assyria and Babylonia.²⁸ He believed that Subartu was the homeland of the "Mittannians," that it included the territory of later Assyria, and that the "Mittannians" had preceded the Semites there. He still called the personal names "Mittannian" and considered the "Mittannians" a Hittite people.²⁹

BOĞAZKÖY DISCOVERIES

In 1906 Winckler began excavations at Boğazköy in central Anatolia. Already in his first report on the excavations Winckler discussed the ethnological problems in the light of his new discoveries.³⁰ His interpretation was that the Boğazköy Hittites formed an ethnic stratum superimposed on an earlier but related Mittannian stratum. Besides Hittites and Mittannians Winckler found in frequent connection with the latter a new ethnic group which he called "Charri" and identified with the "*Cha-ru*" of Egyptian sources and with the Horites of the Bible. In this study Winckler referred to the fact that some princes of Charri or Mittanni bore Indo-European names and that Indo-European gods' names occurred in Mittannian treaties, but it was not until his second study³¹ that he clearly expressed the idea that even the name "Ḫarri" was etymologically identical with "Aryan." The original Ḫarri state he was inclined to place in Armenia.

B. Hrozný, the decipherer of the cuneiform Hittite of Boğazköy, in a preliminary article³² cleared up several points in connection with the ethnic terms found in the Boğazköy tablets. In regard to Winckler's theory that the Ḫarri of Boğazköy were Aryans he expressed doubt, because their language as found on some of the Boğazköy tablets showed no Indo-European or Aryan relationship; furthermore, he was the first to point out its close relationship to the language of the Tušratta letter³³ and even to Urartian and to some modern Caucasian languages. In this article Hrozný, partly following Winckler, was still of the opinion that the non-Indo-European elements in the Hittite language were due to a "Ḫarrian" substratum. A few years later Hrozný introduced the better reading "Ḫurrian"³⁴ (which we have simplified to "Hurrian").

As early as 1909 Ungnad had given in BA VI a hint of the Pan-Subarian theory which he was to develop more fully in his later works. In 1915, after it had been

²⁸ Untersuchungen zu den . . . Urkunden aus Dilbat . . . (BA VI 5 [1909]) pp. 8-21.

²⁹ It may be of historical interest to note that before the discovery of the Boğazköy archives the term "Hittites" was understood to include the Tešup-Hittites or Mittannians and the Tarku-Hittites or real Hittites of Anatolia and North Syria. See e.g. Ungnad *op. cit.* pp. 19 f.

³⁰ Hugo Winckler, "Vorläufige Nachrichten über die Ausgrabungen in Boghaz-köi im Sommer 1907," MDOG No. 35 (1907) esp. pp. 46-54.

³¹ "Die Arier in den Urkunden von Boghaz-köi," OLZ XIII (1910) 289-301.

³² "Die Lösung des hethitischen Problems," MDOG No. 56 (1915) pp. 17-50, esp. pp. 40-43.

³³ This relationship was later proved conclusively by A. Ungnad, "Das hurritische Fragment des Gilgamesch-Epos," ZA XXXV (1924) 133-40.

³⁴ KBo V (1921) in Inhaltsübersicht.—On this reading see pp. 50 f.

proved that Mittanni was a political and not a linguistic unit, he suggested that the term "Mittannian" for the language of the Tušratta letter and of related personal names be abandoned entirely and "Subarian" be used instead.³⁵ In a study published in 1923 Ungnad for the first time expressed his ideas clearly.³⁶ He found Subarian merchants and slaves living in Babylonia as early as 2500–2000 B.C.; he believed that Assur, the early capital of the Assyrian Empire, was built by Ušpia and Kikia, whose names according to him are Subarian. In the Amarna period Ungnad naturally had no difficulty in finding Subarians practically all over the Near East, in Anatolia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. And since Subartu according to Akkadian tradition formed one of the four quarters into which the world as then known was divided, Ungnad arrived at the far-reaching conclusion that the Subarians formed the aboriginal population of the whole region extending from Palestine to Armenia or even to the Caucasus and that even in Babylonia they perhaps preceded the Sumerians. In much of the art usually considered to represent Hittites he was inclined to see Subarians; and he even suspected that the so-called "Hittite hieroglyphic" writing was really the oldest writing of the Subarians. Thus began Ungnad's Pan-Subarian theory, which was destined to exercise a permanent influence on the writings of many authors to come.

NUZI DISCOVERIES

We have referred on page 3 to a discussion by Pinches of names from a cuneiform tablet found years ago in the neighborhood of Kirkuk. Later many more tablets of the same type, brought to light through clandestine excavations by the natives, were published.³⁷ The urge to find the site from which these tablets had been coming into the local market led Edward Chiera in 1925 to the discovery of Nuzi, modern Yorgan Tepe, a small village situated about ten miles southwest of Kirkuk. The excavations conducted at that site, first under the directorship of Chiera, later under that of Robert H. Pfeiffer and then of Richard F. S. Starr,³⁸ resulted in the discovery

³⁵ OLZ XVIII (1915) 241.

³⁶ Die ältesten Völkerwanderungen Vorderasiens. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Kultur der Semiten, Arier, Hethiter und Subarier ("Kulturfragen," Heft 1 [Breslau, 1923]) pp. 4–8, esp. p. 8.

³⁷ B. Meissner, "Thontafeln aus Vyran šehir," OLZ V (1902) 245 f., identical with V. Scheil, "Lettre assyrienne de Kerkouk," *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie ég. et assyr.* XXXI (1909) 56–58; A. Ungnad, VAS I 106–11; Scheil, "Tablettes de Kerkouk," RA XV (1918) 65–73; J. Spelcers, *Recueil des inscriptions de l'Asie Antérieure ...* (Bruxelles, 1925) 309 f.; G. Contenau, TCL IX 1–46 (includes the two tablets published by Scheil in RA XV); C. J. Gadd, "Tablets from Kirkuk," RA XXIII (1926) 49–161 (includes a history of the Kirkuk tablets then known).

³⁸ See preliminary reports by Chiera in BASOR No. 20 (1925) pp. 19–25 and by Pfeiffer in the Smithsonian Report for 1935, pp. 535–58, and the final report by Starr: Nuzi. Report on the Excavations at Yorgan Tepe near Kirkuk, Iraq, conducted by Harvard University in conjunction with the American Schools of Oriental Research and the University Museum of Philadelphia, 1927–31 (2 vols.; Cambridge, Mass., 1939 and 1937).

of several thousand cuneiform tablets dated to the middle of the 2d millennium B.C.³⁹ The tablets constitute private and official archives; almost all of them can be classified as legal, business, or administrative documents. They are all written in Akkadian but occasionally employ Hurrian words⁴⁰ which add much to our knowledge of the Hurrian vocabulary. The Hurrian population of Nuzi is best evidenced by the immense number of Hurrian personal names.⁴¹

SPEISER'S EARLIER INTERPRETATIONS

In a preliminary evaluation of the finds at Nuzi, written by E. Chiera and E. A. Speiser, the Hurrian-Subarian problem was again attacked.⁴² In the first part of this article⁴³ Speiser justified his preference for the term "Hurri" or "Hurrite" instead of Ungnad's "Subarian." He then discussed the "Pan-Subarian" attitude, asking: "Were the Hurrites the original population of Mesopotamia?"⁴⁴ Decisive in the inception of this theory had been the assumption that the names of Ušpia and Kikia, the supposed founders of Assur, were Subarian. But Speiser noted that excavations at Assur have since revealed the earliest cultural influences there, in strata earlier than Ušpia and Kikia, to be Sumerian. So he reasonably stated in answer to his own query that "there is as yet nothing in the material available to justify such an assumption." Besides rejecting Ungnad's theory that the Subarians or Hurrians could have formed the oldest population of Mesopotamia, Speiser placed the earliest traces of Hurrians in the 3d millennium B.C., when some Hurrian tribes may have begun to occupy certain areas of Mesopotamia.

Speiser's extensive interest in the Nuzi tablets soon led him to a further discussion of the Hurrian problem, this time, however, with entirely different results in relation to the oldest population of Mesopotamia and neighboring regions. As stated in his own words in his stimulating and attractively written book,⁴⁵ "the central thesis of this essay is, briefly, that nearly all of the hitherto unclassified cultures and peoples of the ancient Near East can be organized into a single, genetically inter-related, group; the members of that group formed the basic population of Hither Asia, produced its earliest civilizations, and have continued to this day to furnish its

³⁹ Main publications: Chiera, *Joint Expedition with the Iraq Museum at Nuzi* (American Schools of Oriental Research, Publications of the Baghdad School. Texts. Vols. I-III [Paris, 1927-31], IV-V [Philadelphia, 1934], VI, by Ernest R. Lacheman [New Haven, Conn., 1939]); Chiera, HSS V; Pfeiffer, HSS IX; Pfeiffer and Lacheman, HSS XIII; Pfeiffer and Speiser, AASOR XVI. Other publications are listed in NPN.

⁴⁰ Collected in part by C. H. Gordon in BASOR No. 64 (1936) pp. 23-28 and *Orientalia N.S.* VII (1938) 51-63.

⁴¹ See NPN, esp. p. 5.

⁴² "A new factor in the history of the ancient East," AASOR VI (1926) 75-92.

⁴³ Written by Speiser, as I have been informed by him. ⁴⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 82.

⁴⁵ *Mesopotamian Origins. The Basic Population of the Near East* (Philadelphia, 1930).

ethnic background."⁴⁶ For convenience he calls the whole group "Japhetic," utilizing a term first introduced by the Russian scholar Nicholas Marr, who applied it to the Caucasus.⁴⁷ " 'Japhetic,' " Speiser continues, "would then be inclusive of all the elements hitherto considered, which are not already placed with the Hamites, Semites, Indo-Europeans, or with any other well-defined group such as the Altaic, Dravidian, and the like. The name need not be committal geographically, linguistically, or in any other way; its main value would lie in the fact that it is indefinite and flexible; its sense would be primarily negative, as the term would designate elements not located elsewhere. . . . For more definite specifications we can use *Eastern Japhethite* in dealing with Mesopotamia and Elam, *Western Japhethite* in connection with Anatolia and the Aegean, and the like."⁴⁸ For both sections Speiser saw tempting but in general still unprovable connections—linguistic, cultural, and ethnic—with the Caucasus.⁴⁹ His book is dedicated mainly to the Eastern Japhethites, whom he further subdivided: "The peoples of the Zagros, among whom the Elamites, the Lullu, the Gutians, and the Kassites, were most prominent, have been found to constitute an eastern group, while the Hurrians formed the western division of the peoples under discussion."⁵⁰ The chief representatives of the eastern group, "the Elamites, . . . were the original, pre-Sumerian, population of Babylonia. The Hurrians furnished the substratum in Assyria with this essential difference: they entered more prominently into the make-up of the later Assyrians, than the Elamites appear to have done in the case of Sumer and Akkad."⁵¹

Such, in brief, is Speiser's theory: Everything unknown or little known in the ancient Near East may be summed up as "Japhetic." Of the Japhethites in Mesopotamia and neighboring regions the Hurrians and Elamites played the most important roles. The Elamites in the south formed the basic population before the coming of the Sumerians, while the north was settled by the Hurrians before the Assyrians appeared.

GASUR DOCUMENTS

Only a few months after the publication of Speiser's Mesopotamian Origins came the test of his theory of a Hurrian substratum in Mesopotamia. In new excavations at Nuzi in 1930/31 a level of the Old Akkadian period about one thousand years older than the level containing the usual Nuzi tablets was reached, and in it were discovered more than two hundred tablets written in an Old Akkadian dialect. Of some five hundred personal names found in the tablets many were Akkadian and some Sumerian, but hardly any were Hurrian (cf. pp. 52 f.).⁵² The differences

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p. vii.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 22 and 171 ff.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 13 f.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* p. 164.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* p. 16.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* p. 124.

⁵² Copies of the texts, lists of proper names, and a good introduction are given by T. J. Meek, *Old Akkadian, Sumerian, and Cappadocian Texts from Nuzi* (HSS X [1935]).

between the two cultures were further manifested by the fact that even the name of the settlement in the earlier period was Gasur,⁵³ not Nuzi. Any considerable Hurrian element at Nuzi or in the Nuzi region in general in the middle of the 3d millennium B.C. is, then, out of the question. Yet, if the Hurrians did form the oldest population anywhere in the Near East, they should surely have been at home first of all at Nuzi, which later became a very important center of distribution of Hurrian culture.

SPEISER'S NEW INTERPRETATION

That his theory had been found wanting must have become clear to Speiser almost immediately after the discovery of the Old Akkadian tablets. In 1933 he published an article in which he modified his position.⁵⁴ The negative evidence from Nuzi and also from Tell Billa,⁵⁵ a site situated northeast of Mosul and about a hundred miles northwest of Nuzi, had shown him that there were no Hurrians in this neighborhood in the 3d millennium B.C. and that "the Hurrians were clearly newcomers who made their appearance at a comparatively late date." "On this point *Mesop. Orig.*, ch. V, is now subject to correction," he says, then continues: "Leaving aside the question of the population of the district in prehistoric times, we know now that the Hurrians as such supplanted other ethnic elements, though these too were largely 'Asiatic,' or 'Japhethite.'"

Since "large portions of Subartu possessed non-Hurrian populations prior to the second millennium . . . it follows . . . that . . . they [the Subarians] cannot be equated with the Hurrians of the Boghazköi texts, or with their Syrian relatives." Speiser believes "that later Assyrian kings referred to the Hurrians by the newly coined term *šubari*," but says that "we cannot employ such a name indiscriminately for all the branches of that ethnic group without wholly obscuring the historical background."⁵⁶ Similarly later on he recognizes "that the Hurrian migrations belong in their entirety to the second millennium, and that upon overrunning the new territories the Hurrians faced for the most part populations of Semitic or semitized stock," while still emphasizing that the Semites did not constitute the earliest ethnic group in those areas.⁵⁷

⁵³ The reading Gasur is confirmed by the syllabic spelling *Ga-sú-ri-(im)* found in Cappadocian tablets. To this spelling J. Lewy called attention in *JAOS* LVIII (1938) 458 f.

⁵⁴ "Ethnic movements in the Near East in the second millennium B.C.," *AASOR* XIII (1933) 13-54 (also published separately as "Publications of the American Schools of Oriental Research," Offprint Series, No. 1). Speiser based his new interpretation on the Old Akkadian tablets from Gasur, referring to preliminary articles by Meek in *BASOR* No. 48 (1932) pp. 2-5 and in *AASOR* XIII (1933) 1-12.

⁵⁵ Results of excavations at Tell Billa can be followed in *BASOR* Nos. 40-42, 44-46, 48-51, 54, 68, and 71 (1930-38) and in *University of Pennsylvania Museum Journal* XXIII (1932-33) 249-308 and XXIV (1935) 33-48.

⁵⁶ The quotations up to this point are taken from *AASOR* XIII 25.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 32 f.

In brief, I understand Speiser's new reconstruction as follows: The Mesopotamian substratum consists largely of "Asiatic" or "Japhethite" elements, among which he includes the Subarians. Then Semites entered Mesopotamia; and later, in the 2d millennium B.C., came Hurrians, who, like the Subarians, were "Asiatic" or "Japhethite." The similarities and differences between these two groups Speiser has left undiscussed. In this connection we must remember that his term "Japhethite" was a catchall covering various peoples among whom he assumed some vague relationship.

UNGNAD'S SUBARTU

In 1936 Ungnad published a book which may well be taken as the fullest presentation of the Hurrian-Subarian problem to date.⁵⁸ After a general "introduction" the main part of the book gives the "sources," a section which includes not only all the mentions of Hurrians or Subarians known to its author but also an extensive and useful evaluation of them. The third part of the book consists of "results"—discussion and formulation of its author's chief ideas about the problem.

Ungnad's main thesis (on its earlier expression see pp. 4 f.) is that the Subarians formed the original population not only of Mesopotamia but of the regions extending westward to the Mediterranean Sea and Cappadocia and eastward at least as far as the mountains on the Persian border, including perhaps Armenia in the north.⁵⁹ All too little is known about the few skulls yet excavated in Western Asia, and literary sources contribute scarcely a clew to race. In this situation Ungnad depends primarily on sculpture. He interprets the fact that monuments depicting "Hittite" types are particularly abundant at Tell Ḥalāf, outside Hittite Empire territory, as meaning that those brachycephalic non-Indo-European figures represent what he calls the "Subarian" or "Hither-Asiatic-Subarian" race.⁶⁰ The Tell Ḥalāf "Buntkeramik"⁶¹ as well as the famous and much discussed Tell Ḥalāf sculptures⁶² he assigns to the early Subarians; the "Hittite hieroglyphic" writing is perhaps likewise Subarian.⁶³ Linguistic differences between the Ugarit dialect of "Subarian" (see below) and the rest of our material lead Ungnad to distinguish between West and East Subarian. Only the latter happens to be documented for the period before 2000 B.C.; and, at that, he assumes that circumstances restrict the evidence for it to the region east of the Tigris. The linguistic evidence dated to the 2d millennium from as far west as Mittanni and beyond means to Ungnad that Subarian cul-

⁵⁸ Arthur Ungnad, *Subartu. Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Völkerkunde Vorderasiens* (Berlin und Leipzig, 1936). According to its preface the book was almost completed three years earlier, but various difficulties prevented its publication until 1936.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* p. 194.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 173-77, 195 f., 199. On both skulls and monuments cf. later discussion with different conclusions by W. M. Krogman in H. H. von der Osten, *The Alishar Hüyük, Seasons of 1930-32, III* (OIP XXX [1937]) 268-76.

⁶¹ *Subartu* pp. 177 and 199.

⁶² *Ibid.* pp. 182-85.

⁶³ *Ibid.* pp. 191 f. and 200.

ture centered around the headwaters of the Khabur, where Waššukkanni, Tušratta's capital, was situated. Near by lies Tell Ḥalāf, whose very old and uniform culture was uncovered by Baron Max von Oppenheim.⁶⁴ In that region, not at Nuzi,⁶⁵ says Ungnad, lies the heart of Subartu.⁶⁶

LATEST EXCAVATIONS

In the past fifteen years much important material from various sites in Syria and Mesopotamia has been brought to light. The excavations of ancient Ugarit, modern Ra's Shamrah, situated a few miles north of Latakia in Syria, have yielded several hundred tablets of mid-2d millennium date written partly in normal cuneiform in the Akkadian language but mostly in a locally developed variety of cuneiform in a language closely related to Amorite, Aramaic, and Hebrew. The most important Hurrian finds at Ra's Shamrah have been a Sumerian-Hurrian vocabulary,⁶⁷ a few Hurrian texts,⁶⁸ and some Hurrian personal names scattered through the other texts (cf. p. 69). The site of Mishrifeh (ancient Qatna), situated south of Hamath, has likewise provided Hurrian material of approximately the same period, consisting of both personal names and other words used in tablets listing the temple treasure of the goddess *Nin-é-gal* (cf. p. 69).⁶⁹ Farther north, Tell 'Aṭshāneh in the Plain of Antioch has provided ample Hurrian evidence both from the Hammurabi period (p. 64) and from the later Amarna age (p. 69).⁷⁰ Important discoveries made at Tell Ḥarīrī, a little north of Albū Kemāl on the Euphrates, show that the region of Mari was still occupied by Semites in the Hammurabi period. But incipient Hurrian influence is evidenced by some Hurrian names connected with northern Syria and northern Mesopotamia (discussed below, p. 63) and by several texts written in the Hurrian language (p. 62).⁷¹ Finally we may mention Old Akkadian and Hammurabi-period tablets excavated at Tell Brak and Chagar Bazar, both situated south of Mardin in northern Mesopotamia.⁷² From the personal names occurring in these tablets we can gather that, while Hurrians were almost nonexistent in that area in the Old Akkadian period, they were prominent there in the later Hammurabi period (pp. 53 f. and 63 f.).

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 163 f. and 149.

⁶⁵ As claimed by Speiser in AASOR XIII 24.

⁶⁶ Subartu p. 163.

⁶⁷ Thureau-Dangin in Syria XII (1931) 234-66; Friedrich, KASD pp. 149-55.

⁶⁸ Discussed in part by C.-G. von Brandenstein, "Zum Churrischen aus den Ras-Shamra-Texten," ZDMG XCI (1937) 555-76.

⁶⁹ C. Virolleaud, "Les tablettes de Mishrifé-Qatna," Syria XI (1930) 311-42.

⁷⁰ Sidney Smith, "A preliminary account of the tablets from Atchana," Antiquaries Journal XIX (1939) 38-48; *idem* in London Times, Aug. 22, 1939.

⁷¹ Thureau-Dangin, "Tablettes hurrites provenant de Mâri," RA XXXVI (1939) 1-28.

⁷² C. J. Gadd, "Tablets from Chagar Bazar . . .," Iraq IV (1937) 178-85 and VII (1940) 22-66.

LATEST HURRIAN STUDIES

In the past few years no new theories on the Hurrians or Subarians have been presented. Instead, with the aid of the new sources just mentioned, the conquest of the Hurrian language has quietly proceeded. The body of published material has been greatly enlarged by the appearance of volumes with Hurrian texts from Boğazköy, especially two edited by C.-G. von Brandenstein⁷³ and by the late Hans Ehelolf⁷⁴ respectively. Notable grammatical studies have been made by J. Friedrich,⁷⁵ A. Goetze,⁷⁶ and E. A. Speiser.⁷⁷ Hurrian personal names have been profitably investigated by L. Oppenheim⁷⁸ and P. M. Purves.⁷⁹ An extensive list of personal names, largely Hurrian, from Nuzi, with discussion of their component elements, has just been published by I. J. Gelb, P. M. Purves, and Allan A. MacRae.⁸⁰

⁷³ *Kultische Texte in hethitischer und churrischer Sprache* (KUB XXVII [1934]).

⁷⁴ *Kultische Texte vorwiegend in hethitischer, churrischer und luvischer Sprache aus den Grabungen 1931 and 1932* (KUB XXXII [1942]).

⁷⁵ "Zum Subaräischen und Urartäischen," *An. Or.* XII (1935) 122-35; *Kleine Beiträge zur churritischen Grammatik* (MVAG XLII 2 [1939]).

⁷⁶ "An unrecognized Hurrian verbal form," *RHA* V (1938—) 103-8; "The genitive of the Hurrian noun," *ibid.* pp. 193-200; "To come' and 'to go' in Hurrian," *Language* XV (1939) 215-20; "The Hurrian verbal system," *Language* XVI (1940) 125-40; "The *n*-form of the Hurrian noun," *JAOS* LX (1940) 217-23.

⁷⁷ "Notes on Hurrian phonology," *JAOS* LVIII (1938) 173-201; "Studies in Hurrian grammar," *JAOS* LIX (1939) 289-324; "Phonetic method in Hurrian orthography," *Language* XVI (1940) 319-40; and now especially his *Introduction to Hurrian* (AASOR XX [1941]).

⁷⁸ "Was bedeutet *ari* in den hurritischen Personennamen?," *RHA* IV (1936-38) 58-68; "Zu den fremdsprachigen Personennamen aus Nuzi," *WZKM* XLIV (1937) 178-210; "Bemerkungen zur neueren amerikanischen Nuzi-Literatur" I, *WZKM* XLV (1938) 38-48.

⁷⁹ "Nuzi names," *JAOS* LVIII 462-71; "The early scribes of Nuzi," *AJSL* LVII (1940) 162-87; "Hurrian consonantal pattern," *AJSL* LVIII (1941) 378-404.

⁸⁰ *Nuzi Personal Names* (OIP LVII [1943]).

II

ARE HURRIANS IDENTICAL WITH SUBARIANS?

TERMINOLOGY: MITTANNIAN, HURRIAN, SUBARIAN

We have come a long way in the sixty years from the time when the sporadic occurrence of some *SU* words in Akkadian syllabaries was first pointed out to the present, when we have thousands of documents bearing upon the Hurrian-Subarian problem from Amarna, Boğazköy, Nuzi, Ra's Shamrah, Mari, and many other sites. During this time, along with the increase of our knowledge, continuous changes in terminology have taken place. At first the *SU* words had no real name, because very little was known about the people who used them or about the region in which they were used. But soon discoveries at Amarna supplied the long letter of Tušratta, king of Mittanni, written in a hitherto unknown language which was called "Mittannian" after his country (see p. 2). To this language some of the *SU* words proved to belong. The Boğazköy archives revealed many texts written in a similar dialect, which at least in the Hittite Empire was called "Hurrian" (p. 4). Evidence from the same archives eliminated the term "Mittannian" for this language by showing that Mittanni was only the name of the state in central Mesopotamia whence the Amarna letter had come, that its rulers and the name itself were probably Indo-European, and hence that it should not be used as the name of a clearly non-Indo-European language (p. 4). These considerations, as well as the fact that much of the territory where Hurrian remains were found was included under the term "Subartu" in Akkadian sources, prompted Ungnad to christen the new language "Subarian."¹

Soon, however, various objections to this new term were raised. Speiser² argued that "Subartu" was a geographic term used by the Akkadians for a certain region in the north and that originally nothing was implied concerning its possible racial or linguistic peculiarities. According to Speiser "Subarean" as an ethnic designation was not developed until late in the 2d millennium B.C. Furthermore, said Speiser, some of the *SU* words are perfectly good Akkadian expressions; consequently the annotation *SU* or *SU.BIR*₄ implies not that the words are written in a language called "Subarean" but only that they were used in the land Subartu, where both Hurrian

¹ Although the term "Subartu" was discussed as early as 1891 by Jensen (see p. 2), the term "Subarian" in the ethnic and linguistic sense was first introduced by Ungnad (see pp. 4 f.), as correctly stated by B. Landsberger in *ZA* XXXV (1924) 228. Therefore it is not exact to say that Ungnad merely revived a term first used by Jensen, as do Hrozný in *AOr* I (1929) 104 and Speiser in *AASOR* VI (1926) 79 and in his *Mes. Or.* p. 135.

² *AASOR* VI 79 f.; *Mes. Or.* pp. 135 f.; *AASOR* XIII (1933) 20-25.

and Akkadian could have been employed at the same time. According to Speiser the fact that "Subartu" is used indiscriminately for Assyria in the time of Ashurbanipal and by Late Babylonian writers should in itself be quite sufficient to rule the term "Subarean" out of court. He found the only correct expression for the whole linguistic group in the term "Hurrian," clearly attested for the language in the Hurrian tablets from Boğazköy.

In 1936 Ungnad returned to the discussion of Hurrian-Subarian terminology, defending his term "Subarian" against the "Hurrian" of Speiser and his supporters. He endeavored to show that any argument against "Subarian" adduced from the *SU* words must be invalid because some of even the supposedly Semitic *SU* words are in reality Subarian.³ "Subarian" in the ethnic sense, against Speiser, is proved to occur in the 3d millennium B.C.⁴ That "Subartu" was used interchangeably with "Assyria" in later texts is explained by Ungnad simply by the fact that Assyria fell heir to the state of Subartu.⁵ According to him the choice of the name of the language, "Subarian" or "Hurrian," depends upon what point of view one takes, for the native name is unknown. Subartu bordered on northern Babylonia, and therefore the Babylonians called the language "Subarian." The Hurrians were in contact with the Hittites' eastern border, and therefore their language was called "Hurrian" by the Hittites. Since the point of view of all Assyriologists should be Babylonian, says Ungnad, we should accept the Babylonian rather than the Hittite terminology.⁶ Hence Ungnad throughout his book favors not "Hurrian" but "Subarian."

Speiser has recently brought forth a new argument in favor of the term "Hurrian" based on E. R. Lacheman's transliteration of a Nuzi text containing a list of scribes with two occurrences of *DUB.SAR Hur-ru(m)*. Speiser states that "Lacheman regards these passages as positive evidence that the Nuzians called their own language Hurrian and not Subarean."⁷ The importance of this text⁸ should not be underestimated.

With the elimination of "Mittannian" only two terms remain in use today for the ethnic and linguistic group under discussion. B. Landsberger⁹ and C. J. Gadd¹⁰ are the chief proponents, besides Ungnad, of the term "Subarian." Among the archeologists Baron Max von Oppenheim¹¹ and M. E. L. Mallowan¹² follow Ungnad.

³ Subartu pp. 95 f., 127, 129.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 52-55.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 132 f.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 133 f.

⁷ Quoted from Speiser in AASOR XVI (1936) 140, n. 11.

⁸ Now published by Lacheman in RA XXXVI (1939) 91 and 93 f.; see rev. 17 f.

⁹ "Über die Völker Vorderasiens im dritten Jahrtausend," ZA XXXV esp. p. 228, and "Über den Wert künftiger Ausgrabungen in der Türkei," TTKB III (1939) 207-24, esp. pp. 216 ff.

¹⁰ "Tablets from Kirkuk," RA XXIII (1926) esp. p. 62.

¹¹ Der Tell Halaf. Eine neue Kultur im ältesten Mesopotamien (Leipzig, 1931) esp. pp. 221 f.

¹² In *Mélanges syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud ... II* (Paris, 1939) 887-94.

Hrozný very early declared himself against "Subarian" and in favor of the term "Hurrian" used in the Boğazköy sources.¹³ F. Thureau-Dangin uses "Hurrian" in a linguistic sense throughout his article on the syllabaries from Ra's Shamrah.¹⁴ In a review of Ungnad's book *Subartu* Thureau-Dangin expresses himself to the effect that the Sumerians designated by the term *Subar* or *Subir*, and the Babylonians by *Subartu*, a vast region, of undetermined limits, situated north of the land of Akkad and inhabited by a population speaking a language which the Boğazköy documents call "Hurrian."¹⁵ J. Friedrich was at first inclined to use "Subarian" because he believed that in this term Ungnad had found a convenient expression for the whole linguistic group, which could be subdivided into Mittannian and Hurrian.¹⁶ Even in 1935 he still used "Subarian."¹⁷ But soon thereafter, in a review of Ungnad's *Subartu*, Friedrich took the stand that "Hurrian" is the native and Boğazköy name for the same language which is called "Subarian" by the Akkadians; that is, "Hurrian" stands in the same relationship to "Subarian" as "Deutsche" to "Allemands" or "Ελληνες" to "Graeci." Because "Hurrian" is used not only among the Hittites but also among the Hurrians themselves, Friedrich prefers Speiser's "Hurrian" to Ungnad's "Subarian."¹⁸ Throughout his latest study Friedrich applies the term "Hurrian" to the whole linguistic group without even considering the rival term "Subarian."¹⁹ Goetze has employed "Hurrian" from the beginning,²⁰ though he puts little stress on it in his review of Ungnad's *Subartu*: "The question of the terminology, i.e. whether *Subartu* is to be preferred to *Hurri land*, *Subareans* to *Hurrites*, seems to me of minor importance. . . . I believe with Ungnad in the virtual synonymy of the two terms."²¹ However, to him "Hurrian" has the advantage of being a native term. He also suggests, with due caution, that "Subartu" and "Hurri" may be etymologically related, because *subar/suwar* may be a mere dialectal variation of *hubur* (pronounced *huwur?*).

¹³ "Die Länder Churri und Mitanni und die ältesten Inder," AOr I (1929) 91-110, esp. p. 104, and "Le Hittite: histoire et progrès du déchiffrement des textes," AOr III (1931) 273-95, esp. p. 289.

¹⁴ "Vocabulaires de Ras-Shamra," Syria XII (1931) 225-66.

¹⁵ RA XXXIV (1937) 147.

¹⁶ KASD pp. 7 f.

¹⁷ "Zum Subaräischen und Urartäischen," An. Or. XII (1935) 122-35, *passim*.

¹⁸ ZDMG XCI (1937) 207 ff. The same viewpoint is kept in Friedrich's later articles, "Die Erforschung der kleineren Sprachen des alten Kleinasien," Die Welt als Geschichte III (1937) esp. p. 60, and "Der gegenwärtige Stand unseres Wissens von der churritischen Sprache," Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap "Ex Oriente Lux," Jaarbericht No. 6 (1939) esp. p. 91.

¹⁹ Kleine Beiträge zur churritischen Grammatik (MVAG XLII 2 [1939]).

²⁰ Kleinasien pp. 57 ff. and *passim*; ZA XLI (1933) 244 f.; HCA *passim*.

²¹ JAOS LVII (1937) 108 and n. 12.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

As can be seen from this short review, two terms are competing for supremacy as designations for a single ethnic and linguistic unit. While "Subarian" was favored in earlier years, "Hurrian" seems to be in greater favor at present. But do the two rival terms really apply to one and the same ethnic and linguistic unit? To answer this question we must correlate separately the available data involving each term. Our problem, then, is to define our terms: Who are the Hurrians, and who are the Subarians?

To characterize the Hurrians is not difficult. We have from the Boğazköy archives tablets written in a language there called "Hurrian"; we have in the Amarna correspondence the Mittanni letter written in a language almost identical with that of the Hurrian tablets from Boğazköy; and we know from Nuzi thousands of personal names whose elements show in their roots and their morphology close kinship with the language of the Hurrian tablets from Boğazköy and of the Mittanni letter from Amarna. At least these three substantial groups of sources are unmistakably Hurrian, and the comparable material which comes from various other sources can likewise safely be called Hurrian. All these linguistic remains belong to a people I would term "Hurrians."

On the other hand, who are the Subarians? It would seem that a correct answer to this question has not yet been given. There is frequent mention in various sources of the land Subartu and of Subarians; some words are known that were used in Subartu according to Akkadian syllabaries; and there are about thirty Subarian personal names which have certainly been misused and misinterpreted by scholars. It will be my task to clarify this problem and to define the status of the Subarians in the history of the ancient Near East.

PREMISES ALLEGED TO FAVOR IDENTIFICATION OF HURRIANS WITH SUBARIANS

The commonly accepted identification of Hurrians with Subarians has been based mainly on three points: (1) The notation $SU^{(KI)}$ or $SU.BIR_4^{KI}$ or *ina Šú-ba-ri* is found with some Hurrian words in Akkadian syllabaries. (2) The Hurrians occupied territory which the Akkadians called "Subartu." (3) Some personal names of the Ur III period and later borne by persons called "Subarian" are supposed to be Hurrian in their grammatical or linguistic structure. Let us examine each point individually and see how much support they give to the identification.

Hurrian words used in Subartu.—Many years ago Delitzsch observed that some foreign words in Akkadian syllabaries bear the notation $SU^{(KI)}$ or $SU.EDIN^{KI}$ (p. 1). Since it has been proved that $SU.EDIN^{KI}$ is to be read *Su-bir₄^{KI}* in Sumerian (p. 3) and that it corresponds to Akkadian Subartu, and since many of the words con-

cerned²² occur with the Akkadian notation *ina Šú-ba-ri*, it is obvious that the notations *SU*^(KI), *SU.BIR*₄^{KI}, and *ina Šú-ba-ri* are synonymous and all refer to words used in Subartu.²³

Among the divinities assigned to Subartu in Akkadian syllabaries are ^d*Te-eš-su-up*, ^d*Ša-uš-ka*, ^d*Aš-tu-u-pi-nu*, ^d*Zi-za-nu*, ^d*La-ḫu-ra-til*, ^d*Pa-ar-si*, and ^d*Na-ú-ar-si*. Of these the first two can easily be recognized as Tešup and Šawuška, two Hurrian deities well known from the Boğazköy and Nuzi tablets; but the Hurrian case for the third deity is not so sure. Suspicion arises in the case of the fourth deity, Zizānu, both because he occurs in the Akkadian pantheon²⁴ and because the formation of his name seems Semitic rather than Hurrian. That the god ^d*La-ḫu-ra-til* is Elamite is admitted freely by Ungnad, who is forced to reckon with the possibility of a scribal mistake. Nothing is known of the last two deities.

What is true of divine names may be true to an even greater degree of common nouns used in Subartu according to the Akkadian syllabaries. Among these are *sa-ar-me*, "forest," *ḫa-a-ra-li*, "door," *na-ma-al-lu(m)*, "bed," *pi-it-qu*, "son," *za-al-ḫu*, "gold," *a-a-ra-ḫi*, "gold," *ḫa-ia-ni*, "small," *e-ne*, "god," and the names of several plants. Of all these words only *e-ne*, "god," and *a-a-ra-ḫi*, "gold," are actually attested as Hurrian, e.g. in the Tušratta letter. But such words as *na-ma-al-lu(m)*, "bed," *pi-it-qu*, "son," and *za-al-ḫu*, "gold," do not occur anywhere in the known Hurrian texts; what is more, as observed long ago by Jensen, they sound Semitic and may belong to some Semitic dialect related to Akkadian.²⁵ Thus *namallu* clearly resembles Akkadian *maḫḫalu* with the same meaning;²⁶ *pitqu* is paralleled by *pe-te-e-qu = ma-a-ru*, "son," in one Akkadian syllabary;²⁷ and *zalḫu* may possibly go back to Sumerian *zalaq*, "shining, resplendent."²⁸ Ungnad believes that the first two of these, *namallu* and *pitqu*, may have come into Akkadian from Subarian.

²² Now gathered almost completely by Ungnad, Subartu pp. 95–99. Previously collected by C. Frank in his "Fremdsprachliche Glossen in assyrischen Listen und Vokabularen," MAOG IV (1928–29) 43–45. The foreign divine names with added *SU*^(KI) or *SU.BIR*₄^{KI} were first gathered by Frank as a supplement to an article on "Elamische Götter" in ZA XXVIII (1914) 328 f., later by Ungnad *op. cit.* pp. 64–68.

²³ On the short form *SU* see pp. 24 f.

²⁴ A. Deimel, Pantheon Babylonicum (Romae, 1914) No. 1353.

²⁵ ZA VI (1891) 60 f.

²⁶ The word *maḫḫalu* < **maḫḫalu* (cf. Gelb, IAV p. 31) from the root *nḫ*. According to Professor A. Poebel this root is identical with Hebrew *lḫn*, "pass the night." Dr. A. Sachs would interpret *namallu* as based on a transposition: **maḫḫalu* > **maḫḫalu* > **namālu* > *namallu*. The same transposition occurs in the name of the divinity Manzāt (Scheil in RA XXII [1925] 149 f.), found also as Namzāt (KAR 158 i 16). These two forms were brought together by Landsberger and J. Lewy, Die Kültepetexte der Sammlung Rudolf Blanckertz (Berlin, 1929) p. 42, n. 1.

²⁷ CT XVIII 15 K 206 rev. i 19.

²⁸ In Orientalia N.S. IV (1935) 296 f. and in Subartu p. 96 Ungnad showed on the basis of a variant text that "Subartu" probably applied to only one of the two words listed as meaning "gold," namely *a-a-ra-ḫi*, whereas *zalḫu* is presumably a Sumerian-Akkadian word.

Still, even if we were to admit that all the words with the notation $SU^{(KI)}$ or $SU.BIR_4^{KI}$ in the Akkadian syllabaries are actually Hurrian and that they can all be found in unquestionably Hurrian texts, would this prove that the terms "Hurrian" and "Subarian" are equivalent? No; for the notation $SU^{(KI)}$ or $SU.BIR_4^{KI}$ does not mean "Subarian" in the ethnic or linguistic sense, but, like *ina Šú-ba-ri*, it means "in Subartu" or "in the land of the Subarians." Ungnad translates these terms correctly but fails to consider the possibility that words so designated are not necessarily Subarian in language but are words used in Subartu. Since the syllabaries and lists of deities containing the expressions under discussion were all composed in late Assyrian times, it is clear that they would mention words used in the Akkadian dialects spoken in Subartu at approximately the same period. There is, indeed, no doubt that, besides Hurrian, other languages were actually in use at that time in Subartu.

Hurrians in Subartu.—The lists of deities and the syllabaries show that Hurrian was spoken at one time in the land of Subartu. This fact implies the presence of Hurrians. But to draw from it the conclusion that "Hurrian" and "Subarian" are synonymous would be as fallacious as to say that Arabic is identical with Spanish because for centuries both languages were used contemporaneously in Spain. Both the land of the Hurrians and that of the Subarians included broad areas of the Near East, and it is not only possible but very probable that at times one people would move into territory previously occupied by the other. But only from the middle of the 2d millennium on do we have source material adequate to determine the extent of both lands at approximately the same period.

The Amarna tablets mention the "land of the Subarians" (see p. 48). Since the Hurrian state of Mittanni in central Mesopotamia was then in its heyday, the two lands have been identified with each other by all the scholars who have discussed this problem (see p. 48). The texts themselves offer nothing in favor of this identification. But even if the identity of Subartu with Mittanni, and through Mittanni with Hurri, could be definitely established from the Amarna tablets, it is obvious that such a conclusion would apply only to the Amarna period. Such confusion of the terms could possibly have arisen at some time in the 2d millennium B.C. when the Hurrians invaded territories occupied by the Subarians. It would not be surprising, therefore, to find the Syrian scribes using for the same general area either the old name "Subartu" or the more modern name "Mittanni," just as today the terms "Gallic" and "French" or "Prussian" and "German" are often used interchangeably, even though originally these terms had nothing in common with each other.

Subarians' names alleged to be Hurrian.—The third point in favor of the alleged identity of Hurrians and Subarians was recently brought out by Ungnad as a result of his listing and study of the Subarian names of the 3d dynasty of Ur and of the 1st dynasty of Babylon.

As to the $su^{(k1)}$ or $su.A^{k1}$ names in Ur III documents,²⁹ Ungnad reasoned that, since $su^{(k1)}$ stands for $SU.BIR_4^{k1}$ in late Assyrian syllabaries, so also in the Ur III tablets persons thus called should be considered Subarians. The A of the longer form $su.A^{k1}$ was to him unexplainable. Naturally Ungnad's belief that these names should be connected linguistically with the Hurrian ("Subarian" he calls it) language must have played a decisive part in his interpretation of them as Subarian. But are these names actually Subarian in Ungnad's sense? That is, are they Hurrian (as that term is defined on p. 15)? My own investigation (see pp. 24-27) shows that the $su^{(k1)}$ and $su.A^{(k1)}$ names are indeed Subarian, but that they are not Hurrian.

The Hurrian character of the $su^{(k1)}$ or $su.A^{(k1)}$ names listed by Ungnad is supposedly proved by the occurrence among them of a few—*Du-li-a*, *Ku-zu-zu*, *Še-bi*, and *Ma-da-ti-na*—for which Ungnad claims to find later, properly Hurrian analogies, especially in the Nuzi tablets.³⁰ But even a superficial examination of these four names will easily show how fallacious is such comparison. The first, *Tulija*,³¹ does indeed occur at Nuzi,³² as noted by Ungnad, and might be hypocoristic for the Hurrian name which he gives as "Tul(i)-Tešup."³³ That there is a Hurrian root *tul* is proved convincingly by the Nuzi personal name *Tulip-apu*, where *apu* is certainly a Hurrian element. One might object, however, that in short names a similarity of sounds may be purely accidental. Only if it can be proved that some other $su(.A^{k1})$ names are Hurrian can such a name as *Du-li-a* safely be called Hurrian.³⁴

²⁹ Subartu pp. 105 f. and 137; see the complete list of $su(.A^{k1})$ names below, pp. 100-105.

³⁰ Subartu p. 137.—In justice to other scholars it should be mentioned that Landsberger long ago thought that the $su(.A^{k1})$ people should not be connected with the Hurrians (ZA XXXV [1924] 230 f., n. 3); he does not, however, identify them with the Subarians, and under the latter term he understands the people called Hurrians by others. Landsberger's further ideas on the $su.A$ population are noted below, p. 108, n. 102. Goetze in a review of Ungnad's Subartu in JAOS LVII (1937) 108, n. 12, urged that the designation "man from su " on tablets of the 3d dynasty of Ur must be used cautiously because only a few names of such people are "Subarean" (i.e., what I understand as Hurrian). Speiser, Mes. Or. p. 143, n. 80, discussed only one $su.A$ name, *İabrat*, in connection with the Hurrians; in his IH p. 3, n. 7, he states that "the description 'man from Su (=Subartu) [?] may take in proper names that are not Hurrian."

³¹ In this monograph, as in NPN (cf. Purves *ibid.* p. 184), only the voiceless consonants are employed in connected writing of Hurrian names.

³² See NPN lists for this and other Nuzi names cited.

³³ For *Tul-Tešup*, the form actually found at Nuzi, see *ibid.* Incidentally, Ungnad's belief that another Hurrian name, *Du-ul-bi-še-en-ni*, exhibits *dul*+formative *-b-* is unjustified, inasmuch as at Nuzi the elements *tul(i)* and *tulpi/u* are quite distinct; see NPN p. 268. Cf., however, a hesitant suggestion by Purves of possible connection, *ibid.* p. 191.

³⁴ The name *Du-li-a* occurs on a Cappadocian tablet also; see L. Oppenheim in RHA V (1938 —) 17. In my IAV pp. 13 f., where I discussed the Hurrian element in Cappadocian personal names, I purposely omitted from my discussion, as had Goetze from his (cited *ibid.*), all the short names and with them the usually short hypocoristic names in *-ia*. My reluctance to base com-

Much less can be said in favor of Hurrian origin of the other three names compared by Ungnad. The fact that the *SU*(.A^{KI}) name *Ku-zu-zu* resembles such Nuzi names as *Ku-uz-zu* and *Ku-uz-za-ri/zi* does not make *Ku-zu-zu* Hurrian. *Še-bi* cannot be connected with Nuzian *Še-bi-ia*, for the latter name is in all probability Akkadian.³⁵ *Ma-da-ti-na* and the Hurrian names *Ma-at-Te-šup* and *Ma-ti-ia* from Nuzi have nothing in common outside of a slight similarity in sound.

Besides these few of the *SU* or *SU.A* names there are two other Subarian names for which Ungnad claims Hurrian origin. One of them is "Zigulae," whose bearer was *ensi* of *Su-bir*₄^{KI}.³⁶ However, the name is not *Zi-gu-la-e* but *Zi-gu-um-e* (see p. 38); with this correction most of Ungnad's arguments lose their basis.³⁷ The other name is *Um-mi-^dHe-bi-it*, whose bearer is called a woman of Subartu.³⁸ This is an Akkadian name, more exactly a hybrid composed of an Akkadian element followed by the name of a deity who is neither Akkadian nor necessarily Hurrian (see pp. 106 f.).

Résumé.—We have thus seen that the three premises on the strength of which identity of Hurrians and Subarians has been asserted mean little. The terms *SU*(^{KI}), *SU.BIR*₄^{KI}, and *ina Šú-ba-ri* attached to certain Hurrian words in Akkadian syllabaries clearly indicate not that those words are Subarian in a linguistic sense but merely that they were current in the land of Subartu. The fact that Hurrians occupied in the 2d millennium some territories which then or at other times were or may have been included under the broad term "Subartu" or "land of the Subarians" has no bearing on Hurrian-Subarian identity, because the Hurrians are clearly new-

parisons on such names was criticized by Oppenheim in his above mentioned article. I still do not see, however, how his viewpoint can be defended. The dangers in comparing short names in any philological study are readily apparent.

³⁵ Cf. the Nuzi variant *Šépi-ia*, probably hypocoristic for Nuzian *Šép-^dAdad*.—It cannot be too strongly emphasized that to call a name Hurrian if it has any parallels at Nuzi—as do Ungnad and some other scholars—is dangerous, since out of about 3000 Nuzi names only a little more than one-half can safely be called Hurrian (see NPN p. 5).

³⁶ Subartu pp. 136 f.

³⁷ Ungnad's arguments are, however, of interest, since they show what misleading results may be reached if not based on correct facts. He divides the name *Zigulae* into *zik+ul+ae* and tries to find Hurrian parallels for each of the three parts. The root *zik* is Hurrian, according to Ungnad, because of the occurrence of *Zi-gi* and *Zi-ik-ku-ia* at Nuzi. But in reality, although *zik* occurs at Nuzi in about a dozen names, it cannot be definitely proved to be Hurrian. There could be no objection to taking the second part, *-ul*, as a Hurrian formative connected by a vowel with the initial root. But the third part, *-ae*, for which Ungnad finds support in such Nuzi names as *A-ga-ap-ta-e*, *Ú-na-ap-ta-e*, *Ut-tuk-ta-e*, and *Wi-ir-zi-ia-e* (misprinted with *si* for *zi*) does not exist as an element. The first three names cannot be divided as *Akapt-ae*, *Unapt-ae*, and *Uttukt-ae*, but are *Akap-tae*, *Unap-tae*, and *Uthap-tae* respectively; *tae* is one of the best known Hurrian elements at Nuzi. There is, indeed, at Nuzi a formative *-e* which sometimes follows an *a* vowel; cf. *Aššiae*, *Kanae*, *Nuriae*, *Tanae*, *Tetuae*, as well as *Wirzijae*. But, even if all these names should turn out to be Hurrian, in none of them does *-ae* follow a consonantal formative, as it would in *Zigulae* if Ungnad's analysis were correct.

³⁸ Subartu p. 100.

comers in such areas. Finally, the personal names that are called Subarian are, contrary to Ungnad, non-Hurrian; even the possibility of their being Hurrian is in most instances excluded.

PREMISES FAVORING DISTINCTION OF HURRIANS FROM SUBARIANS

Having thus refuted the alleged evidence favoring Hurrian-Subarian identity, we may now look for evidence which seems to justify taking the two groups as distinct entities. I shall first cite three main points:

Names of Subarians of the Ur III period definitely non-Hurrian.—The best proof that Hurrians are to be distinguished from Subarians comes from the comparative study of personal names of the Ur III period. Let us take first such typical personal names as Akap-šen, Arip-atal, Ĥupitam, Kirip-ulme, Taḥiš-šen, Tešup-šelaḥ, Unap-tan and contrast with them such names as Addabuni, Barbaragi, Bulbat, Ĭabrat, Ĭušanak, Zubuš, Zurzura. The names of the first group³⁹ appear in the texts without any ethnic label, but it is easy for anybody with even a superficial knowledge of Hurrian to recognize them as Hurrian. The names of the second group⁴⁰ appear in the texts with the notation *su*^(K1) or *su.A*^{K1}; i.e., the people bearing these names are called Subarians. But can these names be explained as Hurrian? Not by any stretch of imagination! Some years ago I stated: "If under the term of Hurrian personal names we understand the great majority of the names in the Nuzi tablets, then none of the personal names with the appellation *su* is Hurrian."⁴¹ To this statement I fully subscribe today.⁴² Anybody acquainted with Hurrian onomatology will readily recognize fundamental structural differences in the two groups of names. Whereas almost all the names of the first group are composed of two elements—a feature common in Hurrian names⁴³—the names of the second group seem indivisible. The only structural feature noticeable in the second group is the reduplication seen in Zurzura and perhaps in Barbaragi; but that type of formation, as far as I am aware, is entirely unknown among Hurrian personal names. Again, the roots *ak*, *ar*, *šen*, *un*, etc. which appear in the elements of the first group are easily identifiable as Hurrian, whereas the names of the second group are not based on Hurrian roots known from Nuzi or anywhere else.

Hurrians and Subarians distinguished in a Ra's Shamrah text.—A second reason for distinguishing Hurrians from Subarians is furnished by a Ra's Shamrah tablet which mentions three times the following ethnic units: *Qiš* (Kadeshite), *Ddmī* (Didymean?), *Ĥri* (Hurrian), *Ĥti* (Hittite), *Alšī* (Alasian, i.e., Cypriote), and *Šbr* (Su-

³⁹ See the complete list on p. 114.

⁴⁰ See the complete list on p. 107.

⁴¹ *AJSL* LV (1938) 83. Similarly already Landsberger, quoted above, p. 18, n. 30.

⁴² For possible but doubtful exceptions see p. 108, n. 106.

⁴³ See *NPN* pp. 187 ff.

barian).⁴⁴ It is evident that to the Ra's Shamrah scribe Hurrian is as different from Subarian as is e.g. Hittite from Cypriote. The occurrence of *Hr̄i* and *Šbr* in the same text must have been disturbing to those scholars who believe in synonymy of the two terms. Their explanation is that here *Hr̄i* means Hurrians while *Šbr* means Assyrians.⁴⁵ Surely fallacious is C.-G. von Brandenstein's interpretation of the Ra's Shamrah *Šbr* as Subartu, which in turn he identifies with the little known land name Šabarra.⁴⁶ On the difficulties involved in ascertaining what the Syrians meant by "Subarian" see pages 48 f.

Hurrian names of Tigris and Euphrates different from those used in Subartu.—The third main point in favor of distinguishing Hurrians from Subarians is based on the names of the Tigris and Euphrates. The Tigris is called Aranzû or Aransuḥ in Subartu or in Iamutbal⁴⁷ but Arašših̄ or Aranzih̄ in Hurrian.⁴⁸ The name of the Euphrates is Uruttu in Subartu⁴⁹ but Puranti in Hurrian.⁵⁰ Though the differences between the Subarian and Hurrian names of the Tigris are small and unimportant,

⁴⁴ Syria X (1929) Pl. LXII.

⁴⁵ Dussaud in Syria XII (1931) 75; Hrozný in AOR IV (1932) 178; Friedrich tentatively in AOF VIII (1932-33) 239.

⁴⁶ Cf. ZDMG XCI (1937) 570 and n. 1 with *Orientalia N. S. VIII* (1939) 84, n. 2. The equation *Šbr*=Šabarra is now favored by Speiser also, *IH* p. 3, n. 8, as against his previous position in *AASOR XIII* 23, which, I feel, was nearer the truth. Speiser's current arguments against taking *Šbr* as Subarians are based on the fact that the š̄ (which he reads as š) in *Šbr* does not correspond to the s of Subartu. In reality the original sibilant in the name of the Subarians is not s but š̄ (see p. 28), which fits well with the Ra's Shamrah spelling.

⁴⁷ Cf. [A-r]a-an-su-uh̄ = *I-di-ig-lat Ia-mu-ut-b[al]* with a variant *A-ra-an-zu-ú = I-di-ig-lat Subartu^{tu(m)}* (W. von Soden in *LTBA II* 8 i 26 and in *ZA XLIII* [1936] 235). For interpretation of the relationship of Iamutbal to Subartu see p. 86.

⁴⁸ In the Nuzi names *A-ri-ip-a-ra-ši-iḥ̄* and [Ḥa-š]i-ip-a-ra-aš-ši-iḥ̄ and the Chagar Bazar name *A-ra-an-zi-iḥ̄-a-tal* (Gadd in *Iraq VII* 36). The *nz* of the older form becomes assimilated to (š)š in the later form. On correspondence of the medial sound written as *z* at Chagar Bazar to that written as š̄ at Nuzi cf. Purves in *AJSL LVIII* (1941) 386 f.—The river is called Aranza/iḥ̄, with the spellings Aranzaḥaš, Aranzaḥan, Aranzaḥi, Aranzaḥuš, in *KUB XVII* 9 (discussed by Güterbock in *ZA XLIV* [1938] 84 f. and 90) i 14, 19, 26, 34, and 37. It appears also as final element in the personal name Gurpa-Aranzaḥa[š], -Aranzaḥiš, -Aranzaḥu(š), -Aranzaḥun, -Aranziḥ̄ *ibid.* lines 12, 17, 20, 24, and 29 and in *Bo 2865* (transliterated and discussed by Güterbock *op. cit.* pp. 84 ff.) ii 10, 16, 19, 21, 25, and 30. The initial element *g/kurpa* occurs at Nuzi also, where it may be a variant of Hurrian *kurm* or *kurw*. The form Aranza/iḥ̄ of these sources may, then, perhaps likewise be Hurrian.

⁴⁹ Cf. [Ū-r]u-ut-tu = *Pu-rat-tú Subartu*(*su.BIR₄^{BI}*) with a variant *Ū-ru-ut-tu(m) = Pu-rat-tu(m) Subartu^{tu(m)}* (W. von Soden in *LTBA II* 8 i 30 and in *ZA XLIII* 236). See also **UD.KIB.NUN^{KI} = Ū-ru-ut-tu(m)*, *CT XIX* 19 rev. ii 50.

⁵⁰ Cf. in Hurrian texts from Boğazköy *Pu-ra-an-ti-ne-el* and *id Pu-ra-an-ti-ne-el* (*KUB XXVII* 46 iv 3 f.) and *id-ia* (read *šija*) *Pu-ra-an-ti-n[e-?]* (quoted by C.-G. von Brandenstein in *ZA XLVI* [1940] 90). Puranti is equated with Euphrates by von Brandenstein in *KUB XXVII* p. iv (tentatively) and in *ZA XLVI* 93.

the phonetic variations between the corresponding names of the Euphrates are great enough to suggest two different, yet not necessarily independent, origins.⁵¹

Other evidence.—Of other points which could be brought out in favor of distinguishing Hurrians from Subarians we might mention the occurrence of Subarian elements in the pre-Sargonic Fara texts (pp. 31 f.), in a period for which no Hurrians can as yet be attested, and in texts from Elam (p. 44), an area which at all periods seems to be free of Hurrian influence (cf. p. 66). All such points will become apparent as the history of the Subarians and Hurrians is studied in the following chapters.

CONCLUSION

Perhaps this long and detailed discussion has not been in vain. Even though it seemed clear to me from the beginning that the Subarians ought to be sharply distinguished from the Hurrians, in view of general opinion it was necessary to invalidate the theory of their identity point by point, even going into details which should really have been omitted in a monograph of historical nature. I hope to have established in this chapter beyond any reasonable doubt the untenability of current assumptions. In the following two chapters the history of each of the two peoples will for the first time be treated separately. If the Hurrians should really be identical with the Subarians, as is generally assumed, separate treatments of the two could not be successfully written. But if the resulting pictures prove to be different, then their very difference will furnish the best proof of my theory.

⁵¹ Güterbock's assumption that the Euphrates is called Uruttu in Subarian, but that in addition the Akkadian name in the form Puranti- also occurs in Hurrian (ZA XLIV 84, n. 1), is based of course on his belief that the terms Subarian and Hurrian are synonymous. In the same light must be judged Goetze's statement that Uruttu was the Hurrian name of the Euphrates (Kizzuwatna p. 69, n. 267).

III

HISTORY OF THE SUBARIANS

TERMINOLOGY

“Subartu” and “Subarian” are expressed in numerous ways in the cuneiform sources. English “Subarian” is based on the Akkadian gentilic formations *Šubarû* and *Subarû*,¹ which go back to the uncontracted early forms *Šubariû(m)* and **Subariû(m)*. Correspondingly, the land inhabited by the Subarians is called *Šubartu(m)* or *Subartu(m)*. The land name *Š/Subartum* bears the same relationship to the gentilic *Š/Subariûm* as does *Martu*² to *Mariûm*³ or *Elamtum* to *Elamû* (< **Elamiûm*).

As can be seen from the examples given below, the gentilic formation is always written syllabically in Akkadian, while the name of the land is written either syllabically or by means of Sumerian logograms.

Logographic writings.—Of the four logographic writings for Subartu discussed in this chapter, only ŠUBUR is used in both Sumerian and Akkadian as a pure logogram. The writings SU(.A) and SU.BAPPİR may possibly be syllabic. The writing SU.BIR₄ is syllabic in Sumerian, but logographic in Akkadian.

The oldest logogram for “Subartu” is ŠUBUR, used up to and including the Old Akkadian period. This sign had long been known from Eannatum’s inscriptions (p. 34) to express the name of a country; but its reading was not known until a few years ago, when an Ur copy of an inscription of Narâm-Sin (p. 35) was published in which this logogram was glossed by the syllabic spelling *Su-bar-tim* in the genitive, as mentioned on page 28. As for the meaning of ŠUBUR, we may note that Sumerian *gašan šubur-ra* is equated with Akkadian *be-el [r]-ši-tim*, “lord of the earth,” in a bilingual Sumerian-Akkadian religious text.⁴ The god so called is ^d*Er/E-ri-eš*, whose name is evidently the common word *errēšum*, “plower” or “peasant,” and who corresponds to Sumerian ^d*Engar*. This implies that *šubur* over which he is the lord is not the underworld⁵ but the (cultivable) earth. The logogram ŠUBUR with the Sumerian pronunciations *su-bar*, *šu-bur*, and *su-bur* seems to be equated

¹ On the *s/š* in this term see esp. p. 30.

² The actually attested form *Mar-tu* is very old, going back ultimately to a period in which mimation had not yet been developed in Akkadian; cf. Gelb, OAI FM n. on No. 49:12.

³ On this correspondence see Gelb in AJSL LII (1935/36) 43, n. 7.

⁴ G. Reisner, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen nach Thontafeln griechischer Zeit* (Berlin, 1896) III ii 20 f. and IV 106 f.

⁵ As taken by Ungnad, *Subartu* p. 27, n. 3.

with Akkadian *ar-du*, "slave," in a syllabary.⁶ Finally, GIŠ.ŠUBUR is frequently used in older texts for a certain kind of tree or wood.⁷

All scholars seem to agree that Sumerian writing originally distinguished ŠUBUR (in the form AŠ+DUN) from DUN, ŠUL, ŠAḤ and that, while the later Babylonian system normally kept this distinction, the Assyrian system connected ŠUBUR with ŠAḤ and differentiated it from DUN, ŠUL.⁸ Of the two signs it is ŠAḤ (DUN) that is normally used for "pig" in the older texts.

What the sign ŠUBUR represents is not sure, although several indications favor Deimel's interpretation of ŠUBUR as a long-snouted pig, whereas ŠAḤ (DUN) would be a short-snouted pig.⁹ This interpretation of ŠUBUR is doubted by Landsberger because the distinction is based merely on the forms of the signs.¹⁰ Cf., however, the equations *sa-ap-pa-rum* = MIN (= šá-ḥu-u)¹¹ and perhaps *sa-ap-par-ru* = šá-[ḥu-u]¹² mentioned by Landsberger but left unexplained.¹³ The word *sappar(r)u*, "pig," could be based on a Sumerian word *šubur*, "pig," and its rather unusual form could be explained by confusion with the word *š/sapparu* which Landsberger defined as some sort of sheep.¹⁴ That ŠUBUR is certainly an animal is evident from the occurrence of PA.ŠUBUR in company with PA.UDU, PA.GUD, PA.ANŠE, etc. in a Fara text.¹⁵

From the pre-Sargonic period down to late Assyrian occurs the spelling SU(A) with its variants. Thus pre-Sargonic tablets mention persons designated as *lú* SU.A, fields in a place called SU.A^{KI}, and a SU.A garment (pp. 32 f.). In the Sargonic period A.ŠÀ SU.A, "a SU.A field," is found (p. 37). In Ur III administrative documents *lú* SU, *lú* SU^{KI}, *lú* SU.A, and *lú* SU.A^{KI} are used in connection with both persons and animals (p. 100). Arad-Nanna in the time of Šū-Sin, the fourth king of the 3d dynasty of Ur, calls himself the governor of *lú* SU^(KI) (p. 38). To the same time probably refers a text mentioning *ma-da ma-da lú* SU^{KI}-ka (p. 38). The end of the 3d dynasty of Ur is marked by an invasion of the *lú* SU^{KI} (p. 39). The smiting of

⁶ Friedrich Delitzsch, *Sumerisches Glossar* (Leipzig, 1914) p. 287; Deimel, ŠL II 53:5. Note that the equation of ŠUBUR with Akkadian *ardu* is not attested in any published texts but was reconstructed by Delitzsch from unpublished material in which the sign appears like BE+ŠUBUR. Cf. also DUN.ŠUBUR = *ar-du* in Deimel, ŠL II 467:11, cited after unpublished text VAT 10388:15 b.

⁷ Deimel, ŠL II 53:4, and Gelb, OAIMF n. on No. 33:20.

⁸ Thureau-Dangin, TCL I pp. 65 f.; Deimel, ŠL II 53:1 and 467:1; Landsberger, *Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamien . . .* (Leipzig, 1934) pp. 100 f. It has to be noted, however, that the confusion of the two signs had begun already in the pre-Sargonic period, as can be seen from the frequent writings of *Nin-Šubur* (H. de Genouillac, *Tablettes sumériennes archaïques* [Paris, 1909] 15 viii and 17 vii; *Drevnosti III* 2 No. 2 vii; etc.) side by side with *Nin-DUN* (*Drevnosti III* 2 Nos. 23 vii; 24 iv; 26 rev. i; etc.). Cf. Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum* No. 2729.

⁹ *Locis citatis*.

¹² CT XIV 45:32.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.* pp. 101 f.

¹³ *Op. cit.* pp. 96 and 101.

¹¹ LTBA II 13:14.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.* pp. 96 f.

¹⁵ Jestin, *Tablettes sumériennes de Šuruppak . . .* (Paris, 1937) 126 rev. iii.

lú *SU.A* by Išbi-Irra, king of Isin, is mentioned in a date formula (p. 39). In the documents from Elam it is exceptional to find persons called *lú* *SU(.A^{KI})* (pp. 44 f.). Then this spelling disappears; it recurs long afterward in the form *SU* or *SU^{KI}* in late Assyrian syllabaries and omen texts.

The occurrences of *SU^(KI)* or *SU.A^(KI)* just listed can be divided into three groups: (1) *SU.A^(KI)* of the pre-Sargonic tablets (only once in the Sargonic period), referring to people, places, etc. in Babylonia; (2) *SU^(KI)* and *SU.A^(KI)* of the Ur III tablets, referring to people and animals of foreign origin, used on into the early Isin period and later sporadically in Elam; (3) *SU^(KI)* in late Assyrian syllabaries and omen texts.

What the expression *SU^(KI)* or *SU.A^(KI)* means is clear only in the late syllabaries just mentioned, where certain common nouns and divine names are distinguished by a notation *SU*, *SU^{KI}*, *SU.BIR₄^{KI}*, or *ina Šú-ba-ri*. In those texts all these expressions can have but one meaning: "in Subartu" or "in the land of the Subarians" (see pp. 15–17). The short form *SU* is usually interpreted as an abbreviation of *SU.BIR₄*, just as *MAR* is an abbreviation of *MAR.TU¹⁶* and *GU* of *Gu-ti-um*.¹⁷ In the same direction points also the interchangeable use of *SU.BIR₄^{KI}* and *SU^{KI}* in the omen texts.¹⁸

The fact that *SU^(KI)* stands for Subartu in the late Assyrian sources makes it a priori likely that *SU(.A^{KI})* of earlier texts also means Subartu. Ungnad took this supposition for granted,¹⁹ as had Langdon before him for Ur III texts,²⁰ and therefore neglected to adduce any evidence for it. To fill this gap the following evidence is here offered:

Išbi-Irra, king of Isin, named one of the years of his reign "the year in which Išbi-Irra the king smote *lú* *SU.A* and Elam." This *SU.A* can be interpreted in the light of two other statements concerning Išbi-Irra. According to a Sumerian letter Išbi-Irra of Mari captured *Zi-gu-um-e*, *ensi* of *Su-bir₄^{KI}*; and according to a liver inscription from Mari the *Šubarijū* ("Subarians") turned against Išbi-Irra.²¹ It is most probable that the inimical relations of Išbi-Irra of Mari, later king of Isin, with *lú* *SU.A*, *Su-bir₄^{KI}*, and the *Šubarijū* refer to one and the same historical situation and thus indicate that *SU.A* are Subarians.

The connection of *lú* *SU.A* with Elam in Išbi-Irra's year name just mentioned and of *lú* *SU^{KI}* with *Elam^{KI}* in the description of the destruction of Ur (p. 39) is paralleled by the connection of Subartu with Elam in texts of Eannatum (written *Šubur^(KI)*, p. 34) and of or concerning Narâm-Sin (written *mât šUBUR^{Su-bar-tim KI}*, p. 35, and

¹⁶ Ungnad, Subartu p. 65.

¹⁷ KAV 173:24 and 27.

¹⁸ Discussed by Ungnad, Subartu pp. 69–94, esp. pp. 75 and 84.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 105.

²⁰ In Cambridge Ancient History I (2d ed., 1924, reprinted in 1928) 452.

²¹ All three sources are discussed on pp. 38 f.

*Su-bir*₄ and *Su-bár-e*^{KI}, p. 36). On the close relationship between the two countries see also pp. 85 and 93.

Similarly we may compare *Lu-lu lú* *SU.A*^{KI} on an Ur III tablet (p. 103) with *Lu-lu Šubur* on a Fara tablet (p. 32). Since *Šubur* in the old texts is used both for the land of the Subarians and for the people themselves, may we not assume that *SU.A*^{KI} has the same meaning in connection with the Ur III personal name?

In the Ur III period the geographic origin of small cattle (sheep and goats) is frequently given by the notation *lú* *SU(.A)*^{KI} (see p. 100). This fact, coupled with the observation that Subartu was known for its wool (cf. *stg Su-bir*₄^{KI} in a syllabary, V R 14:15 *c-d*) as well as for a certain kind of garment (*TÚG SU.A*, p. 33), helps further in establishing that *SU.A* = *SU.BIR*₄^{KI}.

Finally, comparison of such passages as *1 imēr 60 qa še-u(m) damqu*²² *Šu-ub-ri-ú*, "1 imēr 60 qa of good Šubrian barley,"²² with *10 MA.NA še SU+A damqu*, "10 minas of good *SU+A* barley,"²³ in texts of the same class and the same Middle Assyrian period led Dr. A. Sachs to suggest that the expressions *Šubriju* (a shorter form of *Šubariju*; see p. 29) and *SU+A* are synonymous. Even though the writing *SU+A* for *SU.A* can be paralleled by the writing *A+ĜA* for *A.ĜA* (p. 95), equation of *SU+A* with *SU.A* has certain difficulties: the old form of *SU+A* with the values *šen* and *ruk* does not look like a compound of *SU+A*;²⁴ and, as Dr. Sachs has seen, the measuring of grain in minas is suspicious and abnormal.

Indirect evidence that *SU*^(KI) and *SU.A*^(KI) of the Ur III texts mean Subarians is supplied by the fact that, if we do not so interpret these terms, then, so far as we know, the Subarians are left completely unmentioned in Ur III documents. We are thus faced with the difficulty of explaining why the Subarians, who played such an important part in the historical and economic texts of the preceding Old Akkadian and of the following Old Babylonian period, totally disappeared from the Ur III scene. Only by interpreting the *SU(.A)*^(KI) of the Ur III period as Subarians can we avoid this disturbing lacuna in our historical reconstruction.

Having thus seen that the *SU(.A)*^(KI) of the second group are Subarians just as are the *SU*^(KI) of the third group, the problem remains to investigate the *SU.A*^(KI) of the first group. To be sure, the pre-Sargonic texts are not specific enough to let us draw the definite conclusion that these early *SU.A*^(KI) are Subarians. But in favor of this identification we may cite the parallelism in use of *SU.A*^(KI) in the pre-Sargonic texts and *ŠUBUR* in the earlier Fara texts (see p. 33).

Looking at the use of *SU.A* and *SU* from the chronological point of view, we ob-

²² This and similar passages are cited on p. 29.

²³ KAJ 217:1; same in line 7 except for quantity.—Perhaps also comparable is *še SU*, used frequently in an Old Akkadian tablet from Susa (Mém. XIV No. 72).

²⁴ Deimel, ŠL II 8.—However, the ancients may have confused a real *SU+A* with a similar-looking *ŠEN* or *RUK* sign.

serve that *SU.A* alone has been found in the oldest periods, *SU* alone in the latest period, while both *SU.A* and *SU* occur in the intervening periods. The use of *A* in one of these forms remained obscure to Ungnad.²⁵

It is possible that *SU.A* is not a logogram but represents a syllabic spelling *Su-bur_x*, "Subarian." Plausible as this suggestion may sound, it is unprovable as long as we lack definite evidence in favor of reading *A* as *bur_x*.²⁶ The shorter form *SU* may perhaps be considered as an abbreviated form either of the logographic *SU.A* or of the syllabic *Su-bur_x*; but, as observed by Jacobsen,²⁷ such abbreviations are unknown in the early periods.

Difficult at present is the spelling *SU.BAPPIR*, found in the Agade and Ur III periods only. Jacobsen was the first to note the use of this spelling in year names of Nuraḫum, *ensi* of Ešnunna (end of Ur III), and to suggest its possible interpretation as Subartu (p. 39). Since then I have discovered in Old Akkadian tablets several pertinent examples of its use as a personal name and as a professional designation. Cf. the personal names *SU.BAPPIR-a šu-galla*,²⁸ *SU.BAPPIR-a*,²⁹ and *SU.BAPPIR*.³⁰ For the profession note slaves and slave girls called *SU.BAPPIR-a-me*,³¹ also "vêtements tissés reçus par les *su-šim_xgar-a-(ne)*: *A-šu-ḫu-na*, *Si-da-ba-ri*, *Ša-an-me*, *Zi-na*, *Šu-na-me*, *E-uš-du-....-an*, [...]-*en-na-an*."³² In several examples a usage analogous to that of *SU.A* is evident.

In favor of the tentative reading of *SU.BAPPIR* as *Su-bir_x* and of its meaning Subartu is the fact that, while in the Old Akkadian period the sign *BAPPIR* with its theoretical value *bir_x*³³ had certain characteristic features which distinguish it rather clearly from the sign *BIR₄*, in the ensuing period the forms of the two signs became so similar that they could easily have been confused by the ancients.³⁴ Now

²⁵ Subartu p. 105.

²⁶ Cf. the circumstantial evidence gathered on pp. 98 f.

²⁷ AJSL LVIII (1941) 220, n. 4.

²⁸ Luckenbill, *Inscriptions from Adab* (OIP XIV [1930]) 123:3 and 193:6; cf. e.g. *TAR-da šu-galla*, *ibid.* 150 rev. 1.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 185:2; ITT I 1365:10; Thureau-Dangin, RTC 113 rev. 5 and 116:15.

³⁰ TMH V 119:3 and 7.

³¹ Thureau-Dangin, RTC 96 rev. ii 15.

³² Tablet transliterated in ITT II 2, p. 35 No. 4640. The importance of this text will be established if and when it can be proved definitely that the *SU.BAPPIR* are Subarians (cf. p. 40, n. 126). The list of seven men all clearly bearing non-Akkadian and non-Sumerian names may then form a very welcome addition to our knowledge of Subarian personal names.—A reading *Mar-tu SU.BAPPIR?-a* in Luckenbill *op. cit.* 180:9 is very doubtful because both *BAPPIR* and *A* are partly broken away on the tablet and the remaining traces look different from the copy.

³³ Dr. Geers points out that this value is supported by the apparent origin of the word *bappir* from *b/par* plus *b/pir*.

³⁴ Cf. N. Schneider, *Die Keilschriftzeichen der Wirtschaftsurkunden von Ur III* (Rom, 1935) Nos. 753 and 758. For confusion by modern scholars cf. the correction from *BIR₄* to *BAPPIR* by Jacobsen (see below, p. 39).

while *SU.BAPPİR* is used in the Old Akkadian and Ur III periods, the form *SU.BIR₄^{KI}* appears only sporadically at the end of Ur III and does not become popular until the time of the 1st dynasty of Babylon.

With the end of the 3d dynasty of Ur the logographic writing *SU.BIR₄^{KI}* begins to appear as the name for the land Subartu. This writing is then used—at times almost exclusively—throughout the whole of Assyro-Babylonian history up to the very end. That *SU.BIR₄^{KI}* means Subartu was established many years ago by means of several syllabaries,³⁵ but the Sumerian reading *bir₄* for the sign otherwise called *EDIN* remained unknown until evidence from two different syllabaries³⁶ showed beyond a doubt that *EDIN* in the combination *SU.EDIN* for the land name was to be read as *bi-ir* or *bir₄*.³⁷ A variant *Su-bár-e^{KI}* for *Su-bir₄* in a late Sumerian literary composition referring to Narâm-Sin (see p. 36) is also interesting, for it links the spelling *subir* with the spelling *subur* discussed above.

Still other logograms for Subartu, found as yet only in synonym lists and syllabaries, are discussed in Appendix I (pp. 92 ff.).

Syllabic writings.—The oldest known form of the Akkadian gentilic formation is *Šubarišum*, found on tablets from the Sargonic period.³⁸ The land name *šUBUR* is glossed by *Su-bar-tim* in the genitive in a later copy of an inscription of Narâm-Sin (p. 35). No Akkadian syllabic spellings from the Ur III period are known to me. The land name *Šubartum* and the gentilic form *Šubarûm*, contracted from *Šubarišum*, occur several times on tablets from the subsequent Old Babylonian period. Various persons are described as *Šu-ba-ri-im*, *Šu-ba-ri-a-am*, *Šu-ba-ri-tum*, *Šu-ba-ru-ú*, or ^{am}*Šu-ba-ri-i* (pp. 43 f. and 105). The form *Šu-ba-ri* occurs in tablets of the same period from Susa (p. 44). A Mari letter (p. 41) has a reference to *ma-a-at^{KI} Šu-bar-tim*, and in a contemporary date formula (p. 42) is found the spelling *ma-at Šu-bar-tim*. In a liver omen from Mari (p. 39) *Šu-ba-ri-ú*, "the Subarians," are mentioned as being enemies of Išbi-Irra, the first king of the dynasty of Isin.

In the Middle and Late Assyrian periods the Assyrians use quite consistently the spellings *mât* (or *um-ma-an*) *Šu-ba-ri-i* and *mât Šu-bar-te* (pp. 45 f.). The so-called "Synchronistic History," written from the Assyrian (not Babylonian) point of view, writes *mât Šu-ba-ri* (p. 45).

The Kassite period in Babylonia, however, offers the spellings *Su-bar-[ti]*, *Su-ba-ru-ú*, and *Su-bu-ri-i*. . . . (p. 44). From outlying regions we have *mât Šu-ba-ri* in

³⁵ See already Rudolph E. Brünnow, *A Classified List of All Simple and Compound Cuneiform Ideographs* . . . (Leyden, 1889) No. 198.

³⁶ CT XII 27 BM 93042:3 and the "Chicago Syllabary," *AJSL* XXXIII (1916/17) 173:43. See now Richard T. Hallock, *The Chicago Syllabary and the Louvre Syllabary* AO 7661 (AS No. 7 [1940]) pp. 16 and 29.

³⁷ Thureau-Dangin in *RA* XVII (1920) 32; Ungnad, *Subartu* p. 25.

³⁸ The actual writings *Su-ba-ri-tum*, *Su-ba-ri-im*, *Su-ba-ri-ú*, and *Su-ba-ri-a* are quoted with context on p. 37. Sargonic *s* corresponds to later *š*; see p. 30, n. 55.

the Amarna letters (p. 48) and both *mât Šu-ba-ri-i* and *Zu-pa-ri-i* at Boğazköy (p. 49).

Late Assyro-Babylonian syllabaries and literary compositions—omens, astrological texts, etc.—largely subject to Babylonian cultural influence use spellings with *s*, e.g. *Su-bar-tu*,³⁹ *Su-bar-tu(m)*,⁴⁰ *Su-bar-ta*,⁴¹ *Su-bar-ti*.⁴² The rare adjectival spelling *Suburītu* in the 𒄩AR-ra = *hubullu* syllabary⁴³ is important because it is based on the form *šubar*, *subur*. For the Late Babylonian period the spellings *Su-ba-ru-um* and *Su-bar-ra-[a-a]* are attested (p. 45). The alleged spelling *S[u-b]i-r[a-tum]* quoted by Ungnad, Subartu p. 94, from V R 14:15 *d* is probably *š[u-t]um*.

Besides the root *šubar* on which the name of the Subarians is based, there is also a shorter form, *šubr*, used in the gentilic formation *Šubriū(m)* and in the land name Šubria (p. 47). The development of *šubar* > *šubr* is in agreement with an Akkadian phonetic principle which permits the elision of a short unaccented medial vowel, as in *zikaru* > *zikru* and in the land name Naw/mar > Namri.⁴⁴ The shorter forms are used in Assyria and at Boğazköy; they seem to be unknown to the Babylonians.

The earliest occurrence of a form based on *šubr* is in a Cappadocian source: *am-tám Šu-ub-ri-tám*, “a Šubrian slave girl” (acc.),⁴⁵ parallel to *am-tám Ki-lá-ri-tám*, “a Kilarian(?) slave girl.”⁴⁶

Derivatives of *šubr* are commoner in the Middle Assyrian period, when the gentilic forms *Šu-ub-ri-it-tu(m)*⁴⁷ and *Šu-ub-ri-ta*⁴⁸ are applied to slave girls and a kind of grain is called *Šu-ub-ri-ú*. The last form is found in the following examples: *1 imēr 60 qa še-u(m) damqu*⁴⁹ *Šu-ub-ri-ú*;⁴⁹ *1 imēr 50 qa še-u(m) Šu-ub-ri-ú* <*ú*> *damqu kab-ru*;⁵⁰ *16 imēr še-u(m) Šu-u[b-ri-ú]*.⁵¹

³⁹ E.g. BA II 487:9 (Irira epic).

⁴⁰ E.g. KAR 169 rev. iii 38 (Irira epic); see also below, p. 92 (syllabaries).

⁴¹ E.g. BA II 487:9 and KAR 169 rev. iii 38 (Irira epic).

⁴² E.g. CT XX 32:72 and 79; 33:114 (omens).

⁴³ *Giš-ma Su-bir*,^{K1} = *Su-bur-ri-tu* (LTBA I 62:15; cf. Sumerian only in Syria XII [1931] Pl. XLVI i 26), “Subarian fig”; *giš-šennur-kur-ra* = *Su-bur-r[i-tu]* (Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l’archéologie ég. et assyr. XXXVI [1914] 188:10), “Subarian plum (or medlar?)”; [nu-úr-ma Su-bir,^{K1}?] = *Su-bur-r[i-tu]* (LTBA I 58 v 1), “Subarian pomegranate”; *giš-mar-gid-da Su-bir*,^{K1} = [S]u-bu-ri-tu (Altorientalische Texte und Untersuchungen I 1 [1916] p. 58 ii 32; cf. Sumerian only in Syria XII Pl. XLVII No. 3 i 9), “Subarian wagon.”

⁴⁴ The last example is cited by J. Lewy in ZA XXXV (1924) 146, n. 1.

⁴⁵ CCT III 25:35. Both this and the following parallel are cited by Lewy in ZA XXXVIII (1929) 257, n. 4.

⁴⁶ CCT III 14:22.

⁴⁷ KAV 211:3.

⁴⁸ KAJ 167:8; 170:4. Cf. also IGI *Šu-ub-ri-ú* DUB.SAR *mār Sa-mi-di* in a Tell Billa tablet of approximately the same period, discussed by Speiser in *Studia et documenta ad iura Orientis antiqui pertinentia* II 146:23 f.

⁴⁹ KAJ 63:2. ⁵⁰ KAJ 66:6; same in line 8 except for quantity (*6 imēr*). ⁵¹ KAJ 67:2.

Šarru Šu-ub-ri-ú, "the Šubrian king," is mentioned several times in distinction from *Hanigalbat* on a tablet from Boğazköy,⁵² and *Šu-ub-ri-ú* alone is found on another Boğazköy tablet.⁵³ But owing to the fragmentary condition of both tablets no important historical facts can be established. Finally, *Šu-ub-ri-ia-na-aš* ^d*u-up-aš*, "Šubrian Tešup," appears in a Hurrian text from Boğazköy.⁵⁴

As to the initial sibilant, it can be observed that in the Old Akkadian and Old Babylonian periods its only pronunciation was *š*.⁵⁵ In the subsequent periods the writings of the sibilant diverge. While the Assyrians keep to *š*, writing it now as *š*, the Babylonians from the Kassite period on begin to spell the name of the Subarians with *s*. The reasons for their introduction of the new spelling are unknown. Ungnad's explanation of the forms with initial *š* as Assyrian and of those with initial *s* as Babylonian⁵⁶ is incompatible with the facts, because at least the Old Babylonians clearly used *š* in the writing. For the same reason Jacobsen's observation⁵⁷ that the Babylonians expressed with *s* (*su-kal*, *su-bur*, etc.) the same Sumerian sibilant which the Assyrians expressed with *š* (*šu-uk-kal*, *šu-bur*, etc.) cannot be applied to our case unless or until it can be proved that the differentiation in the transliteration of Sumerian *s* began in the Kassite period.

Since the form with initial *š* is older and better attested than that with initial *s*, we should, to be exact, say Šubarian or Shubarian instead of Subarian. But the modern practice of spelling many words—Sumerian, Samaritan, Sabbath, etc.—with *s*, even though they go back to original *š*, may justify our spelling Subarian.

Outside of Mesopotamian cuneiform sources the name of the Subarians appears as *Šbr* at Ra's Shamrah (pp. 20 f.). Dhorme's identification of the Sáspeires, Sápeires, Sábeires, Sábiroi, and Sábēroi (to whom might possibly be added some other similarly named peoples not cited by Dhorme) of classical sources with the Subarians,⁵⁸ although phonetically admissible,⁵⁹ is at present unprovable. The chief diffi-

⁵² KBo I 20:12 and rev. 3 and 10; Ungnad, *Subartu* pp. 51 f. See also below, p. 46.

⁵³ KUB III 77:7 and 15.

⁵⁴ KUB XXVII 46 i 19, 25 f., 27, 30, and 31 (including several variants). I owe this reference to Dr. P. M. Purves.

⁵⁵ On Old Akkadian spelling with *s*, to be pronounced as *š*, see provisionally Gelb in *AJSL* LIII (1936/37) 34. Old Babylonian uses only spellings with *š*. The gloss *Su-bar-tim* found in an Old Babylonian copy of an Old Akkadian inscription (p. 28) has of course to be taken as imitation of the Old Akkadian orthography of the original. Cf. in the same inscription *ga-lí-sa-ma*, *su-a*, *u-sa-ri-[bu]*, etc. (URI No. 274 i 8; ii 3; ii 21).

⁵⁶ *Subartu* pp. 24 f.

⁵⁷ In Delougaz and Lloyd, *Pre-Sargonid Temples in the Diyala Region* (OIP LVIII [1942]) pp. 293 f., n. 10.

⁵⁸ P. Dhorme, "Soubartou-Mitani," *RA* VIII (1911) 98 f.

⁵⁹ The basic form *sabir* would stand in the same relation to *subir* as *sagir* to *sugir*. The last three forms are known as equivalents of *Subartu* (p. 92).

culty lies in the fact that it is impossible to localize the peoples of the classical sources in one definite region; at various periods they seem to have occupied widely separated areas of Asia, such as Armenia, Iran, and Turkestan.⁶⁰

EARLIEST TRACES

𒀠.A.^{KI} *dynasty?*—Our earliest contact with Subarians may go back to the first antediluvian Sumerian dynasty, which is said to have resided at Eridu or, according to a variant text, at 𒀠.A.^{KI}. Since the name of the latter city, which is frequently mentioned in connection with Eridu, is given in Akkadian translations as *Šu-ba-ri* and the like, it is possible that the city 𒀠.A.^{KI}—*Šu-ba-ri* of the first Sumerian dynasty was named after the Subarians (cf. pp. 94–96).

Fara.—As pictographic tablets found at Ur, Uruk, and Jemdet Nasr are almost entirely ununderstandable at the present stage of our knowledge, the earliest readable Sumerian documents are those from Fara in southern Babylonia.⁶¹ The evidence from these tablets for the existence of Subarians at Fara is of varied nature, and as such it has to be handled with caution.

There is a personal name Šubur in the Fara tablets which, to judge from the lists of personal names made by Deimel⁶² and Jestin,⁶³ is the most commonly used name at Fara. This personal name is written with the same logogram, ŠUBUR, used in the land name Šubartum in a late Ur copy of an inscription of Narâm-Sin (p. 35), and it presumably means "Subarian" or "Subartu." It would be, then, a personal name parallel in type to French, France, Ireland in English, to Bayer, Frank, Sachs in German, and to similar names in many other languages. Just as the name French was originally applied by the English only to Frenchmen living in English territory, so the name Šubur at Fara was presumably applied at first only to real Subarians. But just as the later Frenches of England are considered to be English, so the Šuburs we have found at Fara must doubtless be considered Sumerian. There is no indication whatsoever that persons bearing that name are anything but Sumerians. Persons named Šubur are bakers (*muḫaldim*) or even chief bakers (*ugula muḫaldim*),⁶⁴ smiths (*simug*),⁶⁵ scribes (*dubsar*) or chief scribes (*ugula dubsar*),⁶⁶ etc., and

⁶⁰ Cf. Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, under Sabiroi and Saspeires.

⁶¹ A. Deimel, *Die Inschriften von Fara*. I. Liste der archaischen Keilschriftzeichen (WVDOG XL); II. Schultexte aus Fara (WVDOG XLIII); III. Wirtschaftstexte aus Fara (WVDOG XLV); R. Jestin, *Tablettes sumériennes de Šuruppak conservées au Musée de Stamboul* (Paris, 1937). Some tablets from later excavations at Fara were discussed by S. N. Kramer, "New tablets from Fara," *JAOS* LII (1932) 110–32.

⁶² Fara III 47* f.

⁶³ *Op. cit.* p. 70.

⁶⁴ Deimel, Fara III 66 ix, 71 iv, 104 ii; Jestin *op. cit.* 45 iv, 47 iii.

⁶⁵ Deimel *op. cit.* 76 xiv; Jestin *op. cit.* 570 iv.

⁶⁶ Deimel *op. cit.* 25 v, 36 vi f., 77 xvi; Jestin *op. cit.* 430 iv, 897.

in general they are designated by professions like any other Sumerians mentioned in the Fara texts.

The logogram *šUBUR* seems to be used at Fara not only as a personal name but also as an ethnic or professional designation. From such cases as *Lu-lu Šubur*⁶⁷ and *Tul-tul Šubur*,⁶⁸ in which *Lu-lu* and *Tul-tul* are personal names, it is evident that *šUBUR* stands in apposition to the preceding names. Comparison of *Lu-lu Šubur* at Fara with *Lu-lu su.A*⁶⁷ in an Ur III text (p. 103) favors the conclusion that *Šubur* in the Fara texts means "Subarian." This term could be explained as denoting either a distinctly foreign ethnic element or, secondarily, a profession; cf. the modern term "Swiss (guards)," which includes men of non-Swiss origin.⁶⁹

PRE-SARGONIC PERIOD

In tablets of the pre-Sargonic period we find almost identical uses of *Šubur*. It occurs very frequently as a personal name, often with mention of the person's occupation, such as smith, cupbearer, or gardener,⁷⁰ exactly as earlier at Fara.

More difficult is the problem of the designation *su.A* which now begins to appear. Five texts dated to the time of Lugalanda and Urukagina, two *ensi*'s who ruled at Lagash just before the beginning of the Sargonic dynasty, deal with the following assignments respectively:

1. Wheat rations (*ziz-ba*) to the *lu su.A en_x-si-ka-gé-ne*, to the *ERIN-ra-kam*, to the *nanga é-SAL-gé-ne*, and to the *nanga nam-⟨dumu⟩-gé-ne*.⁷¹

2. Wool rations (*stg-ba*) to *Ĥé-^dBa-ú nin en_x-si-ka*, to *Lul engar*, to *Nanga-ama-mu dam Lugal-ù-ma gal-ukù-ka*, to *Ama-šag₃*, to *Arad-šu-ga-lam-ma nu-gig*, and to *Lul dam SANGU.GAR*, all of them designated as *lu su.A-me*.⁷² Columns iii and iv of the same text enumerate wool rations to various persons designated as *gašam*(NUN.ME.TAG), "artisans."

3 and 4. Wool rations (*stg-ba*) to *Gim-áb-kid-kug-ga*, *Amar-ezen*, *A-agrig-zi*, *Šubur-^dBa-ú gala*, *A-en-ra-du*, and *Nin-é-Ninni*. Total of 70 minas of wool rations to *lu su.A-ne*.⁷³

⁶⁷ Deimel *op. cit.* 5 ii, 7 v, 57 ii, 60 iv; Jestin *op. cit.* 1 vi, 7 rev. iii.

⁶⁸ Jestin *op. cit.* 2 iii, 102 rev. ii, 115 i. Read name perhaps *Du₆-du₆*.

⁶⁹ That *šubur* at Fara means "slave" is rather unlikely, because that value of the logogram is attested in a syllabary only (pp. 23 f.) and because *arad* is the normal term for "slave" in the Fara texts.

⁷⁰ E.g. H. de Genouillac, *Tablettes sumériennes archaïques* (Paris, 1909) p. 119, under *Šaḫ*.

⁷¹ Allotte de la Fuyé, *Documents présargoniques II 1* (Paris, 1912) 161 i and ii; text transliterated by Deimel in *An. Or. II* (1931) 13.

⁷² VAS XIV 106 i and ii; text transliterated by Deimel *op. cit.* p. 67.

⁷³ Two unpublished tablets, almost identical, VAT 4431 and 4479, transliterated by Deimel in *An. Or. II* 56, Nos. 17 and 20. VAT 4479 was previously transliterated by Deimel in *Orientalia IX-XIII* (1923-24) 165.

5. Fields to twenty men, all bearing good Sumerian names, followed by the total, 144 *gán-sar-a gán* *SU.A*^{K1} *ba-gà-gà-ne*.⁷⁴

In these tablets, then, we find *lú* *SU.A* of the *ensi*, *lú* *SU.A-me*, *lú* *SU.A-ne*, and fields of *SU.A*^{K1}; thus in four cases *lú* *SU.A* is used as an ethnic or professional designation, and in one *SU.A*^{K1} is evidently a topographic name.

Deimel was the first to call attention to some of these cases, and he offered various tentative explanations. The *lú* *SU.A* might be "auf lange Zeit angestellte Leute" or even "Zins-, Steuerbeamter."⁷⁵ In another place he thought that the *lú* *SU.A* "gehören zum Kultpersonal" but added that "Näheres ist noch zu erforschen."⁷⁶ Elsewhere he called attention to the occurrence in some pre-Sargonic tablets of *túg* *SU.A*,⁷⁷ which he translated as "Pelzkleid" or "Zottelpelzrock."⁷⁸ The *lú* *SU.A*, according to Deimel, therefore, would be persons participating in religious ceremonies in the temple and wearing the *túg* *SU.A*, which would be a kind of official garment ("Amtstracht") or even a kind of "Orden."⁷⁹

It is unnecessary here to go into all the details of the various translations offered by Deimel for *lú* *SU.A*, chiefly because, as Deimel himself admits, all his interpretations were simply suggestions. It has been shown on pages 25 f. that *SU*(.A^{K1}) of the Ur III period are Subarians. As far as I know, there is nothing in the texts to prevent us from interpreting *SU.A* of the pre-Sargonic tablets also as Subarians. *SU.A*^{K1} would then be a site named after the Subarians, and *túg* *SU.A* would be a Subarian garment. However, the fact that persons designated as Subarians in these tablets all bear good Sumerian names and even belong to the family and the court of the *ensi* of Lagash should perhaps be taken to mean that in this period, just as in the earlier Fara period, "Subarian" could be not only an ethnic term but also a professional designation. The traces of *SU.A* around Lagash again indicate that survivors of a very old Subarian settlement had become so thoroughly assimilated with the Sumerians that they had come to bear Sumerian names and take part in Sumerian life just like the Sumerian population proper.

Subartu as a foreign political unit appears first in an inscription of Lugal-annimundu of Adab⁸⁰ preserved only in copies of the much later 1st dynasty of Babylon. In some obscure passages it mentions the bringing of tribute by rulers of the Cedar

⁷⁴ Unpublished tablet VAT 4443, transliterated by Deimel in *Orientalia* VI (1923) 15, No. 166. Cf. also A.ŠÀ *SU.A* from the Sargonic period, referred to below, p. 37.

⁷⁵ ŠL II 7:2, end.

⁷⁶ *Orientalia* IX-XIII 165.

⁷⁷ Luckenbill, *Inscriptions from Adab* (OIP XIV) 49 i 6, ii 1, 4, 7, 10, iii 3, 5, 7, 9, viii 1, 6; CT V 3 i 5; XXXII 8 ii 2 and rev. iA 6.

⁷⁸ An. Or. II 23.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ On his position in Sumerian history see Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List* (AS No. 11 [1939]) pp. 102 f.

Mountains (*kur* ^{viš}*erin-na*), *Elam*^{KI}, *Mar-ḫa-ši*^{KI}, *Gu-ti-um*^{KI}, *Su-bir₄*^{KI}, *Mar-tu*, *Su-ti-um*^{KI}, and the mountains of Eanna (*kur* *Ē-an-na*).⁸¹ Note the position of Subartu between Marḫaši and Gutium, situated in the eastern part of the Mesopotamian area, and Amurru and Sutium, situated in the western part.

Under Eannatum, an early *ensi* of Lagash, come the first contemporary historical references to Subartu. This land is mentioned three times in his inscriptions. In the first case Eannatum speaks of having subdued Elam, *Šubur*^{KI}, and Urua;⁸² in the other two cases only the subjugation of Elam and *Šubur* is mentioned.⁸³ The context in which these conquests appear offers nothing for the localization of Subartu; but, since Eannatum was only a local ruler of Lagash and not a world conqueror, his conquests (or really perhaps simple raids) must have occurred in portions of Elam and Subartu not too far distant from Lagash.

OLD AKKADIAN PERIOD

During the rule of the dynasty of Agade Babylonia attained for the first time the status of an empire. The rapid expansion of the state soon brought the Akkadians into bellicose contact with the Subarians. All our direct historical sources pertaining to Subartu in the Old Akkadian period are either late copies of older originals or late compositions referring to events of earlier periods. Only the economic documents of the Old Akkadian period give us original contemporary material.

According to a late chronicle Sargon of Agade (2276–2221) attacked the land Subartu (*‘SU.BIR₄*^{KI}) and defeated it.⁸⁴ The defeat of Subartu (with same spelling) is again reported in late omens relating some of Sargon’s deeds.⁸⁵ Subartu (with same spelling) is also mentioned in a geographic treatise, known in a late copy from

⁸¹ Text discussed by H. G. Güterbock in ZA XLII (1934) 40–47 and by Ungnad, Subartu pp. 31 and 36 f.

⁸² Thureau-Dangin, SAKI p. 22 A vi 17 f. (on reading *šUBUR* instead of Thureau-Dangin’s *šAG* see p. 24); Ungnad, Subartu pp. 38 f.—The reading Urua for the signs *URU+A*^{KI} is proved by comparison of the following spellings in the pre-Sargonic, Sargonic, and Ur III periods: (1) *URU+A*^{KI} (Drevnosti III 2 No. 310 rev. iv 7 [pre-Sargonic]; PBS XV 41 xii; Mém. XIV 19 rev. 17 and 21:5; etc. [Sargonic]; ITT II 1 No. 778; TCL II 5515:8 [Ur III]). (2) *‘Dumu-zi URU+A-a* (Schneider in *Orientalia* XLVII–XLIX [1930] 369:11; TCL V 5672 i 21, iii 19, 21; etc.). (3) *‘URU-a*^{KI} (ITT IV 7980; V 9679, 9840, 9989 [transliterated as *URU-ú-a*^{KI}]; etc.). (4) *‘URU+A-a*^{KI} (HSS IV 58 obv. 6 and rev. 3; 61:9; etc.). These four spellings *URU+A*^{KI}, *URU+A-a*, *‘URU-a*^{KI}, and *‘URU+A-a*^{KI}, as well as others less important not quoted here, show that the original form of this name was *URU+A* and that in the course of time two other syllabic signs were added, one in front and one at the end of *URU+A*, to make clear its reading. Thus the full form *‘URU+A-a* should really be transcribed as *‘uru+a^a*. From the frequent occurrence of Urua in connection with Sabum, Šušum, Adamdun, etc. (e.g. ITT II 1 No. 778; IV 7980; V 9679 and 9840) we are probably justified in locating Urua near Elam proper.

⁸³ Thureau-Dangin *op. cit.* p. 18 vi 10 and p. 24 D ii 2; Ungnad, Subartu p. 39.

⁸⁴ L. W. King, *Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings II* (London, 1907) 7; Ungnad, Subartu p. 41.

⁸⁵ King *op. cit.* pp. 36 and 43; Ungnad, Subartu pp. 41–43.

Assur, which gives the boundaries of lands evidently conquered by or under the domination of a certain Sargon.⁸⁶ It is very probable that this is our Sargon of Agade and not Sargon I of Assyria as thought by Forrer.⁸⁷ But the text has to be handled cautiously since—as noted by Forrer—among the lands it mentions are Edamarus, Īamutbalum, Raḥabut, etc. which are unknown from the Sargonic period. Hence we must allow for editorial additions by later scribes.

In a late Ur copy of an inscription of Narâm-Sin (2196–2160), the fourth king of the Agade dynasty, he calls himself the ruler “of all Elam up to Baraḥšum and of Šubartum up to the Cedar Forest.”⁸⁸ It would seem that, while Elam extended from somewhere in the east to Baraḥšum on the west, Šubartum extended westward from Baraḥšum to the Cedar Forest.⁸⁹ Although the exact location of Baraḥšum cannot be established at present, it should lie somewhere in the mountains northwest of Elam and east of the Diyala River.⁹⁰ In view of the fact that Amanus is called the Cedar Mountain(s) in a second inscription of Narâm-Sin⁹¹ as well as in one of Gudea,⁹² it would seem natural to assume that the Cedar Forest was situated in the Amanus Mountains around Alexandretta, which would thus mark the western boundary of Subartu in Narâm-Sin’s time.⁹³ However, there are two difficulties with

⁸⁶ KAV 92:3 and 37.

⁸⁷ See on this problem Gelb, IAV p. 5, n. 48.

⁸⁸ *Mât Elamtim*^{K1} *ga-lî-sa-ma a-lî-ma Ba-ra-aḥ-šim*^{K1} *ù mât šUBUR**Su-bar-tim* ^{K1} *a-lî-ma iškîšti išerinim*, URI 274 i 6–16; Ungnad, Subartu pp. 43 f. *Su-bar-tim* in this inscription is a gloss which gives the pronunciation of the important logogram šUBUR (see pp. 23 and 28). On s for š see p. 30, n. 55. An Old Babylonian copy from Nippur likewise has *ga-lî-sa-ma*, not *e-nî-ir-ma* as read by E. Unger in *Istanbul Asiatika Müzeleri Neşriyatı XII* (1934) 48 and after him by Ungnad, Subartu p. 43, n. 4.

⁸⁹ This extent of Subartu is perhaps supported by a text discussed on p. 105, which may refer to Subarians of Marḥaši.

⁹⁰ The form *Ba-ra-aḥ-šum/šim*^(K2) found in historical inscriptions dealing with the Old Akkadian period (PBS IV pp. 186–89, 197 f., 201 f., etc.), with later gen. writing *Ba-ra-aḥ-šî-im*^{K1} (under Ilum-mutabbil, CT XXI 1 No. 91084:16) and gentilic pl. *Ba-ra-aḥ-šî-ù* (Old Akkadian, Mém. XIV Nos. 18:13 and 23:7), corresponds to the form *Mar-ḥa-šî*^{K1} found frequently in the Ur III (e.g. ITT II 1 No. 875; II 2 No. 3802; IV No. 7084) and the Hammurabi period (cf. e.g. below, p. 41). *Mar-ḥa-šî* occurs also in the texts ITT I p. 15 No. 1232 and II 2 p. 48 No. 5811, transliterated only and assigned to the Old Akkadian period by the editors, and in a text published by Fish, CST 8 i 2, whose date is uncertain. The geographic identity is apparent from the normal occurrence of all these forms in connection with Elam. The intermediate phonetic link between old Baraḥšum and later Marḥaši is the form *Ma-ra-aḥ-šî*^{K1} found once in connection with Elamites in an Ur III text (Thureau-Dangin, RTC 385:11 and 13). In a later period we find still another form, Paraši, in such equations as Sumerian *ur Mar-ḥa-šî*^{K1} = Akkadian (*kalab*) *Pa-ra-šî-e* (Landsberger, Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamien . . . p. 6:84) and Sumerian *na⁴duš-šî-a Mar-ḥa-šî* = Akkadian (*dušî*) *Pa-ra-šî-e* (TCL VI 36:27). On the location of Baraḥšum = Marḥaši = Paraši cf. Albright in JAOS XLV (1925) 232; Weidner in MAOG IV (1928–29) 230; URI pp. 4 and 73; Speiser, Mes. Or. p. 31; Ungnad, Subartu pp. 44 and 116; Cameron, HEI p. 23, n. 6.

⁹¹ URI 275:22–24.

⁹² Thureau-Dangin, SAKI p. 68 v 28.

⁹³ See Gelb, IAV p. 4, n. 37.

this reconstruction: (1) no other early source indicates that Subartu extended as far west as North Syria; (2) there may be Cedar Forests and Cedar Mountains elsewhere in the Near East than in the Amanus region.⁹⁴

In column ii of the first-mentioned inscription of Narâm-Sin the *ensi's* of šUBUR^{KI} and the lords of the Highlands (*bēlū a-lī-a-tim*) are stated to have brought offerings to him while he was proceeding—by a way which no king before him had traversed—to Talḥat, situated somewhere on the way to Anatolia.⁹⁵ Elam and Subartu are again mentioned together in a late Sumerian composition referring to the reign of Narâm-Sin,⁹⁶ and a defeat of Subartu (*dannat Su-bar-ti*), Gutium, Elam, Tilmun, Magan, and Meluḥḥa by Ummān-Manda(?) during his reign is described in a late Assyrian legend.⁹⁷

A Nippur copy of an inscription of some Old Akkadian king mentions UN šUBUR^{KI},⁹⁸ which can be understood as meaning “people of Subartu” or “land of Subartu,” since in this period the sign UKÙ is no longer distinguished from the sign KALAM. It is important to note that *Ri-mu-uš*^{KI}, situated in the vicinity of Nineveh,⁹⁹ is mentioned in the same text two lines above šUBUR^{KI}.

From the records of Old Akkadian kings just discussed we can infer that Subartu in this period lay somewhere between Baraḥšum/Marḥaši near the Diyala River on the southeast and the borders of Anatolia on the northwest. Its broad territory included cultivable land between the Tigris and the mountains as well as wild areas in the mountains to the east. That Sargon's conquest of Subartu must have included territory later forming Assyria proper is evident from the fact that two successors of Sargon, namely Man-ištušu (2211–2197) and Narâm-Sin, held the cities of Nineveh and Assur.¹⁰⁰ Therefore Narâm-Sin's text in which he speaks of tribute brought by

⁹⁴ Observe that Cedar Mountains are mentioned regularly immediately before Elam in the inscription of Lugal-anni-mundu (pp. 33 f.), that they come just before Marḥaši in a geographic text (II R 50:65 c-d), and that they are connected with Ḥamanu (Amanus), Ḥabur (in central Mesopotamia), Ḥasur (in the Zagros Mts.), and Sirara (in North Syria) in a text listing various lands and their produce (II R 51 No. 1:3 f.). Occurrences of Ḥasur quoted by Albright in AJSL XXXV (1918/19) 176 ff., as well as other reasons, do not favor its location in Tūr 'Abdīn where Albright places it (*ibid.* p. 179).

⁹⁵ The reading *a-na Tal-ḥa-tim*^{KI} for *a-na ri-ḥa-tim*^{KI} follows Goetze in JAOS LVII (1937) 107, n. 8. Talḥad/t is frequently mentioned in the Cappadocian tablets and was renowned for garments named after it (cf. e.g. J. Lewy, *Die Kültepetexte aus der Sammlung Frida Hahn*, Berlin [Leipzig, 1930] p. 47, commentary on line 4, and Gelb, IAV No. 62:43). For a summary of connections between the Highland(s) and Subartu see below, pp. 92 f.

⁹⁶ See Güterbock in ZA XLII 27 and 31. Subartu is written *Su-bir*₄, with an important variant *Su-būr-e*^{KI}, TCL XVI 66 rev. 16 and 64:50 respectively. See also Ungnad, Subartu pp. 44 f.

⁹⁷ CT XIII 44 ii 8 f.; Ungnad, Subartu p. 45; Güterbock in ZA XLII 70–72.

⁹⁸ RA IX (1912) 34 rev. iii 3. ⁹⁹ On location of Rimuš north of Nineveh cf. pp. 58 f.

¹⁰⁰ Man-ištušu built the temple of Eštar in Nineveh (R. Campbell Thompson in AAA XIX [1932] 105 f.); and an inscription of his was discovered at Assur (MDOG No. 73 [1935] pp. 1 f.), just as an inscription of Narâm-Sin comes from Nineveh (J. P. Naab and E. Unger, . . . Die Ent-

ensi's of Subartu and of hitherto untraveled roads refers not to cultivable areas in Assyria but to the mountains east of it.

In contrast to historical narratives the economic texts furnish few indications as to the geographic limits of Subartu and the Subarians in the Old Akkadian period. One unpublished Old Akkadian business document (Tell Asmar 1931:T.97) now in the Oriental Institute, Chicago, refers to silver which Ikkūnum took to ŠUBUR^{KI}.¹⁰¹ Another inscription of similar type and from the same period mentions ŠUBUR *en-si*.¹⁰² here ŠUBUR is used as a personal name just as in the preceding Fara and pre-Sargonic periods (pp. 31 f.). Unpublished business tablets from the Diyala region (OIM A 7816, 7845, 7881) mention a woman named *Su-ba-ri-tum*, "the Subarian (woman)." An Old Akkadian tablet soon to be published refers to a man called *Gal-bum* (= Kalbum) *DUMU Su-ba-ri-im*.¹⁰³ Another interesting tablet (Tell Asmar 1931:T.12a frag. 38) mentions twelve Subarians belonging to Šūruš-kên (*12 Su-ba-ri-ù šu-ut Su-ru-uš-ġi*).¹⁰⁴ A slave called *Su-ba-ri-a* has long been known from a Telloh tablet.¹⁰⁵

On the *SU.BAPPİR* of this period, who might be Subarians, see pp. 27 f.; here also belongs a unique reference to *A.šà SU.A* in a tablet of the Sargonic period.¹⁰⁶

Within the area assigned above to Subartu lay the ancient city of Gasur, known as Nuzi in the middle of the 2d millennium B.C. (pp. 7 f.). Old Akkadian tablets discovered there contain some five hundred personal names, many of which are neither Akkadian nor Hurrian (cf. p. 53) but belong to a language or languages hitherto unidentified. It is possible that these names are in large part actually Subarian like those of Ur III and later assembled and discussed in Appendix II.

UR III PERIOD

Texts from the 3d dynasty of Ur form by far the largest group of sources pertaining to the Subarians. The great number of available sources is not proof for a correspondingly great expansion of the Subarians in this period but is merely the natural result of the immense number of extant Ur III tablets in general. Information about the Subarians comes in smaller part from the historical inscriptions than from the economic documents.

deckung der Stele des Naram-Sin in Pir Hüseyin [Istanbul, 1934] Pl. IV 6-7 [cf. Opitz apud Weidner in AOF VII (1931-32) 280]; this publication deals primarily with Naram-Sin's stela discovered near Diyarbekir in Anatolia).

¹⁰¹ *Lu-Šubur*^{KI} *ha-za-a-num*, "Lu-Šubur, the mayor," is mentioned in an undated tablet transliterated by Delaporte in ITT IV 7107 among texts from the Ur III period; but, since the ŠUBUR logogram is nowhere else used for Subartu in that period, the text is perhaps older.

¹⁰² ITT I 1077:2.

¹⁰³ Gelb, OAIFM 29:1 f.

¹⁰⁴ The tablet, broken away just before the line with *12 Su-ba-ri-ù*, is too small to have contained their names on the part broken away.

¹⁰⁵ ITT II 2, p. 47 No. 5798.

¹⁰⁶ Drevnosti V 22:2.

The Subarians are unknown from records of the early kings of the Ur III dynasty. Not until the time of Šū-Sin (1978–1970), the fourth king of the dynasty, do we find the first historical reference to them. Arad-Nanna, an *ensi* of Lagash, in an inscription preserved in two copies and dedicated to Šū-Sin, bears among many other titles that of *šagub lú su* (variant: *lú su^{KI}*) *ù ma-da Kar-da-ka* (variant: *Kar-da^{KI}-ka*), “governor of the Subarians and of the land Kardak.”¹⁰⁷ The exact location of Kardak is unknown, but it seems to have included broad areas north of Mosul and east of the Tigris.¹⁰⁸

The titles of Arad-Nanna as *ensi* of Lagash and governor of the Subarians under Šū-Sin, king of Ur, are in agreement with data obtained from a late Nippur copy of an inscription which begins with the words *u₄ ma-da Za-ab-ša-li^{KI} ù ma-da ma-da lú su^{KI}-ka mu-hul-a*,¹⁰⁹ “when the land Zabšali and the lands of the Subarians he devastated.” Since the date formula for year 7 of Šū-Sin tells of his devastating the land Zabšali,¹¹⁰ it is most likely that the Nippur tablet’s description of the devastation of Zabšali and of Subartu refers to the same event.¹¹¹ The southern extent of Subartu in this period can be deduced from its mention in connection with Zabšali, which is situated in the neighborhood of Elam.¹¹²

Revolts and disturbances within Babylonia and invasions from abroad during the reign of Ibbi-Sin (1969–1945) foreshadowed the fall of the 3d dynasty of Ur.¹¹³ Much light is shed on this period by Sumerian letters from the correspondence of Ibbi-Sin which can now be well integrated with the help of a large tablet acquired by the Oriental Institute.¹¹⁴ The main portion of this correspondence deals with the rise of Išbi-Irra of Mari, already at the head of Isin, and with the threatening expansion of this foreign usurper.¹¹⁵ Išbi-Irra conquered Nippur; he took captive *Zi-gu-um-e*,¹¹⁶ *ensi* of *Su-bir^{KI}*; and he plundered *Ḫamazi*.¹¹⁷ If the order in which these three

¹⁰⁷ Thureau-Dangin, SAKI pp. 148 ff., No. 22; Ungnad, Subartu p. 105, n. 4.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Speiser, Mes. Or. p. 115, and Ungnad *loc. cit.*

¹⁰⁹ PBS V 68 i.

¹¹⁰ Ungnad in RLA II 145.

¹¹¹ Cf. A. Poebel, quoted by Cameron, HEI p. 65, n. 63, and Jacobsen in AJSL LVIII (1941) 220, n. 4.

¹¹² Cf. Jacobsen *loc. cit.* Frequent mention of *Za-ab-za-li^{KI}* in texts from Susa (Mém. X Nos. 16:4; 25:3; 35:3) points toward its location near Elam. The form *ma-[da] Za-ab-za-li* is known from Babylonia also; see TMH N.F. I/II 93:8.

¹¹³ Cf. the historical sketch by Jacobsen *op. cit.* pp. 219–21.

¹¹⁴ OIM A 7475. This is the tablet referred to by E. Forrer in RLA I 231.

¹¹⁵ To Dr. Jacobsen is due my gratitude for help in reconstructing this story.

¹¹⁶ Forrer’s “Zigulae” (evidently he read *Zi-gu-la-e*) is really *Zi-gu-um(sic)-e* on the tablet. On this name see above, p. 19.

¹¹⁷ Written *Su-bir^{KI}-a* in gen.

¹¹⁸ Forrer’s statement that it was Zigulae who plundered *Ḫamazi* is evidently due to a wrong interpretation of the text.

regions were conquered is of any significance, then Subartu is situated somewhere between Nippur in Babylonia and Ḫamazi in the mountains east of Kirkuk.¹¹⁹

The capture of the Subarian ruler in no way stopped the expanding drive of the Subarians, for it was Subarians and Elamites (*lú su^{K1} Elam^{K1}*) who were instrumental in bringing the 3d dynasty of Ur to an end.¹²⁰ Even as king of Isin Išbī-Irra (1958–1926) again had trouble with the Subarians, as can be seen from the fact that he named one of his regnal years after a defeat of the Subarians and Elamites: *mu^a Iš-bi-Īr-ra lugal-e lú su.A ù Elam bi-ra*, “the year in which Išbī-Irra the king smote *lú su.A* and Elam.”¹²¹ A clay liver model from Mari refers to Subarians (written *Šu-ba-ri-ú*) who “sent a message to Išbī-Irra and (then) turned to the side of the other,” i.e., turned against Išbī-Irra.¹²² The facts given in these three statements fit together into a consistent picture if the terms *Su-bir₄^{K1}*, *lú su.A*, and *Šubari₄^{K1}* are interpreted as equivalents of one another (cf. p. 25).

The difficulties that the Babylonian dynasts had with Subarian incursions may be reflected in the year formulas on tablets from Tell Asmar dated perhaps to the time of Nuraḫum, *ensi* of Ešnunna, who was about contemporaneous with Ibbī-Sin of Ur and with Išbī-Irra of Mari and Isin. The years concerned were named after a defeat caused when “Tišpak, the king, struck a fissure in the head of Subartu(?)” (*^aTišpak lugal-e SAG+DU su.BAPPIR-a-ke₄ tu-ra bi-(in)-ra-a*).¹²³ Unfortunately it cannot be proved at present that *su.BAPPIR* denotes a country or, if it does, that it corresponds to *su.BIR₄^{K1}* = Subartu of other texts and periods (see pp. 27 f.).

The historical references to Subarians in the Ur III period are not specific enough to enable us to place them in exact geographic perspective. Subartu may have included in this period several different political or administrative units. Thus while the district of Assyria was ruled by Zariqum, a governor of Assur under Būr-Sin (1987–1979), the third king of the 3d dynasty of Ur,¹²⁴ the mountainous region to the east was governed by Arad-Nanna, who under Šū-Sin called himself “governor

¹¹⁹ On this localization of Ḫamazi see Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List* pp. 97 f., n. 166.

¹²⁰ See the reconstructed text edited by Samuel N. Kramer, *Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur* (AS No. 12 [Chicago, 1940]) p. 44:244, also BE XXXI 3 rev. 3 corrected by Kramer in *JAOS LX* (1940) 237.

¹²¹ F. M. Th. Böhl, *Mededeelingen uit de Leidsche verzameling van spijkerschrift-inscripties* (Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde, Deel 76, Serie B, No. 9 [1933]) p. 23 (used by Ungnad in *RLA II* 195). The same date also appears in F. J. Stephens, “New date formulae of the Isin dynasty,” *RA XXXIII* (1936) 14 and 24 (used by Ungnad *op. cit.* p. 256), whose reading *šU.A* has to be corrected to *su.A* according to a private communication to the author, and in an unpublished tablet cited by Jacobsen in *AJSL LVIII* 220, n. 5.

¹²² M. Rutten, “Trente-deux modèles de foies en argile inscrits, provenant de Tell-Hariri (Mari),” *RA XXXV* (1938) 43 f.

¹²³ H. Frankfort, S. Lloyd, and T. Jacobsen, *The Gimilsin Temple and the Palace of the Rulers at Tell Asmar* (OIP XLIII [1940]) pp. 170 f. (including correction slip) and 196.

¹²⁴ AOB I pp. 2 f.

of the Subarians and of the land Kardak" (p. 38). The latter region was never fully subjugated by the Babylonian kings, who had to be continuously on guard against invasions of foreign barbarians.

In contrast to the relative scarcity of material pertaining to the Subarians in the historical inscriptions of the Ur III period, contemporaneous business documents offer an exceedingly rich hunting ground. The references in them to Subarians and to several Subarian varieties of domesticated animals are listed and discussed in Appendix II.

It is rather difficult to determine the geographic distribution of the Subarian names of this period there listed, chiefly because, unlike the Hurrians (see p. 58), they are never mentioned in connection with definite geographic areas. Such a reference as that to Mamma of Bidara (p. 106), which seems to show that the Subarian name Mamma was in use just north of the Tigris River and east of Diyarbekir, is dated to the 1st dynasty of Babylon and even then is the exception rather than the rule. But on the basis of indirect evidence some Subarian names of the Ur III period—Dašuk, Garadadu, Kuzuzu, Lulu, Madatina, Šebba, Šušuk, and Zurzura—have been connected with areas in the Zagros Mountains. There evidently lay the center of the region occupied by the Subarians. Its western limit is marked by indirect connections of the Subarian personal names Šebba, Šušuk, and Zurzura with the territory north of the Tigris toward Armenia. Its eastern border is established by the Elamite connections of the names Addabuni, Iabrat, and possibly Raši. The territory thus circumscribed by occurrences of Subarian personal names accords with that of the land Subartu as implied by the contemporaneous historical sources.

In Appendix II we have listed and discussed only such Ur III names as were borne by persons actually called Subarians. But many more Subarians must surely have been mentioned in the Ur III texts, for they are full of references to persons and localities situated in the area defined above as Subartu. Very important in this connection are two *namrag* texts dealing with provisions for captured and enslaved foreign women and their children, fully discussed on pages 59 f. Though the original home of the captives is not stated, they seem to have come from Šašrum and Šuruthum (or Šarithum) in the region east of the Tigris. These texts contain about 150 personal names, out of which only about a dozen are Hurrian, Akkadian, or Sumerian. But what are all the rest? Where, for instance, do such feminine names as *Tu-a-šu-bar-bi*, *Hu-ru-ut*, *Ga-ra-du*, and *Ar-bi-al*¹²⁵ belong? May we not assume that these unidentified names are actually Subarian?¹²⁶

¹²⁵ TCL V 6039 i 1-4.

¹²⁶ After this had been written down two parallels were discovered which seem to favor this assumption: (1) The name *Ga-ra-du* of the *namrag* texts may be partially or fully identical with *Ga-ra-da-du hi su* (see pp. 101 f.). (2) The name *Ši-da-ba-ru* of the *namrag* text TCL V 6039 iii 17 and 21 is evidently identical with *Ši-da-ba-ri*, the name of one of the SU.BAPPİR (Subarians?) listed

OLD BABYLONIAN PERIOD

Hostile relations between Babylonia and Subartu continue under the 1st dynasty of Babylon, otherwise called the dynasty of Amurru. The reign of Hammurabi (1728–1686) is especially eventful. As usual for this period, our information comes chiefly from the year names rather than from actual historical inscriptions. These names, commemorating important wars and expeditions, have many references to Subartu. In historical order, these references are as follows: The name of the 30th year of Hammurabi mentions for the first time the repulse of the armies of Elam from Marḥaši, then the defeat of Subartu (SU.BIR₄^{KI}), Gutium, Ešnunna, and Malgium. His 32d year was named after the defeat of the armies of Ešnunna, Subartu, and Gutium and the conquest of Mankisum and of the bank(s) of the Tigris up to Subartu. His 33d year was named after the defeat of the armies of Mari and Malgium, in connection with which are mentioned also the cities of Subartu. In the name of his 37th year is mentioned the defeat of the armies of Turukkum and Kakmum and of the land (*kur*) of Subartu. Finally, in the name of his 39th year Hammurabi is reported to have subdued all his enemies up to the land of Subartu.¹²⁷

The only reference to Subartu in a historical inscription of Hammurabi is found in a fragmentary text from Ur, in which are mentioned the lands Elam(?), Gutium, Subartu (SU.BIR₄^{KI}), and Tukriš, whose mountains are distant and whose languages are complicated.¹²⁸

The dangers arising from the hostility of Subartu are evident from letters found at Tell Ḥarīrī. One of them, written by a certain Ibāl-pi-El to Zimri-Lim of Mari, tells how Hammurabi of Babylon keeps ordering the latter to go up to the land of Šubartum (*a-na ma-a-at^{KI} Šu-bar-tim e-li-ma*) to bring its kings to the side of Babylonia; but Ibāl-pi-El states that Zimri-Lim will not be able to do so without many soldiers.¹²⁹ In another Mari letter Zimri-Lim complains to Hammurabi at having received only 3,000 men, apparently for a war in the Highland (*mātum*

in an Old Akkadian text (see above, p. 27). Further comparison of the second name with *Še-el-ba-ri lu Gi-gi-ib-ni^{KI}* found in an Ur III text published by Genouillac in *Babyloniaca VIII* (1924) Pl. VII 30 rev. 1 yields little, because the place name *Gigibni* is otherwise entirely unknown.

¹²⁷ All these dates were collected and discussed by Ungnad in RLA II 180 f. and in his *Subartu* pp. 45–48.

¹²⁸ URI 146 iv. Stylistic and epigraphic reasons caused Ungnad, *Subartu* p. 48, to assign this inscription to Hammurabi. That he was right is proved definitely by reconstruction of lines 7 f. of fragment *d*, which read '[a]-na-ku 8[*Ha-am-mu*]-ra-bi. This fact escaped Ungnad's attention as well as that of the editors of the text.

¹²⁹ Thureau-Dangin in RA XXXIII (1936) 171–76, esp. lines 30 and 35, and Ungnad in *Orientalia N.S. VI* (1937) 19 f. The expression "to go up" refers to the ascent from lower to higher ground. The Cappadocian tablets tell of "going up" from lower Mesopotamia into higher Asia Minor, as mentioned in my IAV p. 12.

elítum).¹³⁰ On the relation of the Highland to Subartu see references summarized on page 93, n. 6.

In discussing the Mari letters Dossin remarks, but without giving either sources or explanation, that the Elamites sent strong contingents of troops to Subartu.¹³¹ As Elamites had been allied with Subarians previously (p. 39), it is possible that the troops now sent were to help the Subarians in a war against Hammurabi of Babylon and his Marian satellite Zimri-Lim.

The Ibál-pi-El mentioned above is an ambassador of Zimri-Lim and is doubtless different from Ibál-pi-El II of Ešnunna,¹³² likewise a contemporary of Hammurabi of Babylon, who named his own years after wars conducted against Subartu. On two tablets from Ishchālī appears a date, in one case in Akkadian, in the other in Sumerian, reading in full: "The year in which Ibál-pi-El seized the army of the land of Šubartum" (written *ma-at Šu-bar-tim* in Akkadian and *Su-bir₄* in Sumerian).¹³³

In order to understand the political situation of Subartu under Hammurabi we must try first to reconstruct the picture of previous years. Toward the end of the 3d dynasty of Ur many of the regions outside Babylonia proper formerly dominated by the kings of Ur gained their independence. Among them were Assyria, Mari, and Ešnunna, to name only those political units which are of immediate interest to us. Assyria enjoyed its first period of political expansion under such kings as Ilušumma (died 1875) and Sargon I (died *ca.* 1800), then was conquered by Šamši-Adad I (1748–1716), a dynast of Amorite origin. During his rule Assyria controlled vast territories, among them Syria, the region of Mari, and Ešnunna. After the death of Šamši-Adad the Assyrian empire broke up, as his son Išmē-Dagan I (1715–1676) was incapable of preserving its unity. Mari under Zimri-Lim and Ešnunna under Ibál-pi-El II became again independent. In Babylonia in the meantime rose the star of the great Hammurabi. Slowly he began to unite under his scepter the various kingdoms and principalities of Babylonia. Soon both Mari and Ešnunna became satellites, then were conquered and incorporated into the Babylonian state of Hammurabi. His great aim was the conquest of Subartu, which he achieved in the period between years 29 and 38 of his rule.

Subartu in the time of Hammurabi was not politically unified, for we hear of its "kings" (p. 41). It included both distant mountain areas with complicated language(s) (p. 41) and the cultivable land of Assyria proper. That Assyria was in-

¹³⁰ Referred to by Thureau-Dangin *op. cit.* pp. 176 f.

¹³¹ Syria XIX (1938) 122.

¹³² Who is mentioned in the Mari texts also; see Dossin in Syria XX (1939) 109 and C. F. Jean in *Revue des études sémitiques*, 1938, p. 130.

¹³³ H. F. Lutz, "Legal and economic documents from Ashjály," University of California Publications in Semitic Philology X 1 Nos. 58:20 f. and 23:18. The same date, with the spelling *Su-bir₄*^{K1}, is also found on a third tablet from Ishchālī mentioned in Frankfort, Lloyd, and Jacobsen, *The Gimilsin Temple and the Palace of the Rulers at Tell Asmar* p. 129, n. 55.

cluded is proved by several considerations: (1) Assyria as such is never mentioned in the Mari texts; therefore it may be assumed that for the Marians it is covered by the term Subartu. (2) The reference to kings of Subartu is paralleled by a reference to kings of the environs of Šubat-Enlil, i.e., of the city of Assur.¹³⁴ (3) The conquest of Subartu as described in the date formulas of Hammurabi is confirmed by certain indirect references in other sources to his control over Assyria. Thus in the introduction to his law code Hammurabi speaks of having returned to the city of Assur its gracious protecting deity and of having made glorious the name of Eštar in Nineveh,¹³⁵ and in a letter to Sin-iddinam he orders some troops to march out of Assur and join the force of a certain general.¹³⁶

But it is not only from year names and historical inscriptions that we draw our information about the Subarians in the period of the 1st dynasty of Babylon. Legal and administrative documents and even private letters are full of references to Subarians and especially to Subarian slaves, who must have been much in demand among the Babylonians.

On pages 105–7 in Appendix II are discussed Subarians of this period named Ribam-ili, Buzu[š?], Eštar-. . . , Mamma, and Ummi-Ḥepet. Much more often, however, Subarians appear without names. In one contract a Subarian slave girl (^{reš}amtum Šu-ba-ri-tum) is mentioned,¹³⁷ in another a light¹³⁸ Subarian slave (^{reš}wardam SU.BIR₄^{KI} nam-ra-am [acc.]).¹³⁹ In one account some money is listed as having been paid for (or to) a Subarian (*a-na Šu-ba-ri-im*),¹⁴⁰ while in another Subari-

¹³⁴ That Šubat-Enlil is the city of Assur has long been suspected, since this city was the residence of Šamsi-Adad (see e.g. Thureau-Dangin in RA XXXIV 135; Dossin in Syria XIX 112 f. and 115; Gadd in Iraq VII 23). The equivalence of the two names is rendered still more likely by the apparent lack of mention of the city Assur at Mari and by the probability that the *ḫuršu* of Šubat-Enlil mentioned in a Mari letter corresponds to the *bīt ḫuruš* of Assur mentioned by Adad-nīrāri I (1304–1273) (see Jean in Revue des études sémitiques, 1938, pp. 130 f.).

¹³⁵ Col. iv 55–64.

¹³⁶ Ungnad, Babylonische Briefe (Leipzig, 1914) No. 40. Koschaker's interpretation in ZA XLIII (1936) 214 f. is unacceptable to me.

¹³⁷ CT VIII 46:20; Ungnad, Subartu pp. 100 f.

¹³⁸ The usual translation of *namrum* when applied to living persons such as slaves, "light" in the sense of "light-colored, fair-skinned, fair-complexioned," was criticized by Speiser, *Mes. Or.* pp. 100–108, who preferred to translate the adjective in question as "bright" in the sense of "intelligent" (similarly Ungnad, Subartu pp. 104 f.). For this interpretation of *namrum* I can find no evidence in Akkadian literature. In favor of its usual interpretation as "light(-colored)" cf. ^{reš}amtam¹ na-wi-ir-tam ša i-in-ki 'mah¹-ra-at, "a light(-colored) slave girl who is pleasing to your eye" (VAS XVI 65:12 f.; for the translation see P. Kraus in MVAG XXXVI 1 [1932] pp. 59 f. and 217). It would seem that Speiser's and Ungnad's reaction against the normal interpretation of *namrum* as "light(-colored)" was caused by their assumption that Hurrians or Subarians belonged to the Armenoid race, which according to them could hardly be called light-colored. In reality we know nothing about the racial characteristics of the Subarians.

¹³⁹ F. E. Peiser in KB IV 44 No. III 8 f.; cf. also line 2; Ungnad, Subartu p. 101.

¹⁴⁰ CT VI 25 Bu. 91–5–9, 405:11; Ungnad, Subartu pp. 101 f.

ans (*Šu-ba-ru-ú*) receive quantities of an unknown substance.¹⁴¹ In one letter an order is given to sell a Subarian, evidently a slave (^{am}*Šu-ba-ri-i*, "my Subarian"),¹⁴² while in another letter one man asks another to buy for him two slaves belonging to a Subarian (*2 wa-ar-di Šu-ba-ri-im*) when he goes to Ešnunna.¹⁴³ In an obscure passage of still another letter we find *Šu-ba-ru-ú* UŠ.KU.¹⁴⁴ Again in a letter a request is made to send Subarians (*mārē^{pl} SU.BIR,^{KI}*) to Babylon;¹⁴⁵ and, lastly, in a contract one witness is called a son of *Šu-ba-ri-im*.¹⁴⁶

There are very few references to Subarians in the tablets from Elam. An *atap* (PAP+E) *Šu-ba-ri*, "canal of the Subarians," is mentioned in four texts from Susa.¹⁴⁷ Doubtful occurrences are *lú su?^{KI}*¹⁴⁸ and *48 udu Maškan-su?^A*.¹⁴⁹

KASSITE AND LATE BABYLONIAN PERIODS

Kassite.—With the growth of the Assyrian power in the north the weak Kassite rulers had little chance to wage any successful wars in foreign lands. Subarians are very rarely mentioned in texts of the Kassite period. If we except names of persons called ^m*Su-ba-ru-ú*¹⁵⁰ and *Su-bu-ri-i*. . . ,¹⁵¹ then there is only one reference to Subartu in the historical inscriptions of this period. On a *kudurru* from the time of Kaštiljaš III (1249–1242) is described a grant of a field by an earlier Kassite king, Kurigalzu III (1344–1320), to a certain man after he had seen him (performing valorous deeds) in the war against Subartu (*i-na si-íl-[ti] ša Su-bar-[ti]*).¹⁵² This is evidently the same war as that described in the Synchronistic History (p. 45).

A tablet from Malamir in Elamite territory names *Ú-du-uk-ki-la-la mārāt Hu-*

¹⁴¹ VAS VII 184 iii 3. Ungnad, Subartu p. 101, translates *Šu-ba-ru-ú* as sing. in spite of the fact that this is clearly a pl. form parallel to *šabū Ka-aš-šu-ú*, "Kassites," of the same text, col. v 6.

¹⁴² VAS XVI 19:7; Ungnad, Subartu pp. 102 f.

¹⁴³ Luckenbill in AJSL XXXII (1915/16) 285:12–16; Ungnad, Subartu p. 103, translates as "zwei subaräische Sklaven."

¹⁴⁴ TCL I 50:10. Ungnad, Subartu p. 102, translates "ein subaräischer Liturgist."

¹⁴⁵ VAS XVI 17:6–8; Ungnad, Subartu p. 103.

¹⁴⁶ Meissner, Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht (Leipzig, 1893) 37:30. Of other more doubtful occurrences of personal names in the same period cf. [Š]u-ba-ru-u[m] *mār Na-ra-am*[....] on a seal (A. Moortgat, Vorderasiatische Rollsigel [Berlin, 1940] 481:1 f.) and *Zu-ba-ri* from Chagar Bazar (Gadd in Iraq VII [1940] 42).

¹⁴⁷ Mém. XVIII 223:2 (=XXII 108); XXII 95:2; XXIV 369:2 (miscopied as *Šu-gur-ri*); XXVIII 452:1. For the formation cf. e.g. *atap A-mu-ur-ri*, "canal of the Amorites," in Mém. XXIII 169:43. On a possible *atap* A. 𒂗^{KI} in other texts from Elam see below, p. 96.

¹⁴⁸ Mém. II p. 133 = Mém. XVIII No. 36.

¹⁴⁹ Mém. XXVIII 511:1 = RA XXXI (1934) 172.

¹⁵⁰ BE XIV 99:47.

¹⁵¹ F. M. Th. Böhl in AOF II (1924–25) 63 rev. 1; cf. also the name *Su-bu-ri*[....] in PBF II 2 No. 91:4.

¹⁵² Mém. II p. 93 i 4 f.; Ungnad, Subartu p. 52.

ut-ra-ra lú su as a witness.¹⁵³ With Utukkilala cf. *Ú-du-uk-Ši-mu-ut* in a Susa document;¹⁵⁴ the name *Hu-ut-ra-ra* occurs again in another document from Malamir¹⁵⁵ and perhaps in one late Elamite text.¹⁵⁶ Whether the names Utukkilala and *Hu-ut-ra-ra* are Elamite is hard to say.

Late Babylonian.—Whenever Subartu is mentioned in Late Babylonian historical inscriptions the reference is clearly to Assyria. The three Late Babylonian kings Nabopolassar (625–605), Nebuchadrezzar II (605–562), and Nabonidus (556–539) occasionally used the term *SU.BIR₄*^(K1) for the land of Assyria and the gentilic form *Su-ba-ru-um* for the Assyrians.¹⁵⁷ The last reference to Subarians in Babylonian sources is found in an administrative document dated in year 1 of the Persian king Cambyses II (530–522).¹⁵⁸ The Cimmerians and Subarians mentioned there (*[^{am}Gi]-mir-ra-a-a u^{am}Su-bar-ra-¹a-a¹*) are evidently captives in Babylonia. Like the Cimmerians, the Subarian captives also may be non-Assyrian.

MIDDLE AND LATE ASSYRIAN PERIODS

Middle and Late Assyrian historical inscriptions refer frequently to wars with Subarians. In all these sources the Subarians are pictured as a people inhabiting broad areas to the north and west of Assyria proper.

Aššur-uballiṭ I (1362–1327 B.C.) is the first Assyrian king of whom it is stated (in inscriptions of his great-grandson Adad-nīrāri I) that he “destroyed the armies of the widespread Subarians (*māt Šu-ba-ri-e/i ra-pal-ti*).”¹⁵⁹

From the geographic point of view very important is a reference to Subarians in the Synchronistic History dealing with the relations between Assyria and Babylonia. After Enlil-nīrāri (1326–1317), king of Assur, defeated Kurigalzu III (1344–1320), king of the Kassites, they divided the lands lying between Šasili of the land of the Subarians and Karduniaš (*ul-tú Ša-si-li māt Šu-ba-ri [adi m]āt Kar-du-ni-áš*) and established the boundary line.¹⁶⁰ Since Šasili of this text is identical with Šá-si-la mentioned in an inscription of Tukulti-Ninurta I as situated on the other side (away from Assyria) of the Lower Zab (*e-be-er-ti^{1d}Za-be šu-pa-li-i*),¹⁶¹ it is evident that the “land of the Subarians” then included some territory south of the Lower Zab.

¹⁵³ Mém. IV p. 173 No. 3:28 (=XXII 72).

¹⁵⁴ Mém. XXVIII 438:13.

¹⁵⁵ Mém. IV p. 171 No. 2:2 (=XXII 71).

¹⁵⁶ Mém. XI p. 93 No. 301:10 (ref. due to Dr. Cameron).

¹⁵⁷ Stephen Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften* (Leipzig, 1912) pp. 60 i 29, [66 ii 1,] 146 iii 1, and 272 i 35; Ungnad, *Subartu* pp. 52–54.

¹⁵⁸ BE VIII 1 No. 80; Ungnad, *Subartu* pp. 54 f.

¹⁵⁹ AOB I 62–65; Luckenbill, *ARAB I* § 73; Ungnad, *Subartu* p. 55.

¹⁶⁰ CT XXXIV 38 i 18–23; Ungnad, *Subartu* pp. 59 f. Cf. also above, p. 44.

¹⁶¹ KAH I 16:18–20; Luckenbill, *ARAB I* § 149.

Adad-nīrāri I (1304–1273), grandson of Enlil-nīrāri, tells of wars against the Kassites, Gutians, Lullumians, and Subarians (*um-ma-an Šu-ba-ri-i*).¹⁶² His son Shalmaneser I (1272–1243) calls himself “conqueror of the Lullum/bians and of the Subarians” (*Šu-ba-ri-i*).¹⁶³

The most numerous and by far the most definite references to the Subarians in Assyrian historical sources come from the inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1242–1206), son of Shalmaneser I.¹⁶⁴ More important than such simple epithets as “conqueror of the land of the Subarians” are two kinds of statements found in his inscriptions. In the first kind he calls himself “king of the land of the Subarians (*māt Šu-ba-ri-i*) (and) Gutians and king of all the Nairi lands.” This statement suggests that in this period the land Subartu should be located in the vicinity of the land of the Gutians and of the Nairi lands. In several other inscriptions Tukulti-Ninurta speaks of the conquest of the lands Papaḫi,¹⁶⁵ Katmuḫi, Bušši, Mummi, Alzi, Madani, Niḫani, Alaja, Teburzi, Burukuzzi—all of the widespread land of the Subarians (*māt Šu-ba-ri-i*). It is evident from this statement that all these lands are small states included under the wider term “land of the Subarians.” The localization of these states is of great importance for delimiting the territory inhabited by the Subarians in the time of Tukulti-Ninurta I. Comparison of the places included in the land of the Subarians with Šuta, Waššukkanni, Irrite, Taida, Kaḫat, Ḫar-rān, etc. of Mittanni-Ḫanigalbat (pp. 71, 73, and 81) shows clearly that the two groups do not correspond with each other. That means that, if Mittanni-Ḫanigalbat is situated in Mesopotamia, the land of the Subarians in the time of Tukulti-Ninurta I has to be located elsewhere. These facts forced Forrer to look for the land of the Subarians in the area between the Taurus Range and the upper Tigris, where he locates most of the states listed under the comprehensive term “land of the Subarians.”¹⁶⁶

Of less importance are the references to Subarians in the later Assyrian historical inscriptions. The subjugation of the land of the Subarians (*māt Šu-ba-ri-i*) and the regaining of certain cities of Subartu (*ālāni^{pl ni} māt Šu-bar-te*) are described by Tiglathpileser I (1114–1076).¹⁶⁷ Tukulti-Ninurta II (890–884) speaks about the high mountains extending from the land of the Subarians (*māt Šu-ba-ri-i*) up to the lands

¹⁶² AOB I 56–59; Luckenbill, ARAB I § 73; Ungnad, Subartu p. 55.

¹⁶³ AOB I 134 f., 144 f., 146 f.; Luckenbill, ARAB I §§ 125, 134, 138; Ungnad, Subartu p. 55.

¹⁶⁴ Luckenbill, ARAB I §§ 142, 143, 149, 152, 155, 164, 170, 171, 190; Ungnad, Subartu pp. 55–57.

¹⁶⁵ The reading *Bab-ḫi-i*, instead of *Kūr-ḫi-i* as usually read, was suggested by E. Forrer in RLA I 255 and 328 f.; cf. also C.-G. von Brandenstein in ZA XLVI (1940) 97.

¹⁶⁶ RLA I 259. Cf. also the distinction between the Šubrian king and Ḫanigalbat cited above, p. 30, and by Ungnad, Subartu p. 122.

¹⁶⁷ Luckenbill, ARAB I § 226; Ungnad, Subartu pp. 57 f.

Gilzani and Nairi.¹⁶⁸ The last Assyrian king to speak about wars against the Subarians was Aššur-nāšir-apli II (883–859), who in several inscriptions mentions the conquest of the lands Nairi and Kirḫi, of the land of the Subarians, and of the land Nirbe.¹⁶⁹ Finally, Esarhaddon (680–669) calls himself king of the lands Subartu (*mât su.BIR₄KI*), Amurru, Gutium, and Ḫatti.¹⁷⁰

Contemporaneously with the land name Šubartu and the adjectival form Šubariḫū we find in the Assyrian sources the land name Šubria and the adjectival form Šubriḫū derived from it. While the last-named form is used in the Old Assyrian and also in the Middle Assyrian period (see pp. 29 f.), the corresponding land name is as yet known only in later Assyrian texts.

The land ¹Šub-ri-e makes its appearance in a historical inscription of Adad-nīrāri II (911–891) in connection with the cities Arinu, Turḫu, and Zaduri.¹⁷¹ The same form is found also in the so-called “Broken Obelisk” (of uncertain authorship) in connection with an expedition against ¹A-ri-me.¹⁷² Aššur-nāšir-apli II (883–859) refers often to this land, usually in connection with expeditions against Nairi, in the forms ¹Šub-ri-e and ¹Šub-ri-a-a.¹⁷³ ^mAn-ḫi-te/ti is known to have been its ruler at that time.¹⁷⁴ His capital, Ubbume, is mentioned later by Shalmaneser III (858–824).¹⁷⁵ Finally, ¹Šub-ri-a occurs in inscriptions of Esarhaddon (680–669), one of the last Assyrian kings, in connection with fugitives who had fled thither from Urartu.¹⁷⁶ Its king then ruling bears a Hurrian name, Inip-Tešup (see p. 83).

In Late Assyrian letters also this land name and its gentilic derivative are mentioned in the forms ¹Šub-ri-a,¹⁷⁷ ¹Šu-ub-ri-a-a,¹⁷⁸ and ¹Šub-ri-a-a.¹⁷⁹ Unique is the form ^{am}Šub-ra-a-a in another text from this period.¹⁸⁰ Perhaps here belong also ¹Šu-bur-a and ¹Šu-bur-a-a found in letters.¹⁸¹

The land Šubria seems to have been a small state situated between the Tigris and Lake Van.¹⁸² Its name clearly developed from the longer form Šubar- (p. 29).

¹⁶⁸ Luckenbill, ARAB I § 414; Ungnad, Subartu p. 58.

¹⁶⁹ Luckenbill, ARAB I §§ 482, 487, 508, 516; Ungnad, Subartu p. 59.

¹⁷⁰ Luckenbill, ARAB II § 668; Ungnad, Subartu p. 59.

¹⁷¹ Luckenbill, ARAB I § 362.

¹⁷² *Ibid.* § 390.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.* §§ 446, 447, 502, 551.

¹⁷⁴ The Nuzi name entered as Anḫiti in NPN cannot be compared here, for Dr. Purves has since discovered that its correct reading is T[i]-ḫi-ti-(la).

¹⁷⁵ Luckenbill, ARAB I §§ 614 and 645.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.* II §§ 592–607 and 612.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 507:7 and 705:7.

¹⁷⁷ ABL 1176:5, 7, 9, 20.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 138:14 and 19; 987:4.

¹⁸⁰ E. G. Klauber, Politisch-religiöse Texte aus der Sargonidenzeit (Leipzig, 1913) 44:10.

¹⁸¹ ABL 251:11, 19, 22 and 252:5.

¹⁸² Cf. E. Forrer, Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches (Leipzig, 1920) pp.86 f., and Ungnad, Subartu p. 112.

To what extent at different periods the land of the Šubrians corresponded to or differed from the land of the Subarians it is hard to say. It is possible that from the time of Aššur-nāšir-apli II on (p. 47) both terms were used to cover the same political unit. It is not surprising to find a small state Šubria as well as the more comprehensive Subartu or the land of the Subarians, for similar developments can be found throughout history. Compare for example modern Saxony and Franconia with the lands occupied in earlier periods by the Saxons and the Franks.

NON-MESOPOTAMIAN SOURCES

It is still very difficult to evaluate correctly the references to Subarians in non-Mesopotamian documents of the Kassite period because of the scarcity of material on the one side and textual difficulties on the other. The texts available have come from Amarna, Ra's Shamrah, and Boğazköy.

Amarna.—The Amarna tablets contain three references to the "land of the Subarians." In a letter from the people of Irqata to the Pharaoh it is said that thirty(?) horses and chariots were given "to the land of the Subarians" (*[a-na] mât Su-ba-ri*).¹⁸³ In another letter Rib-Addi, governor of Gubla, notifies the Pharaoh that the sons of Abdi-Aširta, king of Amurru, have taken horses, chariots, and people and turned them all over to the land of the Subarians.¹⁸⁴ In this case the destination is expressed by *a-na mât Su-ri*, in which the name is probably only a mistake for *Su-ba-ri* of the other tablets (see p. 3, n. 21). Finally, in a third letter, also from Rib-Addi, an officer is given "to the land of the Subarians" (*i-na mât Su-[b]a-ri*).¹⁸⁵ What is this "land of the Subarians" to which tribute was offered in the form of war horses, chariots, and soldiers?

Weber in his annotations to the Amarna tablets without hesitation identified the land of the Subarians with Mittanni in central Mesopotamia.¹⁸⁶ So did Speiser¹⁸⁷ and, more cautiously, Ungnad.¹⁸⁸ The reasons for this identification are not apparent in any of the texts;¹⁸⁹ it seems to have been based on the commonly accepted identification of Subarians with Hurrians. Actually, we need to know whether the Syrians interpreted Subartu in the Babylonian or in the Assyrian sense. If Subartu meant the same to the Syrians as to the Babylonians (and Marians; see p. 43), then it covered the territory northwest of Babylonia, including Assyria, which at that time was under the rule of the powerful Aššur-uballiṭ I (pp. 45 and 66 f.). If, however, the

¹⁸³ EA 100:20-23; Ungnad, Subartu pp. 49 f. The reading *Su-ba-ri* here and in the next two passages cited is not sure; *Zu-ba-ri* also is possible.

¹⁸⁴ EA 108:11-17; Ungnad, Subartu p. 50.

¹⁸⁵ EA 109:39 f.; Ungnad *loc. cit.*

¹⁸⁷ Mes. Or. p. 129 and AASOR XIII 23.

¹⁸⁶ EA p. 1194.

¹⁸⁸ Subartu pp. 49-51.

¹⁸⁹ Weber bases his statement on comparison with EA 101:10, Ungnad his on comparison with EA 86:10 ff. In these texts *Ṣi-ta-na* is alleged to occur in context implying equivalence with Subartu.

Syrians took the Assyrian point of view, then the land of the Subarians was a political unit, independent of Assyria, situated somewhere between the Taurus Range and the upper Tigris (p. 46).

Ra's Shamrah.—The only conclusion that can reasonably be drawn from the mention of both Hurrians and Subarians in one and the same tablet from Ra's Shamrah (pp. 20 f.) is that the Subarians in this period formed an ethnic or political element independent of Hurrians or Mittannians.

Boğazköy.—We know of only a few references to Subarians in the Boğazköy tablets. In a broken passage of one tablet we find somebody going to Kizwatna, Ḫalpa, *mât Šu-ba-ri-i*, and Kinza.¹⁹⁰ If the order is significant, then this text seems to place part of the Subarian land somewhere between Ḫalpa (modern Aleppo) and Kinza (Kadesh of the Old Testament, modern Tell Nebi Mend), both in North Syria. An occurrence of *Zu-pa-ri-i* in a letter sent by Ḫattušiliš III (ca. 1282–1260?), a Hittite king, to Kadašman-Enlil II, king of Babylon,¹⁹¹ cannot yet be evaluated with certainty because of broken context. Finally, *šarr mât Šu-bar-ti* is mentioned in a Hittite omen text.¹⁹² Since the land of Mittanni is always so designated in the Boğazköy texts (p. 70, n. 167), there is no reason to assume that the Subarians of these texts are really Mittannians or Hurrians.

¹⁹⁰ KBo I 22 rev. 4–7; Ungnad, Subartu p. 51.

¹⁹¹ KBo I 10 rev. 24. See translations by Luckenbill in AJSL XXXVII (1920/21) 203 and by Forrer in C. F. A. Schaeffer's *Ugaritica* (Paris, 1939) p. 41, n. 3.—A spelling analogous to *Zu-pa-ri-i*, with *zu* as *sú*, occurs possibly in the Amarna letters also (see p. 48, n. 183).

¹⁹² KUB VIII 35 rev. 12 f., cited by Ungnad, Subartu p. 52, n. 1.

IV

HISTORY OF THE HURRIANS

TERMINOLOGY

Our English terms Hurrian, Hurrite, and biblical Horite go back ultimately to a name used by the Hurrians themselves. The forms ⁽¹⁾*Hur-wu-(u)-hé-* and ⁽¹⁾*Hur-ru-u-hé-* found in the Tušratta letter¹ consist of the root *hurw-* (or *hurr-* with assimilation of *w* to preceding *r*) plus thematic vowel *u* plus Hurrian gentile ending *-hé*.² The Boğazköy texts use the Akkadian form *Hur-ri* as well as the Hittite cuneiform *Hur-la-* and its various derivatives.³ One Nuzi tablet has DUB.SAR *Hur-ru(m)* (p. 13); and a Ḫana tablet mentions ⁽⁴⁾*Da-gan ša Hur-ri* (p. 63).

In all these cases the sign ḪAR is used, which in the cuneiform system of writing has the values *har*, *her*, *hir*, *hur*, and probably also *hor*. Since the first and simplest value of this sign is *har*, the name of the people was at first read as Ḫarri, the alleged identity of this name with "Aryan" serving as support for the reading (see p. 4). Soon, however, it was shown that the ḪAR-*ri* could not be Aryans, because their language was not Indo-European. Consequently the reading Ḫarri was abandoned in favor of Ḫurri (see p. 4), for which there is much circumstantial evidence, although even now no decisive proofs exist.⁴

Ungnad observed some time ago that in Hittite cuneiform writing the sign ḪAR regularly interchanges with *hu-ur*, making according to him the reading Ḫurri in Boğazköy texts practically certain.⁵ To this can be added Opitz' observation that Egyptian names compounded with the geographic element *H³rw* (= *Hr*) are always rendered as *-huru/a* in cuneiform writing.⁶

There are many proper names evidently based on the root *hurr-* which by their unambiguous spelling with *u* speak in favor of Ḫurri rather than Ḫarri. Lewy⁷ first drew attention to the fact that the Assyrian king Adad-nîrâri I mentions ^(c)*Hu-ur-ra* or ^(c)*Hu-ra* or ^(c)*Hur-ra* among the cities conquered by him in Mesopotamia.⁸ The

¹ Examples are quoted below, p. 73, n. 198.

² Cf. Friedrich in *An. Or.* XII (1935) 122-28.

³ F. Sommer, *Die Aḫḫijavâ-Urkunden* (Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-hist. Abt., N.F. VI [München, 1932]) pp. 42-48 and 385-87.

⁴ The evidence available up to 1933 was summarized by Goetze, *Kleinasiens*, p. 57, n. 2, and shown to favor the reading Ḫurri.

⁵ ZA XXXV (1924) 133, n. 1; XXXVI (1925) 101, n. 1.

⁶ ZA XXXVI 81.

⁷ ZA XXXV 145, n. 4.

⁸ See now E. F. Weidner in *AOB I* (1926) 58:10 and *AOF V* (1928-29) 90:32.

name of the same city occurs in the form *Hu-ur-ra-a^{kt}* in the correspondence from Mari⁹ in connection with *I-la-ḫu-ut-tim^{kt}*, which is Eluḫut in northern Mesopotamia. According to Güterbock *ḫu-ru-uh-ḫi-iš*, mentioned together with *A-ši-ḫi* in an Akkadian text from Boğazköy,¹⁰ may perhaps mean "the Hurrian (city)."¹¹

A divine name *Ḫurra* occurs in the Nuzi personal name *A-ri-ip-ḫu-ur-ra* and its variants *A-ri-ip-ḫur-ra* and *A-rip-ḫur-ra*.¹² Speiser¹³ cites a god *ḫu-u-ur-ra* named in company with *ḫe-ri* in a treaty between Šuppiluliumaš (ca. 1380–1346) and Mattiwaza.¹⁴ *ḫu-u-ur-ri-iš* and *ḫe-er-ri-iš* were worshiped together as the divine bulls of the weather-god among the Boğazköy Hittites.¹⁵

The spelling *Ḫurri* with *u* finds support in the Hebrew form *Ḫōrī*, rendered as *Χορραῖος* in the Septuagint, and perhaps in the Egyptian form *Ḫ3rw*, which according to Albright's system of transliteration of Egyptian "syllabic writing" should be read as *Hu-ru*.¹⁶ No vowels are indicated in the Ra's Shamrah spelling *Ḫri* (p. 20). The reading *ḫur* seems again to be favored by the spelling of two names quoted by Hrozný:¹⁷ URU.BAD *Hu-u-ur-lu-uš-ša* in an unpublished Boğazköy tablet¹⁸ and *ḫu-u-ur-lu-u* in another Hittite tablet.¹⁹ All these examples together offer circumstantial evidence of sufficient weight to justify reading the name of the Hurrians in the form here given.

The fact that the name *Ḫurri* is syllabically written, whereas logograms are used for the name Subartu, is itself evidence of the relatively late appearance of the Hurrians, for the oldest city and regional names are predominantly written with logograms, while names that came into use after the syllabic aspect of cuneiform writing had been more fully developed are written with syllabic signs.

⁹ Dossin in RA XXXV (1938) 184 and in Syria XIX (1938) 115 and 122 f.

¹⁰ KBo I 11:5 f.

¹¹ ZA XLIV (1938) 136.

¹² In the Nuzi personal name *Hu-ur-bi-še-en-ni* (vars. *Ḫur-bi-še-ni* and *Ḫur-bi-še-en-ni*) we have a god's name found as *ḫu-ur-bi* in an Elamite treaty with Narâm-Sin (2196–2160) (Mém. XI p. 3 i 16; Cameron, HEI pp. 34 f. and 90) and as *Hu-ur-ba* in the name of *Hu-ur-ba-ti-la* (ca. 1330), a king of Elam (see pp. 54, n. 37, and 66). *Ḫurp-* may have developed by way of intermediate *Ḫurw-* into *Ḫurr-*. The god meant in all these cases would then be the eponymous god of the Hurrians. But the fact that *ḫurp* occurs in connection with Elam makes it doubtful whether that root should be included in this grouping. Observe that in the Tušratta letter the original form of the name of the Hurrians was presumably *Ḫurw-*, later *Ḫurr-* through assimilation (see p. 50).

¹³ AASOR VI (1926) 77, n. 6.

¹⁴ KBo I 1 rev. 41.

¹⁵ J. Friedrich, "Staatsverträge des Ḫatti-Reiches in hethitischer Sprache," MVAG XXXI 1 (1926) p. 165, n. 1, and MVAG XXXIV 1 (1930) p. 78:8.

¹⁶ The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography (New Haven, Conn., 1934) p. 54.

¹⁷ AO r I (1929) 92.

¹⁸ Bo 434 i 17.

¹⁹ E. H. Sturtevant in Transactions of the American Philological Association LVIII (1927) 24 i 2.

EARLIEST TRACES

As early as 1909 (see pp. 3 f.) Ungnad had proposed the theory of a Hurrian (then called "Mittannian," later "Subarian") substratum in the Near East. In 1930 (see pp. 6 f.) Speiser had believed that the Hurrians formed the original population of northern Mesopotamia, just as the Elamites were supposedly the first settlers of alluvial Babylonia. Then came the important discovery of Old Akkadian letters and administrative documents from Gasur (see p. 7), later called Nuzi, with some five hundred personal names, practically none of which (see below) could be called Hurrian in the sense in which we understand the majority of the personal names from the middle of the 2d millennium at Nuzi (see p. 6) to be Hurrian. This fact dealt a severe blow to Speiser's theory of a Hurrian substratum; it forced him to admit in 1933 that "the Hurrians were clearly new-comers who made their appearance at a comparatively late date" (see p. 8). In the regions where they settled they "supplanted other ethnic elements, though these too were largely 'Asiatic,' or 'Japhethite,'" to use Speiser's own expressions. The discovery of practically no Hurrian names at Gasur failed to change Ungnad's belief in a "Subarian" substratum in Mesopotamia; in his *Subartu*, published in 1936, he still upheld it and explained the scarcity of "Subarian" names at Gasur by claiming that it was a peripheral Babylonian military and commercial colony in which the natives played a very subordinate role.²⁰ In Ungnad's opinion Speiser's retraction in 1933 of his theory of a Hurrian substratum should be considered a backward step in comparison with Speiser's view of 1930, which Ungnad thinks did more justice to the "Subarians."²¹

To be sure, the Gasur tablets have some names whose elements appear in the later Nuzi personal names. The Gasur name *E-wa-rí-ki-ra*²² may contain the element *ewar* found at Nuzi in *Ewar-kari*, *Ewara-kali*, *E/Iw/mara-tupi*, and *Ewari*. But this appears also in Ur III and Cappadocian texts, at Qatna, and in Boğazköy Hittite.²³ Moreover, the second element, *kira*, is not attested, in that form at least, at Nuzi. The Gasur name *A-li-a-šar*²⁴ resembles Nuzi *A-al-li-e-šar*, which may, however, have a non-Hurrian background.²⁵ Both elements in the Gasur name *A-ri-ḫu-ḫa*²⁶ occur at Nuzi; the first element, *ari*, is well known in Hurrian; the second, *ḫuḫa*, though it occurs in Nuzian *Niṣ-ḫuḫa*, may not be Hurrian.²⁷ In the

²⁰ *Subartu* p. 136, n. 1.

²¹ *Ibid.* p. 132, n. 5.

²² HSS X 185 ii 3.

²³ See NPN pp. 211 f.

²⁴ HSS X 185 ii 6 and 188 iii 3.

²⁵ Cf. NPN p. 251.

²⁶ HSS X 153 viii 4.

²⁷ The element *ḫuḫa* appears in the Ur III personal names *Šu-bi-iš-ḫu-ḫa* (Genouillac, TrD p. 9, transliterated only), *Šu-bu-uš-ḫu-ḫi* (Langdon, TAD 67:5 [read *-ḫu-ḫi* against *-mud/mut* of Langdon *op. cit.* p. 25; Schneider in *Orientalia* XXIII (1927) 184; Landsberger in *ZA* XXXV (1924) 229]), *Ip-ḫu-ḫa* the son of *Pu-ša-am* (Jean, *ŠA* LVIII 7), and simply *ḫu-ḫa* (*Orientalia* XVIII [1925] 15:4). Since the element *šubi/uš* used with *ḫuḫa* is not Hurrian, it seems logical to

Gasur name *Ki-ip-tu-ru*²⁸ both *kip* and *turu* may be Hurrian, although they appear at Nuzi in other combinations only. That such Gasur names as *Na-ni-a*,²⁹ *Zi-ge*,³⁰ and *Zu-zu*³¹ appear at Nuzi as *Na-ni-a/ia*, *Zi-ge-(e)* and *Zi-ki*, and *Zu-(ú)-zu* respectively is of little import, because such names are too short to offer any safe basis for comparison.

This short review of comparisons between the Gasur and the Nuzi personal names shows that there is little if any evidence of Hurrian personal names at Gasur in the middle of the 3d millennium B.C.³² Nevertheless, this point need not be overemphasized. The great majority of the Gasur names certainly cannot be called Hurrian in any sense of the word, but there are a few names whose elements may conceivably be Hurrian.³³ In any case, whether we admit the existence of Hurrian personal names at Gasur or not is really of no consequence, for the fact that all but a few at most of these early personal names are non-Hurrian shows conclusively that it is impossible to speak of a Hurrian substratum at Nuzi. The existence of such few personal names as might be considered Hurrian may conceivably be explained as marking the beginning of Hurrian infiltration into the Kirkuk region.

As stated above, the scarcity of Hurrian evidence at Gasur is interpreted by Ungnad as due to the exceptional character of that city as a Babylonian military and commercial colony. It is easy to see that A. Falkenstein's later revelation that the population of Assur in the Old Akkadian period was likewise largely Akkadian³⁴ would be similarly undisturbing to Ungnad, who could say that Assur, like Gasur, lies on the periphery of Hurrian territory. However, it would be much more difficult to explain evidence recently brought to light at Chagar Bazar and Tell Brak, both situated south of Mardin in the very heart of Mesopotamia.³⁵ The Old Akkadian tablets there excavated³⁶ contain a number of interesting but unidentifiable geographic

assume that *huḫa* too is not Hurrian, even though it appears in the Nuzian name Niš-*huḫa*. The word *hubḫaš*, "grandfather," occurs in both cuneiform Hittite (E. H. Sturtevant, *A Hittite Glossary* [2d ed.; Philadelphia, 1936] p. 50 and Supplement p. 21) and hieroglyphic Hittite (Gelb, *Hittite Hieroglyphs II* [SAOC No. 14 (1935)] 18). Cf. also *Hu-ḫa-an* from Chagar Bazar, Gadd in *Iraq VII* (1940) 38, and *Hu-u-ḫa-na-ni-i[š]* from Bogazköy in *KUB XXIII 68 rev. 19*, discussed by Goetze, *Kizzuwatna* p. 46.

²⁸ HSS X 129:11; 153 iv 31; 199:5.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 82:7; 98:2; 185 v 3.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 187 iii 11.

³¹ *Ibid.* p. xxxix.

³² As well noted already by Meek *ibid.* p. xii.

³³ It has been suggested above, p. 37, that many of the Gasur names may actually be Subarian.

³⁴ *ZDMG XC* (1936) 714.

³⁵ It has to be remembered that Ungnad, *Subartu* pp. 163 f., insisted on the fact that the center of Subartu lay around the headwaters of the Khabur.

³⁶ C. J. Gadd in *Iraq IV* (1937) 178 and 185 (Nos. A 391 and A 393); *VII* (1940) 60 f. and 66.

names: *A-ta-am-ḫu-ul^{ki}*, *Šù-uh-na^{ki}*, *Li-la-ap-šit-nám^{ki}*, *Šu-a-la^{ki}*, etc.; several good Akkadian personal names: *Ī-lī-iš-da-gal*, *Li-bur-be-lī*, *Šu-īd*, etc.; but hardly a Hurrian name.³⁷

In the period before the dynasty of Akkad probably no Hurrian names occur in Babylonia. The only possible examples, *Na-ni-a*³⁸ and *Ki-ku-lī*,³⁹ which I have been able to gather from the texts of this period are not persuasive. *Na-ni-a* may correspond to the Nuzi name cited above (p. 53), but it is too short to be of value for comparison. The second name if read correctly (*Ki-ku-ni* also is possible) would correspond to ^m*Ki-ik-ku-li*, name of the Mittannian author of a famous treatise on horse-training discovered at Boğazköy.⁴⁰ Ungnad thinks that the latter name, analyzed by him as *kik+ul+e*, is "Subarian" (i.e., Hurrian).⁴¹ But even though the elements *kik(k)* and *-ul* (cf. p. 19, n. 37) might be good Hurrian, the name as a whole cannot be Hurrian, because the ending *-e*⁴² would then be attached to a verbal form ending in *-ul*, making a combination entirely unknown and, I believe, impossible in the Hurrian language. Evidently neither the pre-Sargonic *Ki-ku-lī* nor the Mittannian ^m*Ki-ik-ku-li*⁴³ is Hurrian, but both names belong instead to some still unknown language.

Even from the Old Akkadian or Sargonic period the evidence for Hurrians in Babylonia is still relatively very scarce. In a Khafājah tablet⁴⁴ appears a personal name *Dup-ki-a-šum*, which may be subdivided into *Tupki-ašum*. Though *tupki* is good Hurrian (see pp. 112 f.), the second element seems not to be found in Hurrian personal names.⁴⁵ Occurrences of the name of Tišpak, the chief god of Eš-

³⁷ One possible but doubtful exception is *Ḫa-bi-ra-am*, which occurs at Nuzi as *Ḫa-bi-ra* and *Ḫa-bi-i-ra*. On the ending *-am* see below, p. 115. The element *ḫapir* occurs in the Nuzi name *Ḫa-bi-ir-ti-la*; but whether it is Hurrian is uncertain, since the element *tilla*, very common in Hurrian personal names (*Akip-tilla*, *Ḫašip-tilla*, *Šurki-tilla*, etc.), seems also to be used in the Elamite names *Ḫurpa-tilla* (p. 66; on *ḫurpa* as perhaps Elamite see p. 51, n. 12) and *Kuk-tilla* (*Mém. IV 15:19 = XXII 76*; *kuk* is Elamite because of its occurrence in the names *Ku-uk-In-zu-uš-na-ak*, *Mém. X 100:7*; *122:8*; *Ku-uk-Na-ru-di*, *Mém. IV 16:21 = XXII 52*; *Ku-uk^d-Na-šu-ur*, *Mém. XVIII 222:15 = XXII 86*; *XVIII 228:16 = XXII 37*; etc.).

³⁸ H. de Genouillac, *Tablettes sumériennes archaïques. Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la société sumérienne* (Paris, 1909) 44 ii 6.

³⁹ Allotte de la Fuyë, *Documents présargoniques, fasc. suppl.* (Paris, 1920) 585 ii 2; *ITT II 2*, p. 49 No. 5838 (Genouillac reads *Ki-ku-lī* and assigns the tablet to the Sargonic period); *V Pl. 66 No. 9201 i 1*; *Pl. 70 No. 9208 rev. ii 1* (here written *Ku-ki-lī* for *Ki-ku-lī*).

⁴⁰ B. Hrozný, "L'entraînement des chevaux chez les anciens Indo-Européens d'après un texte mittannien-hittite provenant du 14^e siècle av. J.-C.," *AOr III* (1931) 431-61.

⁴¹ Subartu p. 147.

⁴² *NPN* p. 208.

⁴³ The writing of *kk* with single *k* would of course be normal in the pre-Sargonic period.

⁴⁴ *OIM A 22027*, to be published by the writer.

⁴⁵ Could the element *ašu* (or *šašu*?) in the Nuzian names *Ḫa-bi-a/ia-šu*, *Ḫa-ta-bi-a-šu*, ¹*Ku-ni-a-šu*, etc. be possibly related?

nunna,⁴⁶ and of a personal name Tišpakum, written ^d*Tišpak-kum* in the Old Akkadian period,⁴⁷ would be of importance for the Hurrian case if there should prove to be a connection between Tišpak of Ešnunna and the Hurrian god Tešup, as was suggested long ago by F. Hommel⁴⁸ and lately by Jacobsen,⁴⁹ and if it could be proved that Tešup was already at that time the Hurrian national god.⁵⁰ But too many difficulties are still involved to allow anything to be taken for granted.

Consideration of three Hurrian names in later texts referring to the Old Akkadian period brings us farther north, toward the Zagros Mountains. In a 2d-millennium copy of a legend describing Narâm-Sin's war against a coalition of kings (see p. 103) is mentioned a certain ^m*Pu-ut-ti-ma-da-al*, king of Šimurru.⁵¹ This name, divided *Puttim-atal*, goes back perhaps to a form **Puttum-atal*. The element *atal*, found at Nuzi, is good Hurrian; the first element, if *puttim* < *puttum*, would then correspond to the Nuzi name *Pu-ud-du* or *Pu-ut-tu*⁵² and to the first part of the Ur III name *Puttum-kiriš* (p. 113). In the same text (line 39) among the adversaries of Narâm-Sin appears ^m*Hu-up-šum-ki-bi*, king of Marḥaši, for whose name Purves suggests a Hurrian interpretation.⁵³ The name ^m*Ki-ik-li-pa-ta-al-li-in*, that of a king of Tukriš,⁵⁴ occurs in a late Hurrian text from the Boğazköy archives referring to events of the Old Akkadian period.⁵⁵ This name can perhaps be divided as *Kiklip-atal* plus a nominal suffix. In the second element Hurrian *atal* can easily be recognized. The first element, *kiklip*, ends in *-ip*, a well known Hurrian verbal suffix; but the root *kikl* to which the suffix is attached is unknown to me from other Hurrian sources.

⁴⁶ See T. Jacobsen in OIC No. 13, pp. 51–59, and Gelb, OAI FM introduction.

⁴⁷ E.g. in OIM A 7846; Tell Asmar 1931:T.6a frag. 31 and T.10a frag. 10. The same name appears in the Hammurabi period as *Te-iš-pak-um* (usually read *Te-iš-ḥu-um*; CT VIII 16 b 20) and as *Ti-iš-pa-ki-im* (gen.; CT VIII 45 a 27 and TCL I p. 67).

⁴⁸ Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients. 1. Hälfte (München, 1904) p. 39, n. 2.

⁴⁹ *Op. cit.* p. 52.

⁵⁰ Like the goddess Ḫepet (pp. 106 f.) the god Tešup may have been borrowed by the Hurrians from some other ethnic group.

⁵¹ Boissier in RA XVI (1919) 164:34 f.; Ungnad, Subartu p. 144.

⁵² On the function of the intervocalic *m* see NPN p. 232. Similar in formation is the name *Pu-su-ma-tal* discussed below, p. 111.

⁵³ With *kipi* Purves compares the Nuzian element *kip*, with *ḥupšum* the Hurrian word *ḥu-u-up-ši-ne-wa*, found at Boğazköy (NPN p. 227).

⁵⁴ First referred to by Forrer, 2 BoTU p. 25*; now published in KUB XXVII 38 iv 14; see also Güterbock in ZA XLIV (1938) 83.

⁵⁵ The same text refers to several Hurrian gods; see Güterbock *op. cit.* pp. 81 ff. Important but uncertain because of the break is the mention of *Ḫur-l[i]* (dat. sing.), alleged adversaries of Narâm-Sin, in a late legend from Boğazköy (2 BoTU 3:17 = KBo III 13:17); see Güterbock *op. cit.* pp. 70 f., 75, and 78 f.

To what extent late legends such as those in which these names occur can be utilized for the ethnic and historical reconstruction of earlier periods is a moot question. Even if we take it for granted that the main facts in these legends are correct, the reliability of the proper names as preserved in such sources remains in doubt. We cannot be certain that they were correctly transmitted through so many centuries.⁵⁶

If we take both age and reliability into consideration, then the most important source of early data on the Hurrians is doubtless the so-called "Samarra tablet."⁵⁷ The editor of this tablet,⁵⁸ and with him Ungnad,⁵⁹ believed that the tablet comes from the period between Agade and Ur III, while Landsberger⁶⁰ and Speiser⁶¹ place it earlier, in the Old Akkadian period. The tablet commemorates the dedication of a temple to the god Nergal of Ĥawilum by *A-ri-si-en*, king of Urkiš and Nawar and son of *Sá-dar-ma-at*. At its end it mentions *Sá-um-si-en*, the man who made the tablet. The names of all three men, the two rulers and the craftsman, are clearly Hurrian.⁶² Since *s* of this period expresses later *š*,⁶³ the three names have to be read and divided as *Ari-šen*, *Šatar-mat*, and *Šaum-šen*. A characteristic common to each of these names is the absence of a final vowel *i* or *e*.⁶⁴ At Nuzi these names would take the forms **Ari-šenni*,⁶⁵ **Šatar-mati*, and **Ša(i)um-šenni*. All five elements in these three names occur at Nuzi and can there be considered good Hurrian. The roots *ar* and *šen* are particularly common there. The first element of *Šatar-mat* occurs in Nuzian *Ša-ta-re-el-li*; the second appears in Nuzian *En-na-ma-ti*, *Na-wa-ar-ma-ti*, *Ni-nu-um-ma-ti*, *Ša-a-ú-um-ma-ti*, and *Te-šup-ma-ti* and their variants. Nuzian *Šajum-mati* has as its first element the same *šajum* seen in *Sá-um-si-en* on the Samarra tablet, and a form *šajū* occurs as final element in the Nuzi names *Ĥašip-šajū*, *Mušup-šajū*, and *Šurkup-šajū*.

⁵⁶ The probability that these late legends are reliable appears to be enhanced by references in an unpublished legend fragment (Tell Asmar 1931:T.729) from the Old Akkadian period to *Ip-ħur-Kiš^{KI}* and *Lugal-an-ni*, two personages appearing in the later legend copy published by Boissier, cited above. On the historical evaluation of the latter text, now in need of revision, see also H. G. Güterbock in ZA XLII (1934) 77-79.

⁵⁷ Published by F. Thureau-Dangin, "Tablette de Samarra," RA IX (1912) 1-4.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* p. 1. In a recent article, however, Thureau-Dangin dates the Samarra tablet in the Agade period (RA XXXVI [1939] 27).

⁵⁹ Subartu p. 143.

⁶⁰ ZA XXXV (1924) 228.

⁶¹ Mes. Or. p. 144.

⁶² As was recognized by Thureau-Dangin in RA IX 3 f. (name of dedicator); Landsberger in ZA XXXV 228 (the royal names only; called "Subarian"); Speiser, Mes. Or. p. 144 (the royal names only); Ungnad, Subartu p. 142 f. (all called "Subarian," of course).

⁶³ On this problem see above, p. 30, n. 55.

⁶⁴ As recognized already by Speiser *loc. cit.*

⁶⁵ Cf. the same name *A-ri-še-ni* in the Mari texts (p. 63).

From the same period or a little later we have a king of Karḫar whose name is probably to be read *An-ki-sa-a-tal*.⁶⁶ Though *atal* is a good Hurrian element (see p. 55 and *passim*), the first element, *ankiš* (if thus to be read), is uncertain.⁶⁷

In the foregoing discussion we have found Hurrian personal names connected with Marḫaši, Šimurru, and Tukriš according to later legends referring to the Old Akkadian period (p. 55) and with Urkiš, Nawar, and Karḫar according to texts actually written earlier than the Ur III period (above). Although all six sites are well attested in Mesopotamian sources, each is difficult to locate exactly. Marḫaši seems to lie in the mountains northwest of Elam and east of the Diyala River (see p. 35). The location of Šimurru in the neighborhood of modern Altın Köprü on the Lower Zab by B. Meissner⁶⁸ fits the occurrence of Šimurrians in a Gasur text,⁶⁹ because those texts refer normally to places in the vicinity of Gasur. Tukriš is situated somewhere north of Marḫaši.⁷⁰ The lands Urkiš and Nawar were placed by Thureau-Dangin on the left (east) bank of the Tigris between the Lower Zab and the Diyala.⁷¹ Old Karḫar or Ḫaraḫar⁷² corresponds to the later Assyrian Ḫarḫar,⁷³ localized usually in the mountains far up the Diyala or one of its affluents.⁷⁴ From this summary it is clear that the Hurrian infiltration during the Old Akkadian period began in the territory between the Tigris and the Zagros Mountains. Its southern boundary lies on the Diyala, if the personal name Tupki-ašum, occurring but once (p. 54), is correctly interpreted as Hurrian.

⁶⁶ Collection de Clercq. Catalogue méthodique et raisonné. Antiquités assyriennes I, Texte (Paris, 1888) p. 83 No. 121; Thureau-Dangin, SAKI p. 174. Ungnad, Subartu p. 146, like all the other scholars reads ^d*Ki-sa-a-ri*. But if this name is Hurrian, it is preferable to read the second element as *-a-tal* (see below, p. 115). Provisionally I read *An-ki-sa-a-tal* in preference to ^d*Ki-sa-a-tal*, since—as Dr. Jacobsen points out—it is not certain that the practice of deifying kings, known from Babylonia in the Old Akkadian and later periods (cf. Calvin W. McEwan, *The Oriental Origin of Hellenistic Kingship* [SAOC No. 13 (1934)] pp. 8 ff.), was in use among foreign rulers also.

⁶⁷ The only possible parallel I can suggest is *An-ki-ia* at Nuzi, if that name should be read thus and not *Ili-itti-ia*. The formative *-š* is well known among Nuzi names.

⁶⁸ "Simurru," OLZ XXII (1919) 69 f. Cf. also Meek in AASOR XIII (1933) 6 f.

⁶⁹ HSS X 5:10.

⁷⁰ So Albright in JAOS XLV (1925) 233. Cf. also above, p. 41.

⁷¹ RA IX (1912) 3.

⁷² The usual reading *Gán-ḫar* for this place name is changed above, as elsewhere in this book, to *Kár-ḫar* because of an important variant in the unpublished Ur III tablet OIM A 2695. Instead of the usual date *mu a-rá 2-kam GÁN-ḫar^{KI} ba-ḫul* (see N. Schneider, "Die Zeitbestimmungen der Wirtschaftsurkunden von Ur III," An. Or. XIII [1936] 15) the OIM tablet has *mu a-rá 2-kam Ḫa-ra-ḫar^{KI} ba-ḫul*, necessitating the transliteration of *GÁN-ḫar^{KI}* as *Kár-ḫar^{KI}* (or perhaps as *Kára-ḫar^{KI}* or even *Ḫara₂-ḫar^{KI}*).

⁷³ For references see Luckenbill, ARAB II p. 462.

⁷⁴ A. Billerbeck, *Das Sandschak Suleimania . . .* (Leipzig, 1898) pp. 62 f.; Cameron, *HEI* p. 144.

UR III PERIOD

With the 3d dynasty of Ur our materials pertaining to the Hurrians suddenly expand. From thousands of administrative documents of this period can be culled a number of Hurrian personal names whose importance can be evaluated from at least two different points of view: linguistic and historical. All such names, as far as I have noted them in Ur III documents, are collected and discussed in Appendix III (pp. 109–15).

Hurrian personal names usually appear in these texts under the same conditions as do names of other origins, e.g. Akkadian or Sumerian. That is, the context gives no hint that such men as *Ħa-ši-ip-a-tal*, *šAGUB*, and *Ħa-ši-ba-tal*, father of *Puzur-Šul-gi* (p. 110), are of foreign origin. Only through comparison with similar names from other sources, especially from Nuzi, can we recognize such Ur III names as Hurrian. Names only thus identifiable are important of course for the information they furnish as to the dialectal characteristics of Hurrian, but they tell us nothing about the geographic origin and distribution of the Hurrians.

From the historical point of view much more important, although less numerous, are the occurrences of Hurrian personal names linked with specific place names. Such combinations as *A-ri-ip-ĥu-ub-bi lú Ri-muš^{kt}*, “Arip-ĥuppi, man of Rimuš” (p. 113), enable us to identify the areas populated by Hurrians at various times. The place names with which Hurrian personal names of the Ur III period are linked are Ħibilat, Gumaraši, Mardaman, Nawar, Rimuš, Šašrum, Šerši, Šetirša, Šimanum, Šimurum, Urkiš, and Urbilum (pp. 112–14).

In trying to locate the places thus named we naturally encounter some difficulties. Two of the names—Ħibilat and Gumaraši—are entirely unknown to me from elsewhere. Others—Mardaman, Šašrum, Šerši, Šetirša, and Šimanum—seem to be attested in the Ur III period only, largely in date formulas which yield little of importance for the locations of the places in question. It should be noted, however, that the year names of the 3d dynasty of Ur, when based on foreign conquests, usually refer to lands and cities situated east of the Tigris.

Of all the geographic names listed above, only one can be definitely localized. It is Urbilum (Arbela), corresponding to modern Erbil, situated east of the Tigris between the Upper and the Lower Zab.⁷⁵ But scattered sources provide enough information about some other places to enable us to find their approximate locations. Thus the lands Urkiš and Nawar are placed by Thureau-Dangin on the left (east) bank of the Tigris between the Lower Zab and the Diyala, and Šimurum is located by Meissner in the neighborhood of modern Altın Köprü on the Lower Zab (p. 57). Old Rimuš (see also p. 36) may be identical with Rimusa/i/u of Late Assyrian

⁷⁵ Cf. e.g. E. Unger in RIA I 141 f.

historical inscriptions,⁷⁶ administrative documents,⁷⁷ and letters,⁷⁸ which in turn is identified by T. Jacobsen with modern Jerahiyyeh, about 25 miles north of Nineveh.⁷⁹ In short, it can be stated that in all cases in which it is possible to locate, exactly or approximately, the places from which Hurrians are attested, an area east of the Tigris toward the mountains is indicated. It seems to include all the territory occupied by Hurrians in the Old Akkadian period and in addition to extend farther southeast toward Babylonia and Elam.

However, the fact that Hurrian personal names are usually connected with territory lying east of the Tigris should not give rise to the premature conclusion that this region was inhabited by Hurrians only. In some cases (cf. e.g. pp. 113 and 114) other persons, bearing names which cannot be explained as Hurrian, are known to have lived in this same region. Most instructive in this respect are two largely parallel Ur III tablets from Umma, the first one dated in the 2d month of year 5 of Bûr-Sin (1987–1979), third king of the Ur III dynasty,⁸⁰ the second dated in the 7th month of the same year.⁸¹ Both are *namrag* tablets dealing with provisions for captured and enslaved foreign women and their children. From what land these slaves had come is not expressly stated in either text. But it seems probable that, like several *namrag* tablets from the time of Bûr-Sin which are explicit as to source, these texts refer to booty from Šašrum and Šuruthum or Šarithum.⁸² On the location of these places nothing is known beyond the fact that they must have been situated somewhere northwest of Babylonia in the region east of the Tigris.⁸³ The strange thing about the two texts under discussion is that out of about 150 names of women and children only three—Erip-atal, Putuk-manum, and Unap-tan—are Hurrian, while almost all the rest belong to a population which we cannot as yet place in any ethnic pic-

⁷⁶ Luckenbill, ARAB II §§ 286, 332, 1198.

⁷⁷ C. H. W. Johns, Assyrian Deeds and Documents . . . III (Cambridge, 1901) 579; *idem*, An Assyrian Doomsday Book (Leipzig, 1901) No. 5:18.

⁷⁸ L. Waterman, Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire IV (1936) 155.

⁷⁹ T. Jacobsen and S. Lloyd, Sennacherib's Aqueduct at Jerwan (OIP XXIV [1935]) pp. 39 f. and map on p. 32.—Cf. also Rimuššu referred to by Ernst F. Weidner in AOF X (1935–36) 21, n. 148.

⁸⁰ TCL V 6039.

⁸¹ Drevnosti V 329.

⁸² From *Ša-aš-ru*^{KI} and *Šu-ru-ut-ĥu-um*^{KI}: W. Riedel in RA X (1913) 208 BM 103435 rev. 26; Genouillac, TrD 2 rev. 6; TCL II 5545:4 (all dated in year 4 of Bûr-Sin); from URU *Ša-ri-it-ĥu-um-ma*^{KI}: YOS IV 67:8 (date broken away); V. Scheil in RA XXIV (1927) 45 No. 8 C rev. 2 (dated in year 9 of Bûr-Sin). Latter reading is made certain by occurrence of *Ki-da-ni lú Ša-ri-it-ĥu-um*^{KI} in TCL II 5500 ii 3 (dated in year 8 of Bûr-Sin).

⁸³ On Šašrum see above, p. 58. Ungnad's identification of Šašrum with Assur in his Subartu pp. 148 f. is of course impossible, because the latter is written *A-šur*^{KI} already in the Old Akkadian period (cf. Meek, HSS X p. 11). With our Šuruthum we may perhaps compare the district called Niripuni Šurutuĥa in an Elamitic source of the 12th century B.C.; see Cameron, HEI p. 118.

ture.⁸⁴ From the scarcity of Hurrian names in these two lists it is evident that even at that time the Hurrians in the Zagros region were still relatively few. The principal Hurrian invasion of the Zagros region must have come, then, after the 3d dynasty of Ur.

In certain instances (pp. 110–12) the Ur III documents mention persons bearing Hurrian names but participating in the daily business and religious life of Babylonia and having relatives who bear not Hurrian but good Akkadian or Sumerian names. From such cases one can hardly assume a Hurrian invasion of Babylonia in the period of the 3d dynasty of Ur. The sporadic appearance of Hurrians in Babylonia at that time indicates rather that they reached that country by peaceful infiltration. Their ultimate assimilation into the native population is apparent from the fact that they gave their children Akkadian names.

The many thousands of Ur III documents are important not only because they show us where the Hurrians are at home, but also because they show whole areas without a trace of Hurrians. Around Susa in Elam, southeast of their area of distribution, there is not a single example of a Hurrian personal name.⁸⁵ For northern Mesopotamia proper we have no texts bearing upon the ethnic situation during the Ur III period.⁸⁶ But we do know that Syria was not inhabited by Hurrians at that time, because the people of Ibla, Uršu, and Mukiš bore non-Hurrian names.⁸⁷ Completely Akkadian was the neighborhood of Mari.⁸⁸ The Hurrians were therefore apparently restricted to the area east of the Tigris. Not until after the fall of the 3d dynasty of Ur did the Hurrians begin to expand toward Mesopotamia, North Syria, and Anatolia.

OLD ASSYRIAN PERIOD

From the time of the Assyrian king Sargon I (died *ca.* 1800) and a little later we have some two thousand cuneiform tablets of the so-called "Cappadocian" type.⁸⁹ These tablets, coming predominantly from Kültepe and Alişar in Anatolia, reveal the commercial activity of the Assyrians in their own country and in the territories to the west, far into the heart of Cappadocia. Among the persons mentioned in these tablets Assyrian names naturally predominate. Next in number are names belonging to the native Anatolian stock. But there are also scattered names which can be definitely called Hurrian.

⁸⁴ For the suggestion that this population was Subarian see p. 40.

⁸⁵ As far as we can judge from the relatively small number of Ur III texts published by G. Dossin in *Mém.* XVIII.

⁸⁶ On earlier texts see pp. 53 f.

⁸⁷ See Gelb in *AJSL* LV (1938) 77, 84, and 81 f.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 80 f.

⁸⁹ On the connection with Sargon I and general problems connected with the Cappadocian tablets see the introduction to my IAV.

At first Landsberger in an article on ethnic problems connected with the 3d millennium B.C. denied the existence of any Hurrian names in the Cappadocian tablets.⁹⁰ Soon, however, Goetze discovered a few;⁹¹ and the list was later enlarged by myself⁹² and by Gustavs.⁹³ A considerably longer list of Hurrian names from Cappadocian texts was compiled by Oppenheim.⁹⁴ Its length is due mainly to the fact that he included some very short names and hypocoristic forms—two classes of names which it is very hazardous to use for comparisons. Nevertheless, Oppenheim's list, after exclusion of all the problematic names, contains much useful material.⁹⁵

The occurrence of Hurrian names in the Cappadocian texts does not presuppose even partial occupation of Anatolia by the Hurrians. They appear in the texts just as do the Assyrian merchants, and it is very probable that in most cases the Hurrians reached Anatolia along with the Assyrians. We have already seen Hurrians taking part in the business life of Babylonia (p. 60); the Hurrians of the Cappadocian texts probably participated in Assyrian activities in a similar way.

The Cappadocian tablets frequently refer to persons connected with localities in North Syria and Mesopotamia. Remembering that these tablets describe the activities of merchants moving continually from place to place, we must be very cautious about drawing any conclusions on the ethnic situation in the lands in question. Nevertheless it is important to note that such evidence as is available suggests that those localities were inhabited primarily by persons of other than Hurrian origin. Thus we know of Puzur-Eštar of Tadmur,⁹⁶ classical Palmyra;⁹⁷ Aššur-ṭāb,⁹⁸ Šū-bēlum,⁹⁹ and a non-Akkadian Šerdu¹⁰⁰ of Šimāla, modern Zincirli;¹⁰¹ Amorites

⁹⁰ ZA XXXV (1924) 229 and 232.

⁹¹ Kleinasien p. 69, n. 4.

⁹² IAV p. 14.

⁹³ "Mitanni-Namen in altassyrischen Texten aus Kappadokien," AOF XI (1936/37) 146-50. Gustavs included many short hypocoristic names which are not necessarily Hurrian and some names and even words which are clearly Akkadian, e.g. *Āb-si-e-ni* (read *a-na-áb-ši-e-ni*), *Ar-si-iḫ* (read *Ar-ši-aḫ* = Arši-aḫ), *Ki-ib-si-im* (*kibšum*), *Na-ab-si-im* (same word as the first here quoted), *I-ri-si-im* (*Errēšum*), *Lá-ki-ib* (*Lá-qēp*).

⁹⁴ "Les rapports entre les noms de personnes des textes cappadociens et des textes de Nuzi," RHA V (1938—) 7-30, with revisions on p. 62. Cf. also remarks above, p. 18, n. 34.

⁹⁵ But his list also contains some Akkadian names, such as *Hu-ni-a* (*Hunnija*), *I-lá-ni-šu* (*Iam-nišū*), and *Qá-lu-me* (*Kalūmum*).

⁹⁶ *Maḥar Puzur-Eštar Ta-ad-mu-ri-im*, G. Eisser and J. Lewy in MVAG XXXV 3 (1935) p. 19, unpublished tablet Schmidt 1 A 16 f., and *kunuk Puzur-Eštar Tā-ad-mu-ri-im*, *ibid.* Schmidt 1 B 2 f.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 21, n. a.

⁹⁸ *A-šur-ṭāb Ši-ma-lá-i-um*, G. Contenau, Trente tablettes cappadociennes (Paris, 1919) 9:15 f.

⁹⁹ *A-Šu-be-lim ša Ši-ma-la*, "to Šū-bēlum of Šimāla," TCL XXI 202:22 f.

¹⁰⁰ *Maḥar Šē-er-du Ša-am-a-lim*, TMH I 11 c 14; cf. *Šē-er-du mera^a Na-ar-i-a*, *ibid.* lines 3 f.

¹⁰¹ Eisser and Lewy in MVAG XXXIII (1930) 35, n. b.

of Niḫria¹⁰² situated somewhere in northern Mesopotamia;¹⁰³ and Ili-ašranni¹⁰⁴ and Šu-bêlum¹⁰⁵ of Gasur, later Nuzi.¹⁰⁶ Note further that out of about half a dozen personal names of men mentioned in the few Old Assyrian texts from Gasur none is Hurrian.¹⁰⁷

OLD BABYLONIAN PERIOD

Tell Ḥarīrī.—Of fundamental importance for understanding the ethnic situation in Western Asia in the Hammurabi period are the archives of Mari,¹⁰⁸ recently discovered at Tell Ḥarīrī. Though publication of the material is still in its early stages, enough is known from the preliminary articles to enable us to see the situation in general. The region of Mari remains clearly Semitic in this period; but, whereas in the Ur III period it was populated by Akkadians, in the Hammurabi period the population consists predominantly of an ethnic group usually called Amorites or Eastern Canaanites.¹⁰⁹ But besides the Amorites the Hurrians too must have played some role at Mari, since several texts in the Hurrian language were discovered there.¹¹⁰ The fact that all these texts are of a religious nature points to Hurrian influence in the religious life of Mari. Nothing else about Hurrians at Mari is known from the published texts, and as far as I can see no Marians bear Hurrian names.

¹⁰² [A]-na A-mu-ri-en ša Ni-ih-ri-a, "to the two Amorites of Niḫria," CCT II 49 a 13 f.

¹⁰³ Eisser and Lewy *op. cit.* p. 148, n. a. Cf. also Bu-nu-ma-d Adad, king of Ni-ih-ri-ia^{KI}, mentioned in a Mari tablet discussed by G. Dossin in *Studia et documenta ad iura Orientis antiqui pertinentia* II (1939) 116 f.

¹⁰⁴ Iš-ti me-er-e I-li-aš-ra-ni Ga-sú-ri-[i]m, "with the sons of Ili-ašranni the Gasurian," TCL XX 173:6 f.

¹⁰⁵ Ša Šu-be-lim me[rā] Ga-sú-r[i-im], TCL XXI 262 B 4 f.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Lewy in *JAOS* LVIII (1938) 458 f.

¹⁰⁷ Meek, *HSS* X p. xii, n. 17^a.

¹⁰⁸ See above, p. 10. This name should be spelled more exactly with long *ā*, since in the older periods it is usually written with the sign *mÁ*, which in the Old Akkadian system of writing expresses *ma*² or the like. Cf. e.g. the spellings *ú-má* and *iš-má* in Ungnad, *MVAG* XX 2 (1916) pp. 36 and 87 respectively. The root is probably *mhr*, the same as in Mahra/i, Mehri, a land situated on the southeast coast of Arabia. Observe that according to J. Tkatsch in *Encyclopaedia of Islām* III (1936) 138 the corresponding classical form of the name of the latter is probably Mali (variant: Mamali), corrupted from Mari (Mara). The later cuneiform spellings *Ma-i-ri-tum* (gentilic, fem. sing.) and *Ma-ir-a-tum* (gentilic, fem. pl.) can be best explained as attempts to express in the writing the medial weak consonant. Because of these spellings Thureau-Dangin in *RA* XXXI (1934) 83 f. suggested for the form *Má-URU*^{KI} the pronunciation Ma^aeri, which he used for a while, followed by several other scholars. But in his latest articles, e.g. in *RA* XXXV (1938) 106 and XXXVI (1939) 1, he uses Mâri.—My objections voiced in *AJSL* LII (1935/36) 43 f. against calling Mari a city were based on valid grammatical considerations which seem to have been misunderstood by scholars. I hope to come back to this problem in the future.

¹⁰⁹ See especially the personal names cited in Dossin's preliminary articles "Les archives épistolaires du palais de Mari," *Syria* XIX (1938) 105–26, and "Les archives économiques du palais de Mari," *Syria* XX (1939) 97–113.

¹¹⁰ Thureau-Dangin, "Tablettes hurrites provenant de Mâri," *RA* XXXVI 1–28.

Proof for the preservation and continuance of Hurrian religious beliefs in the region of Mari can be found in an important passage which seems hitherto to have escaped the attention of scholars. In a Ḫana contract is found the following date formula of a local king who ruled over Ḫana some time after the death of Hammurabi: "The year in which Šunuḫrammu the king offered a sacrifice to ^a*Da-gan ša Hur-ri*."¹¹¹ The editors of this text read ^a*Da-gan ša ḫar-ri* without offering any explanation. As far as I can see, no objection can be raised against reading *Hur-ri* instead, especially since *ḫar-ri* or even *ḫur-ri* cannot be explained satisfactorily as an Akkadian word. "Dagan of the Hurrians" is probably the Hurrian weather-god Tešup. The writing *Hur-ri* in this tablet is the oldest original occurrence of this ethnic name yet found.

Only a few Hurrian names from Mari tablets have yet been made known: *A-ri-še-ni*, who according to Dossin ruled a region east of the Tigris near Lullu (Lullubu);¹¹² ^m*Šu-uk-ru(m)-Te-šu-up awil I-la-ḫu-ut-tim*^{K1}, "Šukru-Tešup of Ilaḫut,"¹¹³ a land or city known to be situated somewhere in northern Mesopotamia (cf. p. 51); *Ku-um-me-en-a-tal awil Si-lu-uh-me-ni*^{K1},¹¹⁴ "Kummen-atal of Siluḫmeni," the location of which is unknown to me; *Ša-du-ša-ar-ri šarr A-zu-ḫi-ni-im*,¹¹⁵ "Šatu-šarri, king of Azuḫinum" near Nuzi;¹¹⁶ *Še-en-na-am šarr Ur-ši-im*^{K1},¹¹⁷ "Šennam, king of Uršum" in North Syria.¹¹⁸ There is no doubt, however, that publication of additional texts will furnish further evidence for the existence of Hurrians in northern Mesopotamia and northern Syria in the Hammurabi period.

That the population of Syria was still predominantly Semitic is attested in the Mari texts by the names of Ḫammu-rabi¹¹⁹ and Iarim-Lim¹²⁰ of Ḫalab (Aleppo), Iatar-Ami¹²¹ of Karkamiš (Carchemish), Išḫi-Adad¹²² and Amût-pî-ila¹²³ of Qatanum (Qatna, modern Mishrifeh),¹²⁴ and Iantin-Ḫamu¹²⁵ of Gubla (Byblos).

Chagar Bazar.—Yet that in this period Hurrians were already in northern Meso-

¹¹¹ Thureau-Dangin and Dhorme in Syria V (1924) 271 rev. 9 f.

¹¹² Dossin in Syria XIX 111.

¹¹³ *Idem* in RA XXXV (1938) 184; see also *idem* in Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1937, p. 14, where several forms of this place name are given, such as Elaḫuttim, Elaḫutta, Eluḫuttim, Ilaḫuttim, and Eluḫut.

¹¹⁴ Thureau-Dangin in RA XXXVI 7 f.

¹¹⁵ Dossin in Syria XX (1939) 109.

¹¹⁶ Cf. ^c*A-zu-ḫi-in-ni* in the Nuzi texts listed in AASOR XVI p. 100.

¹¹⁷ Dossin *loc. cit.*; on the name Šennam see also below, p. 115.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Gelb in AJSL LV (1938) 84 and S. Smith in JRAS, 1942, pp. 63-66.

¹¹⁹ Dossin in RA XXXVI 47-50.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.* p. 47.

¹²¹ Dossin in RA XXXV 120; Iatar-Ami's father, Aplaḫanda, bears a name which is neither Semitic nor Hurrian.

¹²² Dossin in Syria XIX 116.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 50-54.

¹²³ Dossin in RA XXXVI 50 f. and 53.

¹²⁵ Dossin in Syria XX 109.

potamia is known from recent British excavations at a site called Chagar Bazar,¹²⁶ situated on the Wadi Khanzir in the upper Khabur region. Tablets and names already published¹²⁷ show the population to have been a mixed one. Besides persons bearing Semitic names, mostly Akkadian, rarely Amorite, some names of unknown ethnic origin appear.¹²⁸ A third group in the population consists of Hurrians.¹²⁹

Tell ʿAṭshāneh.—The older tablets from Tell ʿAṭshāneh (ancient Alalāḥ) in the Plain of Antioch in North Syria (p. 10) are dated to the time of Hammurabi, i.e., to the same period as the Mari and Chagar Bazar tablets discussed above. As was observed on p. 60, Syria was not inhabited by Hurrians in the Ur III period. Even in the Cappadocian period, according to the scanty evidence at our disposal, the basic population of this area was non-Hurrian (p. 61). In the period of Hammurabi, however, Hurrians do appear at Tell ʿAṭshāneh, marking the beginning of Hurrian penetration into North Syria. Published tablets¹³⁰ from this period mention persons with such names as *A-ri-a* and *A-ra-am-mu-su-ni*, known to be Hurrian from parallels at Nuzi.¹³¹ Preliminary reports on the excavations of 1939 show that in the Hammurabi period the principal element at Tell ʿAṭshāneh was Amorite;¹³² but Hurrian nobles are mentioned, and Hurrian month names were used.¹³³

Egyptian execration texts.—While northern Syria thus shows clear indications of Hurrian penetration, southern Syria and Palestine at approximately the same period appear to be free of Hurrians. Our main sources for the ethnic situation in these areas are Egyptian execration texts, which mention scores of foreign princes and localities.¹³⁴ Investigations by Albright have proved that the population of Palestine

¹²⁶ More exactly, Shāghir Bāzār.

¹²⁷ C. J. Gadd, "Tablets from Chagar Bazar . . .," Iraq IV (1937) 178–85 and VII (1940) 22–66.

¹²⁸ Of interest are certain personal names with the ending *-an*, such as (*A*)-*ak-ka-an*, *ʿAn-na-an*, *A-ri-ēš(AB)-ka-an*, *A-šu-ub-la-an*, *ʿAt-te-na-an*, *Ḫa-lu-uk-ka-an/ni*, *Ḫu-ḫa-an*, *ʿKa-an-za-an*, *Te-ri-ka-an*, *Tu-uk-ki-iz-za-an*, and *ʿUr-ḫa-an*, noted and listed by Gadd in Iraq VII 34 ff., whose origins require especially careful investigation, inasmuch as some of the names so written may be Hurrian (e.g. Tukkiẓzan) and some Amorite (e.g. Ḫabdān = later Ḫabdānum, ʿAbdānum). On the unlikely possibility of their being "Gutian" see F. Thureau-Dangin in RA XXXV 106 and B. Landsberger in TTKB III (1939) 217.

¹²⁹ The orthographic and dialectal peculiarities of Chagar Bazar Hurrian as exemplified by personal names have been discussed by P. M. Purves in AJSL LVIII (1941) 378 ff. (*passim*).

¹³⁰ Sidney Smith, "A preliminary account of the tablets from Atchana," Antiquaries Journal XIX (1939) 38–48.

¹³¹ On the roots *ar* and *muš* see NPN. ¹³² Cf. the evidence from Mari (above, p. 63).

¹³³ Sidney Smith in the London Times of August 22, 1939.

¹³⁴ The most important collections have been published by Kurt Sethe, Die Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf altägyptischen Tongefässscherben des Mittleren Reiches (Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-hist. Klasse, 1926, No. 5), and by G. Posener, Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie. Textes hiératiques sur des figurines d'envoûtement du Moyen Empire (Bruxelles, 1940).

and southern Syria was almost entirely Semitic;¹³⁵ Hurrians had not yet appeared in those areas.

Dilbat.—Looking in an entirely different direction, we find Hurrians appearing at the time of the 1st dynasty of Babylon in the Dilbat documents discussed by Ungnad (see p. 3). The Hurrians of these documents seem to form a colony centered around that one city. In thousands of documents of the same period from other sites hardly any Hurrians are mentioned. Comparison of the sources at our disposal reveals a slight Hurrian thrust southeastward from the Zagros Mountains in the direction of Babylonia during the Ur III period; in the Hammurabi period Hurrian expansion is directed chiefly southwestward toward Mesopotamia and Syria.

MIDDLE OF SECOND MILLENNIUM

Slow penetration of Hurrians from the north is attested from the Old Akkadian period through that of the 3d dynasty of Ur into that of the 1st dynasty of Babylon. During this time there are scores of references to Hurrians in various sources, but nowhere is there any indication of wars with them. The Hurrians must have filtered gradually into foreign domains without disturbing the peace of the native populations to any great extent. But the picture as of the middle of the 2d millennium B.C. is entirely different. Though documents of that period tell us little directly about early Hurrian migrations, we can reconstruct much of the story from the state of affairs evident in the Near East in the period of renaissance which followed upon the great Middle Ages of antiquity.

Babylonia and Elam.—About a hundred and fifty years after Hammurabi (1728–1686) the 1st dynasty of Babylon came to an end. Although Kassite invasions are attested by Old Babylonian year names as early as year 9 of Samsu-iluna (1685–1648),¹³⁶ it was not until around 1600 B.C. that the Kassites succeeded in establishing themselves as rulers of the whole of Babylonia. We know as yet very little about early Kassite history, but all indications point to the conclusion that the Kassite kings were independent rulers. The Hurrians never dominated Babylonia, but it is possible that their migrations (cf. p. 66) may have been indirectly responsible for its invasion by the Kassites.

¹³⁵ Albright in *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* VIII (1928) 223–56 and XV (1935) 197 and 230; in *From the Pyramids to Paul* (New York, 1935) pp. 16 f.; “New Egyptian data on Palestine in the patriarchal age,” *BASOR* No. 81 (1941) pp. 16–21; “The land of Damascus between 1850 and 1750 B.C.,” *BASOR* No. 83 (1941) pp. 30–36.

¹³⁶ See Ungnad in *RLA* II 183, also his note *ibid.* p. 185 under date *d* of Abi-eṣuḥ (1647–1620).—The earliest reference I know of to a person bearing a Kassite name is even earlier: ‘Ku¹-ri-dūr-gu is mentioned in a seal used on a tablet dated to Sin-muballiṭ (1748–1729) published by L. Delaporte, *Musée du Louvre. Catalogue des cylindres orientaux II* (Paris, 1923) Pl. 114 No. 1^b. The tablet, but without this seal, was copied by Thureau-Dangin in *TCL* I 75. Cf. also E. Unger, *Altindogermanisches Kulturgut in Nordmesopotamien* (Leipzig, 1938) pp. 16 f., whose Indo-European interpretation of the name Kuri-Turgu has no basis in fact. For several mentions of Kassites in the period of Ammi-ṣadūqa (1582–1562) cf. Ungnad in *BA* VI 5 (1909) pp. 21–26.

Hurrian personal names are common in documents of the Kassite period dated to the 14th and 13th centuries from Nippur in Babylonia.¹³⁷ The population of Nippur, composed as it was of Akkadians, Kassites, and Hurrians, may presumably be taken as representative for other sections of Babylonia. One interesting case is that of a Hurrian refugee, Akap-taḥa, who fled from Ḫanigalbat to Babylonia and there received an estate from the Kassite king Kaštiliaš III (1249–1242).¹³⁸ From Elam we know of a king Ḫurpa-tilla (*ca.* 1330),¹³⁹ both elements of whose name may be either Hurrian or Elamite.¹⁴⁰ Otherwise Elam is entirely free of Hurrian influence.¹⁴¹

Assyria.—After the death of Šamši-Adad I (1748–1716) all historical inscriptions from Assyria cease abruptly, and nothing is known about the country for some two hundred years.¹⁴² Such complete silence cannot be accidental, and it can hardly be explained by the general scarcity of early Assyrian historical documents. This silence is perhaps as telling as any arguments drawn from written material. It bears eloquent testimony to a great catastrophe caused by invasions of illiterate barbarians, the same who presumably, as suggested on page 65, drove the Kassites before them into Babylonia. It is not difficult to assume that the invaders were Hurrians, since we know from later Assyrian sources that Assyria had been at times under direct domination of Hurrians as a part of the Mittannian empire. This can be proved for the time of Sauššattar, king of Mittanni, who is said to have removed from Assur a door of silver and gold (p. 76). Perhaps a mention of tribute paid by the Assyrians to the Mittannians refers to the same period.¹⁴³ Similarly the Assyrian king Aššur-uballiṭ I (1362–1327) refers to a predecessor or overlord of his father as “the Ḫanigalbatian king,”¹⁴⁴ implying that Assyria had formerly been under the rule of

¹³⁷ Cf. the list of “Hittite-Mitannian name elements” given by Clay in his PNCP.

¹³⁸ *Mém.* II p. 95; Cameron, HEI p. 103.

¹³⁹ Hugo Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen I* (Leipzig, 1897) 300 f. iii 10 and 13; Cameron *op. cit.* pp. 96 f.

¹⁴⁰ See NPN pp. 218 and 266 f., also above, p. 51, n. 12, and p. 54, n. 37.

¹⁴¹ Goetze claims in his HCA p. 36 that the Malamir texts published in *Mém.* IV pp. 169–97 contain Hurrian personal names; but I could not find in them even one name that could safely be called Hurrian.

¹⁴² The Chicago Assyrian king list enumerates after Šamši-Adad I his son Išmē-Dagan I, who ruled 40 years (1715–1676); then Aššur-dugul, son of a nobody, with 6 years (1675–1670); then six usurpers: Aššur-apla-iddi(n), Nāšir-Sin, Sin-namir, Ibq-Eštar, Adad-šalūlu, and Adasi, all probably in the same year (1670); then Bēl-bāni, Libaju, Šarr-ma-Adad I, Iptur(?)—Sin, Bazaju, Lullaju, and šū-Ninua, who ruled altogether 99 years (1669–1571). It is interesting to note that one Assyrian king list (KAV 14) omits all the kings who ruled between Išmē-Dagan I and šū-Ninua. On all these problems cf. now Poebel in JNES I (1942) 460 ff.

¹⁴³ BKS VIII (1923) No. 2:6 f. But if the actual “father” of Šuttarna III is meant, the reign of Artatama II would be concerned. The latter possibility seems likely, for just below, in line 8, Sauššattar is very specifically (though wrongly; see p. 76) called the “great-grandfather” of Mat-tiwaza.

¹⁴⁴ EA 16:22, 26.

Ḫanigalbat, i.e., Mittanni.¹⁴⁵ Furthermore, the fact that some undated eponyms refer to their descent from high officers of the king of Ḫanigalbat¹⁴⁶ implies that Assyria was at some time a dependency of Ḫanigalbat.¹⁴⁷ It was not until the period of Aššur-uballiṭ I that Assyria definitely regained its independence.

Several hundred business and administrative documents of the Middle Assyrian period (about 1400 B.C. and later) from Assur show a mixed population composed predominantly of Assyrians and to a much smaller extent of Hurrians.¹⁴⁸ It will suffice to refer to only a few of the Hurrian names mentioned in these tablets, e.g. Ari-kumme, Ḫupite, Šummi-Tešup, Tešup-šenni.¹⁴⁹ Of great interest is the fact that even some Assyrian officials of such high rank that they served as eponyms bear unmistakably Hurrian names such as Aki-Tešup,¹⁵⁰ Antari-sina,¹⁵¹ and Epri-šarri,¹⁵² for it shows that by the time of these Middle Assyrian documents the Hurrian population must have been thoroughly amalgamated with the native Assyrians. Another eponym from approximately the same period bearing the Hurrian name Urḫi-Tešup appears on a tablet from Tell Billa northeast of Mosul.¹⁵³

One of the most powerful Hurrian centers in this period was Nuzi in the ancient kingdom of Arrapha. The majority of its people bore Hurrian names, and from their use of Hurrian words in documents written in Akkadian it must be concluded that Hurrian was the native language of Nuzi (p. 6). The kingdom of Arrapha formed part of the empire of Mittanni (cf. pp. 75 f.).

¹⁴⁵ On this equation see below, pp. 72 f.

¹⁴⁶ Walter Andrae, *Die Stelenreihen in Assur* (WVDOG XXIV [1913]) Nos. 63, 129, and 137a.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. E. Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches* (Leipzig, 1920) p. 11; *idem* in RLA I 251.

¹⁴⁸ Texts published for the most part by E. Ebeling, KAJ. Personal names from all Middle Assyrian texts were gathered by Ebeling, "Die Eigennamen der mittelassyrischen Rechts- und Geschäftsurkunden," MAOG XIII 1 (1939).

¹⁴⁹ The Hurrian names are listed by Ebeling *ibid.* pp. 117–20. For the Hurrian character of the names here quoted see Purves' list in NPN under the respective elements.

¹⁵⁰ KAJ 137:4.

¹⁵¹ Luckenbill, ARAB I § 85. This name, originally taken as old Indic Indra-sena by W. von Soden in *Der Alte Orient* XXXVII 1/2 (1937) p. 26, is considered Hurrian by L. Oppenheim in WZKM XLV (1938) 281 f. Although many of the parallels quoted by Oppenheim do not belong here, he is probably right; von Soden in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* CC (1938) 202, n. 1, is now not so certain about the Indo-European character of this name.—On the other hand the fem. name Inibšina, KAH II 3:x+5 (Old Babylonian period), considered Hurrian by Lewy in *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1938, p. 409, is doubtless Akkadian, not Hurrian. Although both elements in this name might be Hurrian, the Nuzi parallels Aḫušina and Ilušina make it clear that Inibšina is to be explained as the Akkadian word *enbu*, *inbu* plus the fem. pl. suffix *-šina*.

¹⁵² His title is *tar-ta-nu rabū* in a text published by E. F. Weidner in AOF XIII (1939/40) 116.

¹⁵³ Speiser, "Gleanings from the Billa texts," *Studia et documenta ad iura Orientis antiqui pertinentia* II (1939) 149.

Anatolia.—Under the rule of Labarnaš, Hattušiliš I, and Muršiliš I the Old Hittite kingdom became one of the leading powers of the Near East. We know of victorious campaigns of the latter two kings in North Syria. About 1550 Muršiliš I successfully raided distant Babylon, contributing to the fall of the dynasty of Hammurabi and to the establishment of the Kassites as the rulers of Babylonia. Hostility between Hittites and Hurrians is well attested in early Hittite inscriptions.¹⁵⁴ As yet there is no evidence to prove that the period of disintegration which followed upon the rule of the Hittite king Telipinuš (*ca.* 1500) was due to Hurrians. It is possible, however, that, as in the case of the Kassites in Babylonia, Hurrians may have been responsible for pushing into Anatolia new ethnic elements which caused the subsequent disorganization. With Šuppiluliumaš (*ca.* 1380–1346) the Hittites regained a prominent position among the states of the Near East.

Hurrian influence in Anatolia was relatively strong. At Boğazköy have been discovered many tablets in the Hurrian language, and many Hurrian deities were worshiped in the Hittite pantheon. Even one Hittite king, Urḫi-Tešup (*ca.* 1290–1283), son of Muwattalliš, and at least one Hittite queen, Putu-Hepa, wife of Hattušiliš III (*ca.* 1282–1260?), bear clearly Hurrian names. To judge by numerous Hurrian names attested in the Boğazköy sources for persons in one way or another connected with Kizwatna,¹⁵⁵ that area, later called Cilicia, in southeastern Anatolia must have contained a larger percentage of Hurrians than did any other part of Asia Minor.

Egypt.—After the fall of the 12th dynasty Egypt passed through a long period of political and cultural decay under the rule of the 13th–17th dynasties (*ca.* 1776–1570). During the latter part of this period Egypt was dominated by foreigners whom Manetho apud Josephus calls Hyksos. In spite of an immense literature devoted to the Hyksos problem, we do not yet know who the Hyksos really were. They may have been composed of various ethnic elements. Semites, Hurrians, Indo-Europeans—all may well have played some part in their composition. With the expulsion of the Hyksos about 1570 by Ahmose, the first king of the 18th dynasty, Egypt regained its independence from foreign rule.¹⁵⁶

Traces of Hurrians can be recognized in the names of a few of the slaves listed on an Egyptian hieratic ostrakon of the first half of the 18th dynasty.¹⁵⁷ Linguistic influence is attested by the fact that the term *marianni* used among the Hurrians for

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Robert S. Hardy, "The Old Hittite Kingdom," *AJSL* LVIII (1941) 177–216, esp. pp. 191 and 201–6.

¹⁵⁵ Goetze, *Kizzuwatna* pp. 6 f. But some names there quoted—Talzu, Maštikka, and Piriya-šaua—are certainly not Hurrian (the last is most probably Indo-European; see *NPN* p. 245).

¹⁵⁶ On the Hyksos problem see Robert M. Engberg, *The Hyksos Reconsidered* (SAOC No. 18 [1939]).

¹⁵⁷ A. Gustavs, "Subaräische Namen in einer ägyptischen Liste syrischer Sklaven und ein subaräischer(?) Hyksos-Name," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* LXIV (1929) 54–58. Cf. W. Spiegelberg, "Mitanni(?)-Eigennamen in hieroglyphischer Wiedergabe," *ZA* XXXII (1918/19) 205 f.

their nobles, more specifically according to Albright for "chariot-warriors," passed into the Egyptian language; its earliest known occurrence there is under Thutmose III.¹⁵⁸

Syria and Palestine.—Hurrian penetration into North Syria began in the Hamurabi period according to evidence from Tell ʿAṭshāneh in the Orontes valley (p. 64). From the middle of the 2d millennium the evidence for Hurrians in North Syria is considerably stronger. The population of Tell ʿAṭshāneh was then to a noticeable extent Hurrian, and some Hurrian deities were worshiped.¹⁵⁹ That district formed part of the empire of Sauššattar, king of Mittanni (pp. 75 f.). At Ra's Shamrah¹⁶⁰ have been discovered tablets written in Hurrian as well as in a native Semitic language. A Sumerian-Hurrian vocabulary and Hurrian divine and personal names mentioned in the texts also attest a Hurrian element at this site (see p. 10). Inventory tablets from Qatna,¹⁶¹ farther inland south of Hamath, also contain some Hurrian personal names as well as names of objects expressed in Hurrian (see p. 10). From the Amarna tablets and other sources we know of people of Amurru, Niġa, Nuḥašše, Qatna, and Tunip, some of them princes, others lower officials, who bear Hurrian names.¹⁶²

The Hurrian ethnic element in Palestine is attested in the Bible, as has been recognized for many years.¹⁶³ Moreover, on tablets excavated at Tell Taʿannek Hurrian personal names appear.¹⁶⁴ Also some princes of localities situated in Palestine, e.g. ARAD-Ḥepa of Jerusalem,¹⁶⁵ bear Hurrian names.

¹⁵⁸ Winckler in OLZ XIII (1910) 291-300; Albright, "Mitannian maryannu, 'chariot-warrior', and the Canaanite and Egyptian equivalents," AOF VI (1930-31) 217-21. Both believe that the word is ultimately of Indo-European origin and adduce Vedic parallels. On similar origin of the names of Mittannian kings see below, p. 72.

¹⁵⁹ S. Smith in *Antiquaries Journal* XIX 40-45.

¹⁶⁰ Time of Šuppiluliumaš (ca. 1380-1346); see C. Virolleaud, "Šuppiluliuma et Niqmad d'Ugarit," RHA V (1938—) 173 f.

¹⁶¹ Exact date unknown.

¹⁶² Discussed by Ungnad, *Subartu* pp. 158-60.

¹⁶³ Albright, "The Horites in Palestine," *From the Pyramids to Paul* (New York, 1935) pp. 9-26, esp. 19 ff.; H. L. Ginsberg and B. Maisler, "Semitised Hurrians in Syria and Palestine," *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* XIV (1934) 243-67; Wolfgang Feiler, "Hurritische Namen im Alten Testament," ZA XLV (1939) 216-29.—E. Täubler, "Kharu, Horim, Dedanim," *Hebrew Union College Annual* I (1924) 97-123, accepts identity of Egyptian "Kharu" with biblical Horites as unquestionable but discusses only Egyptian and biblical texts and makes no mention of Hurrians.

¹⁶⁴ Discussed by Gustavs, "Die Personennamen in den Tontafeln von Tell Taʿannek," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* L (1927) 1-18 and LI (1928) 169-218.—Two tablets from Shechem, treated by Franz M. Th. Böhl, "Die bei den Ausgrabungen von Sichem gefundenen Keilschrifttafeln," *ibid.* XLIX (1926) 321-27, contain no Hurrian names. However, occurrence of an Indo-European name, *Bi-ra-aš-še-n[a- . .]*. (cf. NPN p. 245), suggests that Hurrians may have been present, since people with Indo-European names appear frequently in this period in association with Hurrians.

¹⁶⁵ EA p. 1556.

Résumé.—As can be seen from the foregoing, we know little about the extent of early Hurrian migrations between 1700 and 1500 B.C. We may try to reconstruct the story in the following way. Around 1700 B.C., after the reigns of Šamši-Adad I in Assyria, Hammurabi in Babylonia, and the 12th dynasty in Egypt, a great migration of Hurrians started from an area somewhere between Lake Van and the Zagros Mountains. The Hurrians invaded Mesopotamia and Assyria, and through Syria and Palestine some of them reached Egypt as a part of the Hyksos invasion. They seem also to have caused disturbances on the flanks of their north-south route. On the one side they may have been influential in pushing the Kassites into Babylonia from their homes in the Zagros Mountains. On the other side Hurrian pressure toward Anatolia is attested in Hittite sources. In time various Hurrian tribes formed themselves into an organized state with its center in Mesopotamia. The later traces of Hurrians in Babylonia, Assyria, Anatolia, Egypt, Syria, and Palestine are witnesses to a greater expansion in the past, when Hurrians occupied or held sway over large portions of the Near East.

MITTANNI

While for the period from 1700 to 1500 our reconstruction of Hurrian history depends more upon theoretical deductions than upon documented facts, for the period after 1500 we can rely upon arguments of sound historical nature. This is the period in which the state of Mittanni emerges out of the dimness.¹⁶⁶

Terminology: *Mittanni*, *Ḫanigalbat*, *Ḫurri*, *Naḫrīma*.—Before we go into the detailed problems of Mittannian history it is well to acquaint ourselves with the terminology. Geographic names to be discussed here are Mittanni, Ḫanigalbat, Ḫurri, and Naḫrīma (Nahrīna).

The term **Mittanni**¹⁶⁷ is normally and most commonly found in the title *šarr*

¹⁶⁶ A very good account of the history of Syria (and Mesopotamia) in this period and before, centered around the history of Alalah, has been given by Sidney Smith in his *Alalakh and Chronology* (London, 1940) pp. 31-47.

¹⁶⁷ The oldest cuneiform spelling is *Ma-i-ta-ni*, used by Šuttarna I (S. Smith in *Antiquaries Journal* XIX 42 restores a preceding ^[l]) and Sauššattar (HSS IX 1; not *Ma-i-te-ni* as read by Speiser in *JAOS* XLIX [1929] 271; cf. Lacheman in *BASOR* No. 78 [1940] p. 22). Later the name is written variously as ^l*Mi-i-ù-ta-a-an-ni*, ^l*Mi-i-ù-ta-an-ni*, *Mi-i-ta-a-an-(ni)*, ^(l)*Mi-i-ta-an-ni*, ^l*Mi-i-ta-a-an-ni*, ^l*Mi-i-ta-an-ni*, ^l*Mi-i-ta-ni*, ^l*Mi-ta-an-ni*, ^l*Mi-ta-an-(ni)*, ^l*Mi-ta-ni*, ^l*Mi-ta-na* (EA pp. 1578 f. [emended]). The Boğazköy texts have regularly ^{lc}*Mi-i-ù-ta-an-ni* (BKS VIII Nos. 1 and 2 *passim*), once ^{lc}*Mi-i-ù-ta-ni* (BKS VIII No. 1:68), also ^{lc}*Mi-i-ù-tan-ni* (Goetze in *MVAG* XXXVIII [1933] 78:47 and 88:68). Later ^l*Mi-ta-a-ni* occurs in an inscription of Tiglathpileser I (Budge and King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria* I [London, 1902] 85:63). The phonetic changes from older Maittanni through *Mèttanni to younger Mittanni and Mittanni are normal. The spelling of *Ma-i-ta-ni* with single consonants is characteristic of the older orthography.

The Egyptian forms *Mīn* and *Mīn* are found in inscriptions of Thutmose III (1490-1436) and his son Amenhotep II, Amenhotep III (1413-1377), Ramses II (1301-1234), Ramses III (ca. 1206-1175), and even Sheshonq I (ca. 945-924). For references see James H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* V (Chicago, 1907) 89; Henri Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*

⁽¹⁾ *Mittanni*, "king of Mittanni,"¹⁶⁸ attested for the kings Šuttarna I,¹⁶⁹ Sauššattar,¹⁷⁰ Tušratta,¹⁷¹ and Mattiwaza.¹⁷² The use of the term Mittanni in a political sense is paralleled by its use—albeit much rarer—in a geographic sense.¹⁷³ The terms are not always synonymous. While the land of Mittanni was situated in northern Mesopotamia, with its center in the upper Khabur region, the state of Mittanni at various times included lands far beyond the boundaries of geographic Mittanni. Thus Sauššattar, king of Mittanni, was the overlord of the kingdom of Arrapha east of the Tigris, of Mukiš in North Syria, and of other smaller kingdoms, all of which had their local kings (cf. p. 76). When later under Mattiwaza the Mittannians lost possession of these outlying districts, the state of Mittanni became restricted to the lands in northern Mesopotamia (see p. 80). The site of the capital of Mittanni, Waššukkanni,¹⁷⁴ is still unknown, although all indications seem to point

contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques III (Le Caire, 1926) 25 f.; J. Simons, Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia (Leiden, 1937) p. 207.

Ungnad's assertion in his Subartu pp. 121, n. 3, and 127, n. 7, that we should use "Mitannu" instead of "Mitanni" because the latter form is a genitive and therefore its use would be as absurd as would that of "Hellados" instead of "Hellas" would be acceptable only if it could be proved that the final *i* is the Akkadian genitive ending. The ending *-anni/a* found in the land name Mittanni/a (see above) occurs also in the land name Masrianni/a (see p. 74), the city name Waššukkanni/a (on that city see my pp. 71 f. and Goetze, Kizzuwatna pp. 44 f.), the title *maranni/a* (e.g. BKS VIII No. 1:36, 42, 54 [with *i*]; No. 3 ii 54 [with *a*]; with final *u* instead in BKS VIII No. 1:32 and No. 2:48; with all three forms also in Antiquaries Journal XIX 43 f.), and the divine name Našattianna (BKS VIII No. 1 rev. 56; No. 2 rev. 41); it is perhaps Hurrian pl. in the last two cases.

The identity of Maittanni-Mittanni of cuneiform sources with Matia/ēnē etc. of classical sources is possible but doubtful. The latter is usually localized in the region between Lake Urmia and the headwaters of the Lower Zab and the Diyala; see Weissbach in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft XXVIII (1930) 2197–99. Besides the Matianoi of that region Herodotus mentions what seems to be another people of the same name who lived on the right (bank) of the upper Halys River in Asia Minor, while Phrygians lived on the left; see further Weissbach *ibid.* cols. 2203 f.—The shift in pronunciation between ancient Mait-(t)an(n)e and classical Matianē might be comparable to that which occurred e.g. between Latin *lignum* and Italian *legno*, on which cf. Édouard Bourciez, *Éléments de linguistique romane* (3. éd. rév.; Paris, 1930) pp. 175 f., 306, and 491.

¹⁶⁸ The reading *šarr māt Mittanni*, "king of the land of Mittanni," is also possible when the sign *māt* is present, for it may be either a determinative or a logogram.

¹⁶⁹ Antiquaries Journal XIX 42 f.

¹⁷⁰ HSS IX 1.

¹⁷¹ EA 17–23 and 25–29; BKS VIII No. 1:2 and *passim*.

¹⁷² BKS VIII No. 2:1 and *passim*.

¹⁷³ In such expressions as "I went to Mittanni" in EA 54:40; 56:39; etc.

¹⁷⁴ Be it noted, however, that the only reason for taking Waššukkanni as the capital of Mittanni is that the early king Sauššattar had his palace there (BKS VIII No. 2:9). Among the cities of Mittanni are listed Šuta and Waššukkanni (*ibid.* No. 1:26 f.); Irrite and Taida (*ibid.* rev. 28); Kaḫat (*ibid.* rev. 36); Irrite, Ujarrān, and Waššukkanni (*ibid.* No. 2:37–64).

toward the district around the source of the Khabur River.¹⁷⁵ Later, after a partial destruction of Waššukkanni,¹⁷⁶ Taida¹⁷⁷ in the neighborhood of Mardin¹⁷⁸ became the capital of Ḫanigalbat, the heir of Mittanni.

The state of Mittanni was populated predominantly by Hurrians and was ruled by kings whose names show them to have been of Indo-European origin.¹⁷⁹ The nobility, called *marianni*, were, to judge from their names, mostly Hurrians.¹⁸⁰ Although most of our sources pertaining to Mittanni are written in Akkadian, the international language of the period, we know that the official language inside the state of Mittanni was Hurrian. This is evident not only from the fact that one of the letters of Tušratta, king of Mittanni, to Amenhotep III¹⁸¹ is written totally in the Hurrian language, but also from the large number of Hurrian words used in other Tušratta letters¹⁸² for things for which the Hurrian scribes did not know the Akkadian names. Moreover, Tušratta commonly calls himself “the Hurrian king,” and the land and the people of Mittanni are also called Hurrian in documents from Boğazköy (p. 74).

Though Tušratta in his Akkadian letters¹⁸³ uses exclusively the title “king of Mittanni,” in two of them he mentions Ḫanigalbat¹⁸⁴ in such context as to make it evident that his own country is meant.¹⁸⁵ When the Assyrian king Aššur-uballiṭ I

¹⁷⁵ Cf. E. F. Weidner in BKS VIII 9, n. 6; *idem* in AOF V (1928–29) 95, n. 1; D. Opitz in ZA XXXVII (1927) 299–301; Ungnad, Subartu p. 122; Thureau-Dangin in RA XXXIV (1937) 147; Goetze, Kizzuwatna p. 48.

¹⁷⁶ First by Artatama II and Šuttarna III (BKS VIII No. 2:1–12), later by Mattiwaša and Pijaššiliš (*ibid.* lines 48–64). Yet the city continued to exist as Uššukana/i, an unimportant city of Ḫanigalbat, in the time of Adad-nīrāri I (AOB I 58:11 and AOF V 90:33).

¹⁷⁷ **Ta-a-da al šarrū-ii-šu*, “Taida, his capital,” AOF V 90:29 f. Cf. also Weidner *ibid.* p. 95, n. 1.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Weidner in BKS VIII 26 f., n. 2.

¹⁷⁹ On the Indo-European character of the names of Mittannian kings see NPN pp. 193 f.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. BKS VIII No. 1:32 f. and Gustavs, “Eigennamen von *marjannu*-Leuten,” ZA XXXVI (1925) 297–302. See also below, p. 74.

¹⁸¹ EA 24; see above, p. 2.

¹⁸² Mostly in EA 22 and 25.

¹⁸³ EA 17–23 and 25–29.

¹⁸⁴ The normal spelling is *Ḫa-ni-gal-bat* (*passim*) with its gentilic *Ḫa-ni-gal-ba-tu-ú* (e.g. EA 16:22; gen. with *-[i-i]* in line 26). Among the unusual spellings note *Ḫa-ni-kal-bat-i* (gentilic gen.; EA 1:38); *Ḫa-na-kal-bat* (EA 255:10); *Ḫa-na-gal-bat* (*ibid.* line 20); ^(b)*Ḫa-li(m)-gal-bat*, *Ḫa-ni-kal-bat*, *Ḫa-ni-in-gal-bat*, *Ḫa-li(sic)-gal-bat* at Nuzi (see E. R. Lacheman’s list in BASOR No. 78 [1940] p. 20); *Ḫa-li-gal-ba-tu-ú* (Mém. II p. 95:2); *Ḫa-bi-gal-ba-tu-ú* (Clay, PNCP p. 78, a spelling hard to explain but evidently correct, since *Ḫa-bi-gal-(bat)* appears in King List A, CT XXXVI 25 rev. ii 12, 14, and 16); *Ḫal-ni* (read *li?*)-*gal-bat* (R. Campbell Thompson, The Prisms of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal Found at Nineveh, 1927–8 [London, 1931] p. 12:70).

¹⁸⁵ EA 20:15–17: “Now in this year I will give my brother’s (Amenhotep III’s) wife, the lady of Egypt, and they shall bring (her) to my brother. And on that day Ḫanigalbat and Egypt [shall become allies (or the like)]”; EA 29:49 (quoting Amenhotep III): “Whenever I ship Egyptian gold to Ḫanigalbat.”

(1362–1327) refers to a predecessor or overlord of his father by calling him “the Ḫanigalbatian king” (p. 66) he clearly refers to a period in which Assyria was under Mittannian domination, again suggesting synonymity of the two terms.¹⁸⁶ In later periods, beginning with Adad-nīrāri I (1304–1273), Ḫanigalbat is frequently at war with the Assyrians (see p. 81). The fact that among the cities of Ḫanigalbat conquered by the Assyrians are included those formerly assigned to Mittanni¹⁸⁷ speaks again in favor of Mittanni = Ḫanigalbat. Since a correction of *‘Mi-li-di-a ša ‘Ḫa-ni-gal-bat* in an inscription of Tiglathpileser I¹⁸⁸ to *‘Mi-li-di-a ša ‘Ḫa-at-te rabī-te*¹⁸⁹ offered by Goetze¹⁹⁰ eliminates the need of locating Ḫanigalbat in the Milidia-Malatya area, all available sources limit Ḫanigalbat to northern Mesopotamia. Noteworthy is the fact that several Nuzi texts refer to Ḫanigalbat,¹⁹¹ while Mittanni is known there only in the title of Sauššattar.¹⁹² This suggests that Ḫanigalbat was primarily a geographic term restricted to an area in northern Mesopotamia and was used in texts of economic and administrative nature because it was more specific than was the political term Mittanni.

From the occurrence of both Ḫanigalbat and Mittanni in a treaty describing events before Šuppiluliumaš (*ca.* 1380–1346)¹⁹³ some scholars have drawn the conclusion that in that earlier period Ḫanigalbat was different from Mittanni.¹⁹⁴ However, since we know of parallel use both of Mittanni and Ḫanigalbat (see p. 72) and of Mittanni and Ḫurri (see just below) in the letters of Tušratta, it is possible that Ḫanigalbat and Mittanni are again interchanged in the treaty.

Corresponding to the expression *Tušratta šarr* ⁽¹⁾*Mittanni*, “Tušratta, king of Mittanni,” in Tušratta’s Akkadian letters,¹⁹⁵ we find two different usages in his Hurrian letter. While in the latter the title *Tušrattawe ‘Mittannewe ewriwe*, “of Tušratta, king of Mittanni,” is found once¹⁹⁶ in company with *Immuriḫawe ‘Mizir-rewenewe ewriwe*, “of Immuriḫa (Amenhotep III), king of Egypt,”¹⁹⁷ the usual title there is *Tušrat[an] ‘Ḫurwuḫe ewirne*, “Tušratta, the Hurrian king,”¹⁹⁸ used in con-

¹⁸⁶ On this point see Fritz Schachermeyr, “Zur geographischen Lage von Mitanni und Ḫanigalbat,” *Janus* I (1921) 188–93.

¹⁸⁷ Thus Šuta, Waššukkanni, Irrite, Taida, Kaḫat, and Ḫarrān of Mittanni (see above, p. 71, n. 174) are all listed as cities of Ḫanigalbat in the inscriptions of Adad-nīrāri I (cf. below, p. 81).

¹⁸⁸ Budge and King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria* I p. 72:34.

¹⁸⁹ After a parallel inscription of Tiglathpileser I in KAH II 71:17.

¹⁹⁰ In MAOG IV (1928–29) 64 f., n. 7; accepted by Weidner in AOF V 93, n. 5.

¹⁹¹ Lacheman in BASOR No. 78 pp. 20 f. ¹⁹² HSS IX 1. ¹⁹³ BKS VIII No. 6.

¹⁹⁴ Schachermeyr *op. cit.* p. 191, n. 4; Goetze in MAOG IV 64.

¹⁹⁵ EA 17–23 and 25–29; cf. above, pp. 70 f.

¹⁹⁶ Mittanni letter (EA 24; quoted after Friedrich, KASD) iii 103 f.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.* iii 104 f. Cf. also i 62 and 84 f.

¹⁹⁸ Written *‘Ḫur-wu-u-ḫé e-wi-ir-ni*, *ibid.* iv 127. Cf. also *(1)Ḫur-wu-u-ḫé*, i 11; ii 68, 72; iii 113; *(2)Ḫur-ru-u-ḫé*, i 14; iii 6; and *‘Ḫur-wu-ḫé*, i 19. On the spellings of Ḫurri see above, pp. 50 f.

nection with *Immuriān* 'Masri[an]ne ewirne'.¹⁹⁹ It is very probable that the terms Mittanne and Mizirre are taken over from Akkadian, while Hurwuḫe and Masrienne are Hurrian.²⁰⁰ Contrast further the frequent pairing of Mittanni or Hurri with Egypt in the Hurrian letter and the pairing of Hanigalbat with Egypt in Amarna letters written in Akkadian (p. 72, n. 185).

Similarly in variant accounts of the same events in Hittite records from Boğazköy we find *Hur-la-aš* KUR-*e* interchanging with ^l*Mi-it-ta-an-ni*²⁰¹ and KUR.KUR.MEŠ *Hur-ri* with ^l*Mi-it-tan-ni*.²⁰²

From such expressions as *ana panī šarr* ^l*Mittanni u panī mārēpl* ^l*Hurri*,²⁰³ "before the king of Mittanni and the Hurrians," and *anāku* ^m*Mattiwaza mār šarri u (nēnu) mārēpl* *Hurri*,²⁰⁴ "I, Mattiwaza, the son of the king, and (we) Hurrians," it is evident that the people of Mittanni (i.e., the nobles? [cf. p. 72]) called themselves Hurrians.²⁰⁵

In all the cases discussed above the Hurrian land and the Hurrians are clearly connected with Mittanni. But the term "king of Hurri" offers a special problem; see pp. 78 f.

Only in the Amarna letters from Syria and Palestine is attested the form **Nahrīma** with its variants.²⁰⁶ It is phonetically almost identical with the form *Nhr(y)n* of Egyptian sources.²⁰⁷ What Nahrīma²⁰⁸ is can be established without difficulty from

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.* iv 128. Cf. also the spellings of the land name Masrienne/a- *ibid.* i 10; ii 69, 71; iii 7, 117; iv 97, 105, 128. In the writing of that name the sign Ḍš always has the value ḏs.

²⁰⁰ See Ungnad, Subartu p. 131.

²⁰¹ KUB XXIV 4:17 and 3 ii 27. Discussed by Goetze in MVAG XXXII 1 (1928) p. 53, n. 3; Ungnad, Subartu p. 130; O. R. Gurney in Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology XXVII (1940) 93 f.

²⁰² KUB XIV 17 ii 32 and KBo III 4 iii 68, translated by Goetze in MVAG XXXVIII (1933) 88. Additional references to the wars of Šuppiluliumaš in the Hurrian lands and Mittanni are given *ibid.* pp. 325 f.; see also discussion by Ungnad in ZA XXXVI 101-3 and in his Subartu p. 130.

²⁰³ E.g. BKS VIII No. 1 rev. 36 f.

²⁰⁴ E.g. BKS VIII No. 2 rev. 44 and similarly elsewhere in Nos. 1 and 2.

²⁰⁵ Written variously *mārēpl* ^l*Hurri*, *mārēpl* ^c*Hurri*, *mārēpl* *Hurri*, also *amīlūtīpl* ^c*Hurri*, *amīlūtīpl* *Hurri*, etc.

²⁰⁶ ^l*Na-ah-(ri)-ma*, EA 75:39 (from Rib-Addi of Gubla); ^l*Na-ri-ma*, EA 140:32 (from Gubla); ^l*[N]a-[a]h-ri-mi*, EA 194:23 (from Namiawaza); ^l*Na-ah-ri-ma*^{RT}, EA 288:35 (from ARAD-Ḥepa of Jerusalem).

²⁰⁷ Common in texts extending from Thutmose I (ca. 1526-1496?) to Ramses III (ca. 1206-1175), archaistically also under Taharqa (688-663). For references see Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt V 89; Gauthier, Dictionnaire des noms géographiques ... III 96; Simons, Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists p. 208.

²⁰⁸ Cuneiform Nahrīma (standing for Nahrīma) is a "Canaanitic" pl. form with *m* and final *a*, as in the Amarna glosses *mē/īma*, "water," *šamāma*, *šamēma*, "heaven," and perhaps *sāsīma*, "horses" (written *zu-ū-zi-ma* as a gloss to *sīsē*), and corresponds to Nahrīna, the "Aramaic" form in *n* and final *a* apparently used by the Egyptians.

two independent sources. One of the Amarna letters of Tušratta, king of Mittanni, to Amenhotep IV has at the end a note in hieratic, added by an Egyptian scribe, defining it as a "copy of the *Nh[r]lyn* letter."²⁰⁹ Kelu-Ḥepa, wife of Amenhotep III, who according to some of the Amarna letters (see p. 77) was the daughter of Šuttarna II and sister of Tušratta, king of Mittanni, is described as *Krgp*, daughter of Štrn, prince (*wr*) of *Nhrn*, in an Egyptian scarab inscription.²¹⁰ These two comparisons lead to the conclusion that the Egyptians identified their Nahrīna with Mittanni. The term corresponds roughly with Mesopotamia,²¹¹ and it may include also parts of North Syria.²¹²

Summarizing the conclusions reached above, we find that

1. Mittanni is a political term for a state which included not only the land Mittanni proper in Mesopotamia but at times various subject kingdoms such as Arrappā and Mukiš outside of Mesopotamia.
2. Ḥanigalbat is normally the Akkadian equivalent of geographic Mittanni proper. In later Assyrian sources it takes the place of Mittanni as a political term.
3. Ḥurri is the native Hurrian term which corresponds to Mittanni in Tušratta's Hurrian letter. The inhabitants of Mittanni are Hurrians, and the native language of the state is Hurrian.
4. Naḥrīma-Nahrīna is the "Canaanitic-Aramaic" and Egyptian term for Mittanni.

History.—The history of Mittanni can be sketchily followed for about two hundred years from obscure beginnings around 1500 B.C. until its absorption by the Assyrians. Only for the kings Sauššattar, Tušratta, and Mattiwaza do we have contemporary sources at our disposal; events during the reigns of the other kings have to be reconstructed from secondary Mittannian, Assyrian, and Egyptian material. Table 1 summarizes what we know of the genealogy of the Mittannian rulers.

The first attested king of Maīttanni or Mittanni is Šuttarna I, son of . . . dirta, whose seal was used on a court record, discovered at Tell ʿAṭshāneh in North Syria, of the outcome of a suit brought before Sauššattar (written *Sa-uš-sa-ʿatar*), a later king.²¹³ The use of an earlier king's seal by Sauššattar is duplicated at Tell ʿAṭshāneh by the use of the seal of Abba-il, son of Šarra-il, by Niqmepa, son of Idrimi, a local king of the land of Mukiš and city of Alalakh.²¹⁴ Sidney Smith suggests that this usage "depends upon a desire to legitimize succession."²¹⁵

Sauššattar's own seal, used on a tablet found at Nuzi,²¹⁶ calls him son of Parsašatar

²⁰⁹ EA 27 and p. 1065. Could the hieratic note mean that the letter actually found is a translation of a Hurrian original?

²¹⁰ Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* II § 867; EA p. 1043.

²¹¹ Cf. the usual rendering *Mesopotamia* in the Septuagint for Hebrew *Naharaim*.

²¹² Cf. e.g. Tunip in Nahrīna in Breasted *op. cit.* III § 365 (time of Ramses II).

²¹³ Sidney Smith in *Antiquaries Journal* XIX (1939) 41–43.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 40 f. and 43.

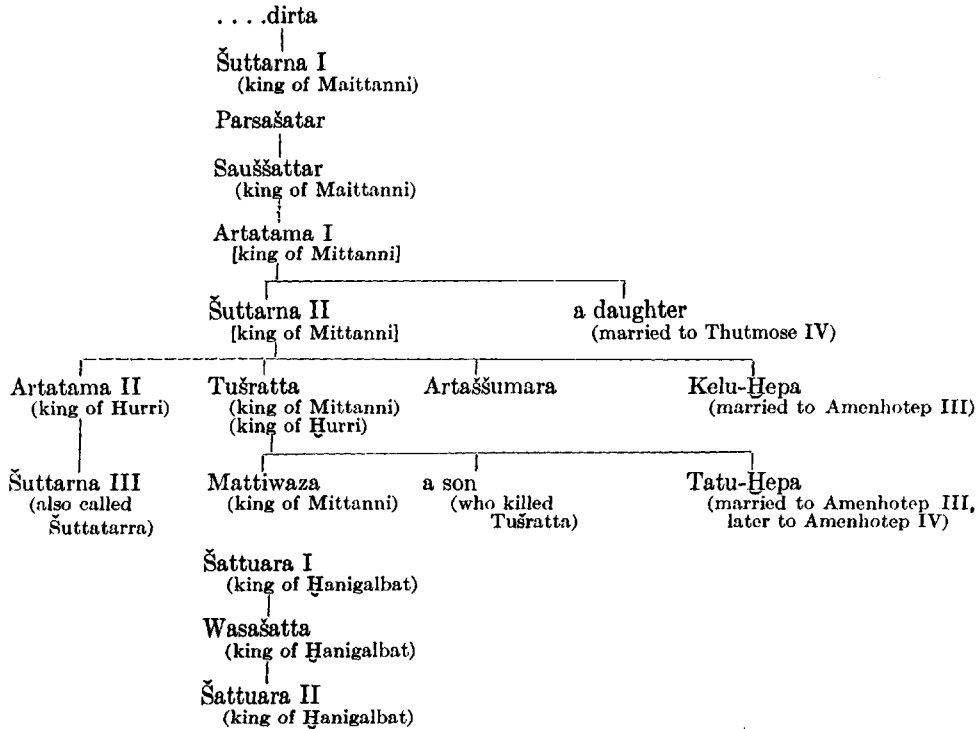
²¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 43.

²¹⁶ HSS IX 1, discussed by Speiser, "A letter of Saushshatar and the date of the Kirkuk tablets," *JAOS* XLIX (1929) 269–75.

and king of Maittanni. Elsewhere Sauššattar is named only in a treaty between Mattiwaza, king of Mittanni, and the Hittite king Šuppiluliumaš (*ca.* 1380–1346), which mentions that Sauššattar the king, the <great->great-grandfather of Mattiwaza, took from Assur a door of silver and gold and set it up in his palace at Waš-šukkanni.²¹⁷

The empire of Sauššattar evidently included large areas outside of Mittanni proper. The sources just cited indicate that to it belonged the region east of the

TABLE 1



Tigris around Nuzi in the ancient kingdom of Arrapha, the land of Mukiš around Tell ‘Aṭshāneh in North Syria, and Assyria itself. Since from all three areas contemporary local kings are known,²¹⁸ we must conclude that they all stood in some

²¹⁷ Weidner in BKS VIII No. 2:8f. Since Mattiwaza’s great-grandfather was Artatama I (see below), it is evident that “great-grandfather” of the text should be emended to “great-great-grandfather.”—The reference to *Sa-uš-ša-tar* in KUB III 86:5 cited by Weidner in BKS VIII 38, n. 3, yields nothing of importance.

²¹⁸ On kings of Arrapha cf. e.g. Lacheman in BASOR No. 78 p. 19; on kings of Mukiš see just above; on kings of Assyria see the Assyrian king lists. For other evidence of Mittannian rule over Assyria see above, pp. 66 f.

relation of dependence on the overlord of Mittanni, whose empire resembled in type that of the Hittites in Anatolia.

Artatama I and Šuttarna II are known only from incidental references in the letters of Tušratta. All we know about Artatama I is that he was a grandfather of Tušratta and that a daughter of his, a sister of Šuttarna II, was married to Thutmose IV (*ca.* 1426–1413?).²¹⁹ Šuttarna II, father of Tušratta, lived at peace with Thutmose IV, then with his son Amenhotep III (1413–1377); to the latter he gave his daughter Kelu-Ḫepa, sister of Tušratta, in marriage.²²⁰ That Šuttarna II was able to send “Eštar of Nineveh” to Egypt²²¹ suggests that in his time Assyria was under Mittannian domination.

We know more about Tušratta, son of Šuttarna II and grandson of Artatama I, than about any other Mittannian king. Our sources are in the first place Tušratta's own letters to Amenhotep III, Teje, and Amenhotep IV (1377–1360)²²² and in the second place two versions of a treaty between Šuppiluliumaš (*ca.* 1380–1346) and Mattiwaza.²²³

The accession of Tušratta to the throne of Mittanni was clouded by events which he describes in a letter to Amenhotep III: “After I took my seat on the throne of my father, while I was (still) small (young), Parḫi committed an evil deed against my land and killed his lord; . . . and I killed the murderers of my brother Artaššumara and all that belonged to them.”²²⁴ There is no evidence elsewhere which might suggest that Artaššumara preceded Tušratta on the throne.²²⁵

Tušratta had close diplomatic relations with Egypt. His correspondence with Egyptian rulers is full of references to the exchange of letters, gifts, and envoys between the two countries. In one of his earliest letters to Amenhotep III Tušratta speaks of having sent him gifts of booty taken from the Hittites.²²⁶ Tušratta gave his daughter Tatu-Ḫepa in marriage first to Amenhotep III,²²⁷ then after the latter's death to Amenhotep IV.²²⁸ Two very long documents contain lists of gifts presented

²¹⁹ EA 24 iii 52 ff.; 29:16 ff.

²²⁰ EA 17:5 and 21 ff.; 19:6; 24 i 47 ff.; 29:18 ff. Cf. also the Egyptian reference to Kelu-Ḫepa, daughter of Šuttarna, quoted above, p. 75.

²²¹ EA 23:18 ff.

²²² EA 17–29.

²²³ BKS VIII Nos. 1–2.

²²⁴ EA 17:11–20. The reading *Par-ḫi* is decidedly preferable to *Tu-ḫi* as taken in EA *loc. cit.* and p. 1042; on the Hurrian stem *parḫ* see NPN p. 243.

²²⁵ As assumed by Winckler in MVAG XVIII 4 (1913) p. 64 and by Weber in EA p. 1042. A possible mention of Artaššumara in connection with Ḫanigalbat in EA 18:8 f. is too doubtful for discussion.

²²⁶ EA 17:30 ff.

²²⁷ EA 19:17 ff.; 20:8 ff.; 21:13 ff.; 23:7 f.; 27:20; 29:21 ff.

²²⁸ EA 27:1 ff.; 28:1 ff.; 29:1 ff.

to the respective pharaohs on the occasion of these marriages.²²⁹ As formerly in the time of Šuttarna II, "Eštar of Nineveh" was sent again to Egypt,²³⁰ probably as a curative agent, this time just before the death of Amenhotep III. Tušratta's wife was named Iuni.²³¹

The letters of Tušratta to the Egyptian kings show nothing but peace and order ruling in Mittanni. Entirely different conditions must have prevailed there toward the end of his reign, to judge by the historical paragraphs in the treaty concluded between the Hittite king Šuppiluliumaš and Mattiwaza, son of Tušratta, preserved in two versions and several copies.²³²

The Hittites, with whom Tušratta had previously waged victorious war (p. 77), had greatly increased their power under Šuppiluliumaš. Intent upon the conquest of North Syria, Šuppiluliumaš crossed the Euphrates, seized first the lands Išuwa and Ašše, then proceeded southward to Mittanni proper, where he plundered Šuta and Waššukkanni. Then he turned back, recrossed the Euphrates, and conquered the lands Ḫalpa, Mukišše, Niija, Qatna, Nuḫašši/e, Abina, and Kinza, all in North Syria. Summarizing, Šuppiluliumaš states that in one year all these lands he plundered and the lands between Lebanon and the Euphrates he incorporated into his state.²³³ Since in two places Šuppiluliumaš refers to the fact that he invaded these lands in war against Tušratta,²³⁴ it is evident that before this campaign they must have formed part of Tušratta's kingdom.²³⁵

The reasons for Šuppiluliumaš' invasion of the lands of Tušratta are given in the introductory lines of the treaty, which states that when the Hittite king Šuppiluliumaš made a treaty with Artatama (II), king of Ḫurri, then Tušratta, king of Mittanni, rose in war against Šuppiluliumaš.²³⁶ Since we know that Tušratta called himself not only king of Mittanni but also the Hurrian king (p. 73) and since other sources too prove the practical synonymy of these two terms (p. 74), it is at first difficult to understand the contrast between Artatama, king of Ḫurri, and Tušratta, king of Mittanni, expressed in the treaty. Where is the land Ḫurri governed by this Artatama? Winckler,²³⁷ followed by Weidner²³⁸ and others, takes Tušratta's prede-

²²⁹ EA 22 and 25.

²³⁰ EA 23:13 ff.; for the tentative explanation of this sending added above cf. EA pp. 1050 f.

²³¹ EA 26:60 and 62. The name is compared with Latin Juno and Junius by E. Unger, *Altindogermanisches Kulturgut in Nordmesopotamien* (Leipzig, 1938) p. 17. His reading *I-ù-ù-ni* in a seal impression on an Old Babylonian tablet is questionable.

²³² BKS VIII Nos. 1 and 2.

²³³ *Ibid.* No. 1:17-47.

²³⁴ *Ibid.* lines 17 f. and 45 f.

²³⁵ So Weidner *ibid.* p. 6, n. 1.

²³⁶ *Ibid.* No. 1:1-3.

²³⁷ In MDOG No. 35 (1907) p. 49 and MVAG XVIII 4 (1913) pp. 64-66.

²³⁸ In BKS VIII 2, n. 1, and 16, n. 1.

cessors Sauššattar, Artatama I, and Šuttarna II to have been kings of Great Hurri (Hurri plus Mittanni) who were followed originally by Artatama II and then by his son Šuttarna III. Tušratta, king of Mittanni, is considered a usurper who tore Mittanni away from its legitimate rulers, restricting the Hurri kingdom to a small area in Armenia. But the foregoing reconstruction by Weidner and Winckler has been rendered implausible by the discovery that Šuttarna I and Sauššattar were called kings of Mittanni (see pp. 70 f.) but not kings of Hurri, a fact which implies that the kings Artatama I and Šuttarna II who ruled between Sauššattar and Tušratta were likewise kings of Mittanni. In view of the custom, so frequent in the ancient Near East, of naming (first-born?) children after their grandparents,²³⁹ it is possible that Artatama II and Šuttarna III were legitimately entitled to the throne of Artatama I and Šuttarna II,²⁴⁰ but that at the end of the reign of Šuttarna II, in some way which the sources now available do not indicate, Tušratta, another son of Šuttarna II, became the ruler instead and assumed the title "king of Mittanni" or (alternatively) "king of Hurri." Artatama II, the legitimate claimant, must then have gone to Šuppiluliumaš for help and after some years concluded with him the treaty which provoked war between Šuppiluliumaš and Tušratta.

The differentiation between the title of Artatama II, "king of Hurri," and Tušratta's title, "king of Mittanni," in the treaty between Šuppiluliumaš and Mattiwaza has been taken to mean that in this period Hurri was a geographic area distinct from Mittanni. Since the existence of such a state as a separate entity is unsupported by any evidence known to me, and since in both the Mittannian sources and some others pertaining to Tušratta and to his son Mattiwaza (pp. 73 f.) the terms Mittanni and Hurri are synonymous, the difference between them implied in the treaty should be explained not from the Mittannian but rather from the Hittite point of view. The Hittites may have considered Tušratta as a king who had usurped for himself the kingdom of Mittanni, Artatama II on the other hand as the legitimate ruler over all the Hurri lands.²⁴¹

The treaty relates that, after this unsuccessful war with Šuppiluliumaš, Tušratta was killed by an unnamed son of his.²⁴² "And when Tušratta the king died, then Tešup decided the case of Artatama (II), and Artatama brought (back) to life his dead son (Šuttarna III); and the whole of Mittanni went to ruin, and the Assyrians

²³⁹ E.g., Šattuara II was probably grandson of Šattuara I (see below, p. 81).

²⁴⁰ Winckler *op. cit.* p. 63 and Weidner *op. cit.* p. 36, n. 3, and p. 42, n. 3, take Artatama II as brother of Tušratta without, as far as I can see, offering any proofs.

²⁴¹ Cf. Šuppiluliumaš' use of the general terms Ḫatti, Hurri, Mišri, Karaduniyaš, Aštata, and Alše in BKS VIII No. 3 ii 7 ff. and 41 ff. in contrast with the specific term Mittanni *ibid.* i 3, 4, 10, and 18. Important also are the numerous occurrences of *šarr Hur-ri*, "king of Hurri," beside *mât Hur-ri*, *amîl Hur-ri*, and *amîlâtî Hur-ri* in the Kizwatna treaty (BKS VIII No. 7).

²⁴² BKS VIII No. 1:48.

and the Alšeans divided it between themselves."²⁴³ This can be interpreted to mean that, after the death of Tušratta, Tešup finally favored the cause of Artatama, who succeeded in establishing Šuttarna as ruler in Mittanni.²⁴⁴ Artatama and especially his son Šuttarna²⁴⁵ are said to have committed much evil in Mittanni. They plundered and destroyed the palace of Tušratta and the homes of the Hurrians; objects of silver and gold and other royal possessions they presented to the Assyrians and the Alšeans; the great of the land they turned over to the Assyrians and the Alšeans, who then executed them.²⁴⁶ Šuttarna tried to kill Mattiwaza, the son of Tušratta, who, however, succeeded in escaping to Šuppiluliumaš.²⁴⁷

The treaty states further that Mattiwaza met Šuppiluliumaš at the Maraššantijaš (Halys) River in Anatolia to ask him for help. Šuppiluliumaš decided to conquer Mittanni and its ruler Šuttarna III, establish Mattiwaza on the throne there, and give him his own daughter in marriage.²⁴⁸ Mattiwaza thereupon asked Šuppiluliumaš "not to change Artatama the king on the throne of his kingdom" and continued with the further request: "May I stand under his overlordship, and may I receive (only) Mittanni."²⁴⁹ This important passage seems to imply that Artatama II was the overlord of all the Hurri lands and that Mattiwaza as king of Mittanni would come under his suzerainty.

With the help of Pišaššiliš, king of Carchemish and son of Šuppiluliumaš, Mattiwaza after battles for the cities Irrite, Ḫarrān, and Waššukkanni finally conquered Mittanni and eliminated Šuttarna.²⁵⁰ He then concluded with Šuppiluliumaš a treaty of peace which guaranteed the boundaries of Šuppiluliumaš, Pišaššiliš, and Mattiwaza. Šuppiluliumaš retained North Syria, delimited by the Euphrates on the east and Lebanon on the south; his son Pišaššiliš added to his realm of Carchemish the lands situated south of it along the Euphrates; Mattiwaza's kingdom was evidently restricted to lands in Mesopotamia.²⁵¹ We know nothing more about the reign of Mattiwaza or about his subsequent relations with Artatama II.

²⁴³ *Ibid.* lines 48 ff.—Assyria was at this time under the rule of the powerful Aššur-uballiṭ I (pp. 45 and 66 f.).

²⁴⁴ For *bulluṭu*, "to revive," in a political sense, cf. *ibid.* No. 1 rev. 22 and No. 2:28.

²⁴⁵ Variant Šuttatarra *ibid.* No. 1:53.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.* No. 2:1–13.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.* No. 1:53–55.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.* No. 1:55–58 and No. 2:21–25.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.* No. 2:29 f. Read *te-er-te-nu-ut-ti-šu*, as Luckenbill evidently did (cf. his translation in *AJSL XXXVII* [1920/21] 173), against *te-ir-te ardu-ti-šu* of Weidner.

²⁵⁰ BKS VIII No. 2:35–68. These same events are described in a fragmentary document, Hittite Texts in the Cuneiform Character from Tablets in the British Museum (London, 1920) No. 21 + KUB VIII 80, discussed by J. Friedrich, "Ein Bruchstück des Vertrages Mattiwaza-Šuppiluliuma in hethitischer Sprache?," *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung* II (1924–25) 119–24.

²⁵¹ BKS VIII No. 1 rev. 14–21.

With Mattiwaza ends the history of the state of Mittanni. Later sources referring to the same area know only of the state of Ḫanigalbat. The Assyrian king Adad-nīrāri I (1304–1273) tells of wars against it. First he fought with Šattuara, king of Ḫanigalbat, whom he captured and brought to Assur. There he made him swear an oath of allegiance, then released him to his own land on condition that he pay a yearly tribute to the Assyrians.²⁵² After Šattuara's death his son Wasašatta rebelled against Adad-nīrāri, who again was forced to invade Ḫanigalbat. He conquered Taidi the capital, Amasaki, Kaḫat, Šuri, Nabula, Ḫurra, Šuduḫi, Uššukani, Irridi, Eluḫat and the Kašijari Mountains, Sudi, and Ḫarrāni.²⁵³ All these cities, but without reference to Ḫanigalbat, are again mentioned in another historical inscription²⁵⁴ as conquered by Adad-nīrāri I.

But the conquest of the cities of Ḫanigalbat by Adad-nīrāri I was of no avail, since his son Shalmaneser I (1272–1243) had to fight against the same land. The new king of Ḫanigalbat, Šattuara II, probably the son of Wasašatta, was defeated by the Assyrian king, and his land was incorporated into the Assyrian state.²⁵⁵

Centuries after Shalmaneser I, other Assyrian kings report punitive expeditions against Ḫanigalbat. Adad-nīrāri II (911–891) marched six times against it,²⁵⁶ and Aššur-nāšir-apli II (883–859) talks of tribute paid by Ḫanigalbat and of the capture of Sura.²⁵⁷ The last Assyrian king to fight in Ḫanigalbat was Esarhaddon (680–669).²⁵⁸

LATEST TRACES

Gradually Hurrians disappear from the large areas in which they were found so profusely in the several centuries after 1500 B.C. For the time around 1100 B.C. and the following centuries an entirely different ethnic picture is given by the occurrences of Hurrian personal names in Assyrian historical inscriptions. In order to make clear

²⁵² Weidner, "Die Kämpfe Adadnarāris I. gegen Ḫanigalbat," AOF V (1928–29) 89–100, esp. pp. 90 f., lines 4–17. On p. 94 Weidner expresses the belief that this Šattuara I was identical with Šuttarna III.

²⁵³ *Ibid.* pp. 90–92, lines 18–60, supplemented by Józef Bromski, "Le nouveau monument d'Adad-nīrāri I.," *Rocznik orientalistyczny* IV (1928) 190–95, discussed by Weidner, "Wasašatta, König von Ḫanigalbat," AOF VI (1930–31) 21 f. A reference to Waša[šatta] in a Hittite letter (KUB XXIII 102 i 1) discussed by Forrer, *Forschungen* I 2 (Berlin, 1929) pp. 246 f., and by Weidner *loc. cit.* is too doubtful to use.

²⁵⁴ AOB I 58–61; Luckenbill, ARAB I § 73.

²⁵⁵ AOB I 116–19; Luckenbill *op. cit.* § 116. The name of the land is written ¹*Ḫa-ni-gal-bat*, but once ¹*Ḫa-ni-(gal-bat)*. There are no grounds for reading the latter form as ¹*Ḫa-ni* and connecting it with Ḫana on the Euphrates, as proposed by some scholars.

²⁵⁶ Luckenbill *op. cit.* §§ 363–68 and 373.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.* §§ 447 and 502; with latter cf. § 390 ("Broken Obelisk," undated).

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.* II § 504 and R. Campbell Thompson, *The Prisms of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal Found at Nineveh, 1927–8* (London, 1931) p. 12:70.

the new geographic distribution, only sure occurrences of names which can be definitely linked with sites are quoted below.

1. Tiglathpileser I (1114–1076) in describing his campaign against Katmuḫi tells of the capture of their king “Kili-Tešup, the son of Kali-Tešup, whom they call Irrupi.”²⁵⁹ As was recognized by Ungnad²⁶⁰ and Oppenheim,²⁶¹ “Irrupi” contains the Hurrian word *erwi*, “king.”

2. On the same expedition Tiglathpileser I receives tribute from Šati-Tešup, son of Ḫattuḫe,²⁶² king of Urraṭinaš. The name Ḫattuḫe, meaning “Hittite” in Hurrian, is very interesting because it indicates the mixture of Hittite and Hurrian ethnic elements after the fall of the Hittite Empire.

3. Another king of Katmuḫi is *Ku-un-di-ip*[-. . .]-e, mentioned in the annals of Aššur-dân II (934–912).²⁶³ The ending *-ip* of the first element makes it probable that the whole name is Hurrian.²⁶⁴

4. Lutipri, father of Sarduri I, king of Urartu, is mentioned in Urartian inscriptions.²⁶⁵ The first name can, if divided Luti-ipri, be Hurrian as suggested by Goetze.²⁶⁶

5. Shalmaneser III (858–824) fights with *Ir-ḫu-le-e-ni*, *Ir-ḫu-le-na/ni*, *Ur-ḫi-le-ni*, king of Hamath in Syria. This name evidently corresponds to Urḫal-enni at Nuzi.²⁶⁷

6. Sargon II of Assyria (721–705) captured Telu-sina of the land of Andia.²⁶⁸ The Andian ruler's name is probably Hurrian, because its second element *sina* is found in Antari-sina discussed above (p. 67).²⁶⁹

7. In the Late Assyrian letters of Sargon's period Ḫu-Tešup is mentioned once in connection with Urartu.²⁷⁰ The form Ḫu-Tešup corresponds to the earlier form Ḫut-Tešup at Nuzi.

8. In connection with his siege of Ubbume, capital of the land of Šubria, Esarhad-

²⁵⁹ Luckenbill, ARAB I § 222.

²⁶⁰ Subartu p. 162.

²⁶¹ In RHA V (1938—) 111 f.

²⁶² Luckenbill *op. cit.* § 223. The reading Ḫattuḫe is simpler than and decidedly preferable to Luckenbill's “Hattu-shar(?)”.

²⁶³ Weidner in AOF III (1926) 154 and 156 f., line 39.

²⁶⁴ On the stem *kunt* at Nuzi see NPN.

²⁶⁵ Tallqvist, APN p. 123. Exact date unknown, but older than Shalmaneser III.

²⁶⁶ HCA p. 104, n. 2, where some Hurrian names of this period are mentioned. The division indicated above is that of Purves, who in NPN p. 211 suggests the interpretation Luti-ewri from *Lupti-ewri.

²⁶⁷ See Gelb, Hittite Hieroglyphs II (SAOC No. 14 [1935]) 7 (where also the hieroglyphic Hittite form Urḫilina- is cited), and NPN p. 273.

²⁶⁸ Luckenbill *op. cit.* II §§ 13 and 56.

²⁶⁹ As recognized by L. Oppenheim in WZKM XLV (1938) 282. Cf. also the Nuzi name *Te-lu-ia*.

²⁷⁰ Tallqvist, APN p. 90.

don (680–669) mentions two of the king's sons, ^mŠe-er-.[. . .] and [m. . .]-gi-te-šu-up, of whom the second at least bears a Hurrian name.²⁷¹

9. In another inscription Esarhaddon tells of slaying Inip-Tešup, king of Šubria.²⁷²

10. The name of Antarija, governor of Urartu, an enemy of Ashurbanipal of Assyria (668–633?),²⁷³ is probably Hurrian.²⁷⁴

11. Ashurbanipal warred also against Aḫ-šeri, king of the Manneans, who had a son ʾalli and a grandson Eri-sinni.²⁷⁵ Of these three names Aḫ-šeri²⁷⁶ is probably, Eri-sinni²⁷⁷ certainly, Hurrian.

Rulers or other persons bearing Hurrian names are thus attested for the following lands: Katmuḫi, Urraṭinaš, Urartu, Hamath, Andia, Šubria, and Mannaj. There is no need to go into details about the exact location of each of these, since, though nearly all of them offer individual problems, their general location is relatively sure. They all (with the exception of Hamath in Syria) are situated between northern Mesopotamia and Lake Van in an area extending partly west of the Euphrates and partly east of the Tigris. The most interesting conclusion from the negative point of view is that in the late periods Hurrians are completely absent from central Mesopotamia. Supporting this conclusion, recently published inscriptions from Tell Ḥalāf near the headwaters of the Khabur, where in the middle of the 2d millennium flourished the capital of the state of Mittanni, show for the 8th century B.C. no traces of Hurrian population.²⁷⁸

²⁷¹ Luckenbill *op. cit.* II § 601; Theo Bauer in ZA XL (1931) 242 f.:22 (=257:22).

²⁷² Luckenbill *op. cit.* § 710.

²⁷³ Cf. *ibid.* § 854, which calls Antarija "chieftain of the land of Lubdu"; but see correction by A. C. Piepkorn, *Historical Prism Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal*, I (AS No. 5 [1933]) 56 f. A city Lubdu/i/a mentioned by Adad-nīrāri I and later (see Luckenbill *op. cit.* p. 471 [index]) seems to lie south of the Lower Zab (cf. *ibid.* I § 293).

²⁷⁴ Cf. Antari-sina, mentioned above under No. 6.

²⁷⁵ Luckenbill *op. cit.* § 786.

²⁷⁶ Cf. the element šeri(š) in NPN.

²⁷⁷ Cf. the Nuzi name Iri-šenni.

²⁷⁸ Johannes Friedrich, G. Rudolf Meyer, Arthur Ungnad, and Ernst F. Weidner, *Die Inschriften vom Tell Halaf* (AOF Beiheft 6 [1940]) pp. 79–82 (list of personal names).

V

CONCLUSIONS

In the preceding two chapters I have tried to reconstruct the histories of the Subarians and Hurrians as two independent ethnic and political units. The problems involved and the difficulties encountered in the two reconstructions are different in nature as well as extent. An orderly reconstruction of the history of the Subarians is beset by difficulties arising from differences in content of the term "Subartu" both as used in different periods and as used in Babylonian and Assyrian sources respectively. Considerably simpler and clearer is the history of the Hurrians.

SUBARIANS

Subarian beginnings are lost in the darkness of the prehistory of Babylonia. Our earliest readable Sumerian documents show Subarians already living peacefully in Babylonia side by side with Sumerians and Akkadians. Subarians in Babylonia are attested by documents extending from the Fara period through the pre-Sargonic, Sargonic, Ur III, and Hammurabi dynasties down to the Kassite period. Of persons either named "Šubur" or called "Subarian" or bearing Subarian names, some are slaves; but there are others who participate in the economic life of the land in such a way that it is impossible to consider them foreigners. The Subarian element can be further recognized in some very old Babylonian city names based on related roots (pp. 31, 33, and 95 f.). The fact that some Subarians are found in Babylonia proper as far back in time as written documents can yet take us raises an important question of origins. Who really were the Subarians? How did they get to Babylonia? Is it possible that these Subarians—in contrast to the single Subarian-Hurrian folk of Un-gnad—formed at one time an aboriginal population of Babylonia and of neighboring lands? The answers to these and other similarly fascinating questions cannot be given in the present monograph, for its aim is not to investigate Mesopotamian origins but to prove the distinct character of the two ethnic units here under discussion. I am planning to come back to these further questions on another occasion.

From the pre-Sargonic period on we come in contact with Subarians living north of Babylonia, chiefly in the mountains east of the Tigris, whence they continually menace the organized states of Mesopotamia. It is in this foreign land that we are here chiefly interested. Our initial goal is to discover the geographic limits of Subartu or the land of the Subarians according to Assyro-Babylonian sources.

Let us first try to sum up the Babylonian evidence. Late copies of an inscription of Lugal-anni-mundu of Adab mention Subartu between Gutium and Amurru (pp. 33 f.). Eannatum of Lagash subdues Elam, Subartu, and Urua (p. 34). Old Akkadian

kings refer to various wars with Subartu; but the only important reference from the geographic point of view, that to the conquest of "all Elam up to Baraḥšum and of Šubartum up to the Cedar Forest" (p. 35), remains hard to interpret because of uncertainty as to the location of the Cedar Forest. A possible connection between Subartu and the city Rimuš near Nineveh is suggested by a damaged copy of another Old Akkadian record (p. 36). In the Ur III period Arad-Nanna of Lagash calls himself "governor of the Subarians and of the land Kardak" (p. 38), while Šū-Sin tells of having devastated the land Zabšali and (probably) the lands of the Subarians also (p. 38). The end of the 3d dynasty of Ur is marked by the destruction of Ur by Subarians and Elamites (p. 39). Išbi-Irra of Mari and Isin fights more than once with the Subarians, and one of his years is named after a defeat of Subartu and Elam (p. 39). In the Hammurabi period defeats of Subartu, Elam, Gutium, etc. are mentioned in several year names (p. 41). According to one of them Hammurabi conquered Mankisum and the bank(s) of the Tigris up to Subartu. In a historical inscription he refers to Subartu and other lands "whose mountains are distant and whose languages are complicated" (p. 41). Ibâl-pi-El II, a contemporary local dynast of Ešnunna, also fights against Subartu (p. 42). The area with which Subarian names found in the texts of the 3d dynasty of Ur and of the 1st dynasty of Babylon seem to be connected lies in the Zagros Mountains with prolongation toward Armenia north of the Tigris on the one side and southward toward Elam on the other (p. 40).

The Babylonian sources just summarized show Subartu as a political unit parallel to Elam (in a narrow sense, as the region around Susa), Gutium, Ešnunna, etc., best evidenced by the texts of the Hammurabi period. It is situated north of Babylonia in an area extending from the Tigris to the Zagros Mountains. Its northern boundary is unknown; its southern lies probably north of the Diyala,¹ which is held by Ešnunna. Subartu touches the bank(s) of the Tigris (p. 41), and in the cultivable area east of the Tigris must have stood the cities of Subartu mentioned in other sources (pp. 41 and 46). The distant and high mountains of Subartu (see inscriptions of Hammurabi, p. 41, and Tukulti-Ninurta II, p. 46) were doubtless some of the Zagros ranges. The area thus determined² includes the territory of Assyria proper and fits well the implication of the inscriptions from Mari and Ešnunna that Subartu was not too distant from either. The inclusion of Assyria in Subartu in con-

¹ The fact that one city of Subartu lay south of the Lower Zab in the time of Enlil-nīrāri (p. 45) shows that Subartu must have extended then at least south of the Lower Zab.

² B. Landsberger in ZA XXXV (1924) 228-36, esp. p. 230, located Subartu between the Upper Zab in the north and the Aḡzeim in the south, partly on a basis with which I cannot agree, namely his reconstruction of the Hurrian ethnic element, which he calls Subarian. In OLZ XXXIV (1931) 130 Landsberger took the stand that the area he had proposed in ZA XXXV for Subartu was too limited and that at times it may have extended much farther west, but not including northern Mesopotamia and Syria until the founding of the kingdom of Mittanni.

temporaneous historical texts is confirmed by later Babylonian tradition, which identifies Subartu with Assyria.³

That the land of the Subarians had a wider connotation than that indicated above is also shown by later Babylonian tradition, which often associates Subartu with one part or another of a large area extending mostly north, but partly also east, of Babylonia: Elam, Anšan, Īamutbal, Ešnunna, and Gutium.

Subartu and Elam are each represented by the Sumerian writings *su-gir* and *sa-gir* according to late Assyrian syllabaries (p. 92). Earlier connections between these two countries were summarized above (pp. 25 f.).

According to a geographic list Subartu extends to Anšan.⁴ Mention of a king (and throne) of Anšan and Subartu⁵ in an astrological omen points likewise to the proximity of these two areas.

In different copies of a synonym list Aransuh, variant Aranzû, is given as the name of the Tigris in Īamutbal, variant Subartu, just as Uruttu is given as the name of the Euphrates in Subartu (p. 21). The interchange of the names Īamutbal and Subartu suggests that to one copyist they meant approximately the same thing. Īamutbal was situated south of the Diyala, near Dêr.⁶

That both Subartu and Ešnunna are equated with Sumerian *mi-ir* (p. 92) is not surprising in view of the frequent connections between these two lands in Babylonian texts of various periods (cf. pp. 37, 39, 41, 42).

The whole inhabited world is divided according to late Babylonian tradition into four regions, which typify the points of the compass: usually Subartu is north, Akkad (i.e., Babylonia) is south, Elam is east, and Amurru is west.⁷ But Gutium ap-

³ Cf. *ma-da Su-bir₄KI* = (*mât*) *Su-bar-ti* = *mât Aš-[šur₄KI]* in a geographic list, KAV 183:6, cited by Ungnad, Subartu p. 61.—On the Babylonian origin of such compositions as syllabaries and lists see above, p. 29.

⁴ Written [*adi An-za-an₄-an₄ KI mât SU.BIR₄KI*] in KAV 92:3; cf. Ungnad, Subartu p. 40, and Albright in JAOS XLV (1925) 195. For a likely explanation of the spelling *An-za-an₄-an₄ KI* cf. Albright *op. cit.* p. 198.

⁵ Written LUGAL (and GIŠ.GU.ZA) *An-ša₄-an₄KI u SU.BIR₄KI* in C. Virolleaud, *L'Astrologie chaldéenne, Texte cunéiforme, Sin* (Paris, 1908) XXXIII 65 f. Cf. Ungnad, Subartu p. 87, also his pp. 80 and 90.

⁶ See Weidner in MVAG XXVI 2 (1921) p. 43 and Albright in JAOS XLV 226 f. The location of Dêr at modern Badrah, proposed by E. Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches* (Leipzig, 1920) p. 135, was confirmed—as Professor Cameron reminds me—by the finding at Badrah of a votive inscription dedicated to ^dK_A.DI, king of Dêr (published by Sidney Smith in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* XVIII [1932] 28–32).—Īamutbal corresponds in one syllabary to Sumerian *igi-nim*, which is used for Elam and indirectly for Subartu (see below, p. 92).

⁷ See Ungnad, Subartu pp. 69 and 77.—There is no need for following here the theory of a “distorted axis” with the main points of the compass shifted to northwest, southeast, northeast, and southwest. According to Neugebauer and Weidner, who rejected this theory in AOF VII (1931–32) 269–71, “north” for the Babylonians included also north-northwest and north-north-

pears sometimes attached to Subartu,⁸ and in other cases Subartu is missing and Gutium takes its place.⁹ Such interchange of Subartu with Gutium points toward partial identity of the two terms.

While the Babylonian sources have been useful for delimiting to the south and east the area inhabited by the Subarians, documents from Assyria help more to delimit its northern and western extent. Assyrian historical inscriptions usually imply that the land of the Subarians lay north and west of Assyria proper in a broad area extending from somewhere between the upper Tigris and the Armenian mountains in the west to somewhere between the Lower Zab and the Diyala in the south. This extent of Subartu is indicated by inscriptions of Enlil-nîrâri, who refers to a Subarian city situated south of the Lower Zab (p. 45), of Tukulti-Ninurta I, who includes in the "widespread land of the Subarians" such smaller political units as Papani, Katmuhi, etc. (p. 46), and of Tukulti-Ninurta II, who speaks of high mountains extending from the land of the Subarians up to the lands Gilzani and Nairi (pp. 46 f.).

It has been pointed out above that Subartu is defined differently by the Babylonians and the Assyrians. While to the Babylonians Subartu represents the North and thus includes Assyria, to the Assyrians themselves Subartu and the Subarians are a foreign land and a foreign people with whom they are continuously at war. This is not as strange as it may at first appear, for parallel historical developments are common. For example, the Polish names for Italians (Włosi) and Rumanians (Wołosi) correspond to the English term "Wallachians" (same root as in "Welsh," "walnut," etc.) and denote Celts, an ethnic group totally alien to the Italians and Rumanians themselves. Just as the Poles (or the people from whom they borrowed their term) called Italy after the Celts who actually lived in northern Italy, so the Sumerians called the northern part of their world Subartu after the Subarians. Additional illustrations of this type are the term "Graeci" as employed by the ancient Italians and the term "Allemands" as used by the French. In all these cases terms first introduced during the periods of early contact have become so firmly established by tradition that they are able to assert themselves against new terms better justified historically in later times.

That the Assyrians had difficulties in interpreting the Babylonian use of Subartu when applied to themselves can be seen from an astrological report¹⁰ which states

east, and similarly "south," "east," and "west" each included a complete quadrant. Only by such amplification of meanings can many variations in the correspondences between countries and directions be explained.

⁸ Ungnad, *Subartu* pp. 75 and 78.

⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 72, 76, 78 f., 81 f., 84, 87 f.

¹⁰ R. C. Thompson, *The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon in the British Museum* (London, 1900) No. 62; Ungnad, *Subartu* p. 92.

first that when the moon appears on a certain day "Subartu will conquer the Ahlamian, a foreign tongue will rule Amurru,"¹¹ then adds "we are Subartu."¹² If I understand the facts correctly, the report is based on Babylonian astronomical observations which identified Subartu with the North in general, including Assyria. Since such a definition of Subartu was comparatively unknown to the Assyrians, the scribe who wrote the report for official Assyrian use felt it worth while to explain that Subartu here refers not to the enemies of Assyria but to the Assyrians themselves, thereby trying to appease his king by turning what might have been construed as an unfavorable omen into a favorable one.

Thus it appears that none of the available evidence offers the slightest support for Ungnad's localization of Subartu in central Mesopotamia, around the headwaters of the Khabur River. The link between the Subarians of the Zagros and those of northern Syria passed not through central Mesopotamia but farther north, through the mountainous regions around the sources of the Tigris.

Summing up the evidence, we find that in the Babylonian sources Subartu denotes a political or geographic unit situated somewhere between the Tigris, the Zagros Mountains, and the Diyala. According to Babylonian tradition Subartu is the whole North. In the later Assyrian historical inscriptions the land of the Subarians includes areas in the mountains east and north of the Tigris. From the Zagros its borders extend sometimes far west into the land of the Amorites and far south and east into the land of the Elamites.

Within the region thus delimited the Subarians share certain areas in the Zagros Mountains with Gutians, Lullubians, Kassites, and even Elamites. It is among these peoples, therefore, that we must look for their nearest ethnic and linguistic relatives. Contrary to current belief, no common bond between the Subarians and the Hurrians is evident in our available sources.

Not much can be said at present about the Subarian language. Our information comes mainly from the Subarian personal names discussed in Appendix II. Some of the words which late Assyrian syllabaries say were used in Subartu (pp. 15 f.) may actually be Subarian.

Subartu constituted perhaps the most important area from which slaves were imported into Babylonia and Assyria (pp. 27 [?], 29, 43 f.). The frequent use of Subarian slaves probably gave rise to the Sumerian word *šubur*, "slave" (pp. 23 f.), just as in a later age the custom of taking slaves from the Slavs transformed their Medieval Latin designation "S(c)lavus" into a common noun meaning "slave." The fact that Subarian slaves were called "light," in the sense of "light-colored" (p. 43), does not

¹¹ Written [Su]-bar-tu(m) A ḫ-la-ma-a [ikkal] lišānu a ḫītu^{tu(m)} (gloss: [l]i-šá-a-nu a-ḫi-tu(m)) māṭ Amurri^{ki} i-be-el] (gloss: [i]-bi-il) in lines 2 f.

¹² Written a-ni-nu SU.BIR^{ki} in line 4.

have to mean that they were blond; they could easily have been so called because they were slightly lighter in skin color than the Babylonians.

Subartu was known for characteristic breeds of small cattle, namely sheep and goats (p. 100), and for its wool (p. 26). Several fruits, such as the fig, plum (or medlar?), and pomegranate (p. 29, n. 43), grain (p. 29), and other plants (p. 16) are known to have grown in Subartu. Characteristic of its material culture were a Subarian wagon (p. 29, n. 43) and a Subarian garment (p. 33).

Nothing is known at present about the art of the Subarians and very little about their religion. Gods of Subartu appear in two documents;¹³ but nowhere is it stated who any of them are individually, unless some of the deities assigned to Subartu by late texts and not already identified as Hurrian, Elamite, etc. (cf. p. 16) should prove to be actually Subarian.

HURRIANS

With the dissociation of Subarians from Hurrians the history of the Hurrians appears with reasonable clarity from its beginnings in the middle of the 3d millennium B.C. to its end about two thousand years later. There are of course some lacunae in our attempted reconstruction, but the general trend of development is evident. Laying aside the problems of a substratum and of prehistoric origins, we can see clearly when in historic times the Hurrians begin to appear in the orbit of Babylonian culture, we can see them grow into a leading power in the Near East, and we can follow them into the Late Assyrian period when they become submerged in the new Vannic or Urartian nation.

The Hurrians make their first sporadic appearance during the Old Akkadian period in some areas east of the Tigris. Gradually in the following Ur III period they become more numerous in the same areas and begin their peaceful infiltration of Babylonia. At the same time the region of Mari and North Syria is still free from them. In the Hammurabi period they are crossing the Tigris and moving into northern Mesopotamia and northern Syria and to some extent into Anatolia; but south of those regions Mari, southern Syria, and Palestine are still Semitic. The flourishing eras of Šamši-Adad I in Assyria, of Hammurabi in Babylonia, and of the 12th dynasty in Egypt are brought to an end by invasions of foreign elements. Egypt succumbs to the Hyksos, Babylonia later to the Kassites. For lack of original sources we do not know for sure what happened in Assyria after Šamši-Adad I. But we shall not go astray if we assume that Assyria was invaded by Hurrians, since we know that at the same time neighboring Anatolian kings were trying to ward off Hurrian ingressions and that at some later periods Assyria itself was under the rule

¹³ KAR 137: 12: *ilāni^{pl} māt Šu-ba-ri*, mentioned in Ungnad, Subartu p. 68, and in Karl F. Müller, *Das assyrische Ritual I* (MVAG XLI 3 [1937]) pp. 10 and 29; unpublished text VAT 13596 i 15. *ilāni^{pl} māt Su-bar-ti*, mentioned by Müller *op. cit.* p. 29. Cf. also "Šubrian Tešup" (above, p. 30)

of Hurrian kings. During this time of unrest the Hurrians forced their way into vast territories extending southward from Lake Van and including Assyria and Mesopotamia and much of Syria.

The north-south direction of their new invasion is in agreement with the general trend of Hurrian expansion, which began in the Old Akkadian period and culminated in the middle of the 2d millennium B.C. The Hurrian wave as such may have never reached Egypt. Anatolia and Babylonia likewise may have escaped the Hurrian menace, since they did not lie directly in the path of the southbound Hurrian invasion. It is probable, however, that the Hurrian migrations were indirectly responsible for the invasions of the Hyksos into Egypt and of the Kassites into Babylonia. The process was presumably analogous to that by which later folk migrations destroyed the Roman Empire, when each shift of one ethnic group would in turn drive another from its home and force it to settle elsewhere.

After about 1500 B.C. our sources begin to be more eloquent. Although Hurrian remnants are found scattered through the whole Near East, the Hurrian state of Mittanni is restricted to Mesopotamia, at times controlling some territories in Assyria and North Syria. Gradually this state is overwhelmed by the growing Assyrian power, made tributary by Adad-nîrâri I, and absorbed under Shalmaneser I.

Hand in hand with the elimination of the Hurrians as a political power in Mesopotamia goes the gradual disappearance, or absorption into the local milieu, of the Hurrian population. Some rulers and their relatives bearing Hurrian names are mentioned in Assyrian sources datable after 1100 B.C. which show them occupying territories between northern Mesopotamia and Lake Van. Central Mesopotamia in this period freed itself entirely of Hurrian elements.

The southward movement of the Hurrians which had begun in the Old Akkadian period had reached its climax in the middle of the 2d millennium B.C. From then on there had been a gradual retirement northward, coupled perhaps with a progressive absorption of the more distant elements by local ethnic groups, until in the first half of the 1st millennium traces of Hurrians are restricted to the area between northern Mesopotamia and Lake Van. After a two-thousand year trek through the Near East the Hurrians survived as a distinct people only in the homeland from which they had originally started.

The territory around Lake Van was occupied in the Late Assyrian period, between 900 and 600 B.C., by the state of Urartu, whose kings left many cuneiform inscriptions written in a language which is a close relative of Hurrian.¹⁴ This region may have formed the home of both Urartians and Hurrians,¹⁵ with the qualification that,

¹⁴ Cf. the chapter entitled "Das Reich von Urartu" in Goetze, *Kleinasien* (München, 1933) pp. 173-85. For the language cf. J. Friedrich, *Einführung ins Urartäische* (MVAG XXXVII 3 [1933]).

¹⁵ Goetze, *HCA* pp. 103-6.

while the Urartians occupied predominantly the area north and east of Lake Van, the Hurrians may have held the area south and west of it.

As to the Hurrian language it has been pointed out above that the nearest relative of Hurrian is Urartian. Beyond that we know nothing about the linguistic relationships of Hurrian. Any theories of connection with Elamite, Kassite, etc. or with any other language of the assumed "Asiatic" or "Japhethite" group are totally unconvincing. Relationship of Hurrian to modern Caucasian languages has heretofore not been proved by correct scientific method.¹⁶

All that we yet know of the material culture of the Hurrians dates to the period of their great political expansion in the second half of the 2d millennium B.C. A characteristic painted pottery¹⁷ with designs in white on a dark ground has been found over the whole area then dominated by the Hurrians. It extends from Nuzi, east of the Tigris, through Assyria and across the valleys of the Khabur and the Belikh to the Amq plain in northwestern Syria. Its occurrences can be dated to about 1500-1200 B.C. As Mallowan emphasizes, we have no evidence as to what people made this pottery; we merely know that it was used by the Hurrians. Hence in calling it "Hurrian" we mean to imply nothing as to its origin. Its forms are, in part at least, borrowed from earlier local types.

In the field of art only Hurrian provincial art (especially glyptic) and architecture are comparatively well known from finds made at such sites as Nuzi in Assyria and Tell Aṭshāneh in Syria. The results of excavations at Fekkhāriyyeh in the central area where the capital of the Hurrian empire should be sought are eagerly awaited.

Much scattered information about the Hurrian religion has been turned up, and every newly excavated Hurrian site adds something of value either in written records or in material remains. The interpretation of Hurrian religious phenomena is of course closely dependent on progress in the decipherment of the Hurrian language, since much, if not most, of our written data on Hurrian religion is preserved in Hurrian texts from Boğazköy. But enough is already known to make it clear that a synthesis of facts now available about the Hurrian religion is badly needed.¹⁸

¹⁶ George William Brown, "The possibility of a connection between Mitanni and the Dravidian languages," *JAOS* L (1930) 273-305, raises a question with which I am not able to deal.

¹⁷ M. E. L. Mallowan, "White-painted Subartu pottery," *Mélanges syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud ... II* (1939) 887-94.

¹⁸ See provisionally Goetze, *Kleinasien* pp. 124-26 and *HCA* pp. 108 f.

APPENDIX I

SUBARTU IN SYNONYM LISTS AND SYLLABARIES

EQUATIONS

Besides the logographic and syllabic spellings of "Subartu" discussed above (pp. 23-30) there are others found only in synonym lists and syllabaries.

In a synonym list¹ we read:

[m]i-ir	<i>Su-bar-tum</i>
nu- <i>ha-du</i>	MIN
mi-ir	<i>Eš-nu-na-ak</i>

These equations are unique; I know nothing about connections between *mi-ir* and nu-*ha-du* on the one hand and Subartu on the other.² Dr. Jacobsen suggests that *mi-ir* stands for Sumerian *mir*, "north."

The following Sumerian-Akkadian equations are attested in syllabaries:

	c	d
II R 50:48	<i>su-bir</i> ₄ ^{KI}	<i>Su-ba[r-tum]</i>
49	<i>su-gir</i> ^{KI}	<i>Su-bar-tu[m]</i>
50	<i>sa-gir</i> ^{KI}	<i>Su-bar-tum</i>
51	<i>ḥu-bu-ur</i> ^{KI}	<i>Su-bar-tum</i>
	a	b
V R 16:14	<i>su-gir</i>	<i>E-lam-tum</i>
15	<i>sa-gir</i>	<i>E-lam-tum</i>
16	<i>igi-nim</i>	<i>E-lam-tum</i>
17	<i>su-^lgir</i> ¹	<i>Su-bar-tum</i>
18	<i>sa-^lgir</i> ¹	<i>Su-bar-tum</i>
19	<i>ḥu-b[u-u]r</i>	¹ <i>Su-bar-tum</i>
20	<i>igi-^lnim</i> ¹	<i>Ia-mu-ut-ba-lum</i>

By way of supplement to the above the following additional equations should be mentioned: Sumerian *kalam igi-nim* often stands for Akkadian *mātu ellītu* etc., "the Highland."³ *Ḫamutbalum*, equated with *igi-nim* here, interchanges, in the form *Ḫamutbal*, with Subartu in two parallel synonym lists discussed above (p. 21). *Su-bir*₄ has a variant *Su-bir-e*^{KI} in an inscription dealing with Narām-Sin (p. 36, n. 96). In one syllabary both *su-bar* and perhaps

¹ CT XVIII 28 rev. i 24-26 supplemented by LTBA II 6 rev. i 3-5, another British Museum fragment previously published by T. G. Pinches in the *Babylonian & Oriental Record* VI (1892/93) 68.

² In his commentary on this list Ungnad, *Subartu* p. 28, adds that Ešnunna(k) had such close relations to Subartu that it was probably sometimes considered to belong to the latter; he also tentatively proposes the reading *Nu-^lha-ša*₄ for nu-*ha-du* and equates it with the name of the land Nuḥašše in Syria. But he offers these as mere suppositions not yet provable.

³ Deimel, *ŠL* II 449: 197; Poebel in *ZA* XXXVII (1927) 259 and in *AJSL* XLVIII (1931/32) 23.

su-būr-ra are equated with *e-la-a-tum*, "the Highlands."⁴ The Sumerian words *ḫu-bu-ūr-ra*, *ḫu-bu-ru*, and *ḫu-bu-ri* are used for Akkadian *šap-liš*, "below," as opposed to *eliš*, "above."⁵

The equations listed above offer three important points for consideration. First there is the fact that among the Highlands are included Elam, Iamutbal, and Subartu. The term "Highland(s)" does not correspond to any definite geographic or political unit but is used by the Babylonians as a general term in connection with any area situated at a higher altitude, either up-river or in the mountains.⁶ Since political Elam is situated down-river around Susa, mostly east and southeast of Babylonia,⁷ it is evident that syllabary entries equating Elam with the Highland embody a tradition which places Elam partly in the mountains and thus ascribes to it a larger area than that of the Susa plain.

Then there is the fact that, while the writings *subir*, *subar*, *subur*, and *ḫubur* are used for Subartu but not for Elam, *sugir* and *sagir* are used for both regions.⁸ This again suggests a relationship between Subartu and Elam in the broader geographic sense of each term (cf. p. 85).

The third point is perhaps the most perplexing. How is one to explain that Subartu is represented not only by *subar*, *subur*, and (indirectly) *igi-nim*, all meaning "the Highland(s),"⁹ but also by *ḫubur*, meaning "below"? This problem is hard to solve. Ungnad, who translated *ḫubur* as "depth, underworld," tried to explain its surprising use for Subartu by mythological ideas of the ancient Babylonians, who might have thought of both the underworld and Subartu as located in the North.¹⁰ But that does not seem likely, since interpretations based on mythology fit badly in the syllabaries, which deal usually with concrete and simple geographic equations. The best solution that I can offer at present is to identify our *ḫubur* with *šubur* = *iršitu*, "earth" (p. 23), and to interpret "below" in the sense "on the earth."¹¹

⁴ II R 30:20 c-d and 22 c-d.

⁵ G. Reisner, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen nach Thontafeln griechischer Zeit* (Berlin, 1896) 53 rev. 50 f.; 9 rev. 42 f.; 10 rev. 24.

⁶ The god Dagan gave to Sargon the Highland: Mari, Iarmuti, Ibla, as far as the Cedar Forest and the Silver Mountains (cf. Gelb, IAV p. 4). Narām-Sin refers to the *ensi*'s of Subartu and the lords of the Highlands (above, p. 36). According to one letter from Mari Zimri-Lim is to go up to Subartu; according to another, to the Highland, which may mean the same area (see p. 41). This same Zimri-Lim even calls himself king of the Highland (*šarr ma-a-tim e-li-tim*); see Syria XIX (1938) 122. From the Marian point of view the Highland is Upper Mesopotamia; cf. Dossin in RA XXXV (1938) 184, n. 1.

⁷ Cf. the expression *si(g)-šè Elam^(kt)-ma*, "toward below, Elam," cited by Poebel in AJSL XLVIII 23 from PBS V 20 rev. 7 (with variant in 21:3) and 10.

⁸ The forms *subir*, *subar*, *subur*, *sugir*, *sagir*, and *ḫubur* show besides vowel variations *g/b* and *s/h* changes which cannot be discussed in this monograph.

⁹ This idea fits the general geographic situation as revealed by traditional connections of Subartu with Elam, Anšan, Iamutbal, Ešnunna, and Gutium (see pp. 86 f.).

¹⁰ Subartu pp. 26 f. and 110.

¹¹ Relationship of Sumerian *ḫubur* to Hurrian *ḫa/uw(u)r-*, *ḫa/uw/b(u/i)r^(u)n-*, "earth, below" (discussed by C.-G. von Brandenstein in ZA XLVI [1940] 85-89; Thureau-Dangin in RA XXXVI [1939] 23 f.; Purves in NPN pp. 215 and 218), is problematic. We must probably reckon with accidental similarity of sound in several different languages.

In support of the *hubur-šubur* equation we may also cite the possible identity of ^d*Lugal-hu-bur*¹² with ^d*Lugal-šubur*,¹³ but unfortunately the possibility is weakened by the fact that the copy of the latter example has a questionable sign A between *lugal* and *šubur*.

ĜA.A^{KI} AND A.ĜA^{KI}

Since the syllabaries discussed above clearly equate Akkadian Subartu with Sumerian *hubur*, we should not consider giving up this equation¹⁴ before we see whether there are any Akkadian sources in favor of it. This problem involves discussion of the terms ĜA.A^{KI} and A.ĜA^{KI}.

According to geographic lists from the Old Babylonian period there are three different cities named ĜA.A^{KI}. While the lists published by Rawlinson,¹⁵ Jean,¹⁶ and van der Meer¹⁷ have ĜA.A^{KI} three times in succession, similar texts from Nippur published by Chiera offer the important variation A.ĜA^{KI}, A.ĜA^{KI}, ĜA.A^{KI}.¹⁸ The interchange of ĜA.A and A.ĜA in these geographic lists can be explained by the assumption that both forms go back ultimately to A+ĜA, i.e., A with inserted ĜA (cf. p. 95).¹⁹

The form ĜA.A^{KI} begins to make its appearance in the very old tablets from Fara,²⁰ in the pre-Sargonic period it occurs as part of the fairly common personal names *Amar-ĜA.A^{KI}*²¹ and *ĜA.A^{KI}-dūg*.²² In the Ur III period ĜA.A^{KI} is much less common than is the form A.ĜA^{KI} discussed below. In one text a slave girl of *A-ni-da* of ĜA.A^{KI} appears;²³ in two other texts we have *ša ĜA.A^{KI}*.²⁴ In that published by Langdon we encounter ĜA.A^{KI} in connection with Eridu, a well known city in southern Babylonia.

The first antediluvian Sumerian dynasty is said by the Sumerian King List to have reigned at Eridu; but the variant W-B 62 names the city of ĜA.A^{KI} instead.²⁵ According to the King

¹² CT XXIV 36:61; Deimel, Pantheon Babylonicum No. 1937.

¹³ BA V 655:5; Deimel *op. cit.* No. 1856.

¹⁴ P. Jensen, *Assyrisch-babylonische Mythen und Epen* (KB VI 1 [1900]) pp. 307-9, interpreted *hubur* as "North" and identified it with the river name Ĝabur; W. F. Albright in *AJSL* XXXV (1918/19) 171 thought "an erroneous combination of the Assyrian scholars" was involved.

¹⁵ IV R 36 No. 1:26-28.

¹⁶ RA XXXII (1935) 164 iii 21-23.

¹⁷ Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts IV (1938) Pl. LII ii 2-4.

¹⁸ OIP XI 211 iv 14-16 and 213 v 5-7. Another parallel text, *ibid.* 249 i, omits the whole group. Ungnad's attempt (Subartu p. 30, n. 5) to read the sign *SUG* in this text as A+ĜA is impossible because names composed with *SUG* follow ĜA.A in Chiera's text 213 v 8-10.

¹⁹ Another argument in favor of equivalence of the spellings ĜA.A and A.ĜA is adduced below on p. 95, n. 38.

²⁰ R. Jestin, *Tablettes sumériennes de Šuruppak conservées au Musée de Stamboul* (Paris, 1937) 247 v 4.

²¹ Genouillac, *Tablettes sumériennes archaïques* (Paris, 1909) p. 109, and often elsewhere.

²² *Drevnosti III* 2 No. 307 rev. i and VAT 4450 quoted in *Orientalia XVI* (1925) p. 28 No. 79.

²³ G. A. Barton, *Haverford Library Collection of Cuneiform Tablets III* (Philadelphia, 1914) Pl. 141 (HLB 374) iii 8.

²⁴ TCL II 5514 rev. 14 and Langdon, TAD 49 rev. 5. In Langdon's text ^d*Asaru ša ĜA.A^{KI}* is mentioned, to be compared with ^d*Asaru-lú-dūg* (the reading ^d*Asar(i)-lú-ḫi* was proposed by Falkenstein in *ZA* XLV [1939] 30 f.) of ĜA.A^{KI} in a late Sumerian hymn discussed by H. Zimmern in *ZA* XXXIX (1930) 255 f.

²⁵ Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List* (AS No. 11 [1939]) p. 70.

List the legendary king Dumu-zi of Uruk also came from the city 𒄩.𒄩.𒄩.²⁶ A legend pictures this city as destroyed in the time of Lugal-banda, the predecessor of Dumu-zi.²⁷

A personal name *Lú-A.𒄩.𒄩.*²⁸ occurs in a pre-Sargonic tablet;²⁸ in the later Sargonic period it is often written *Lú-A+𒄩.𒄩.*²⁹ In the period of the 3d dynasty of Ur the geographic name 𒄩.𒄩.³⁰ is common. *Dada*³⁰ and *Amur-Sin*³¹ are known to have been *ensi*'s of 𒄩.𒄩.³⁰; unnamed *ensi*'s are mentioned in other texts.³² An occurrence of *ša 𒄩.𒄩.𒄩.*³¹ is difficult to explain; the text is given only in transliteration.³³ It may be that in this case an entirely different geographic name, to be read as *A-ḫa-a*³⁴, is meant.³⁴

From this list of occurrences it can be seen that the locality 𒄩.𒄩.𒄩. or 𒄩.𒄩.³¹ is mentioned fairly frequently in Akkadian sources, none of which (not counting late copies) is later than the 3d dynasty of Ur. The reading of this "logogram" is our next problem.

One certain reading of 𒄩.𒄩.³¹ is Tuba. Thus in a list of deities from Kuyunjik *dNin-.[. . .]* is explained as *dEn-uru-mu ša 𒄩.𒄩.𒄩.𒄩.*³¹ in which the gloss *Tu-ba* gives the pronunciation of 𒄩.𒄩.³⁵ Tuba is clearly a part of the city of Babylon, for a map tablet mentions *Tu-ba*³⁶ in connection with *Abull-Šamaš*, a gate in Babylon,³⁶ and a Late Babylonian contract refers to a house situated in *iršiti^{ii(m)} 𒄩.𒄩.𒄩. ša qí-rib Bábili(DIN.TIR³¹)*, "the district 𒄩.𒄩.³¹ in the midst of Babylon."³⁷

A bilingual incantation often quoted in Assyriological literature offers another possible reading. In this text *Eridu*³¹ and 𒄩.𒄩.³¹ of the Sumerian part correspond to *Eridu* and *Šu-ba-ri* of the Akkadian part.³⁸ In another bilingual text Sumerian 𒄩.𒄩.³¹ is equated with Akkadian *KU-u₃-ara*, which can be read as *Šu-u₃-ara*.³⁹ The sign *KU* is not certain in either of the two copies of this text, and the value *šù* for this sign is very rare; the value *u₃* also is

²⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 88 f.

²⁷ Poebel, *Historical Texts* (PBS IV 1) p. 121.

²⁸ TMH V 38 iii 3 (sign 𒄩 written with two vertical wedges).

²⁹ ITT II 2 Nos. 2952, 2955, 3011, 3050, etc.

³⁰ L. Speleers, *Recueil des inscriptions de l'Asie Antérieure* ... (Bruxelles, 1925) 112:4.

³¹ Genouillac, *TrD* 78:13; 80:3.

³² *Ibid.* 76:5; YOS IV 66:13 and 74:9; Schneider in *Orientalia XLVII-XLIX* (1930) 57:4; Legrain, *TRU* 29:8; *TCL* V 6041 iii 10 (written *enx-si UR + 𒄩.𒄩.𒄩. ù 𒄩.𒄩.𒄩.*; *erim 𒄩.𒄩.𒄩. ibid.* rev. i x+6).

³³ Fish, *CST* p. 38 No. 286.

³⁴ Cf. the name *ZA.𒄩.𒄩.ZA*³¹ in a Fara text published by Jestin *op. cit.* 864:2. Since in the period concerned the sign *ZA* resembles 𒄩 (𒄩 is written with four vertical wedges, 𒄩 with four slightly oblique wedges), *ZA.𒄩.𒄩.ZA*³¹ could possibly be read as *A-ḫa-a*³¹ and identified with the name *A-ḫa-a*³¹ in the Ur III tablet published by Fish.

³⁵ *CT* XXV 14:30. Cf. also *dNig-šid-ki-sikil 𒄩.𒄩.𒄩.𒄩.* in *CT* XXIV 30:115.

³⁶ *CT* XXII 49, upper left. Unger in *RLA* I 344-46 quotes also a variant *Tu-bi* from a description of Babylon published in his *Babylon* (Berlin und Leipzig, 1931) p. 237:8.

³⁷ Strassmaier in *Actes du Huitième Congrès International des Orientalistes. Deuxième partie. Section I* (Leide, 1893) *Sémitique* (B) *Beilage* p. 8 No. 6:2; Unger in *RLA* I 344.

³⁸ *CT* XVI 6 v 239-40. Ungnad, *Subartu* pp. 28 ff., has discussed this and the following points. His *šu-ba-ru* on his p. 28 is a misprint for *šu-ba-ri*.—The occurrence of 𒄩.𒄩.³¹ in connection with *Eridu*, coupled with the occurrence of 𒄩.𒄩.³¹ in connection with *Eridu* (see above, p. 94), furnishes further evidence for the equivalence of the two spellings.

³⁹ K. D. Macmillan in *BA* V (1906) 675:25 f.; Reisner, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen* 80:8 f.

unusual in Akkadian texts. Ungnad's and his predecessors' interpretation of *KU-u₈-a-ra* as Šu_{pa}ra was naturally influenced by the reading *Šu-ba-ri* which has just been mentioned; beyond that there is no direct evidence for this interpretation.⁴⁰ An equation *A-ku-pa-áš* = *KU-ú-a-ri* in two copies of a synonym list⁴¹ is still unexplainable.

The equation of *A.ĤA.KI* with *Šu-ba-ri* in the bilingual incantation might be supported by comparison of *atap ZA.ĤA.KI* in *Mém. XXII 102:2* (perhaps also *116:2*) with *atap Šu-ba-ri* found in similar texts from Elam (see p. 44) if it could be proved that *ZA.ĤA.KI* stands for *A.ĤA.KI* (on resemblance of *ZA* to *A* see p. 95, n. 34) and that *atap A.ĤA.KI* (if thus read) is identical with *atap Šu-ba-ri*. Use of the writing *A.ĤA.KI* for the Šubari canal in Elam as well as for Šubari near Eridu would be paralleled by possible use of *ĤA.A.KI* for the river Ĥabur (p. 97) as well as for a city Ĥabur in Babylonia (p. 97) and by use of *NINA.KI* for a Babylonian city situated near Lagash as well as for Nineveh in Assyria.⁴²

Langdon at first read both *ĤA.A.KI* and *A.ĤA.KI* as *šubarū*.⁴³ Soon, however, he proposed an additional reading, *ħabur*. According to the commentary accompanying his translation of a Sumerian religious text published by Reisner in which *A.ĤA.KI* appears immediately following *Ēš-maĥ*⁴⁴ (the name of a shrine in Eridu) he believed not only that *A.ĤA.KI* or *ĤA.A.KI* = *šubarū*, apparently a quarter of Eridu but having no connection with the land Subartu, but also that *ĤA.A.KI* could be read as *ħa-bur₂.KI*, although he was not certain that the development *ħabur* > *šabur* > *subar* was possible.⁴⁵ Moreover, he did not adduce any proofs for a value *bur* of the sign *A*. In a note published several years later Langdon came back to the problem of reading *ĤA.A* as *ħabur* in discussing the divinity *^dNin-A.ĤA-sil-du*.⁴⁶ He read this name as *^dNin-ħabur-sil-du* and explained it as "queen of the lower world river, she that walks (*du*) the streets (*sil*)."⁴⁷ His interpretation was based on a descriptive list of deities in which *^dNin-A.ĤA-sil-du* is interpreted as *be-lit te-lil-ti beltu a-li-kat su-li-e* [. . .], "lady of lustration, the lady who walks the [wide] streets (of the lower world)."⁴⁷ Several other arguments brought out by Langdon point to the identification of *A.ĤA* with *téliltu* or *agubbú*, expressions of purification or lustration; Langdon's reading *ħabur* for *A.ĤA* or *ĤA.A* therefore seems possible if it can be assumed that *ħabur* in the divine name *^dNin-ħabur-sil-du* corresponds to *ħubur*, the name for the lower-world river. Though the purificatory character of this lower-world river was brought out clearly by Langdon, he still offered no decisive and convincing proof for the value *bur* of the sign *A*.

⁴⁰ Jacobsen *op. cit.* pp. 88 f., n. 126, equates *A.ĤA.KI* with *ĤA.A.KI* and reads the latter as *Ku₆-a^{KI}*; according to him *Ku₆* developed from *Ku_{pa}*, which appears in the bilingual text as *Ku-u₈-a-ra*. The spelling *Šu-ba-ri* of CT XVI 6 v 240 he considers "a corruption of *ku!-ba-ri*, which would represent a variant pronunciation (*ku^w-ara* > **kuwara* > *kubara*)."

⁴¹ CT XVIII 28 rev. i 30 supplemented by LTBA II 6 rev. i 9, a fragment published earlier by Pinches in *Babylonian & Oriental Record* VI 68.

⁴² Deimel, *ŠL* II 200:9.

⁴³ Langdon, TAD p. 23 and n. 8.

⁴⁴ Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen 28:6.

⁴⁵ *Babylonian Liturgies* (Paris, 1913) p. 115, n. 2.

⁴⁶ *Sumerian Liturgies and Psalms* (PBS X 4 [1919]) p. 336, n. 2.

⁴⁷ CT XXV 49 rev. 1. For a similar interpretation cf. already Ungnad in *OLZ* XIV (1911) 153. — *^dNin-A.ĤA-sil-du* occurs *passim* in Sumerian-Akkadian literature; see Deimel, *Pantheon Baby-lonicum* (Romae, 1914) No. 2407. According to a list of deities from Assur [^d*Nin-A.ĤA-sil-du* is explained as *^dNin-gi*-. . .] (KAV 63 i 28 and Weidner in *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung* II [1924–26] 12 and n. 1).

It was observed on page 94 that there are three different cities A.ĜA^{KI} or ĜA.A^{KI} in Babylonia. One is Tuba, situated in or near Babylon (p. 95). Another is Šubari or Šu²ara (pp. 95 f.), usually mentioned in close connection with the southern Babylonian city of Eridu and hence presumably situated somewhere in its neighborhood. The third, if A.ĜA^{KI} and ĜA.A^{KI} can be read Ĥabur as proposed by Langdon (above), may be the unlocated city ^cĤa-bu-ru⁴⁸ or ^cĤa-bu-ri⁴⁹ referred to in Late Babylonian contracts.

In agreement with the Old Babylonian geographic lists quoted on page 94, a syllabary of the *diri* = DIR = *sijaku* = *watru* series presents three A.ĜA^{KI} readings. The third tablet of this series, first reconstructed by Meissner,⁵⁰ then supplemented by Falkenstein and Matouš,⁵¹ gives the following:

202	[š <u>u</u> -ba]-ri	A.ĜA ^{KI}	a-a-ku-[ú-a-ki-ki]	ŠU
203	[tu]-ba	A.ĜA ^{KI}	MIN-[MIN-MI]N	ŠU
204	[. . .]	A.ĜA ^{KI}	[MIN-MIN-MI]N	ŠU

In view of the three readings Tuba, Šubari (or Šu²ara), and Ĥabur (or Ĥaburu or Ĥaburi) attested or reconstructed for the signs A.ĜA^{KI} or ĜA.A^{KI}, may not the reading *ħabur* or *ħaburu/i* be restored in line 204? A definite answer to this question can be given only if some additional fragments of this series, which would supply the part of the tablet now broken away, are discovered.

Besides the city Ĥabur in Babylonia, there is, as already mentioned, the well known river Ĥabur, the chief left-bank affluent of the Euphrates.⁵² The name of this river is usually written ^rĤa-bur;⁵³ but on a tablet from Tell Ĥalāf occurs the phrase *ša bēl māt ĜA.A^{KI}*,⁵⁴ which, in view of the fact that Tell Ĥalāf is situated at the headwaters of the Ĥabur, might perhaps be translated as "of the lord of the land of the Ĥabur."⁵⁵

More frequently than the terrestrial river Ĥabur we find in the cuneiform inscriptions the underworld river Ĥubur, which played a very important role in Akkadian religion and mythology.⁵⁶ Although insofar as I have been able to survey the sources the name of the underworld river occurs only in the form Ĥubur,⁵⁷ whereas that of the Mesopotamian river al-

⁴⁸ J. N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabonidus, König von Babylon* (Leipzig, 1889) 119:15; VAS IV 36:2 and 5.

⁴⁹ Strassmaier *op. cit.* 1078:2.

⁵⁰ *Beiträge zum assyrischen Wörterbuch II* (AS No. 4 [1932]) pp. 83–98, esp. p. 98.

⁵¹ ZA XLII (1934) 144–51, esp. p. 151.

⁵² A little known river Khabur which flows into the Tigris from the east about 120 kilometers above Mosul seems never to be mentioned in the cuneiform sources and need not concern us in the present investigation.

⁵³ See e.g. Adrien Boudou in *Orientalia XXXVI–XXXVIII* (1929) 67; G. Dossin in *Syria XIX* (1938) 123 and in *RA XXXV* (1938) 185, n. 2, gives a form *Ĥa-bu-ur* from Mari.

⁵⁴ J. Friedrich, G. R. Meyer, A. Ungnad, E. F. Weidner, *Die Inschriften vom Tell Halaf* (AOF Beiheft 6 [Berlin, 1940]) No. 58:11.

⁵⁵ This possibility was hesitantly suggested by Weidner *ibid.* p. 39.

⁵⁶ Jensen, *Assyrisch-babylonische Mythen und Epen* pp. 307 f.; E. Ebeling, *Ein babylonischer Kohelet* ("Berliner Beiträge zur Keilschriftforschung" I 1 [Berlin, 1924]) pp. 18–20; K. Tallqvist in *Studia Orientalia V* 4 (1934) pp. 33 f.; S. Langdon, *Babylonian Menologies and the Semitic Calendars* (London, 1935) p. 38; Ungnad, *Subartu* p. 27.

⁵⁷ The alleged variant Ummu-Ĥabur for Ummu-Ĥubur in the Epic of Creation III 81, cited by Jensen *op. cit.* pp. 6 and 308, is unknown to me; it may be due to a *lapsus calami*.

ways appears in the form Ḫabur, there can be little doubt that the two forms are identical in origin,⁵⁸ since when deified the river appears in both forms. Examples are ^dḪu-bu-ur⁵⁹ and ^dḪa-bur,⁶⁰ also the personal names Šu-Ḫu-bur (variant: Šu-Ḫu-bu-ur) and Šu-Ḫa-bu-ra (both of the latter in Cappadocian tablets).⁶¹

The facts brought out above in favor of interpreting ḪA.A^{KI} and A.ḪA^{KI} as both Šubar and Ḫabur and of identifying Ḫabur with Ḫubur furnish independent evidence that the equation of both Subir and Ḫubur with Subartu in the syllabaries (p. 92) is likewise correct.

DOES A HAVE THE VALUE bur_x?

The interpretation of ḪA.A^{KI} and A.ḪA^{KI} as Ḫabur is paralleled by the interpretation of su.A^{KI} as Subarians (pp. 24–26). Even though both equations have been established by circumstantial evidence only, they seem to me convincing. Langdon's proposed reading of ḪA.A^{KI} as Ḫa-bur_x^{KI} (p. 96) remains unproved; he never even attempted to offer any evidence for a value bur_x of the sign A. But Langdon's reading of ḪA.A^{KI} as Ḫa-bur_x^{KI} is paralleled by my own possible reading of su.A^(KI) as Su-bur_x^(KI) (p. 27). Both readings (not interpretations or equations) remain uncertain until a value bur or bar or bir is proved for the sign A.

In the earlier days of Assyriology a value bur for the sign A was commonly recognized. Almost all the older collections of signs had this value, with or without a question mark, going back probably to Strassmaier, who first suggested it.⁶² The reason why in their recent lists of Akkadian and Sumerian phonetic values neither Thureau-Dangin nor Deimel assigns the value bur to A evidently is that they did not consider the evidence sufficient. Strassmaier's arguments in favor of this value are indeed unconvincing. One of the two bases from which Strassmaier reconstructed the value bur for A was the spelling of the name of the Euphrates River as ^rA.RAT in some Assyrian historical inscriptions.⁶³ ^rA.RAT is read by Strassmaier as ^uPu(r)-rat, which is quite possible but unproved.⁶⁴ Strassmaier's other argument in favor of A = bur is entirely impossible. He considers KUR.A.A to be equal to KUR.URI^{KI}, "the land of Akkad," whence, since the sign URI is supposedly composed of BUR.BUR, he obtains the equations A.A = bur-bur and A = bur. The whole speculation breaks down because KUR.A.A does not mean "Akkad" but has to be read as Mada-a-a, "the Mede."

A suggestion bearing on the value bur (or similar) for A is offered by Professor Poebel,

⁵⁸ Ḫabur could easily change to Ḫubur in accordance with the principle of vowel harmony.

⁵⁹ RA XXXIII (1936) 178 f. (from Mari).

⁶⁰ KAV 42 ii 37 and 43 ii 5.

⁶¹ Stephens, PNC p. 64.

⁶² J. N. Strassmaier, *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss der assyrischen und akkadischen Wörter* (Leipzig, 1886) No. 7126 and p. 1141 No. 483; R. E. Brünnow, *A Classified List of All Simple and Compound Cuneiform Ideographs . . .* (Leyden, 1889) No. 11318; S. Langdon, *A Sumerian Grammar and Chrestomathy* (Paris, 1911) p. 263; Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum* (Romae, 1914) *Transcriptionis modi* p. 4; G. Howardy, *Clavis cuneorum sive Lexicon signorum Assyriorum* (Lipsiae et Hauniae, 1904–33) p. 24; C. E. Keiser, *A System of Accentuation for Sumerio-Akkadian Signs* (YOSR IX Appendix [1919]).

⁶³ Discussed by M. Streck in *AJSL* XXII (1905/6) 218 and by Ungnad, *Subartu* p. 97.

⁶⁴ Comparison of ^rA.RAT with ^rU.RAT (ABL 553 rev. 7) suggested by Streck and Ungnad (see preceding n.) is not permissible, because the latter is probably to be read in context as *ina muḫḫi nāri u-rad*, "he shall go down to the river," with Emil Behrens in *Leipziger Semitistische Studien* II 1 (1906) p. 100 and S. C. Ylvisaker *ibid.* V 6 (1912) p. 47, n. 1.

who is inclined to see such a value in a possible correspondence of Sumerian KI.A to Akkadian *kibru*.⁶⁵ Since *kibru* has no satisfactory Akkadian etymology, it might perhaps, according to Professor Poebel, be a loan word from Sumerian KI.A , which should then be read as *ki-bur_x* or *ki-bir_x*, i.e., with A having the value *bur_x* or *bir_x*. Definite proofs for this supposition are lacking.⁶⁶

A pre-Sargonic tablet has a personal name *Ur-sag-A.KIB.NUN^{KI}*,⁶⁷ doubtless identical with the name *Ur-sag-UD.KIB.NUN^{KI}* found on the obelisk of Maništušu.⁶⁸ The name, evidently meaning "(the city) Sippar is a hero," with a deified geographic name, is of a type well known in Sumerian-Akkadian onomastics.⁶⁹ The logogram for the city Sippar is almost identical with that for the Euphrates, ^UUD.KIB.NUN^{KI}, read variously in Sumerian as Buranun, Buranunu, Burununa, and Barana.⁷⁰ In view of these Sumerian readings Poebel explained even the signs UD.KIB.NUN syllabically as *bâr-âl-nun(u)*.⁷¹ The sign KIB, however, has also the value *ûl*, which fits better such a form as Burununa. Because of this form and also in view of the Sumerian principle of vowel harmony, in accordance with which the *a* of Buranun(u) might become *u* (cf. p. 98, n. 58), we are perhaps justified in assuming for the sign UD a value *bur_x*. If we read UD.KIB.NUN as *Bur_x-û(l)-nun*, are we not justified in reading the parallel A.KIB.NUN⁷² as *Bur_x-û(l)-nun*? Alternative writings with UD and A may perhaps be further exemplified in the personal names UD-*ki-gal*⁷³ and A-*ki-gal*,⁷⁴ but there is no proof that those two names are to be read alike or that in them either UD or A has a value *bur_x*.

With this our evidence for the value *bur* (or the like) for the sign A has all been presented. Even though all of the evidence is only circumstantial, it seems to me that it gives a good basis. This value enables us to read H.A.A as *Ha-bur_x* and S.U.A as *Su-bur_x*; it fits also in other readings of less importance.

⁶⁵ Deimel, ŠL II 461:281 d.

⁶⁶ An alternative explanation of KI.A would be that it is not syllabic but is to be explained as "the place (*ki*) (near) the water (*a*)," namely "the bank of the river."

⁶⁷ TMH V 56:4.

⁶⁸ Scheil in Mém. II p. 44 reads UR-SAG Sippar.

⁶⁹ Cf. e.g. names compounded with Sippar in Ranke, Early Babylonian Personal Names (Philadelphia, 1905) p. 165.

⁷⁰ Deimel, ŠL II 381:270.—The spelling GIŠ.GAŠGUR AD.KIB.NUN^{KI} = *Sip-pi-ru-u* quoted *ibid.* 146:5 is based on a misprint in Johns's transliteration in Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology XXVII (1905) 36; the copy in V R 26 No. 2:27 has clearly UD.KIB.NUN^{KI}.

⁷¹ ZA XXXVII (1927) 270 f.

⁷² Deimel, ŠL II 228:15, quotes ^AKIB.NUN(.A) cited in his own book Fara I No. 278 from his Fara II p. 70, VAT 12778 iv 14. But the form occurring there is ^AKIB.NUN 𒀵. The two vertical wedges appear at the end of almost every word in this Fara text; they cannot be taken as A, because the form of A in the Fara texts is entirely different. Such occurrences as *nagar* 𒀵, *ibid.* iv 5, and *ur-sag* 𒀵, *ibid.* vi 12, show in fact that the two vertical wedges cannot have any syllabic function in connection with the logogram. The same form ^AKIB.NUN occurs in several examples of the personal name *Ur-sag-^AKIB.NUN* (written in various orders) in other Fara texts (see Deimel, Fara I No. 278). In what connection the Fara name *Ur-sag-^AKIB.NUN* (or *Ur-sag-AN.KIB.NUN*) stands to *Ur-sag-A.KIB.NUN^{KI}* of the pre-Sargonic tablet discussed above is hard to say.

⁷³ Fara III p. 32*.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* p. 19*.

APPENDIX II

SUBARIAN PERSONAL NAMES OF THE UR III PERIOD
AND OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLONNAMES OF PERSONS CALLED *lú su*(.A^{KI})

In the Ur III tablets which deal with animal offerings to Babylonian divinities various animals are mentioned with the notation *lú su*, *lú su.A*, or *lú su.A^{KI}*.¹ That the form *lú su^{KI}* in such a connection is not yet attested seems purely accidental. The animals distinguished by these explanatory phrases are always small cattle, such as sheep or goats, never donkeys, horses, or any large cattle. Study of the tablets makes it clear that these expressions denote geographic origin. In the Oriental Institute collection there is an Ur III tablet (A 4971) which enumerates animals with the notations *Mar-tu*, *Ki-en-gi*, and *lú su.A*. Since *Mar-tu* indicates Amorite origin and *Ki-en-gi* Sumerian origin, *lú su.A* also should name a land noted for the raising of a certain kind of animal.²

The geographic nature of the expression *lú su*(.A^{KI}) is further proved by the appearance of the forms *lú su*, *lú su^{KI}*, and *lú su.A^{KI}* (though fortuitously not of *lú su.A*) with the Ur III personal names mentioned below. Such names have been collected by B. Landsberger,³ N. Schneider,⁴ Ungnad,⁵ and the writer.⁶ A complete list follows.⁷

1. *Ad-da-bu-ni*, mentioned in an important Ur III text which enumerates first animals offered by various persons designated as *Mar-tu-me*, "they are (or 'who are') Amorites," then animals offered by *A-mur-ilum* the messenger of *Li-ba-nu-uk-ša-ba-aš*, *ensi* of *Mar-ḫa-ši^{KI}*,⁸ and continues with animals offered by *Ki-ma-ni*, *Si-ni-ni*, *Ku-zu-zu* the messenger of *Ba-ar-ba-ra-gi*, *Ad-da-bu-ni* the messenger of *Še-eb-ba*, *Še-bi* the messenger of *Ra-ši*, *Ma-da-ti-na*, and *Bu-ul-ba-at* and presumably by another man whose name is omitted, followed by the term *lú su-me*.⁹ The assumption that a name is missing is justified by the fact that *lú su-me* means

¹ Gathered by N. Schneider in *Orientalia XXII* (1926) p. 48.

² On the use of *lú* plus a geographic name in defining animals cf. e.g. *anšu lú A-ga-dè^{KI}*, "an Akkadian donkey," in Chiera, *Sumerian Lexical Texts from the Temple School of Nippur* (OIP XI) 69:8.

³ In *ZA XXXV* (1924) 230 f., n. 3. There appears to be no reason for Landsberger's assertion that the term *su*(.A^{KI}) applied to small cattle is different from the same term applied to people. See also Jacobsen in *AJSL LVIII* (1941) 220, n. 4.

⁴ In *Orientalia XXIV* (1927) 82 f.

⁵ Subartu pp. 105 f.

⁶ In *AJSL LV* (1938) 82 f.

⁷ It is understood that, following the orthography of the Ur III period to which all these *su*(.A^{KI}) names belong, voiced consonants can stand for voiceless ones and vice versa, also that double consonants are normally written singly.

⁸ A text discussed on p. 105 perhaps treats the people of *Marḫaši* as Subarians. If so, then *Amur-ilum* here may, in line with the most natural order of reading above, be thought of as one of the *lú su-me*.

⁹ *TCL II* 5508 i and ii.

“they are (or ‘who are’) *su*”¹⁰ and evidently defines the preceding group as *su* people¹¹ just as *Mar-tu-me* above defines the group preceding it as Amorites.

The personal name Addabuni occurs frequently in Akkadian texts from Elam in the writings *Ad-da-bu-ni*¹² and *At-ta-bu-ni*,¹³ also in the writings *At-ta-bu-ni*¹⁴ and *At-ta-bu-na*¹⁵ in texts of the Kassite period. The name may be Elamitic¹⁶ if it is to be connected with such names from Susa as *Atta-ḥaštuk*,¹⁷ *Atta-ḥušu*,¹⁸ *Atta-Wilgimaš*,¹⁹ *Šut-puni*,²⁰ and *Puni-iššan*.²¹

2. *Ba-ar-ba-ra-gi*, see No. 1.

3. *Bu-ul-ba-at*, see No. 1.

4. *Bu-šu-ut* the messenger of *Ià-ab-ra-at lú su.A^{K1}*.²² The reading *Ba_x-šu-ut* is also possible.²³

5. *Da-šu-uk lú su.A^{K1}*.²⁴ Cf. *Da-su-uk-ku*, who with *Ki-ba-kaš-še* is mentioned in a Late Assyrian letter²⁵ in connection with the lands Ellipa and Šungibutu, both situated in the Zagros area.²⁶ For the ending *-uk* in our name form *Da-šu-uk* cf. *Šu-šul-uk* (No. 19) and the Nuzian names *Ḥašuk*, *Kaltuk*, *Kizzuk*, *Naḥaruk*, and *Nizuk*, concerning the linguistic origin of which there is no clear evidence.²⁷

6. *Du-ti-a* the messenger of *Ià-ab-ra-at lú su^{K1}*.²⁸ This name is discussed on p. 18.

7. *Ga-ra-da-du lú su*.²⁹ This reading fits the form of the second sign better than does *Ga-šid-da-du* of Ungnad³⁰ and Stamm.³¹ A priori an interpretation of this name as Akkadian, favored by these two scholars, is unlikely because it is questionable whether any other *su*(.A^{K1}) person

¹⁰ Poebel, *Grundzüge der sumerischen Grammatik* (Rostock, 1923) pp. 51 f.

¹¹ So already Schneider in *Orientalia* XXIV 82 f., Ungnad, *Subartu* p. 106, n. 1, and Gelb in *AJSL* LV 83.

¹² *Mém.* X p. 75 (index); XXVIII p. 151 (index); etc.

¹³ *Mém.* XXVIII p. 152 (index) etc.

¹⁴ *BE* XIV 166:5.

¹⁵ C. J. Ball in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* XXIX (1907) Pl. I opp. p. 274, line 15.

¹⁶ Confirmed by Dr. Cameron.

¹⁷ *Mém.* IV 10:16 (=XXII 150); XXII 11:27; etc.

¹⁸ *Mém.* X p. 75 (index).

¹⁹ *Mém.* XXII p. 183 (index, with several variant spellings).

²⁰ *Mém.* IV 6:6 and 14 (=XXII 74); IV 7:20 (=XXII 75).

²¹ *Mém.* X p. 76 (index).

²² Jean, *ŠA* LXV 2; observe also lines 3 f. in the same text: *u₄ lú su.A^{K1} à-im-gin-na-a*, “when he went to the Subarians.”

²³ For the value *ba_x* of this sign see Gelb in *AJSL* LIII (1936/37) 37 f.

²⁴ Genouillac, *TrD* 83:5; see also the addition *u₄ lú su.A^{K1}-ta* in line 6.

²⁵ *ABL* 174:7 f. and 19 f.

²⁶ Cf. F. W. König in *RLA* II 50 and 357. With *Ki-ba-kaš-še* cf. the Nuzian name *Ki-bi-qa-aš-te* (variant: *Ki-pa-qa-aš-te*) in *HSS* XIII 490:22 and 28 (*te* misread for *še?*).

²⁷ See *NPN* p. 221.

²⁸ Delaporte in *RA* VIII (1911) 191 No. 12:2; Boson, *TCS* 229:2.

²⁹ Dhorme in *RA* IX (1912) 61 (Pl. V) SA 200:7.

³⁰ *Subartu* p. 106 (interpreted as *Gašiddadu* or *Gâšid-dâdu*).

³¹ In *MVAG* XLIV (1939) 127 and 339 (interpreted as Akkadian *Kašid-dâdu*).

of the Ur III period bears a Semitic name. Also the value *šid* would normally not be used in this period for writing a non-Sumerian name. Identification of our *Ga-ra-da-du* with *Ga-ra-du* of the *namrag* texts³² is possible only if we assume that both forms stand for Garaddu or Garadādu.

8. *Ià-ab-ra-at lú su*;³³ see also Nos. 4, 6, 20, 21, and 22. This is the most common and probably the most important of all the *su*(A^{KI}) names. Identical with it is the royal name written *E-ba-ra-at*,³⁴ *Ia_c-ba-ra-at*,³⁵ and *Ia_c-ba-ra-at*³⁶ in inscriptions from Susa, corresponding to *E-ba-ar-ti*, the name of various kings in Šimaš and Elam.³⁷ There are also places called *Ià-ab-ra-at*^{KI} ³⁸ (from which Elamites are attested) and *Ià-ab-ru*^{KI} (in the name of year 7 of Bûr-Sin, in which Bîtum-rabjûm and Huhûnuri also are mentioned) and the divinities *Ia-ab-ru* and *Ia-ab-ri-tû* assigned to Elam by Akkadian scribes.³⁹ All these comparisons point clearly in the direction of Elam.

9. *Iu_x(NI.Ù)-ša-na-ák lú su*.⁴⁰ Formerly read as *Ni-ù-ša-na-ák*; cf., however, *NI-ab-ra-at*, certainly to be read as *Ià-ab-ra-at*.⁴¹

10. *Ki-ma-ni*, see No. 1.

11. *Ku-zu-zu*, see No. 1. Another Ur III tablet mentions *Gu-zu-zu lú Ma-ar-da-ma-an*^{KI},⁴² whose name is clearly equivalent to *Ku-zu-zu*; but no constructive conclusions can be drawn from this comparison, because the location of Mardaman is unknown.⁴³

³² Drevnosti V 329 i 10 and 17; TCL V 6039 i 3.—See also above, p. 40, n. 126.

³³ OIM A 3004.

³⁵ Mém. XXIII 292:6.

³⁴ Mém. XXIII 296:8; XXVIII 7:1; etc.

³⁶ *Ibid.* Nos. 291, 295, 297-302, 304-5.

³⁷ Scheil in RA XXVI (1929) 1 f. and XXVIII (1931) 5-7; Cameron, HEI p. 240.—On possible connection between Subarians and Šimaš cf. p. 105, n. 75.

³⁸ With the normal Akkadian change of *ja* to *i* this Iabrat may be identical with *Ib-ra-at*^{KI}, mentioned between *A-ua-a-ak*^{KI} and *Dil-bat*^{KI} in a late copy of a legend about Narâm-Sin (A. Boissier in RA XVI [1919] 161 f.: 16); with *Ib-rat*, named among cities of Elam in an inscription of Ashurbanipal (Luckenbill, ARAB II § 816); and with *Ib-rat*, somewhere in the neighborhood of Dêr and Lagash according to a geographic text (KAV 92:17 f.). Albright in JAOS XLV (1925) 218 f. places Ibrat east or north of Dêr.

³⁹ For references see Gelb in AJSL LV (1938) 76.—Cf. also the Akkadian divine name *I-l_i-ab-rat* or (contracted) *I-la-ab-ra-at* (Deimel, Pantheon Babylonicum [Romae, 1914] No. 1464), which might be explained as Il-Iabrat, "god of (the land or city) Iabrat," similar in formation to *I-l_i-Ha-al-la-bu*, "god of Hallabu" (*ibid.* No. 1547), *I-l_i-la-ha-ab*, "god of Halab(?)" (*ibid.* No. 1550), and *I-l_i-Pa-da*, "god of Pada" (*ibid.* No. 1551). The corresponding Sumerian name *Nin-Šubur* or *Nin-Šubur-ra* (*ibid.* No. 2729) would then mean "lord of Šubur." On *nin* as "lord" (not "lady") cf. Nin-urta, Nin-Girsu, etc. On the masculine character of Nin-Šubur cf. S. N. Kramer in BASOR No. 79 (1940) p. 21, n. 2. The indicated equivalence of Iabrat with Šubur would provide additional evidence that *su*(A^{KI}) are Subarians (cf. above, pp. 25 f.).

⁴⁰ YOS IV 71:6. Fish, CST p. 47 No. 415, transliterates another example as *Ni-ù-ša-na-ag lú su*. Since the tablet was not copied, it is impossible to say whether in Fish's transliteration *ag* is a variant of *ág* or a misprint for *ág*.

⁴¹ Cf. Gelb *loc. cit.*

⁴² Nies, UDT 92:24.

⁴³ In a copy of a story relating the campaigns of Narâm-Sin a certain *mDu-uh-su-su*, king of *Mar-da-ma-an*^{KI}, is mentioned (Boissier in RA XVI 164:40). In other Ur III texts we find a *Na-ak-da-ma-tal* of *Mar-da-ma-an*^{KI} (see below, p. 113) and a *lú kin-gi-a lú Mar-da-ma-ni*^{KI} (Fish, CST p. 28 No. 168). Since Naktam-atal is probably a Hurrian name, Mardaman may have been situated somewhere in the Zagros Mountains in an area occupied by both Subarians and Hurrians.

12. *Lu-lu lú* SU.A^{K1}.⁴⁴ Cf. *Lu-lu Šubur* in the Fara texts (p. 32), *Nu-ul-lu-(ú)* at Nuzi,⁴⁵ and ^m*Lu-ul-lu*, the name of a governor known from the chief inventory from Qatna.⁴⁶ All these names presumably are derived from Lullu(bi), the name of a land east of the Tigris somewhere in the Zagros Mountains. Lullum/bians are mentioned in close connection with Subarians in Assyrian historical inscriptions of the end of the 2d millennium B.C. (see p. 46).

13. *Ma-da-ti-na*, see No. 1. As far as I know, this name does not occur in this particular form anywhere else in cuneiform sources; but in a Hittite tale from Bogazköy describing a war of Narām-Sin against a coalition of seventeen kings a certain *Ma-da-di-na*, king of ^{lc}*Ar-ma-ni*, is mentioned. All the scholars who have worked on this text have read the name of this king as *Ma-da-ki-na*,⁴⁷ in spite of the fact that the copy by H. Figulla suggests the reading *Ma-da-di-na* instead.⁴⁸

Armānum is a well known geographic name of the Old Akkadian period. Its frequent mention in company with the land Ibla as conquered by Narām-Sin⁴⁹ does not have to mean that Armānum too was located in the West, because—as was pointed out by Güterbock⁵⁰—Narām-Sin may simply have been referring to his most important conquests and the two lands need not have been connected geographically. The identification of Armānum with Aleppo in Syria proposed by several scholars⁵¹ was rejected by Güterbock, who not only stressed its obvious phonetic difficulties but also offered positive arguments in favor of the localization of Armānum in the East.⁵² He pointed out that a city Armān in *ugār* ^c*Sallim*, somewhere in the area between the ^cAzeim and the Diyala, is mentioned under Adad-nīrāri I⁵³ and Tiglath-pileser I;⁵⁴ that ^lArmānum is placed between Lullubum and Akkad in a geographic text;⁵⁵ and that *Ar-ma-an*^{K1} appears in an Ur III text.⁵⁶ The last is of value because the Ur III texts usually refer to cities situated either in Babylonia or in near-by territories east of the Tigris.

⁴⁴ Nies, UDT 44:3 = S. A. B. Mercer in *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research* XIV (1930) 48 No. 59:3. Nies *op. cit.* pp. 47, 127, 163 reads UDU.UDU and interprets it as "sheep (pl.)."

⁴⁵ See NPN pp. 240 f. Initial *l* is frequently represented as *n* in Nuzi personal names; on this problem see *ibid.* p. 7.

⁴⁶ C. Virolleaud in *Syria* XI (1930) 325:327.

⁴⁷ 2 BoTU 3 i 13; Hrozný in *AOr* I (1929) 71; Gelb, IAV p. 6, n. 61; H. G. Güterbock in *ZA* XLIV (1938) 68.

⁴⁸ KBo III 13 i 13. Observe that the DI sign in *Ma-da-di-na* is different from the KI sign elsewhere in the same text.

⁴⁹ E.g. URI 275 i 7 ff., 17 ff.; ii 4 ff. The name of its king is probably *Ri-iš!-Adad*, *ibid.* iii 2 and 28, as suggested by Gelb, IAV p. 6, not *Ri-id!-Adad* as copied and transliterated.

⁵⁰ In *ZA* XLIV 74.

⁵¹ Identification suggested by Sidney Smith in *URI* pp. 80 f.; accepted by J. Lewy in *ZA* XXXVIII (1929) 265; Speiser, *Mes. Or.* p. 154, n. 113; Gelb, IAV p. 6; Ungnad, *Subartu* p. 51, n. 2.

⁵² *ZA* XLIV 73-75.

⁵³ *Synchronistic History* i 30.

⁵⁴ *KAH* II 66:11.

⁵⁵ *KAV* 92:13.

⁵⁶ Genouillac, *TrD* 50:4. On the relation between Armān and Armānum cf. the personal names *Mar-da-ba-an* (*ITT* IV p. 4 No. 7031) and *Mar-da-ba-nu-um* *Mar-tu* (*OIM* A 2905) and the geographic names *Harrān* (*passim*) and *Ha-ar-ra-nim*^{K1} (gen.; Dossin in *Mélanges syriens ... Dus-saud ...* II 986) and *Qa-at-tu-na-an*^{K1} (*ibid.* p. 994) and *Qa-at-tu-na-nim*^{K1} (gen.; Jean in *Revue des études sémitiques*, 1937, p. 102).

14. *Ra-ši*, see No. 1. Ur III tablets mention often a certain *Ra-ši* of *Zi-da-nim*⁶¹ or *Zi-da-nu-um*^{61, 67}. The linguistic background of the name *Ra-ši* is indeterminable. Ungnad takes it to be Akkadian,⁶⁸ which is possible in view of the occurrence in the Late Babylonian period of both *Ra-ši*⁶⁹ and *Ra-ši-ilu*.⁶⁰ On the other hand Elamitic connections are indicated by the presence of a personal name *Ra-ši* in a Susa text⁶¹ and the existence of a land Raši in the mountains east of Dêr.⁶² Cf. possibly also *Ra-ši-ši* of Kimaš.⁶³

The location of Zidānum is uncertain. Ungnad thought that it might be identical with Phoenician Šīdōn.⁶⁴ J. Lewy⁶⁵ considered identifying it with Tidānum (situated in Amurru according to a Gudea inscription⁶⁶) or with Phoenician Šīdōn. Maisler also was inclined, with Ungnad and Lewy, to identify Zidānum with Šīdōn.⁶⁷ However, identification of Zidānum with Tidānum encounters difficulty in respect to the initial consonant; and to identify Zidānum with Phoenician Šīdōn is difficult because no other Phoenician city is mentioned in the Ur III texts. There are two other possible identifications of Zidānum, one with the North Syrian city Zitānu captured by Tiglathpileser III,⁶⁸ the other with Zidāna mentioned in a date formula of an Elamitic king⁶⁹ and hence presumably located not far from Elam proper.

15. *Si-ni-ni*, see No. 1. For the formation cf. *Ku-zu-zu* (No. 11). Other readings are possible if we take *si* as *ši* and *ni* as *li* or *i*.

16. *Še-eb-ba*, see No. 1. Cf. *Ši-ri*, son of *Še-eb-ba* of *Bu-li*⁶¹, in another Ur III tablet.⁷⁰ The city Buli occurs in a Late Assyrian letter in connection with Urartu, the Mannaeans, and the Cimmerians.⁷¹ If Buli of that letter is identical with Buli of the Ur III text, then the personal name *Še-eb-ba* belongs somewhere northeast of Mesopotamia.

17. *Še-bi*, see No. 1.

18. *Šu-nu-um-du*, son of . . . , and *Šu-šū¹-uk*, brother of . . . -at, *lu* SU.A⁶¹-me-éš.⁷²

19. *Šu-šū¹-uk*, see No. 18. For the formation cf. *Da-šū-uk* (No. 5). There was a city (c) *Su-su-ku* in the land Uruaṭri.⁷³

⁶⁷ Schneider in *Orientalia* XXIII (1927) p. 177 gives only the second reading, but both occur in the examples he cites.

⁶⁸ MVAG XX 2 (1916) p. 81.

⁶⁹ PBS II 1 No. 86:17.

⁶⁰ Tallqvist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch* (Helsingforsiae, 1905) p. 174.

⁶¹ *Mém.* X 125:2.

⁶⁴ MVAG XX 2 p. 94.

⁶² Cameron, *HEI* p. 252 (index).

⁶⁵ ZA XXXVIII 269, n. 3.

⁶³ Boson, *TCS* 140:4 f.

⁶⁶ Thureau-Dangin, *SAKI* p. 70 vi 13 f.

⁶⁷ *Untersuchungen zur alten Geschichte und Ethnographie Syriens und Palästinas* (Giessen, 1930) p. 20, n. 3.

⁶⁸ Luckenbill, *ARAB I* §§ 770 and 821.—H. G. Tomkins in *Babylonian and Oriental Record III* (1888/89) 5 (as second choice), P. Dhorme in *RA IX* 155, and R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale* (Paris, 1927) p. 239 and Map X, identify Assyrian Zitānu with modern Zeitūn or Zeitān, southwest of Aleppo.

⁶⁹ *Mém.* XVIII 123:7 f. and 124:9 f.: *mu-uš-sa Zi-da-na ba-hul*, "the year after that in which Zidāna was sacked." Cf. Cameron *op. cit.* p. 64.

⁷⁰ Genouillac, *TrD* 83:2.

⁷¹ In the gentilic form *°Bu-li-A.A.*, *ABL* 112 rev. 4. Connection between this place name and *°Bu-lu-u*, *°Bu-lu-a*, and *°Bu-lum* is uncertain; see Ebeling in *RLA II* 75.

⁷² *TCL II* 5515:2–5.

⁷³ E. F. Weidner in *AOF VI* (1930–31) 82:38.

20. *Zu-bu-uš* the messenger of *Ia₆-ab-ra-at lú su^{KI}*,⁷⁴
 21. *Zu-úr-zu-ra* the messenger of *Ià-ab-ra-at lú su^{KI}*. . . ?-éš/šè.⁷⁵ Cf. the personal name *Zu-ur-zu-ur*⁷⁶ or *Zur-zur*⁷⁷ well known from Cappadocian texts, also *°Zur-zu-ra* [. . .] in Uruat_{ri}.⁷⁸
 22. *[X]-ab-du-ša* the messenger of *[Ià]-ab-ra-at lú su^{KI}*.⁷⁹
 23. . . .-at, see No. 18.

NAME OF AN *ensi* OF *Su-bir₄*^{KI}

Zi-gu-um(sic)-e, *ensi* of *Su-bir₄*^{KI}, was captured by Išbi-Irra of Mari according to a letter in the correspondence of Ibbī-Sin, last king of the 3d dynasty of Ur (see above, p. 38). Since the context does not permit explaining *e* as the Sumerian subject element, we must take it as part of the name. The nearest parallel to this name known to me from elsewhere is *Zi-ku-um-mi* at Nuzi. If the two spellings are equivalent, then the Nuzian name cannot be explained as Akkadian *Sīq-ummi*. Though the root *zik* occurs frequently at Nuzi in the names *Zike*, *Zikipa*, *Zikiu*, etc., it is uncertain whether it is Hurrian.

NAMES OF PERSONS CALLED *Šubarijū*

The following five Old Babylonian names are arranged in chronological order:

1. *Rībam-ilī Šubarijūm*. In the writings *°Ri-ba-am-i-lī Š[u]-b[a-ri-i]m* (gen.) and *°Ri-ba-am-i-lī Šu-ba-ri-a-am* (acc.) this name of a slave is found on an Old Babylonian tablet dated to year 29 of Rīm-Sin of Larsa.⁸⁰ The name is clearly Akkadian.

2. 1 *reš₃amtum Bu-zu-u[š] Šu-ba-ri-tum* on an Old Babylonian tablet dated to year 3 of

⁷⁴ TCL II 5559:9, completed by OIM A 5477 and by Fish *op. cit.* p. 52 No. 466. The last has *Ià-ab-ra-at* instead of *Ia₆-ab-ra-at* of the other two texts. *Zu-bu-uš* alone is found in Langdon, TAD 47 ii 16.

⁷⁵ T. Jacobsen, *Cuneiform Texts in the National Museum, Copenhagen, Chiefly of Economical Contents* (Leiden, 1939) 7:11 f. The sign between *KI* and *éš* looks like *lal* or *me* and is marked as erased in the copy. It is possible that the scribe first wrote *me* in *lú su^{KI}-me-éš*, thinking that the appellation *su* applied to all the persons mentioned in the text, and then erased it when he discovered that the appellation should refer to Zurzura only. If, however, the sign in question was not erased but is a badly written *me*, then we must reckon with the possibility that the persons mentioned before Zurzura in our text, namely *Pa-na-na*, messenger of the *ensi* of *Mar-ḥa-šī^{KI}*, and *Ia₆-da-az*, messenger of *Ki-ir-na-me*, also should be taken as Subarians. This would entail adding to our list of Subarian names the names of persons connected with Marḥaši and even with Šimaš, since *Ki-ir-na-me* of our tablet corresponds to *Gir-nam-me*, known from elsewhere as the name of a king of Šimaš. It would not be surprising to find Subarians in Marḥaši, since we know that that land was situated between Subartu and Elam (p. 35). Among the persons connected with Marḥaši we should mention Abalgamaš, Dagu, Kundubum, and Šidgau in the Old Akkadian period and Amur-ilum (p. 100), Bariašum, Liban(a)šgubi, Libanukšabaš, etc. in the Ur III period. That Šimaš also lay in the vicinity of the Subarian area can be deduced from the fact that Ebarti, one of the rulers of Šimaš, bears a name particularly common among Subarians (p. 102).

⁷⁶ *Zu-ur-zu-ni* of the copy in CCT I 36 b 6 is probably to be corrected to *Zu-ur-zu-ur*, the form found *ibid.* II 5 b 5 and 46 a 11.

⁷⁷ Gelb, IAV No. 56:24.

⁷⁸ Weidner *loc. cit.* (previously copied in KAH II 75:14).

⁷⁹ Genouillac in *Babyloniaca VIII* (1924) Pl. VII 30:2.

⁸⁰ Published by A. P. Riftin in *Staro-vavilonskie iuridicheskie i administrativnye dokumenty v sobraniakh SSSR* (Moskva, 1937) p. 91 No. 46:1, 7, and 12; see also B. Landsberger in *ZA XLIII* (1936) 315 f.

Samsu-iluna.⁸¹ The last sign in *Bu-zu-u[š]* is only partly preserved and cannot be reconstructed with certainty.

3. 1 ^{reš}amtum *Eš₄-dar* . . . MU.NI amtum *Šubaritum*(SAL.SU.BIR₄^{K1}) on an Old Babylonian tablet dated to Samsu-iluna.⁸²

4. 1 ^{reš}amtum *Ma-am-ma* M[U.NI] *Šubaritum*(SAL.SU.BIR₄^{K1}) *wa-ri-da-tum* ^c*Bi-da-ra*^{K1} on an Old Babylonian tablet of the time of Abi-ešuḥ.⁸³ The name Mamma belongs to the class of words called "Lallwörter" in German and therefore cannot be assigned with certainty to any particular language.⁸⁴ The geographic name ^c*Bi-da-ra*^{K1} may be compared with ^c*Pi/Bi-tu-ra*, with a further variant ^c*Pi-da-ra*, in the annals of Aššur-nāšir-apli II,⁸⁵ name of a city situated north of the Tigris and east of Diyarbekir.⁸⁶ Ungnad's suggested emendation of our ^c*Bi-da-ra* to ^c*Bi-it-ra* and comparison with the well known Pitru of Assyrian sources, biblical Pethor,⁸⁷ is unnecessary.

5. 1 ^{reš}amtum *Um-mi*^d*He-bi-it* MU.NI *Šubaritum*(SAL.SU.BIR₄^{K1}) ^š*Ša-at-ni* on an Old Babylonian tablet dated to year 4 of Ammi-ditana.⁸⁸ The name Ummi-Ḫepet, meaning "the goddess Ḫepet is my mother," is a hybrid, because its first part, *ummi*, is Semitic, whereas its second part, Ḫepet, names a non-Semitic goddess. The case is very important because, if Ḫepet was an exclusively Hurrian goddess, her appearance in this Subarian slave's name, meaning that she was worshiped by the Subarians, would favor identification of the terms "Hurrian" and "Subarian." But was Ḫepet exclusively Hurrian?

On a seal from the time of the 1st dynasty of Babylon is found the earliest certain mention of Ḫepet, but no associated name sounds Hurrian.⁸⁹ Then in the second half of the 2d millennium B.C. Ḫepet often appears as a Hurrian goddess in both Hittite and Hurrian texts from Boğazköy,⁹⁰ usually in the form ^d*He-be* but sporadically also as ^d*He-pa-du-uš*⁹¹ or ^d*He-bat-uš*.⁹² In such well known feminine names as Kelu-Ḫepa, Putu-Ḫepa, and Tatu-Ḫepa the goddess Ḫepa is presumably thought of as Hurrian because the other elements *kelu*, *putu*, and

⁸¹ YBC 4472:13 f. I owe this as well as the following reference to Dr. S. I. Feigin, who is preparing a publication of Samsu-iluna tablets for the "Yale Oriental Series."

⁸² YBC 7612:1 f.

⁸³ TCL I 147:1-3; Kohler and Ungnad, *Hammurabi's Gesetz* V (Leipzig, 1911) No. 1154; Ungnad, *Subartu* p. 100.

⁸⁴ A name Mammaja occurs at Nuzi.

⁸⁵ E. A. Wallis Budge and L. W. King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria* I (London, 1902) 232:22; 235:30; 335:104; 338:112. Another city Bitura is situated in Cilicia near the Mediterranean Sea; see BKS VIII (1923) No. 7 iv 40 and 43.

⁸⁶ A. T. Olmstead in *JAOS* XXXVIII (1918) 237 f. and Map I; E. Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches* (Leipzig, 1920) pp. 30 and 85.

⁸⁷ *Subartu* p. 100.

⁸⁸ Published in *CT* XXXIII 41; Koschaker and Ungnad, *Hammurabi's Gesetz* VI (Leipzig, 1923) No. 1642; Ungnad, *Subartu* p. 100. The signs ^d*He-bi-it* are shaded in the copy; this means that their reading is not beyond doubt.

⁸⁹ V. Scheil in *RA* XIII (1916) 14 and Pl. III 24: ¹*kunuk Mu-za mâr A-ma-a* ²*warad* ^d*He-be* BE (read by Scheil as *He-til*) ^ù *Eš₄-târ*, "the seal of Muza, son of Amaa, the servant of Ḫepet and Eštar."

⁹⁰ Goetze, *Kleinasien* pp. 124 f.

⁹¹ *KUB* XXVII 42 rev. 11.

⁹² *KUB* XXIX 8 iii 47. Both this and the preceding ref. are quoted in *RA* XXXVI (1939) 99, n. 1, by Thureau-Dangin, who prefers to read ^d*He-be* as ^d*He-bat*. Cf. also ^c*Ha-pa-at-wa-ni-ia-aš*, "the (city) of Ḫapat," in *KUB* XXVI 43:41, cited by C.-G. von Brandenstein in *Orientalia* N.S. VIII (1939) 85, n. 6.

tatu are Hurrian.⁹³ In a document from Tell ʿAṭṣhāneh Ḫepet is mentioned⁹⁴ together with the Hurrian god Tešup (written ʿIM) and the *marianni*-nobles. All these facts point to the inevitable conclusion that about the middle of the 2d millennium B.C. Ḫepet was or became a Hurrian goddess.

But it is surprising that, while such Hurrian divinities as Tešup, Šawuška, and Šimike are frequently referred to in the Tušratta letter, no mention is found there of the goddess Ḫepet. This may be considered a pure accident. But it is certainly no accident that in the treaty concluded between the Hittite king Šuppiluliumaš and Mattiwaza, king of Mittanni, Ḫepet occurs among the Hittite deities⁹⁵ but is nowhere mentioned among the Hurrian deities.⁹⁶ Still more surprising is the fact that at Nuzi, which has given us the largest and most representative group of Hurrian personal names to be found anywhere, Ḫepet is scarcely mentioned. If she was a Hurrian goddess, she should surely have been found often among the thousands of Nuzi personal names. Instead, only two contain the element Ḫepet or Ḫepa: ʿḪepet-naja, whose second element, *naja*, is common in Hurrian feminine names, and ʿŠuwar-Ḫepa, whose first element, *šuwar*, most probably is Indo-European.⁹⁷ It would seem that even at Nuzi Ḫepet did not become quite at home.

The same goddess is named, in the forms ^d*Hi-pa-tu* and ^d*Ha-pa-tu*, in the Indo-European Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions⁹⁸ and, in the forms Hippi and Hipta, even in the Orphic hymns and in two Greek inscriptions from Maeonia.⁹⁹ These occurrences in Maeonia in western Anatolia, well outside the Hurrian sphere of influence, are difficult to explain if we assume that Ḫepet is and always was a Hurrian goddess. Would it not be permissible to conclude from the foregoing facts that Ḫepet was an autochthonous goddess in Mesopotamia and Anatolia and that she was not received into the Hurrian pantheon until after Hurrians had arrived in those regions?¹⁰⁰ The name Ummi-Ḫepet, with which this particular discussion began, would then be a hybrid composed of the Semitic element *ummi* plus Ḫepet, the name of an ancient Mesopotamian and Anatolian goddess.

RÉSUMÉ

Summing up the twenty-nine names discussed above, we have twenty-three names with the appellation *su*^(KI) or *su.A*^{KI}: Addabuni, Barbaragi, Bulbat, Bušut (or Bašut), Dašuk, Dulia, Garadadu, Iabrat, Iušanak, Kimani, Kuzuzu, Lulu, Madatina, Raši, Sinini (other readings possible), Šebba, Šebi, Šunundu, Šušuk(?), Zubuš, Zurzura,abduša, andat. In addition we have one name, Zigume, belonging to an *ensi* of *Su-bir*^{KI} and five names borne by persons called *Šubariyū*: Ribam-ili, Buzu[š?], Eštar- . . . , Mamma, and Ummi-Ḫepet.

⁹³ See NPN pp. 224, 248, and 263.

⁹⁴ *Antiquaries Journal* XIX (1939) 43:14.

⁹⁵ BKS VIII No. 1 rev. 46 f. and No. 2 rev. 18.

⁹⁶ As observed also by F. Sommer and H. Ehelolf, *Das hethitische Ritual des Pāpanikri von Komana* (BKS X [1924]) p. 49; Ungnad, *Subartu* p. 168. The latter tentatively explains the omission of Ḫepet from the Šuppiluliumaš-Mattiwaza treaty as due to absorption of her cult into that of her consort Tešup.

⁹⁷ Cf. refs. in NPN p. 260.

⁹⁸ Refs. listed by P. Meriggi in *MVAG* XXXIX 1 (1934) p. 122.

⁹⁹ E. Burrows in *JRAS*, 1925, pp. 277 f.; P. Kretschmer in *Glotta* XV (1927) 76-78; XXI (1933) 79; Gelb, *IAB* p. 53, n. 1.—It is quite probable that the frequently found Late Babylonian personal name ^ʿ*Hi-ip-ta-a* or ^ʿ*Hi-pa-ta-a* (Tallqvist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch* pp. 67 f.) also contains the name of the goddess.

¹⁰⁰ Non-Hurrian origin of this goddess seems probable to Speiser also, *IH* p. 41.

Looking over the list of *SU*.(A^{K1}) names one is struck immediately by those ending in *t*: Bulbat, Bušut (or Bašut), Iabrat, and the broken nameat. Now a final *t* occurs in many Cappadocian geographic and personal names in the forms *-at*, *-it*, *-ut*, changed to *-ant*, *-int*, *-unt* in the later Hittite period.¹⁰¹ But the same ending is found also in some geographic names, such as Talḫat, Iamḫat, Eluḫat, Kaḫat, and Ḫanigalbat,¹⁰² connected with North Syria or northern Mesopotamia.

The names Kuzuzu and Sinini give no clues as to their origin, since names with partly reduplicated stems are represented in this period in various parts of the Near East.¹⁰³ More distinctive is the name Zurzura. That fully reduplicated stems are characteristic of many Cappadocian names, e.g. Duwi-duwi and Kur-kura, has been pointed out before.¹⁰⁴ They are, however, also found frequently in Ur III personal names of unknown linguistic origin.¹⁰⁵

The main problem raised by Subarian personal names is: To what language or languages do they belong? Even a superficial glance at the list will show that they are not Hurrian.¹⁰⁶ But it is also clear that, except for the names Rībam-ili, Eštar-. . . , and Ummi-Ḫepet dated to the 1st dynasty of Babylon, none of the names is Akkadian or Semitic.¹⁰⁷ If the rest of the names are neither Hurrian nor Semitic, then what are they? The answer is clear and simple: they are Subarian.¹⁰⁸ But "Subarian" does not have the meaning assigned to it by other scholars, who make it synonymous with "Hurrian." "Subarian" in my definition represents an ethnic and linguistic unit, hitherto unrecognized, inhabiting extensive mountainous areas stretching from northern Mesopotamia in the west to Elam in the east.

The twenty-nine names discussed above are doubtless not the only Subarian names preserved in texts known to us. The Ur III tablets are full of references to people connected with various sites in the Zagros Mountains whose names are neither Hurrian nor Akkadian nor Sumerian (cf. e.g. p. 40). May not many or even most of these names represent Subarians? To prove this assumption is of course impossible at present, because our knowledge of the Subarian language is too sketchy. We might note as especially promising some names connected with Marḫaši and with Šimaš (see p. 105, n. 75).¹⁰⁹

¹⁰¹ Gelb, IAV p. 15.

¹⁰² Landsberger took these names to belong to the language of an aboriginal population in the North Syrian and northern Mesopotamian areas; see his article "Über den Wert künftiger Ausgrabungen in der Türkei," TTKB III (1939) esp. pp. 218 and 224, n. 37.

¹⁰³ On hypocoristic names of this type see Landsberger in ZA XXXV (1924) 220 f. Such a name as Kuzuzu could possibly develop from Kuzu-kuzu, a name occurring on another Ur III tablet (Drevnosti V 519:8).

¹⁰⁴ Gelb, IAV p. 16.

¹⁰⁵ E.g. *Ga-ra-ga-ra-a* (YOS IV 246:83); *Ku-zu-ku-zu* (see n. 103 above); *Mi-ni-mi-ni* (TMH N.F. I/II 42:2 and 179:21); *Bād-da-bād-da* (HSS IV 13 ii 14); *Za-ag-za-ga* (TMH N.F. I/II 145:10); *Za-an-za-ni* (YOS IV 138:3 and 161:3).

¹⁰⁶ On possible but very doubtful connections between the Subarian names Dašuk, Dulia, and Zigumc and comparable Nuzi names see pp. 101, 18, and 105.

¹⁰⁷ On Amur-ilum and Raši see pp. 100 and 104.

¹⁰⁸ Of course it is possible that a few of even the remaining names are of non-Subarian origin and derive from languages still unknown or unidentifiable. But we can be sure that the greater part at least are as Subarian as their bearers. Cf. the case of the Amorites of the Ur III period, who bear names which on the whole are demonstrably of Amorite origin.

¹⁰⁹ From Old Akkadian times cf. the possibility that the seven *SU.BAPPIR* names (p. 27) and many of the Gasur names (p. 37) are Subarian.

APPENDIX III

HURRIAN PERSONAL NAMES OF THE UR III PERIOD

The first steps in collecting the Hurrian personal names of the Ur III period were taken by Thureau-Dangin in RA IX (1912) 4 in his article on the Samarra tablet and by F. Hommel in OLZ XVI (1913) 304–6 and 376 f. Landsberger in ZA XXXV (1924) 229 added several names. Speiser, Mes. Or. p. 148, referred to Landsberger's list, and Ungnad, Subartu pp. 139 f., to those of Thureau-Dangin and Hommel, without making any additions. A more elaborate attempt to collect such names has since been made by G. R. Meyer, "Die älteste Erwähnung des hurrischen Wettergottes Tešup," AOF XII (1937–39) 366–71. For the incompleteness of his list the author can easily be forgiven. No one but a specialist in the field could be expected to encompass the immense amount of material contained in the Ur III tablets. More serious, however, is the fact that his list contains several names which certainly are not Hurrian. For example, *Da-ḫi-ki-za* (on his p. 369), in view of *Da-ti-ki-za* in Genouillac, TrD 85:2, and *Da-ti-gi-za* in HSS X 60:5, is to be read as *Da-tin-ki-za* and explained as Akkadian *Taddin-ki(t)sa*, "She (meaning Eštar or some other goddess) gave her justice." Similarly *Ba-ga-ri*, *Du-la-ḫi*, *En-ni-a*, *Gu-zu-zu*, *Ki-la-ri*, *Si-a-ri*, *Še-in-gi-la*, etc. are incorrectly designated as Hurrian, and many of the parallels from Nuzi are ill chosen. In a later article, "Noch einige 'Mitanni'-Namen aus Drehem und Djoḫa," AOF XIII (1939/40) 147–52, Meyer collected several additional Hurrian names of the same period. Among misreadings in this article should be mentioned *Be-lí-a-ri* for *Be-lí-a-ri-ik!* (see names given by Schneider in *Orientalia XXIII* [1927] p. 36) and *Ḫi-ša-ri* for *Ṭáb!-ša-ri lú Kak-mi^{KI}* (cf. *Ṭab-ša-a-ri* in Boson, TCS 340:6; the name *Ṭáb-ša-ri* occurs also on a tablet from Tirqa, Syria V [1924] 277:4).

Below is given a two-part list of Ur III Hurrian personal names: the first part contains names lacking reference to any geographic location; the second, those definitely linked with specific places. This list is intended to be complete, but not all the occurrences of each name are cited. As in the case of possibly Hurrian names from Gasur (pp. 52 f.) and from Cappadocian sources (p. 61), such short names as *A-ki-a*, *A-gu-a*, *A-ku-a*, *Ga-a-a*, *Ba-a-a*, *Da-a-a*, *Da-da-a*, etc. occurring in the Ur III texts are not listed. These may be Hurrian, but they are not long enough to offer a safe basis for identification and comparison. There is no doubt in my mind that future studies will lead to the discovery of many more Hurrian names to be added to this list.

NAMES NOT CONNECTED WITH PLACES

1. *A-kaḫ-še-en*.¹ Both elements in *Akaḫ-šen* are good Hurrian.²
2. *A-ri-me-me*.³ The first element is the well known *ari*; the second, *meme*, is unknown at Nuzi but occurs perhaps in the Cappadocian personal name *Me-me-ep-ri*⁴ or *Me-me-be-er*,⁵ to be analyzed as *Meme-epri* for *Meme-ewri*.⁶

¹ ITT III 6545 ii x+17.

² See NPN.

³ OIM A 2968.

⁴ W. Golénischeff, *Vingt-quatre tablettes cappadociennes* (St. Pétersbourg, 1891) 10:14.

⁵ TCL XX 191:15 and 18.

⁶ Oppenheim in RHA V (1938) 18.

3. *Ep-ri-ba-tal*.⁷ To explain the name *Eprīp-atal* (or perhaps *Ewrip-atal*) is not easy. The second element, *atal*, is common at Nuzi; the first element, *eprīp*, could be *epri*,⁸ Nuzian *erwi*, plus the suffix *-p*. The difficulty with this explanation is that *erwi* is known to be a substantive with the value "king," while the suffix *-p* is normally used with verbs at Nuzi. Could this word be used both as a noun and as a verb in Hurrian?

4. *Ha-ap-še-in*, slave.⁹ Cf. *Haip-zilakku* as a variant of *Haip-zilakku* at Nuzi.

5. *Ha-ši-ip-a-tal*, ŠAGUB;¹⁰ *Ha-ši-ba-tal*, fiancé of *Nin-ḫé-du*;¹¹ *Ha-ši-ba-tal*, father of *Puzur-Šul-gi*;¹² *Ha-ši-ba-tal*,¹³ *Ha-ši-ba-da-al*.¹⁴ Both elements in *Hašip-atal* are good Hurrian.¹⁵

6. *Hu-bi-dam*.¹⁶ This name is found as *Hu-bi-da-am* in Cappadocian,¹⁷ *Hu-bi-dam* at Chagar Bazar,¹⁸ and *Hu-bi-ta* and the like at Nuzi. On the ending *-am* see p. 115.

7. *Kir-ba-tal*.¹⁹ The name *Kirp-atal* stands probably for **Kirip-atal*. On *kirip* see p. 113. Elision of *i* is well attested at Nuzi.²⁰

8. *Na-ḫa-ba-tal*.²¹ The name *Naḫap-atal* is probably Hurrian because of the element *atal* seen above already in Nos. 3, 5, and 7. On the first element cf. the Nuzian name *Naḫūja*, of uncertain but possibly Hurrian origin.

9. *Ba-ba-an-še-en*,²² *Ba-ba-an-še-in*,²³ QA.ŠU.DU₃ and MAŠKIM. The name *Papan-šen* is very likely Hurrian in view of the element *šen*, the other element, *papan*, if based on the Hurrian word *pap*, "mountain,"²⁴ is probably found in the Nuzi name *Papante*.

⁷ TCL V 6039 iii 33; the same name occurs doubtless in *Drevnosti* V 329 rev. i 8. Since the two texts are to a great extent parallel, the reading *Eb-la-ba-ri* and interpretation *Ebla-b-ari* for the second occurrence by Landsberger in *TTKB III* (1939) 223, n. 27, is hardly possible; moreover, the verbal suffix *-p* is to the best of my knowledge never attached to a geographic name, as it would be to *Ibla* in this instance. That the mother of *Ep-ri-ba-tal* is *Tap-ša-ḫi* (line 32), not *Tab-bur-ḫi* as copied, is shown by the variant in *Drevnosti* (obv. ii 3). On these two texts see also above, pp. 59 f.

⁸ Cf. the name *Meme-epri* quoted under No. 2 above.

⁹ Schneider in *Orientalia XLVII-XLIX* (1930) 149:2.

¹⁰ TCL II 5488:2.

¹¹ Legrain, TRU 110:7.

¹² CT XXXII 36 ii 8.

¹³ Schneider in *An. Or. I* (1931) 10:2 (by mistake written *Ha-ši-ba-AR*); OIM A 2968 and A 3253; *Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies* V 6:34.

¹⁴ Schneider in *Orientalia XVIII* (1925) 14:11.

¹⁵ See NPN.

¹⁶ Legrain, TRU 358:16; Nies, UDT 101:13; T. G. Pinches, *The Amherst Tablets . . . I* (London, 1908) 71:3.

¹⁷ Stephens, PNC p. 41.

¹⁸ C. J. Gadd in *Iraq VII* (1940) 38.

¹⁹ Boson, TCS 203 rev. 4, miscopied as *Šu-a-ba-tal* and read as *Gimil-a-ba-ri* *ibid.* p. 24. Correction made after OIM tablet A 2852.

²⁰ See NPN p. 189.

²¹ OIM A 4251.

²² CT XXXII 30 i 25 and ii 19; Genouillac, TrD 13:4; TCL II 5504:8 and 5628:4; Dhorme in RA IX (1912) 59 (Pl. III) SA 72 rev. 4 and 60 (Pl. IV) AM 9:4; Langdon, TAD 57:4.

²³ Genouillac, TrD 3 rev. 5; Langdon, TAD 49 rev. 18; Schneider in *Orientalia XLVII-XLIX* (1930) 28:3.

²⁴ C.-G. von Brandenstein in *ZA XLVI* (1940) 89-98.

10. *Pu-súm-še-en*.²⁵ In this name, to be analyzed as Pusum-šen, both elements are clearly Hurrian. The first occurs also in the names Pusum-atal²⁶ and Pušam (pp. 113 f.); *šen* stands for later *šenni* (cf. p. 56).

11. *Pu₄(KA+KÁR)-du-uk-ma-núm*.²⁷ In the name Putuk-manum the first element, *putuk*, is discussed below under No. 12; for the element *manum* cf. the name *ʿHa-ši-ma-an-nu* at Nuzi.²⁸

12. *Pu₄(KA+KÁR)-du-uk-še-en*.²⁹ Since *šen* in this name is Hurrian, the first element, *putuk*, should likewise be Hurrian, although it does not appear at Nuzi. This element may, however, occur both in No. 11 above and in the Hurrian word *pu-ud-du-ú-uk-ki*.³⁰ If we read the sign KA+KÁR as *pa_x* instead,³¹ then we may compare *patuk* with the name *Ba-du-ga* of the Kassite period.³²

13. *Še-eh-la-am*.³³ This name suggests the Hurrian element *šehl*, well known at Nuzi, plus the ending *-am*, on which see below (p. 115).

14. *Da-ḫi-iš-a-tal*,³⁴ *Daḫ-ša-tal*,³⁵ *Da-aḫ-ša-tal*,³⁶ *Daḫ-ša-a-tal*.³⁷ The name Taḫiš-atal or, in its shortened form, Taḫš-atal is good Hurrian. The first element, *taḫ*, occurs in the names Tišan-taḫe (below, No. 17) and Taḫiš-šen (below, p. 113) and in other Hurrian names from various sources.³⁸

15. *Te-šup-še-la-aḫ*.³⁹ As was observed by G. Rudolf Meyer, this name, Tešup-šelaḫ, contains the oldest known reference to the Hurrian god Tešup.⁴⁰ The second element, *šelaḫ*, is comparable to Nuzian *šilaḫi*, found in the name Šilaḫi-Tešup.

16. *Ti-ki-na-tal*.⁴¹ Copied thus and read as *Ti-qi-na-ri* by Legrain.⁴² The first element, *tikin*, is unknown at Nuzi. There is on a Cappadocian tablet a personal name *Ti-ti-na-tal*⁴³

²⁵ Fish, CST Pl. XLVII vi 9; previously published in Bulletin of the John Rylands Library IX (1925) 241-47. The sons of Pusum-šen are named Puzur-Eštar, Šū-Adad, and Adalal.

²⁶ Written *Pu-su-ma-tal* on a seal, dated perhaps to the Hammurabi period, published by A. H. Sayce in Journal of Egyptian Archaeology X (1924) 16 No. 5.

²⁷ TCL V 6039 rev. iii 18.

²⁸ HSS XIII 398:5.

²⁹ OIM A 3220.

³⁰ Friedrich, KASD p. 23 iii 60.

³¹ On this value cf. Gelb in AJSL LIII (1936/37) 37 f.

³² Clay, PNCP p. 61.

³³ CT XXXII 15 rev. 5.

³⁴ Legrain, TRU 70:5; 137:4; 178:2; TCL II 4689:11 f. and 5607:4; CT XXXII 25 rev. 4; Dhorme in RA IX 55 AM 15; Schneider in Orientalia XLVII-XLIX 33:3 and in An. Or. VII (1932) 39:3; 93:4 f.; 142:5; Fish, CST pp. 44 No. 368 and 50 No. 443.

³⁵ Legrain, TRU 72:7 and 128:8; TCL II 5627:4; Delaporte in RA VIII (1911) 190 No. 10; Genouillac, TrD 27:20 and 38:4; Schneider in Orientalia XLVII-XLIX 90:5; 92:4; 114:4; Fish, CST pp. 41 No. 316 and 45 No. 380.

³⁶ Fish, CST p. 81 No. 616.

³⁷ Boson, TCS 88:4.

³⁸ Cited in NPN p. 261. On elision of *i* cf. No. 7 above.

³⁹ Schneider in An. Or. VII (1932) 44:9; on p. 33 he reads the name without explanation as *Te-šub-še-la-aḫ*. The wife's name is *Ad-du*.

⁴⁰ AOF XII (1937-39) 366 f.

⁴² *Ibid.* pp. 64 (misprinted as *Ti-qi-na-ni*), 105, and 159.

⁴¹ Legrain, TRU 157:8.

⁴³ TCL IV 67:2; see also Gelb, IAV p. 14.

which could perhaps be compared with the Ur III name if *Ti-ki-na-tal* could be read *Ti-di!-na-tal*. But against this is the fact that in this period *DI* normally has the value *sá*. Dr. Purves suggests that if *DI* is present and is read with its normal value *sá* (= *ša*) the first element would become *tišan*, with which he would compare the Nuzi root *tiš* and the name *Tišan-taḫe* below.

17. *Ti-ša-an-da-ḫe*,⁴⁴ *Ti-ša-an-da-ḫé*.⁴⁵ Both elements in the name *Tišan-taḫe* are possibly Hurrian. For *tišan* cf. the Nuzi name *Tišam-mušni*, for *taḫe* the Ur III names *Taḫiš-atal* (above, No. 14) and *Taḫiš-šen* (p. 113) and the Nuzi name *Tamar-taḫe*.

18. *Ū-lum-ši-in*.⁴⁶ The name *Ulum-šin* may be Hurrian. Cf. the Nuzi root *ul*. The element *šin* may represent what is usually written *šen* in this period.

19. *Ū-na-ap-a-tal*.⁴⁷ The name *Unap-atal* contains two Hurrian elements well known at Nuzi and elsewhere.

20. *Ū-na-ap-še-in*.⁴⁸ On both elements of *Unap-šen* see above.

21. *Ū-na-ap-tan*.⁴⁹ This is the only suitable reading I can find for the name written *Ū-na-ap-KAL*. Parallel with Ur III *Sá-dar-ma-at*, later **Šatar-mati*, and *A-ri-si-en*, later *Ari-šenni* (p. 56), Ur III *Unap-tan* should correspond to later **Unap-tanni*. Although this name as such does not occur at Nuzi, the element *tanni* is well attested there, occurring in the names *Umin-tanni*, *Wirriš-tanni*, and *Tanni-muša*.

NAMES CONNECTED WITH PLACES

We turn now to the second part of the list of Hurrian personal names from Ur III documents, arranged in order of the geographic names with which they are connected.

1. *Ḫibilat. It-ḫa-ba-tal lú Ḫi-bi-la-ti*⁵⁰ and *It-ḫa-ba-tal lú Ḫi-bi-la-at*^{K1}.⁵¹ The first element in *Iḫap-atal* occurs at Nuzi as *uḫap*, inasmuch as *iḫ* interchanges with *uḫ* there.

2. *Gumaraši. Dup-ki-še-(i)n lú Gu-ma-ra-ši*^{K1}.⁵² *Dup-ki-še-ir* of the copy has been corrected to *Dup-ki-še-ni* by Speiser.⁵³ The name *Tupki-šenni* is good Hurrian and as such occurs frequently at Nuzi. But the spelling *še-ni* for the second element of this Ur III name would be unique; in that period it is regularly spelled *še-en* or *še-in* or *ši-in* (see pp. 111, 112 top, also Nos. 4 and 8 below). In view of this difficulty it is more likely that the last sign was really meant for *in*. The first part of *in* looks much like *še*, and the scribe might have omitted that part by haplography.⁵⁴ Another name, *Šul-gi-a-tal lú Gu-ma-ra-ši*^{K1},⁵⁵ is evidently a hybrid. Since the last part, *atal* or *ari*, cannot be explained as Akkadian or Sumerian, it is probably the Hurrian element *atal* attached to the name *Šulgi*, that of a deified king of the 3d dynasty of Ur.

⁴⁴ Schneider in *An. Or.* VII (1932) 24:8.

⁴⁵ Fish, *CST* pp. 16 and 31 No. 193.

⁴⁶ *TMH N.F. I/II Pl.* 90 No. 54* (father of *I-ba-ni*).

⁴⁷ Contenau, *Contribution à l'histoire économique d'Umma* (Paris, 1915) 6 i 6 and iii 8. Same name occurs also at Chagar Bazar; see Gadd in *Iraq* VII 42.

⁴⁸ Legrain, *TRU* 177 seal and 336 seal (in both cases *Unap-šen* is the father of *dNanna-ma-ba* the scribe); *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan III* 55:4.

⁴⁹ *TCL V* 6039 rev. iii 6.

⁵⁰ Jean, *ŠA* XXX 4.

⁵² Langdon, *TAD* 67:1.

⁵¹ *OIM A* 4397.

⁵³ *Mes. Or.* p. 130, n. 32.

⁵⁴ There are analogous cases of haplography in the cuneiform texts, but offhand I remember only *I-li-Zi-(i)n* (written *n1*) in *CT XXXII* 19 ii 9, with which cf. *I-li-Šin* in Jean, *ŠA* CLI 2.

⁵⁵ *TCL II* 5300 ii 5.

3. Mardaman. *Na-ak-da-ma-tal lú Mar-da-ma-an*^{K1,56} Though I know of no *naktam* elsewhere,⁵⁷ the element *atal* indicates that the name is probably Hurrian. The non-Hurrian name *Gu-zu-zu lú Ma-ar-da-ma-an*^{K1} is mentioned above (p. 102).⁵⁸

4. Nawar. *Na-wa-ar-še-en* UH.ME ^d*Nin-hur-sag-gá lú Na-wa-ar*^{K1,59} The name Nawar-šen (= Nuzian Nawar-šenni) obviously consists of the geographic element Nawar (p. 58), deified here as so often at Nuzi, plus the common element *šen*, later *šenni*.

5. Rimuš. *A-ri-ip-ḫu-ub-bi lú Ri-muš*^{K1,60} In the name Arip-ḫuppi *arip* is the element *ari* plus the verbal suffix *-p*,⁶¹ while *ḫuppi* may be connected with *ḫupp* > *ḫump* found in the Nuzi name *Ḫup(p)ape* (variant: *Ḫumpape/i*).

6. Šašrum. *A-ri-du-pu-uk lú Ša-aš-ru*^{K1,62} The second element in the name Ari-tupuk is unknown to me as such. But if *du-pu-uk* may stand for Hurrian *tupk* (see No. 2 above) then we have here another example of a final element appearing without the final vowel *i* or *e* (cf. pp. 54 and 56); in the Nuzi period this name would have become *Ari(p/t)-tupke.⁶³

7. Šerši. *Pu-du-um-ki-ri-iš lú Še-er-ši*^{K1,64} In the name Puttum-kiriš the first element, *putum* (= *puttum*), is most probably found in the name *Pu-ut-ti-ma-da-al* discussed above (p. 55). The second element, *kiriš*, without final *š* but with the verbal suffix *-p*, occurs in the names Kirp-atal (p. 110) and Kirip-ulme (No. 10 below) and at Nuzi in the personal names Kirip-apu, Kirip-šeri(š), and Kirip-tilla.

8. Šetirša. *Dumu Da-ḫi-iš-še-en lú Še-ti-ir-ša*^{K1,65} *Da-ḫi-še-en* in connection with *Še-ti-ir-ša*^{K1,66} same with *Še-ti-ir-ša*^{K1,67} *Da-ḫi-še-in* alone.⁶⁸ The name Taḫiš-šen contains the roots *taḫ* and *šen*, both discussed above.

9. Šimanum. *A-ri-ip-a-tal dumu Pu-ša-am lú Ši-ma-nu-um*^{K1,69} and *A-ri-ba-tal lú Ši-ma-nu-um*^{K1,70} The variant *A-ri-ba-tal* shows that the reading *A-ri-gin-a-ri* proposed by Meyer for the first form⁷¹ is impossible, even though it may have seemed plausible in view of the Nuzian name Ari(k)-ka/enari. In the name Arip-atal both elements are clearly Hurrian. Pušam, father of Arip-atal, is an *ensi* of Šimanum; cf. *Puzur-A.LAL.RIN lú kin-gi-a Pu-ša-am ensi Ši-ma-nu-um*^{K1,72} Evidently *Pu-ša-am lú Ši-ma-nu-um*⁷³ and *Pu₄(KA+KĀR)-*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* rev. i 1.

⁵⁷ Dr. Purves calls my attention to the words *na-ak-ti* (KUB XXIX 8 iii 24), *na-ak-ti-ip* (*ibid.* line 29), *na-ak-ti-ip-pa* (KUB XXVII 42 rev. 16), and *na-ga-ti-pa-a-i* (*ibid.* line 14) occurring in Hurrian texts from Boğazköy.

⁵⁸ Cf. also *lú kin-gi-a lú Mar-da-ma-ni*^{K1} in Fish, CST p. 28 No. 168.

⁵⁹ Genouillac, TrD 83:8.

⁶⁰ Nics, UDT 92:20.

⁶¹ NPN pp. 241 f.

⁶² TCL II 5500 ii 1; Genouillac in *Babyloniaca VIII* (1924) Pl. VII 30:7; Fish, CST p. 51 No. 455.

⁶³ With assimilation of *p* the Nuzi form as a final element is actually *-tukke*.

⁶⁴ Langdon, TAD 67:9.

⁶⁵ TCL II 5515 rev. 1.

⁶⁶ G. Contenau, *Contribution à l'histoire économique d'Umma* 6 iii 10 and iv 1.

⁶⁷ OIM A 3297.

⁶⁸ Schneider in *Orientalia XVIII* 12:7; Fish, CST p. 24 No. 109.

⁷⁰ OIM A 5369.

⁶⁹ Nies, UDT 92:17.

⁷¹ AOF XII 368.

⁷² Genouillac, TrD 84:2. *Puzur-A.LAL.RIN* is an Akkadian name in which the reading of the logogram A.LAL.RIN is still unknown; see Gelb in *AJSL LV* (1938) 69 f.

⁷³ Dhorme in *RA IX* (1912) 56 SA 241. Correction follows a suggestion of Schneider in *Orientalia XXIII* p. 37, against Dhorme's "*Bu-ša-am*, soldat (*galu-erim*) du pays de *Ma-nu-um*."

š¹-am lú Ši¹-ma-nu¹-um^{K1}74 also refer to the same person. The Hurrian name Pušam (for which see also p. 52, n. 27) contains the root puš (p. 111)⁷⁵ plus the ending -am (p. 115).

10. Šimurru. *Ki-ri-ip-ul-me lú Ši-mu-ru-um*^{K1},⁷⁶ *Ki-ri-ip-ul-me lú Ši-mu-ru-um*^{K1},⁷⁷ *Ki-ri-pu-ul-me lú Ši-mu-ru-um*^{K1}.⁷⁸ The name Kirip-ulme consists of two good Hurrian elements.⁷⁹ The name of another man mentioned in connection with the same city, *Man-ba-an-da-ra-aḫ lú Ši-mu-ru-um*^{K1},⁸⁰ seems non-Hurrian. That name occurs in the same form in another text, but without any geographic connection,⁸¹ and has a parallel in the name *Tab-ba-da-ra-aḫ*⁸² with variant *Da-ba-da-ra-aḫ*,⁸³ also without geographic connections.

11. Urkiš. *An-na-tal lú Ur-kiš*^{K1}.⁸⁴ In the name Ann-atal the root of the first element may be identical with that in the Nuzi name *An-ni-e-a*, *An-ni-ia*. But *Ni-da-gú*, a messenger of *Ur-kiš*^{K1}, mentioned in another Ur III tablet,⁸⁵ has a name that is hardly Hurrian.

12. Urbilum. *5 udu É.GI₄.A Na-ni-ba-tal Ur-bi-lum*^{K1}-šè.⁸⁶ Both elements in Nanip-atal are good Hurrian.⁸⁷

RÉSUMÉ

Taking all the Hurrian personal names from the Ur III period we have the following list: Akap-šen, Ann-atal, Ari-meme, Arip-atal, Arip-ḫuppi, Ari-tup(u)k, Erip-atal (or Ewrip-atal), Ḫap-šen, Ḫašip-atal, Ḫupitam, Iḫap-atal, Kirip-ulme, Kirp-atal, Naḫap-atal, Naktam-atal, Nanip-atal, Nawar-šen, Papan-šen, Pusum-šen, Pušam, Puttum-kiriš, Putuk-manum, Putuk-šen, Šeḫlam, Šulgi-atal, Taḫ(i)š-atal, Taḫiš-šen, Tešup-šelaḫ, Tikin(?) -atal, Tišan-taḫe, Tupki-šen, Ulum-šin, Unap-atal, Unap-šen, and Unap-tan. For the grammatical résumé that follows we may add the Hurrian personal names from the preceding period: Ankiš-atal (doubtful), Ari-šen, Ḫupšum-kiḫi, Kiklip-atal, Puttim-atal, Šatar-mat, Šaum-šen (for Šajum-šen), and Tupki-ašum (see pp. 54-57).

In going over this summary we can recognize immediately a number of elements which are familiar to us in Hurrian personal names from other periods. Such roots as *ar*, *ḫaš*, *iḫ*, *nan*, *šen*, *tupk*, and *un* are commonplace at Nuzi. But, strangely enough, even this short list

⁷⁴ Dhorme *op. cit.* p. 57 (Pl. I) SA 12:5; read doubtless so against his *Bá-ša-am lú Ma-ni-um*^{K1} *ibid.* p. 43. After *lú* the copy has two wedges suggesting the beginning of *ši*. Correction of *ni* to *nu* is not difficult. On the sign $\kappa\lambda + \kappa\bar{\lambda}R$ see also above, p. 111.

⁷⁵ Found in the Chagar Bazar names *ʾPu-zu-um* and *ʾPu-zu-um-ki-ia-ze* (NPN p. 247) but probably not at Nuzi, since the Nuzi name *ʾA-la-pu-ša* should be analyzed not as Hurrian *ʾAla-puša* but (as suggested by Dr. Geers) as Akkadian *ʾAl(i)-abuša* and the presence of *puš* in the Nuzi names Pušikka and Pušteja is highly uncertain.

⁷⁶ Delaporte in *Babyloniaca* VIII Pl. VII 30:5; OIM A 5369.

⁷⁷ Boson, TCS 203:5; OIM A 2852 and A 4904.

⁷⁸ TCL II 5500 rev. i 9.

⁷⁹ On *kirip* see above, p. 113; on *ulme* see NPN p. 271. Same name occurs probably at Chagar Bazar; see Iraq VII (1940) 37, where Gadd transliterated as *D(K?)i-ri-ib-ul-me-ak*. Is *ak* there misread for ENGAR?

⁸⁰ Schneider in *Orientalia* XLVII-XLIX 36:10.

⁸² *Ibid.* Nos. 40:4 and 53:21.

⁸¹ *Idem* in *An. Or.* VII 44:5.

⁸³ OIM A 5947.

⁸⁴ TCL II 5565:2; Langdon in *Babyloniaca* VII (1913-23) Pl. XXI 14:7.

⁸⁵ Yomokuro Nakahara, *The Sumerian Tablets in the Imperial University of Kyoto* ("Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo-Bunko" No. 3 [Tokyo, 1928]) 15 rev. 2 f.

⁸⁶ CT XXXII 27 i 16-18. *Na-ni-ba-tal* alone occurs also in TCL II 5500 rev. i 19.

⁸⁷ On *nan(ip)* see NPN pp. 237 f.

shows some roots or stems—*ḥupš*, *kikl*, *meme*, *nakt*, *putuk*, and perhaps others—which have not been found among the fifteen hundred or more Nuzian names that are definitely Hurrian. On the other hand, the element *tešup*, very common in Nuzi personal names, occurs but once in a name from the Ur III period. Of the forty-three Hurrian names just summarized, sixteen, that is, almost two-fifths, use the element *atal*. To be sure, not all occurrences of *a-ri* have to be read as *a-tal*;⁸⁸ but, even if some of the doubtful ones as in Ankiš-atal, Ann-atal, and Šulgi-atal were eliminated, a considerable number would remain to testify to the predilection of the ancient Hurrians for the element *atal*.

Very striking is the regular occurrence of names of this period still without the final vowel *i* or *e* (cf. pp. 54, 56, 113): Ari-šen for later Ari-šenni, Ari-tup(u)k for later *Ari-tukke, Šatar-mat for later *Šatar-mati, Unap-tan for later *Unap-tanni, etc. The verbal suffix *-p* occurs after the vowels *a* and *i* in several Ur III names, e.g. Iṭḥap-atal and Arip-atal, just as in those from Nuzi.⁸⁹ Interesting is the suffix *-am* (later *-a*) found in the Old Akkadian name Ḥapiram (p. 54, n. 37), in the Ur III names Ḥupitam (p. 110), Šeḥlam (p. 111), and Pušam (pp. 113 f.), and in several later Chagar Bazar names: Apšam, Ḥupitam, Šeḥam, Šennam, and Zīpšam.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Only in the names Ḥašip-atal, Kiklip-atal, and Puttim-atal above is the reading *atal* absolutely certain; see discussion in NPN p. 207. That the importance of the element *atal* in Hurrian names was misunderstood even by Ungnad is apparent from his analysis of the name *Pu-ut-ti-ma-da-al* as Putti-madal, in which he derives *madal* from *mat* (Subartu p. 144).

⁸⁹ See NPN pp. 241 f.

⁹⁰ Gadd in Iraq VII 35–42. On the name Šennam at Mari see above, p. 63.

INDEX

Because of the numerous interchanges of *s* and *š* (cf. p. 30) those two letters are combined in the alphabetizing. With them are put Ugaritic *š* and Turkish *ş*; *ş* follows. As to other letters, *h*, *ḥ*, and *ḫ* are combined, since some of the *h*'s here used, e.g. those in "Hammurabi" and "Hurrian," really represent *ḫ* and names with *ḫ*, e.g. *Ḥalāf*, are spelled with *h* by various modern writers. On this latter basis *l*, *l̄*, and Egyptian *l* are alphabetized together, as are *z* and Arabic *z*. The letters ² or ³ (*aleph*) and ^c (*ayin*) are disregarded in alphabetizing.

Abbreviations used herein are:

abbrev.	abbreviation	Heb.	Hebrew
Akk.	Akkadian	Hur.	Hurrian
anc.	ancient	k.	king
As.	Assyria	l.	land, country, or region
Bab.	Babylonia	Mit.	Mittanni
c.	city, town, village, or remains thereof	mod.	modern
d.	city('s name)	mt(s).	mountain(s)
Eg.	Egypt(ian)	p.	person(al name)
fem.	feminine	pl.	plural
gen.	genitive	r.	river
gov.	governor	Sub.	Subarian
		Sum.	Sumerian
		var.	variant

Dates given are all B.C. On dating cf. pp. vi f.

- A-agrig-zi, p., 32
 Abalgamaš, p., 105
 Abba-il, k. of Mukiš, 75
 abbreviations, cuneiform, 25, 27
 ʿAbdānum (Ḥabdān(um)), p., 64
 Abdi-Aširta, k. of Amurru, 48
 Abi-ešuh, k. of Bab. (1647–1620), 65, 106
 Abina, c. and l., 78
 aboriginal populations, iii, 5 f., 8 f., 52, 84, 108
 Abull-Šamaš, a gate in Babylon, 95
 Abū Shahrein, c., *see* Eridu
 Adab, c., 33, 84; — personal names, 27
 Adad-nīrāri I, k. of As. (1304–1273), 43, 45 f., 50, 72 f., 81, 83, 90, 103
 Adad-nīrāri II, k. of As. (911–891), 47, 81
 Adad-ṣalūlu, k. of As. (1670), 66
 Adalal, p., 111
 Adamdun, c., 34
 Adasi, k. of As. (1670), 66
 Addabuni, p., 20, 40, 100 f., 107
 Addu, p., 111
 administrative documents, *see* business documents
 Aegean area, 7
 A-enra-du, p., 32
 Agade, l., *see* Akkad; — period, *see* Old Akkadian period
 Agua, p., 109
 A.ḪA.KI, used for names of various cities, 26, 94–98; canal of —(?), 44, 96; *see also* ḪA.AKI
 A+ḪA, 26, 94 f.
 A.ḪA.AKI, c., 95
 Ahlamian(s), 88
 Ahmose I, k. of Eg. (ca. 1570–1547), 68
 Aḫ-šeri, k. of Mannai, 83
 Aḫušina, p., 67
 aḫaraḫi, "gold" (Hur.), 16
 ak, 20
 Akap-šen, p., 20, 109, 114
 Akap-tae, p., 19
 Akap-taḫa, p., 66
 a-kigal, p., 99
 Akija, p., 109
 Akip-tilla, p., 54
 Aki-Tešup, p., 67
 Akkad (Agade), l., 7, 14, 34 f., 86, 103
 Akkadian (Assyrian and Babylonian) deities, 16, 102; — language, vi, 13, 17, 30, 100; — orthography, *see* consonants, mimation, and sibilants; — period, Old, *see* Old; — personal names, v, 7, 19, 40, 54, 58, 60 f., 64, 67, 101 f., 104 f., 108; — phonetic changes, *see* phonetic changes in Akk.; — religion, 97, 100
 Akkadians, iii, 12, 14 f., 34, 62, 66, 84
 Akkan, p., 64
 Akua, p., 109
 A-ku-pa-áš, 96
 Alaja, l., 46

- Alalah, c., *see* ʿAṭšhāneh, Tell
A.LAL.RIN, 113
- Albū Kemāl, c., 10
- Aleppo, c., anc. Ḥalab (Ḥal-
pa), 49, 63, 78, 102-4
- Alexandretta, c., 35
- Al(i)-abuša, p., 114
- Aliašar, p., 52
- Ališar, c., tablets, 60
- Allie-šar, p., 52
- Alše (Alzi), c. and l., 46, 78 f.
- Alšeans, 80
- ʾAlšā, "Alasian, Cypriote," 20
- Altaic ethnic group, 7
- Altın Köprü, c., 57 f.
- Alzi, c. and l., *see* Alše
- Amaa, p., 106
- Amanus (Ḥamanu), mts.,
35 f.
- Amar-ezen, p., 32
- Amar-ḤA.AKI, p., 94
- Amarna, c., vii; — period, 5,
10; — tablets, 2, 12, 15, 17,
29, 48 f., 69 f., 72-75, 77 f.
(*see also* Mittanni letter
...)
- Ama-šag, p., 32
- Amasaki, c., 81
- Amenhotep II, k. of Eg., 70
- Amenhotep III (Immurija),
k. of Eg. (1413-1377), 2,
70, 72-78
- Amenhotep IV, k. of Eg.
(1377-1360), 75-77
- Ammi-ditana, k. of Bab.
(1619-1583), 106
- Ammi-šadūqa, k. of Bab.
(1582-1562), 65
- Amorite animals, 100; — lan-
guage, 10; — personal
names, 64, 108
- Amorites (Eastern Canaan-
ites), 42, 61 f., 64, 88,
100 f., 108; canal of the —,
44
- ʿAmq, *see* Antioch, Plain of
- Amur-ilum, p., 100, 105, 108
- Amurru, l., 34, 47 f., 69, 84,
86, 88, 104; — dynasty, *see*
Old Babylonian period
- Amur-Sin, *ensi* of A.ḤA.KI, 95
- Amūt-pt-ila, k. of Qatanum,
63
- Anatolia, l., 4 f., 7, 36, 60 f.,
68, 70, 77, 80, 89 f., 107
- Anatolian personal names, 60
- Andia, l., 82 f.
- Anḫite/i, k. of Šubria, 47
- Anida, p., 94
- Ankija(?), p., 57
ankiš(?), 57
- Ankiš-atal(?), k. of Karḫar,
57, 114 f.
- Annān, p., 64
- Ann-atal, p., 114 f.
- Anne/iia, p., 114
- Anš/zan, l., 86, 93
- Antarija, p., 83
- Antari-sina, p., 67, 82 f.
- anthropology, physical, iv;
see also skulls
- Antioch, Plain of (ʿAmq), 10,
64, 91
- Apil-Sin, k. of Bab. (1766-
1749), vii
- Aplaḫanda, k. of Carchemish,
63
- Apsam, p., 115
- apu, 18
- ar, 20, 56, 64, 114; *see also* *ari*
and *arip*
- Arabia, l., 62
- Arabic language, vi, 17
- arad, "slave" (Sum.), 32
- ARAD-Ḥepa, ruler of Jerusa-
lem, 69, 74
- Arad-Nanna, *ensi* of Lagash,
24, 38 f., 85
- Arad-šugalamma, p., 32
- Aramaic language, vi, 10,
74 f.
- Aram-musuni, p., 64
- Aransuḫ (Aranzû), r., "Ti-
gris" (Sub.), 21, 86
- Aranza/iḫ, r., "Tigris," 21
- Aranziḫ (Arašših), r., "Ti-
gris" (Hur.), 21
- Aranziḫ-atal, p., 21
- Aranzû, r., *see* Aransuḫ
- ʿA.RAT, r., "Euphrates," 98
- Arbela, c., *see* Urbilum
- Arbial, p., 40
- archeology, iv
- ardu, "slave" (Akk.), 24
- Areškan, p., 64
- ari, 52, 109, 113
- ari(?), 11, 112; *see also* *atal*
- Ari-ḫuša, p., 52
- Arija, p., 64
- Ari(k)-ka/enari, p., 113
- Ari-kumme, p., 67
- Arime, l., 47
- Ari-meme, p., 109, 114
- Ariinu, c., 47
- arip*, 113
- Arip-Arašših, p., 21
- Arip-atal, p., 20, 113-15
- Arip-ḫuppi, p., 58, 113 f.
- Arip-ḫurra, p., 51
- Ari-šen(ni), p., 56, 63, 112,
114 f.
- Ari-tupuk, p., 113-15
- Armān(um), c. and l., 103
- Armenia, l., 3-5, 9, 31, 40, 79,
85, 87; *see also* Urartu
- Armenoid race, 43
- Arrapḫa, c., *see* Kirkuk
- Arrapḫa, l., 67, 71, 75 f.
- Aršī-aḫ, p., 61
- ʿArsūz, c., *see* Uršu(m)
- art, history of, v; Hurrian —,
v, 91; Subarian —, v, 89
- Artaššumara, p., 76 f.
- Artatama I, k. of Mit., 76 f.,
79
- Artatama II, k. of Ḥurri, 66,
72, 76, 78-80
- Aryans, 4, 50
- a.šā, "field," 24, 37
- ʿAsaru(-lū-dūg), d., 94
- Ašurbanipal, k. of As. (668-
633?), 13, 83
- Asia Minor, l., 41, 68, 71
- "Asiatic" ethnic elements, *see*
"Japhetic"
- Ašibi, c., 51
- Asmar, Tell, c., tablets, 37,
39, 55 f.
- Aššiae, p., 19
- assimilation in Hur., 50, 113
- Assur, c., mod. Qalʿat Sher-
qāt, 5 f., 36, 39, 43, 45, 53,
59, 66, 76, 81; — tablets,
34 f., 67, 96
- Aššur-apla-iddi(n), k. of As.
(1670), 66
- Aššur-dān II, k. of As. (934-
912), 82
- Aššur-dugul, k. of As. (1675-
1670), 66
- Aššur-nādin-aḫḫē I, k. of As.
(?-1430), vi
- Aššur-nāšir-apli II, k. of As.
(883-859), 47 f., 81, 106

- Aššur-rabi I, k. of As. (1452-?), vi
 Aššur-táb, p., 61
 Aššur-uballiṭ I, k. of As. (1362-1327), 45, 48, 66 f., 72 f., 80
 Assyria, l., vi f., 1, 4 f., 7, 13, 29, 36 f., 39, 42-45, 48 f., 66 f., 70, 73, 75-77, 80-83, 85-91, 96
 Assyrian king lists, vi, 66; — merchants, 60 f.; — periods, *see* Late, Middle, and Old; —, *see* Akkadian
 Assyrians, vi, 7 f., 21, 30, 45-47, 66 f., 79-81, 87 f.
 Aštata, c. and l., 79
 astrological texts, *see* omen texts
 Aštupinu, d., 16
 ašu (*iašu?*), 54
 Ašublan, p., 64
 Ašuhuna, p., 27
 ašum, 54
 atal, 55, 57, 110, 112 f., 115
 Atamḫul, c., 54
 †Aṭshāneh, Tell, c., anc. Alalah, 10, 64, 69 f., 75 f., 91; — tablets, 64, 75, 107
 Atta-ḫaštuk, p., 101
 Atta-ḫušu, p., 101
 Atta-Wilgimaš, p., 101
 Attenan, p., 64
 Awak, c., 102
 †Azeim, r., 85, 103
 Azuḫin(n)um, c., 63
 Babylon, c., 41 f., 44, 49, 68, 95, 97; — I, *see* Old Babylonian period
 Babylonia, l., iii, v-vii, 4 f., 7, 13, 25, 28, 34, 38, 40-42, 45, 48, 52, 54, 59-61, 65 f., 68, 70, 84-86, 88-90, 93 f., 96 f., 103; *see also* Kar(a)-duni(i)āš
 Babylonian periods, *see* Old and Late; —, *see* Akkadian
 Babylonians, vi, 13, 29 f., 43, 48, 87, 89, 93
 Baddabadda, p., 108
 Badrah, c., *see* Dêr
 Baduga, p., 111
 Bagari, p., 109
 Bajā, p., 109
 Baraḫšum, l., *see* Marḫaši
 Barana (Buranun(u), Burununa), r., "Euphrates" (Sum.), 99
 Barbaragi, p., 20, 100 f., 107
 Bariašum, p., 105
 Bazaju, k. of As. (1618-1591), 66
 Bêl-bāni, k. of As. (1669-1660), 66
 Bêli-arik, p., 109
 Belikh, r., 91
 Bible, 4, 50 f., 69
 Bidara, c., 40, 106
 Billa, Tell, c., 8; — tablets, 29, 67
 Biraššena. . . ., p., 69
bît ḫuruš, "mountain house" (Akk.), as part of a temple, 43
 Bitum-rabjum, c., 102
 B/Pitura (Pidara), c., 106
 Bittura, c., 106
 Boğazköy, c., anc. Ḫattušaš, 4; — personal names, 53; — tablets, 4, 8, 11-16, 29 f., 48-52, 54 f., 68, 70, 72, 74, 91, 103, 106, 113
 Brak, Tell, c., 10, 53; — personal names, 10
 "Broken Obelisk," 47
 Bulbat, p., 20, 100 f., 107 f.
 Ṛuli, c., 104
bullutu, "to bring (back) to life (politically)," 80
 Bulua, Bulu(m), c., 104
 Bunuma-Adad, k. of Niḫria, 62
 Buranun(u) (Barana, Burununa), r., "Euphrates" (Sum.), 99
 Bûr-Sin, k. of Ur III (1987-1979), 39, 59, 102
 Burukuzzi, l., 46
 Burununa (Barana, Buranun(u)), r., "Euphrates" (Sum.), 99
 business (including administrative, economic, and legal) documents, v, 6, 26, 34, 37, 40, 43, 45, 52, 58 f., 67, 73
 Bušši, l., 46
 Bušut, p., 101, 107 f.
 Buzuš(?), p., 43, 105-7
 Byblos, c., *see* Gubla
 Cambyses II, k. of Persia and Bab. (530-522), 45
 Canaanites, Eastern, *see* Amorites
 Canaanitic language, 74 f.
 canal of A.ḪAKI(?), 44, 96; — of the Amorites, 44; — of the Subarians, 44, 96; — of ZA.ḪA.KI, 96
 Cappadocia, l., 9, 60
 Cappadocian geographic names, 108; — period, *see* Old Assyrian period; — personal names, 18, 98, 105, 108-11; — tablets, 8, 18, 29, 36, 41, 52, 60 f., 98
 Carchemish, c. and l., anc. Karkamiš, vii, 63, 80
 Caucasian languages, modern, 4, 91
 Caucasus, l., 5, 7
 Cedar Forest, 35 f., 85, 93
 Cedar Mountain(s), 33-36
 Chagar Bazar (Shāghir Bāzār), c., 10, 53, 63 f.; — dialect of Hurrian, 64, 114; — personal names, 10, 21, 44, 53, 64, 110, 112, 114 f.; — tablets, 64
 "Charri," *see* Ḫarri
 "Charu," *see* Ḫ³ru
 chronicles, 34
 chronology, Mesopotamian, vi f.
 Cilicia, l., *see* Kizwatna
 Cimmerians, 45, 104
 consonants, doubled, written single, 54, 70, 100
 contraction in Akk., 23, 28, 70, 102
 Dada, *ensi* of A.ḪAKI, 95
 Dadā, p., 109
 Dagan, d., 93; — of the Hurrians, 50, 63
 Dagu, p., 105
 Daja, p., 109
 Dašuk, p., 40, 101, 104, 107 f.
 Dasukku, p., 101
 date formulas, *see* year names
 Ddmī, "Didymean(?)," 20
 Dehlim or Dêlam, Tell, c., *see* Dilbat
 deification of kings, 57
 Dêr, c., mod. Badrah, 86, 102, 104

- dialectal differences in Akk., 30; — in Hur., 9, 64, 114; — in West Semitic, 10, 69
 Dilbat, c., mod. Tell Dehlim or Délam, 65, 102; — tablets, 3, 65
 “distorted axis” theory, 86 f.
 Diyala, r., 1, 35 f., 57 f., 71, 85–88, 103; tablets from — region, 37
 Diyarbekir, c., 37, 40, 106
 doubled consonants written single, 54, 70, 100
 Dravidian ethnic group, 7; — languages, 91
 Duhsusu, k. of Mardaman, 102
 Dulaḫi, p., 109
 Dulia (Tulija?), p., 18, 101, 107 f.
 Dumu-zi, k. of Uruk, 95
 Duwiduwi, p., 108

 Eanna, mts. of, 34
 Eannatum, *ensi* of Lagash, 23, 25, 34, 84
 Ebarat (Ebarti), p., *see* Iab(a)rat
 Ebarti, k. of Šimaš, 105
 economic texts, *see* business documents
 Edamaruṣ, l., 35
 Egypt, l., 2, 5, 68, 70, 72–74, 77 f., 89 f.
 Egyptian language, 69, 75; — personal names, 50; — texts, 4, 64, 68 f., 74 f.
 Elaḫutta/tim, l., *see* Eluḫut(tim)
 Elam, l., 1, 7, 25, 34–36, 38–41, 51, 57, 59 f., 66, 84–86, 92 f., 96, 102, 104 f., 108; cities of —, 102; tablets from —, 22, 25, 44 f., 51, 59, 96, 101 f.; *see also* Malamir and Susa
 Elamite deities, 16, 102; — language, 91; — personal names, 45, 54, 66, 101 f.; — texts, 45, 51, 59
 Elamites, 7, 39, 42, 52, 85, 88, 102
Elamtu, l., “Elam” (Akk.), 23, 92
Elamā < **Elamijum*, “Elamite” (Akk.), 23
elātum, “Highlands” (Akk.), 93

eliš, “above” (Akk.), 93
 elision in Akk., 29; — in Hur., 110 f.
 Ellipa, l., 101
 Eluḫut(tim) (Elaḫutta/tim, Eluḫat, Ilaḫuttim), l., 51, 63, 81, 108
 Emara(E/Iwara)-tupi, p., 52
e/inbu, “fruit” (Akk.), 67
ene, “god” (Hur.), 16
 Engar, d., 23
 Enlil-nīrāri, k. of As. (1326–1317), 45 f., 85, 87
 Enna-mati, p., 56
 Ennija, p., 109
 eponyms, 67
epri(p), 110
 Eprīp-atal, p., 59, 110, 114
 Eprī-šarri, p., 67
 Erbil, c., *see* Urbilum
 Eridu, c., mod. Abū Shahrein, 31, 94–97
 Eri-sinni, p., 83
 Errēš, d., 23
errēšum, “plowman” (Akk.), 23
 Errešum, p., 61
erwi, “king” (Hur.), 82, 110
 Ešarhaddon, k. of As. (680–669), 47, 81–83
 Ešmaḫ, a shrine in Eridu, 96
 Ešnunna(k), c. and l., 27, 39, 41 f., 44, 54 f., 85 f., 92 f.; — tablets, 85
 Eštar, d., 106, 109; — of Nineveh, 36, 43, 77 f.
 Eštar- . . . , p., 43, 106–8
 ethnological problems, v, 4
 Euphrates, r., 2, 10, 78, 80, 83, 97; names of —, 21 f., 86, 98 f.
 Eušdu. . . an, p., 27
ewar, 52
 Ewara-kali, p., 52
 Ewara(Emara, Iwara)-tupi, p., 52
 Ewari, p., 52
 Ewari-kira, p., 52
 Ewar-kari, p., 52

 Fara, c., anc. Šuruppak, period, 37, 84; — tablets, 22, 24, 26, 31–33, 94, 99, 103
 Fekhkāriyyeh, c., 91
 formatives, Hurrian: *-a(m)*, 54, 110 f., 114 f. *-(a)nni/a*, 71; *-ap*, *see -p*; *-e*, 19, 54, 56, 113, 115; *-he*, gentilic ending, 50; *-i*, 56, 113, 115; *-ip*, *see -p*; *-l*, 19, 54; *-p*, 55, 82, 110; 112–15; *-š*, 57, 113; *-ul*, *see -l*
 formatives of undetermined origin: *-(n)t*, 108; *-uk*, 101
 forms of signs, *see* signs

 Gaja, p., 109
 Ganḫar, c., misread for Karḫar or Ḫar(a)ḫar, 57
 Garadadu, p., 40, 101 f., 107
 Garadu, p., 40, 102
 Garagara, p., 108
 Gasur, c., 8, 37, 52 f., 57, 62; — personal names, 7, 52 f., 62, 108 f.; — tablets, 7, 52, 57, 62
 geographic names, 53 f., 58, 99, 108, 112–14; — origin, expression of, in Sum., 100; — texts, 34, 86, 94, 97, 102 f.
 Gigibni, c., 41
 Gilzani, l., 47, 87
 Gim-abkid-kugga, p., 32
 Girnamme, k. of Šimaš (name = Kirname), 105
 GIŠ.ŠUBUR, a kind of tree or wood, 24
 Greek inscriptions, 107
gu, abbrev. of *Gu-ti-um*, 25
 Gubla (Byblos), c., mod. Jebel, 48, 63, 74
 Gudea, *ensi* of Lagash, 35, 104
 Gumaraši, c., 58, 112
g/kurpa, 21
 Gurpa-Aranza/iḫ, p., 21
 Gutians, 7, 46, 64, 88
 Gutium, l., 34, 36, 41, 47, 84–87, 93
 Guzuzu, p., 102, 109, 113; *see also* Kuzuzu

 ḪA.AKI, used for names of various cities etc., 31, 94–99; *see also* A.ḪAKI
 ḪA.AKI-diḡ, p., 94
 Ḫabdān(um) (=Abdānum), p., 64
ḫabur, 96–98
 Ḫabur (Ḫubur), d., 98
 Ḫabur, mt., 36
 Ḫabur, r., mod. Khabur, 94, 96–98; *see also* Khabur

- Habur(u/i), c., 96 f.
ḥajani, "small," 16
 Ḥa(i)p-zilakku, p., 110
 Ḥalah, c., *see* Aleppo
 Ḥalāf, Tell, c., 9 f., 97; —
 pottery, 9; — sculptures, 9;
 — tablets, 83, 97
 Ḥallabu, c., 102
 Ḥalpa, c., *see* Aleppo
 Ḥalukkan(i), p., 64
 Halys (Maraššantiyaš), r.,
 71, 80
 Ḥamanu (Amanus), mts.,
 35 f.
 Hamath, c., vii, 10, 69, 82 f.
 Ḥamazi, c., 38 f.
 Hamites, 7
 Ḥammu-rabi, k. of Aleppo,
 63
 Hammurabi, k. of Bab.
 (1728–1686), vi f., 41–43,
 63, 65, 70, 85, 89; — dy-
 nasty or period, *see* Old
 Babylonian period
 Ḥana, l., 63, 81; — tablet, 50,
 63
 Ḥanigalbat, l., 30, 46, 66 f.,
 70, 72–77, 81, 108; spell-
 ings of —, 72
 Ḥapatu, d., 107
 Ḥapatwaniyaš, c., 106
 Ḥapi-ašu, p., 54
ḥapir, 54
 Ḥapira(m), p., 54, 115
 Ḥapir-tilla, p., 54
 haplography, 112
 Ḥap-šen, p., 110, 114
 Ḥap(Ḥaip)-zilakku, p., 110
 Ḥar(a)ḥar (Karḥar), c., 57
ḥarali, "door," 16
 Ḥariri, Tell, c., *see* Mari
 Ḥarrān(um) (Ḥarrāni), c.,
 46, 71, 73, 80 f., 103
 Ḥarri ("Charri"), misread for
 Hurri, 4, 50
ḥaš, 114
 Ḥaši-mannu, p., 111
 Ḥašip(?)-Arašših, p., 21
 Ḥašip-atal, p., 58, 110, 114 f.
 Ḥašip-šaju, p., 56
 Ḥašip-tilla, p., 54
 Ḥašuk, p., 101
 Ḥasur, mt., 36
 Ḥatapi-ašu, p., 54
 Ḥatti, l., 47, 73, 79; *see also*
 Hittite Empire and Old
 Hittite kingdom
 Ḥattuḫe, k. of Urratiñaš?, 82
 Ḥattušaš, c., *see* Bogazköy
 Ḥattušiliš I, Hittite k., 68
 Ḥattušiliš III, Hittite k. (ca.
 1282–1260?), 49, 68
 Ḥawilum, c., 56
 Ḥe-Bau, p., 32
 Hebrew language, 10
 Ḥepet/a(t), d., 55, 106 f.
 Ḥepet-naja, p., 107
 Herodotus, p., 71
 Ḥibilat, c., 58, 112
 Highland(s), 36, 41 f., 92 f.
 Ḥip(a)tā, p., 107
 Ḥipatu, d., 107
 Hippa (Hipta), d., 107
 historical inscriptions, v, 1,
 26, 34, 37, 40 f., 43–47, 59,
 66, 74, 81, 85–88, 98, 103;
see also treaties
 history of art, v; — of reli-
 gion, v
 Hither Asia, 6
 Hittite, cuneiform: language,
 4; texts, 49, 51 f., 68, 70, 74,
 103, 106; writing, 50
 Hittite, hieroglyphic: name
 forms, 82, 107; writing, 5, 9
 Hittite deities, 51, 68, 107; —
 Empire, 9, 12, 82; — land,
see Ḥatti; — sculptures, 9
 Hittites, 4 f., 13 f., 49, 51, 68,
 76–79, 82, 107
 Ḥōri (Horites), biblical form
 of name of Hurrians, 4,
 50 f., 69
 Ḥri, "Hurrian," 20 f., 51
 Ḥšrw ("Charu," "Kharu"),
 Eg. spelling of Hurri, 4,
 50 f., 69
 Ḥti, "Hittite," 20
ḥubur, 14, 92–94, 96, 98
 Ḥubur (Ḥabur), d., 98
 Ḥubur, r. of the underworld,
 96 f.
ḥuḫa, 52 f.
 Ḥuḫa, p., 52
 Ḥuḫan, p., 53, 64
 Ḥuḫananiš, p., 53
ḥuḫaš, "grandfather" (Hit-
 tite), 53
 Ḥuḫnuri, c., 102
 Ḥumpape/i < Ḥup(p)ape, p.,
 113
 Ḥunniya, p., 61
 Ḥupitam, p., 20, 110, 114 f.
 Ḥupite, p., 67
ḥupp > *hump*, 113
 Ḥup(p)ape > Ḥumpape/i, p.,
 113
ḥuppi, 113
ḥupš(um), 55, 115
 Ḥupšum-kipi, k. of Marḥaši,
 55, 106 f.
Ḥurla-, "Hurrian" (cunei-
 form Hittite), 50, 55, 74
 Ḥurlu, p., 51
ḥurpa, 54
 Ḥurpa/i, d., 51
 Ḥurpa-tilla, k. of Elam (ca.
 1330), 51, 54, 66
 Ḥurpi-šenni, p., 51
 Hurra, c., 50 f., 81
 Hurra, d., 51
 Hurri (Hurri), l. and people,
 vii, 6, 14, 17, 50, 63, 70,
 73–76, 78 f.
 Hurrian architecture, 91; —
 art, v, 91; — culture, 8; —
 deities, 16, 50, 55, 63, 68 f.,
 106 f.; — formatives, *see*
 formatives, Hurrian; — ge-
 ographic names, 21; —
 king, 72 f., 78; — language,
 4, 11–15, 17 f., 50, 54 f., 58,
 64, 67, 71 f., 75, 91, 110
 (*see also* formatives, Hur-
 rian, and phonetic changes in
 Hurrian); — migrations,
 8, 53, 57, 60, 64–70, 89 f.; —
 nobles, 64, 68 f., 72, 74, 107;
 — personal names, 3 f., 6 f.,
 10 f., 18–20, 40, 52–69, 81–
 83, 90, 105, 107, 109–15
 (*see also* formatives, Hur-
 rian); — phonetic changes,
see phonetic changes in
 Hurrian; — pottery, 91; —
 religion, 62 f., 91; —
 scribes, 13, 50; — Sumeri-
 an vocabulary, 10, 69; —
 texts, 10 f., 13, 15–17, 30,
 55, 62, 68 f., 91, 106, 113
 (*see also* Mittanni letter
 . . .); — words, 6, 10,
 15–17, 64, 67, 69, 72, 75,
 82, 93, 113
 Hurrians (Hurrians, Hurrites,
 Hurrites), iii–v, vii, 1 f.,
 4, 6–11, 13–15, 17–22, 40,
 43, 48–70, 72–75, 80–84,
 88–91, 102, 107; spellings

- of name of —, 50 f., 73 f.;
see also "Mittannians"
- Hurriš, d., 51
- Hurruše- (*Hurruše-*), "Hurrian" (Hur.), 50, 73 f.
- Hurru(m), "Hurrian" (Akk.), 13, 50
- huršu, "mountain" (Akk.), as part of a temple, 43
- Huruḫhiš, c., 51
- Hurut, p., 40
- Huruwe- (*Huruwe-*), "Hurrian" (Hur.), 50, 73 f.
- Ḫutrara, p., 44 f.
- Ḫu(t)-Tešup, p., 82
- Hyksos, 68, 70, 89 f.
- hypocoristic names, 18 f., 61, 108
- Īab(a)rat (Ebarat, Ebarti), p., 20, 40, 101 f., 105, 107 f.
- Īabrat, c., 102
- Īabritu, d., 102
- Īabru, c., 102
- Īabru, d., 102
- Īadaz, p., 105
- Īamḫat, c., 108
- Īamutbal(um), l., 21, 35, 86, 92 f.
- Īantin-Ḫamu, k. of Gubla, 63
- Īarim-Lim, k. of Aleppo, 63
- Īarmuti, l., 93
- Īatar-Ami, k. of Carchemish, 63
- Ibâl-pi-El II, k. of Ešnunna, 42, 85
- Ibâl-pi-El, p., 41 f.
- Ibani, p., 112
- Ibbi-Sin, k. of Ur III (1969–1945), 38 f., 105
- Ibla, l., 60, 93, 103, 110
- Ibq-Eštar, k. of As. (1670), 66
- Ibrat, c., 102
- Idiglat, r., "Tigris" (Akk.), 21
- Idrimi, k. of Mukiš?, 75
- igi-nim*, "Elam" etc. (Sum.), 86, 92 f.
- Ikûnum, p., 37
- Īlaḫuttim, l., see Eluḫut(tim)
- Īla(m)-nîšû, p., 61
- Ī-Ḫalab(?), d., 102
- Ī-Ḫallabu, d., 102
- Ī-Īabrat, d., 102
- Īli-ašranni, p., 62
- Īli-ittija, p., 57
- Īliš-dagal, p., 54
- Īli-Sin, p., 112
- Īl-Pada, d., 102
- Īlum-mutabbil, k. of Dêr (ca. 1900), 35
- Īlušina, p., 67
- Īlušumma, k. of As. (died 1875), 42
- Immurija, k. of Eg., see Amenhotep III
- ina Šubari*, 15–17, 19, 25
- i/enbu*, "fruit" (Akk.), 67
- incantation, 95 f.
- Indo-European deities, 4; — personal names, 4, 69, 72; — words, 69, 107
- Indo-Europeans, 7, 12, 68
- Inibšina, p., 67
- Inip-Tešup, k. of Šubria, 47, 83
- Ip-ḫuḫa, p., 52
- Iḫur-Kiš, p., 56
- Iptur(?)—Sin, k. of As. (1630–1619), 66
- Iran (Persia), l., 9, 31
- Irḫulena/i (Urḫileni), k. of Hamath, 82
- Iri-šenni, p., 83
- Irqata, c., 48
- Irrite (Irridi), c., 46, 71, 73, 80 f.
- Irrupi, Hur. title rather than p., 82
- iršitu(m)*, "earth" (Akk.), 23, 93
- Īšbi-Irra, k. of Mari, then of Isin (1958–1926), 25, 28, 38 f., 85, 105
- Ishchālī, c., tablets, 42
- Īšḫi-Adad, k. of Qatanum, 63
- Isin, c., 25, 28, 38 f., 85
- Islam, vi
- Īsmē-Dagan I, k. of As. (1715–1676), vii, 42, 66
- Īšuwa, c. and l., 78
- itḫ* (*utḫ*), 112, 114
- Iḫap-atal, p., 112, 114 f.
- Īuni, p., 78
- Īušanak, p., 20, 102, 107
- Iwara(Em/wara)-tupi, p., 52
- "Japhetic" or "Japhethite" ("Asiatic") ethnic elements, 7–9, 52, 91
- Jebeil, c., see Gubla
- Jemdet Nasr, c., tablets, 31
- Jerahiyeh, c., anc. Rimussa/i/u, 58 f.
- Jerusalem, c., 69, 74
- Jokhah, c., see Umma
- Kadašman-Enlil II, k. of Bab., 49
- Kadesh (Kinza), c., mod. Tell Nebi Mend, 49, 78
- ΚΑ.ΔΙ, k. of Dêr, 86
- Kaḫat, c., 46, 71, 73, 81, 108
- Kakmum, l., 41
- Kalbum, p., 37
- Kali-Tešup, k. of Katmuḫi?, 82
- Kaltuk, p., 101
- Kalūmum, p., 61
- Kanae, p., 19
- Kaniš, c., see Kültepe
- Kanzan, p., 64
- Kar(a)duni(i)aš, l., "Babylonia" (Kassite), 45, 79
- Kardak, l., 38, 40, 85
- Karḫar (Ḫar(a)ḫar), c., 57
- Karkamiš, c., see Carchemish
- Kašijari, mts., mod. Tūr 'Abdīn, 36, 81
- Kassite language, 91; — period, 3, 28, 30, 44, 48, 66, 84, 101, 111; — personal names, 65
- Kassites, 7, 44–46, 65 f., 68, 70, 83–90
- Kaštiljaš III, Kassite k. (1249–1242), 44, 66
- Katmuḫi, l., 46, 82 f., 87
- kelu*, 106
- Kelu-Ḫepa, p., 75–77, 106
- Kerkhah, r., 1
- Khabur, r., anc. Ḫabur, tributary of Euphrates, 10, 53, 64, 71 f., 83, 88, 91; see also Ḫabur
- Khabur, r., tributary of Tigris, 97
- Khaḫajeh, c., tablet, 54
- Khanzir, Wadi, 64
- "Kharu," see Ḫ³rw
- Khorsabad, c., tablets, vi
- κ.Α., "bank (of a stream)" (Sum.), 99
- ΚΙΒ.ΝΥΝ, d., 99
- kibru*, "bank (of a stream)" (Akk.), 99

- Kidani, p., 59
 Kikia, k. of As., 5 f.
kik(k), 54
 Kik(k)uli, p., 54
kikl, 55, 115
 Kiklip-atal, k. of Tukriš, 55, 114 f.
 Kilari, p., 109
 Kilarian(?) slave, 29
 Kili-Tešup, k. of Katmuḫi, 82
 Kimani, p., 100, 102, 107
 Kimaš, c., 104
 kings, deification of, 57
 Kinza, c., *see* Kadesh
kip, 53, 55
 Kipa-kašše, p., 101
 Kipa/i-kašte, p., 101
 Kip-turu, p., 53
kir, 110, 113 f.
kira, 52
 Kirḫi, l., 47
 Kirip-apu, p., 113
 Kirip-šeri(š), p., 113
 Kirip-tilla, p., 113
 Kirip-ulme, p., 20, 113 f.
 Kirkuk, c., anc. Arrapha, region of, 53; region east of —, 39; tablets from vicinity of —, 3, 5
 Kirname, p. (name = Girname), 105
 Kirp-atal, p., 110, 113 f.
 Kizwatna (Cilicia), l., 49, 68, 79
 Kizzuk, p., 101
Krgp, p., “Kelu-Ḫepa” (Eg.), 75
 Ku^a(ra)(?), c., 95 f.
 Kültepe, c., anc. Kaniš, tablets, 60
kuk, 54
 Kuk-Inzušnak, p., 54
 Kuk-Narudi, p., 54
 Kuk-Našur, p., 54
 Kuk-tilla, p., 54
 Kummén-atal, p., 63
 Kundubum, p., 105
 Kuni-ašu, p., 54
 Kuntip- . . . e, k. of Katmuḫi, 82
 Kuri-galzu III, Kassite k. (1344–1320), 44 f.
 Kuri(?)—Turgu, p., 65
 Kurkura, p., 108
kurm/w, 21
k/gurpa, 21
 Kurḫi, l., misread for Papahī, 46
 Kuyunjik, c., texts, *see* Nineveh texts
 Kuzukuzu, p., 108
 Kuzuzu, p., 18 f., 40, 100, 102, 104, 107 f.; *see also* Guzuzu
 Kuzzari/zi, p., 19
 Kuzzu, p., 19
 Labarnaš, Hittite k., 68
 Lagash, c., mod. Telloh, vii, 33 f., 84 f., 96, 102; — tablets, 32, 37
 Laḫuratil, d., 16
 “Lallwörter,” 106
 language as ethnic criterion, v f.
Lâ-qêp, p., 61
 Larsa, c., 105
 Latakia, c., 10
 Late Assyrian period, 28, 45, 58, 82, 89 f., 101, 104
 Late Babylonian period, 13, 29, 45, 95, 97, 104, 107
 Lebanon, mts., 78, 80
 legal documents, *see* business documents
 legends, v, 36, 55–57, 102 f.
 letters, v, 25, 28, 38, 43, 49, 52, 59, 82, 93, 101, 104 f.; *see also* Amarna tablets and Mittanni letter . . .
 Libaju, k. of As. (1659–1643), 66
 Liban(a)šgubi, p., 105
 Libanukšabaš, *ensi* of Marḫaši, 100, 105
 Libur-béli, p., 54
 Lilapšinum, c., 54
lîn, “pass the night” (Heb.), 16
 literary sources as clew to race, 9
 Lower Zab, r., 45, 57 f., 71, 83, 85, 87
Lá-A.ḪAḪI (*Lá-A+ḪA*), p., 95
 Lubdu/i/a, c., 83
 Lugal-anda, *ensi* of Lagash (2308–2302), 32
 Lugal-anni, p., 56
 Lugal-anni-mundu, k. of Adab, 33, 36, 84
 Lugal-banda, k. of Uruk, 95
 Lugal-ḫubur, d., 94
 Lugal-šubur(?), d., 94
 Lugal-uma, p., 32
 Lul, p., 32
 Lullaju, k. of As. (1590–1585), 66
 Lullu, p., 103
 Lullu(bu(m)/bi), l., 63, 103
 Lullum/bians (Lullu), 7, 46, 88, 103
 Lulu, p., 26, 32, 40, 103, 107
 Lu-Šubur, p., 37
 Luti-ipri, k. of Urartu?, 82
 Madani, l., 46
 Madatina, p., 18 f., 40, 100, 103, 107
 Maeonia, l., 107
 Magan, l., 36
 Mahra/i (Mehri), l., classical
 Mari/a>Mali (Mamali), 62
maḫḫalu, “bed” (Akk.), 16
 Maittanni, l., *see* Mittanni
 Malamir, c., tablets, 44 f., 66
 Malatya, c., anc. Milidia, 73
 Malgium, l., 41
 Mali (Mamali), l., *see* Mahra/i
 Mamma, p., 40, 43, 106 f.
 Mammaja, p., 106
 Manbandarah, p., 114
 Manetho, p., 68
 Man-ištušu, k. of Akkad (2211–2197), 36, 99
 Mankisum, l., 41, 85
 Mannaj, l., and Manneans, 83, 104
manu(m), 111
 Manzat (Namzat), d., 16
 MAR, abbrev. of MAR.TU, 25
 Marḫaši, l., *see* Marḫaši
 Maraššantijaš, r., *see* Halys
 Mardabān(um), p., 103
 Mardaman, c., 58, 102, 113
 Mardin, c., 53, 72
 Marḫaši (Baraḫsum, Maraḫši, Paraši), l., 34–36, 41, 55, 57, 85, 100, 105, 108
 Mari, c., mod. Tell Hariri, documents from, vi, 12, 25, 28, 39, 41–43, 51, 56, 62–64, 85, 93, 115

- Mari, l., vii, 10, 25, 38 f., 41 f., 60, 62 f., 85, 89, 93, 105; spellings of —, 62
- Mari/a, l., *see* Mahra/i
- marianni/a/u*, Hur. nobles, 68 f., 71 f., 107
- Marians, 43, 48
- Mariqum*, 23
- Martu, l. and people, "Amurru; Amorites" (Sum.), 23, 34, 100 f.
- Martu, p., 27
- maru*, "son" (Akk.), 16
- Maškan-su⁷.AKI, c., 44
- Masrianni/a, l., "Egypt" (Hur.), 71, 74
- Maštikka, p., 68
- Matia/enē, l., 71
- Matiēnoi, 71
- Matija, p., 19
- Mat-Tešup, p., 19
- Mattiwaza, k. of Mit., 51, 66, 71 f., 74–81, 107
- Mediterranean Sea, 9
- Mehri, l., *see* Mahra/i
- Meluḥḥa, l., 36
- meme*, 109, 115
- Meme-epri, p., 109 f.
- Mesopotamia, l., iii, 2 f., 5–7, 9 f., 12, 17, 34, 36, 41, 46, 48, 50–53, 60–65, 70 f., 73, 75, 80, 83–85, 88–90, 93, 104, 107 f.
- Mesopotamian chronology, vi f.
- Middle Assyrian period, 26, 28 f., 45, 47, 67
- Milidia, c., mod. Malatya, 73
- mimation, 23
- Minimini, p., 108
- mir*, "north" (Sum.), 86, 92
- Mishrifeh, c., *see* Qatna
- Mišri, l., "Egypt" (Akk.), 79
- Mittanni (Maittanni), l., 2–5, 9, 12, 17, 46, 48 f., 66 f., 69–81, 83, 85, 90, 107; history of —, 75–81; language of —, 2–5, 12, 75; — letter of Tušratta (EA 24), 2–5, 12, 15 f., 50 f., 72–75, 107; spellings of —, 2, 70 f.
- Mittannians, 49, 54, 66, 71
- "Mittannians" (Hurrians), 3 f., 52
- Mil/tn*, "Mittanni" (Eg.), 70
- Mizirre, l., "Egypt" (Hur. < Akk.), 73 f.
- Mosul, c., region north of, 38, 67
- Mukiš, c. and l., 60, 71, 75 f.
- Mukišhe, c. and l., 78
- Mummi, l., 46
- Muqayyar, el-, c., *see* Ur
- Muršiliš I, Hittite k., 68
- muš*, 64
- Mušup-šaju, p., 56
- Muwattalliš, Hittite k., 68
- Muza, p., 106
- Nāblus, c., *see* Shechem
- Nabonidus, k. of Bab. (556–539), 45
- Nabopolassar, k. of Bab. (625–605), 45
- Nabula, c., 81
- Naḥap-atal, p., 110, 114
- Naḥaruk, p., 101
- Naḥrīma (Nahrīna), l., 70, 74 f.
- Naḥūja, p., 110
- naḥa*, 107
- Nairi lands, 46 f., 87
- nakt*, 113, 115
- Naktam-atal, p., 102, 113 f.
- namallu(m)*, "bed," l, 16
- Namar > Namri, l., *see* Nawar names, spellings of, vii; *see also* geographic names and personal names
- Namiawaza, p., 74
- namrag* texts, 40, 59 f., 102
- Namri < Namar, l., *see* Nawar *namrum*, "light(-colored)" (Akk.), 43
- Namzat (Manzat), d., 16
- nan*, 114
- Nanga-amamu, p., 32
- Nanija, p., 53 f.
- Nanip-atal, p., 114
- Nanna-maba, p., 112
- Narām-Sin, k. of Akkad (2196–2160), 23, 25, 28, 31, 35–37, 51, 55, 92 f., 102 f.
- Narām-. . . , p., 44
- Našattianna, d., 71
- Nāšir-Sin, k. of As. (1670), 66
- nation (*dēmos*), definition of, v
- Nau(?)arsi, d., 16
- Nawar, d., 113
- Nawar (Namar > Namri), l., 29, 56–58, 113
- Nawar-mati, p., 56
- Nawar-šen(ni), p., 113 f.
- Nebi Mend, Tell, c., *see* Ka-desh
- Nebuchadrezzar II, k. of Bab. (605–562), 45
- Nergal, d., 56
- Nhr(y)n*, l., "Nahrīna" (Eg.), 74 f.
- Nidagu, p., 114
- nNig-šid-ki-sikil*, d., 95
- Niḥani, l., 46
- Niḥria, c., 62
- Nija, c. and l., 69, 78
- nīl*, "lie down, rest" (Akk.), 16
- nin*, "lord; lady" (Sum.), 102
- NINAKI, c. in As., *see* Nineveh
- NINAKI, c. in Bab., 96
- nNin-A.ḡA-sil-du*, d., 96
- Nin-egal, d., 10
- Nin-e-Ninni, p., 32
- Nineveh (NINAKI etc.), c., mod. Kuyunjik, 36, 43, 59, 77 f., 85, 96; — texts, 1, 95
- Nin-Girsu, d., 102
- Nin-ḥedu, p., 110
- Nin-Šubur, d., 24, 102
- Ninum-mati, p., 56
- Nin-urta, d., 102
- Nippur, c., 38 f., 66; — personal names, 3; — tablets, 35 f., 38, 66, 94
- Niqmepa, k. of Mukiš, 75
- Nirbe, l., 47
- Niripuni Šurutuḥa, district in Elam, 59
- Niš-ḥuḥa, p., 52 f.
- Nizuk, p., 101
- nu-ḥa-du*, 92
- Nuḥašši/e, c. and l., 69, 78, 92
- Nullu, p., 103
- Nuraḥum, *ensi* of Ešnunna, 27, 39
- Nuriae, p., 19
- Nuzi, c., mod. Yorgan Tepe, v, 5–8, 10, 37, 52 f., 62 f., 67, 76, 91; — personal names, vii, 15, 18 f., 51–58, 64, 67, 82 f., 101, 103, 105–15; — tablets, 3, 6 f., 12 f.,

- 16, 18, 50, 63, 73, 75 (*see also* Kirkuk)
- Nuzians, 13
- Old Akkadian (Agade, Sargonic) period, 7 f., 10, 23–28, 30, 34–37, 52–57, 59, 64 f., 84 f., 89 f., 95, 103, 105, 108, 115
- Old Assyrian (Cappadocian) period, 29, 47, 60, 62, 64
- Old Babylonian period (Amurru dynasty, Babylon I, Hammurabi dynasty *or* period), vi, 3, 10, 17, 26, 28, 30, 33, 35, 40–43, 55, 62 f., 65, 67 f., 78, 84 f., 89, 94, 97, 105 f., 108, 111
- Old Hittite kingdom, 68
- omen texts, 25, 28 f., 34, 49, 86–88
- original populations, *see* aboriginal populations
- Orontes valley, 69
- Orphic hymns, 107
- orthography, Akk., *see* consonants, mimation, and sibilants
- Pada, c., 102
- Palestine, l., 5, 64, 69 f., 74, 89
- Palmyra, c., native name Tadmur, 61
- Panana, p., 105
- Pan-Subarian theory of Ungnad, 4–6
- pap*, “mountain” (Hur.), 110
- Papaḫi, l., 46, 87
- papan*, 110
- Papan-šen, p., 110, 114
- Papante, p., 110
- Paraši, l., *see* Marḫaši
- parḫ*, 77
- Parḫi, p., 77
- Parsašatar, k. of Maittanni, 75 f.
- Parsi, d., 16
- people (*ethnos*), definition of, v
- Persia, l., *see* Iran
- personal names, v, 31 f., 37, 40, 56; reliability of — in legends, 56; — with reduplicated stems, 20, 108; *see also* Akkadian, Amorite, Anatolian, Cappadocian, Egyptian, Elamite, formatives, Hurrian, Indo-European, Kassite, SU.BAPPIR, Subarian, and Sumerian, *also names of sites*
- petēqu*, “son,” 16
- Pethor (Pitru), c., 106
- Phoenicia, l., 104
- phonetic changes in Akk., 23, 28 f., 70 f., 102; — in Hur., 50, 103, 110 f., 113; — in Sum., 93, 98 f.
- Phrygians, 71
- physical anthropology, iv; *see also* skulls
- Pidara (P/Bitura), c., 106
- Pijaššiliš, k. of Carchemish, 72, 80
- Piriya-šaua, p., 68
- piṭqu*, “son,” 16
- Pitru (Pethor), c., 106
- P/Bitura (Pidara), c., 106
- pre-Sargonic period, 22, 24–26, 32 f., 37, 54, 84, 94 f., 99
- Puni-iššan, p., 101
- Puranti, r., “Euphrates” (Hur.), 21 f.
- Purattu(m), r., “Euphrates” (Akk.), 21
- puš/z*, 114
- Pušam, *ensi* of Šimanum, 111, 113–15
- Pušam, p., 52
- Pušikka, p., 114
- Pušteja, p., 114
- Pusum-atal, p., 55, 111
- Pusum-šen, p., 111, 114
- Puttim-atal, k. of Šimurrum, 55, 113–15
- Puttu, p., 55
- Puttum-kiriš, p., 55, 113 f.
- putu*, 106
- Putu-Ḫepa, p., 68, 106
- putuk*, 111, 115
- Putuk-manum, p., 59, 111, 114
- Putuk-šen, p., 111, 114
- putum* (for *puttum*), 113
- Puzum, p., 114
- Puzum-kijaze, p., 114
- Puzur-A.LAL.RIN, p., 113
- Puzur-Eštar, p., 61, 111
- Puzur-Šulgi, p., 58, 110
- Qalcat Sherqāt, c., *see* Assur
- Qatna (Qatanum), c., mod. Mishrifeh, 10, 63, 69, 78; — tablets, 10, 52, 69, 103
- Qattunān(um), c., 103
- Qitš, “Kadeshite,” 20
- Raḫabut, l., 35
- Ramses II, k. of Eg. (1301–1234), 70, 75
- Ramses III, k. of Eg. (ca. 1206–1175), 70, 74
- Raši, l., 104
- Raši, p., 40, 100, 104, 107 f.
- Raši-ilu, p., 104
- Rašiši, p., 104
- Raš Shamrah, c., anc. Ugarit, 10; — tablets, 12, 14, 20 f., 30, 48 f., 51, 69
- readings of signs, *see* signs
- reduplicated stems, 20, 108
- religion, history of, v; Hurrian —, v, 91; Subarian —, v, 89
- religious texts, 23, 96
- Rib-Addi, gov. of Gubla, 48, 74
- Rībam-ili, p., 43, 105, 107 f.
- Rīm-Sin, k. of Larsa (1759–1699), 105
- Rimuš, c., 36, 58 f., 85, 113
- Rimusa/i/u, c., mod. Jerahiyyeh, 58 f.
- Rimuššu, c., 59
- Riš-Adad, k. of Armānum, 103
- Šabarra, l., 21
- Sábeires (Sábēroi, Sábīroi, Sá(s)peires), 30
- sabir*, 30
- Sabum, c., 34
- sagir*, 30, 86, 92 f.
- šaju(m)*, 56
- Šajum-mati, p., 56
- Ša(j)um-šen, p., 56, 114
- Sallum, c., 103
- Samarra, c., tablet, 56, 109
- Samidi (gen.), p., 29
- Šamši-Adad I, k. of As. (1748–1716), vi f., 42 f., 66, 70, 89
- Samsu-iluna, k. of Bab. (1685–1648), 65, 106
- Šanme, p., 27

- Sápeires (Sábeires etc.), 30
šaplīš, "below" (Akk.), 93
sappar(r)u, "pig," 24
 Sarduri I, k. of Urartu, 82
 Sargon, k. of Akkad (2276–2221), 34–36, 93
 Sargon I, k. of As. (died ca. 1800), 35, 42, 60
 Sargon II, k. of As. (721–705), 82
 Sargonic period, *see* Old Akkadian period
Šarīthum, c., *see* *Šuruthum sarme*, "forest," 16
 Šarra-il, k. of Mukiš?, 75
 Šarr-ma-Adad I, k. of As. (1642–1631), 66
 Šasila/i, c., 45
 Sáspeires (Sábeires etc.), 30
 Šašrum, c., 40, 58 f., 113
 Šatar-elli, p., 56
 Šatar-mat, p., 56, 112, 114 f.
 Šati-Tešup, k. of Urrařinaš, 82
 Šatni(?), c., 106
 Šattuara I, k. of Ĥanigalbat, 76, 79, 81
 Šattuara II, k. of Ĥanigalbat, 76, 79, 81
 Šatu-šarri, k. of Azuřinum, 63
 Sauššattar, k. of Maittanni, 66, 69–71, 73, 75 f., 79
 Šawuška, d., 16, 107
 Šbr, "Subarian," 20 f., 30
 sculpture as clew to race, 9
 Šebba, p., 40, 100, 104, 107
 Šebi, p., 18 f., 100, 104, 107
 Šeřam, p., 115
šeřl, 111
 Šeřlam, p., 111, 114 f.
šelař, 111
 Semites, 4, 7–10, 62–65, 68, 89
 Semitic personal names, *see* Akkadian . . . and Amorite . . .
šen, 20, 56, 110–14
 Šengila, p., 109
 Šennam, k. of Uršum, 63, 115
 Šennam, p., 115
 Šeřp-Adad, p., 19
 Šeřpiřa, p., 19
 Šer. . . , p., 83
 Šerdu, p., 61
 Šeri, d., 51
 Šerriš, d., 51
 Šerři, c., 58, 113
 Šetbari, p., 41
 Šetirša, c., 58, 113
 Shāghir Bāzār, *see* Chagar Bazar
 Shalmaneser I, k. of As. (1272–1243), 46, 81, 90
 Shalmaneser III, k. of As. (858–824), 47, 82
 Shechem, c., mod. Nāblus, tablets, 69
 Sheshonq I, k. of Eg. (ca. 945–924), 70
 sibilants, vii, 21, 28, 30, 56
 Šidabaru/i, p., 27, 40
 Šidgau, p., 105
 signs, forms of: A, 95 f.; BAPPIR, 27; DUN (ŠUL), 24; EDIN (BIR₄), 27; KALAM, 36; ŠAĤ, 24, 34; ŠUBUR, 24; UKU, 36; URI, 98; ZA, 95 f.; readings of —: A, 27, 96–99; AŠ, 74; BAPPIR, 27; BU₆, 101; DI, 112; EDIN (BIR₄), 1–3, 15, 28; ĤAR, 4, 50 f., 63; KA+KAR, 111, 113 f.; KIB, 99; KU, 95 f.; MÁ, 62; NI, 104; SI, 104; ŠUBUR, 23, 31 f., 35, 37; SUG, 94; UD, 99
 Sijari, p., 109
šilahi, 111
 Šilaři-Tešup, p., 111
 Šiluhmeni, c., 63
 Silver Mountains, 93
 Šimála, c., mod. Zincirli, 61
 Šimanum, c., 58, 113 f.
 Šimaš, l., 102, 105, 108
 Šimike, d., 107
 Šimurrians, 57
 Šimurrum, c., 55, 57 f., 114
šin, 112
sina, 82
 Sin-iddinam, p., 43
 Sinini, p., 100, 104, 107 f.
 Sin-muballit, k. of Bab. (1748–1729), vii
 Sin-namir, k. of As. (1670), 66
 Sippar, c., name of, 99
 Stq-ummi, p., 105
 Sirara, mt., 36
 skulls as clew to race, 9; *see also* anthropology, physical spellings, vii, 30
Štrn, k. of *Nhrn*, "Šuttarna (II)," k. of Mit. (Eg.), 75
 su, abbrev. of su.BIR₄, 25
 su(κτ) words, 1–3, 12 f., 15–19, 25
 su(.AKT), "Subartu; Subarian," vii, 18–20, 23–27, 32 f., 37–40, 45, 98–105, 107 f.
 su+A, 26
 Šu-Adad, p., 111
 Šuala, c., 54
 Šuřara(?), c., 95–97
 su.BAPPIR, 23, 27 f., 37, 39; — personal names, 27, 40, 108
 su.BAPPIR, p., 27
 su.BAPPIR-a, p., 27
 su.BAPPIR-a, profession, 27
 š/subar, 14, 23, 29, 92 f., 98
 subar, "slave(?)" (Sum.), *see* š/subur, "slave"
 Subar, l., 14
 Šubari, c., 31, 95–97
 Subarian animals, 40, 89, 100; — art, v, 89; — deities, 16, 89; — fruits, 29, 89; — garment, 26, 33, 89; — geographic names, 21, 86; — language, 88, 108; — personal names, 15, 17–20, 27, 37, 40, 43, 53, 84 f., 88, 100–108; — religion, 89; — slaves, 5, 37, 43 f., 84, 88, 105 f.; — wagon, 29, 89; — wool, 26, 89; *see also* Subrian . . .
 Subarians, iii–v, vii, 1 f., 5, 8 f., 15, 17–49, 84–89, 98, 100, 102 f., 105 f.; canal of the —, 44, 96; land of the —, *see* Subartu; spellings of name of —, 30
 Š/Subarītum, "Subarian" (fem.), vii, 28, 105 f.; *see also* Subur(r)itu
 Šubarītum, p., 37
 Subarrařu, "Subarians," 29, 45
 Subartu, l., 1–5, 8, 10, 12–19, 21, 23, 25–28, 33–49, 51, 53, 84–88, 92–94, 96, 98, 105; cities of —, 41, 46, 85, 87; kings of —, 41 f.; mountains of —, 41, 46, 85, 87; spellings of —, 23–30, 92 f.
 Š/Subartu(m), l., "Subartu," 1 f., 23, 28–31, 35 f., 41 f., 44, 49, 85 f., 92
 Š/Subarā < Š/*Subariřu, pl.,

- "Subarians," vii, 8, 25, 28 f., 39, 44, 46, 48 f., 105, 107
 Š/Subarū(m) < Š/*Subari-
 ū(m), "Subarian," 1 f., 23,
 28 f., 44 f., 47, 105
 Š/Subarū(m), p., 28, 37, 44
 Šubat-Enlil (= Assur), c., 43
 Šū-bēlum, p., 61 f.
 subir, 28, 30, 93, 98
*Su-bir*₄(^{kur}) (Sum.), *SU.BIR*₄
 (^{EDIN})(^{kur}) (Akk.), l., "Sub-
 bartu," vii, 1-3, 12, 14-19,
 21, 23, 25 f., 28 f., 34, 36,
 38 f., 41 f., 44 f., 47, 86, 92,
 105, 107
Subiratū(?), probably mis-
 read for š[U-t]um, 29
 šubiš, 52
 Šubiš-ḫuḫa, p., 52
 Šubria, l., 29, 47 f., 82 f.
 Šubr(i)aiū, "Šubrian," 47
 Šubrian deities, 30, 89; —
 grain, 26, 29, 89; — kings,
 30, 46 f.; — slaves, 29
 Šubrians, land of the, *see* Šu-
 bria
 Šubriju, p., 29
 Šubriju(m), "Šubrian," < Šu-
 bariju(m), 26, 29 f., 47
 š/subur, 23, 29, 93
 ŠUBUR(^{kur}), l., "Subartu," 23,
 25 f., 28, 31 f., 34-37
 šubur, "earth" (Sum.), 23, 93
 f.
 š/subur (subar), "slave(?)"
 (Sum.), 23 f., 32, 88
 Šubur, "Subarian," used sec-
 ondarily perhaps to denote
 some profession, 32, 102 f.
 Šubur (ŠUBUR), p., 31 f., 37,
 84
 Šubura, l., 47
 Šuburaū, "Šuburan (Šubri-
 an?)," 47
 Šubur-Bau, p., 32
*Su-bur-ek*₁, l., var. of *Su-bir*₄,
 26, 28, 36, 92
 Suburī. . . , p., 28, 44
Subur(r)itu, "Subarian"
 (fem.), 29; *see also* Š/Su-
 baritum
 šubuš, 52
 Šubuš-ḫuḫi, p., 52
 Sudi, c., *see* Šuta
 Šuduḫi, c., 81
 suffixes, *see* formatives
sugir, 30, 86, 92 f.
 Šū-Ḫabura, p., 98
 Šuhna, c., 54
 Šū-Ḫubur, p., 98
 Šū-ḫu, p., 54
 Šukru-Tešup, p., 63
 Šulgi, k. of Ur III (2035-
 1988), 112
 Šulgi-atal, p., 112, 114 f.
 Sumaš and Sumaštu, l., mis-
 read for Subir and Subartu,
 1 f.
 Sumer, l., 7
 Sumerian animals, 100; — cul-
 ture, 6; — Hurrian vocabu-
 lary, 10, 69; — King List,
 94 f.; — language, vi, 2, 105;
 — personal names, 7, 33, 40,
 58, 60; — phonetic changes,
see phonetic changes in
 Sum.
 Sumerians, iii, vi, 5, 7, 14, 33,
 84
 Šummi-Tešup, p., 67
 Šunname, p., 27
 Šungibutu, l., 101
 šū-Ninua, k. of As. (1584-
 1571), 66
 Šunuḫrammu, k. of Ḫana, 63
 Šunundu, p., 104, 107
 Šuppiliumaš, Hittite k. (ca.
 1380-1346), 51, 68 f., 73 f.,
 76-80, 107
 Šura/i, c., 81
Su-ri, l., miswritten for *Su-
 ba-ri*, 3, 48
 Suri and Suriti/u, l., misread
 for Subir and Subartu, 1-3
 Šurki-tilla, p., 54
 Šurkup-šaḫū, p., 56
 Šuruppak, c., *see* Fara
 Šuruš-kên, p., 37
 Šuruthum (Šarithum), c., 40,
 59
 Susa (Šušum), c. and l., 34,
 60, 85, 93; — personal
 names, 101; tablets from
 —, 26, 28, 38, 44, 60, 102,
 104
 Šū-Sin, k. of Ur III (1978-
 1970), 24, 38 f., 85
 Šušuk(?), p., 40, 101, 104,
 107
 Šusuku, c., 104
 Šušum, c. and l., *see* Susa
 Šuta (Sudi), c., 46, 71, 73, 78,
 81
 Sutians, 2
 Sutium (Sutū), l., 1 f., 34
 Šut-puni, p., 101
 Šuttarna I, k. of Maittanni,
 70 f., 75 f., 79
 Šuttarna II, k. of Mit., 75-79
 Šuttarna III (Šuttatarra), k.
 of Mit., 66, 72, 76, 79-81
 Sutū, l., *see* Sutium
 šuwar, 107
 Šuwar-Ḫepa, p., 107
 syllabaries, v, 1, 3, 12, 14-19,
 25 f., 28 f., 86, 88, 92, 97 f.
 synchronisms, vi f.
 "Synchronistic History," 28,
 44 f.
 synonym lists, v, 28, 86, 92
 Syria, l., 1-3, 5, 10, 36, 42,
 49, 60 f., 63-65, 68-71, 74-
 76, 78, 80, 83, 85, 88-91,
 103 f., 108
 Syrians, 8, 21, 48 f.
 Šīdōn, c., 104
 Širi, p., 104
 Taʿannek, Tell, c., tablets, 69
 Tabbadarah, p., 114
 Tāb-šāri, p., 109
 Taddin-kī(t)sa, p., 109
 Tadmur, c., classical Pal-
 myra, 61
 taḫ, 111-13
 Taharqa, k. of Eg. (638-663),
 74
 Taḫ(i)š-atal, p., vii, 111 f.,
 114
 Taḫiš-šen, p., 20, 111-14
 Taida/i, c., 46, 71-73, 81
 Talḫat, c., 36, 108
 Talzu, p., 68
 Tamar-taḫe, p., 112
 Tanae, p., 19
 tanni, 112
 Tanni-muša, p., 112
 Tapšaḫi, p., 110
 Tarku-Hittites, term applied
 to Hittites, 4
 tatu, 107
 Tatu-Ḫepa, p., 76 f., 106
 Taurus, mts., 46, 49
 Teburzi, l., 46
 Teḫup-senni, p., 67
 Teje, p., 77

- Telipinuš, Hittite k. (*ca.* 1500), 68
 Tell . . . , *see* . . . , Tell
 Telloh, c., *see* Lagash
 Teluja, p., 82
 Telu-sina, k. of Andia, 82
 Terikan, p., 64
 Tešup, d., 16, 30, 55, 63, 79 f., 89, 107, 111, 115
 Tešup-Hittites, term applied to Mittannians, 4
 Tešup-mati, p., 56
 Tešup-šelaḫ, p., 20, 111, 114
 Tetuae, p., 19
 Thutmose I, k. of Eg. (*ca.* 1526-1496?), 74
 Thutmose III, k. of Eg. (1490-1436), 69 f.
 Thutmose IV, k. of Eg. (*ca.* 1426-1413?), 76 f.
 Tidānum, c., 104
 Tiglathpileser I, k. of As. (1114-1076), 46, 70, 73, 82, 103
 Tiglathpileser III, k. of As. (744-727), 104
 Tigris, r., 41, 85, 89; names of —, 21, 86; region east of —, 1, 9, 36, 38, 57-60, 63, 71, 76, 83-85, 88 f., 91, 103; region north of —, 40, 46 f., 49, 85, 87 f., 106
tikin(?), 111
 Tikin(Tišan?)-atal, p., 111 f., 114
tilla, 54
 Tilmun, l., 36
 Tırqa, c., tablet, 109
tiš, 112
 Tišam-mušni, p., 112
tišan, 112
 Tišan(Tikin?)-atal, p., 111 f.
 Tišan-taḫe, p., 111 f., 114
 Tišpak, d., 39, 54 f.
 Tišpakum, p., 55
 Titin-atal, p., 111 f.
 traditions, v, 5, 86
 transliteration, vii
 treaties, 51, 73, 76-80, 107
 Tuašubarbi, p., 40
 Tuba/i, c., 95, 97
 Tuḫi, p., misread for Parḫi, 77
 Tukkizzan, p., 64
 Tukriš, l., 41, 55, 57
 Tukulti-Ninurta I, k. of As. (1242-1206), 45 f., 87
 Tukulti-Ninurta II, k. of As. (890-884), 46, 85, 87
tul, 18
 Tuliḫa, p., 18; *see also* Dulia
 Tulip-apu, p., 18
tulpi/u, 18
 Tulpi-šenni, p., 18
 Tul-tešup, p., 18
 Tultul, p., 32
Tunip, c., 69, 75
tupk, 54, 113 f.
 Tupki-ašum, p., 54, 57, 114
 Tupki-šen(ni), p., 112, 114
 Tūr ‘Abdīn, mts., anc. Kašī-jari, 36, 81
 Turḫu, c., 47
 Turkestan, l., 31
turu, 53
 Turukkum, l., 41
 Tušratta, k. of Mit. and k. of Hurri, 2, 10, 71-73, 75-80; — letter, *see* Mittanni letter
 Ualli, p., 83
 Ubbume, c., 47, 82
 UD.KIB.NUNKI, r., “Euphrates,” 21, 99
 UD-kigal, p., 99
 Ugarit, c., *see* Ra’s Shamrah
 Ugaritic dialect of Hurrian, 9; — of West Semitic, 10, 69
ul, 112
ulme, 114
 Ulum-šin, p., 112, 114
 Umin-tanni, p., 112
 Umma, c., mod. Jokhah, tablets, 59
 Ummān-Manda, 36
ummi, “my mother” (Akk.), 106 f.
 Ummi-Hepet, p., 19, 43, 106-8
 Ummu-Ḫubur, d., 97
un, 20, 114
 Unap-atal, p., 112, 114
 Unap-šen, p., 112, 114
 Unap-tae, p., 19
 Unap-tan, p., 20, 59, 112, 114 f.
 underworld, 93
 Upper Zab, r., 58, 85
 Ur, c., mod. el-Muqayyar, destruction of, 25, 39, 85; — tablets, 23, 31, 35, 41
 Ur III period, 15, 17-20, 24-28, 32 f., 37-40, 42, 52, 56-60, 62, 64 f., 84 f., 89, 94 f., 100, 102-5, 108-15
 Urartian (Vannic) inscriptions, 2, 82; — language, 4, 90 f.; — nation, *see* Urartu
 Urartians, 90 f.
 Urartu, l., 47, 82 f., 89 f., 104; *see also* Armenia
 Urbilum (Arbela), c., mod. Erbil, 58, 114
 Urḫal-enni, p., 82
 Urḫan, p., 64
 Urḫileni (Irḫulena/i), k. of Hamath, 82
 Urḫilina-, k. of Hamath (hieroglyphic Hittite spelling), 82
 Urḫi-Tešup, Hittite k. (*ca.* 1290-1283), 68
 Urḫi-Tešup, p., 67
 Urkiš, l., 56-58, 114
 Urmia, Lake, 71
 Urratīnaš, l., 82 f.
 Ursag-A.KIB.NUNKI, p., 99
 Ursag-KIB.NUN, p., 99
 Ursag-UD-KIB.NUNKI, p., 99
 Uršu(m), c., mod. ‘Arsüz, 60, 63
 Urua, c. and l., 34, 84
 Uruaṭri, l., 104 f.
 Uruk, c., 95; — tablets, 31
 Uru-kagina, *ensi* of Lagash (2296-2289), 32
 Uruttu, r., “Euphrates” (Sub.), 21 f., 86
 Ušpia, k. of As., 5 f.
 Uššukana/i, c., *see* Waššukanni
uṭḫ (*iṭḫ*), 112
 Uṭḫap-tae, p., 19
 Utukkilala, p., 44 f.
 Utuk-Šimut, p., 45
 Van, Lake, 47, 70; — region, 2, 83, 90 f.
 Vannic , *see* Urartian
 vowel harmony in Sum., 98 f.
 Wadi , *see* , Wadi
 Wasašatta, k. of Ḫanigalbat, 76, 81

- Waššukkanni (Uššukana/i),
 c., 10, 46, 71-73, 76, 78, 80
 f.
 Wirriš-tanni, p., 112
 Wirzijaē, p., 19

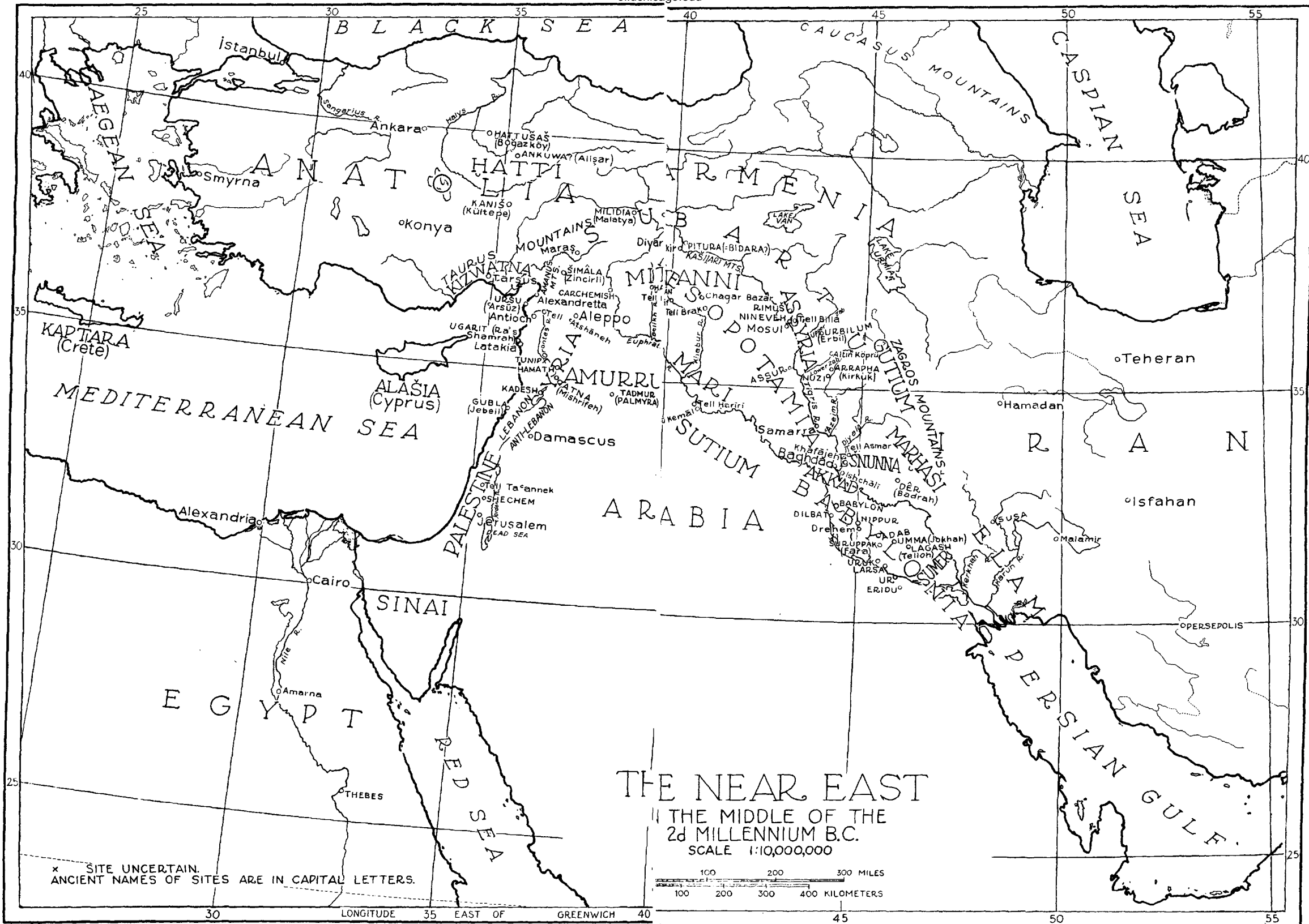
 year names, v, 25, 27 f., 38 f.,
 41-43, 57 f., 63, 65, 85, 102,
 104
 Yorgan Tepe, c., *see* Nuzi

 Zab, Lower, r., *see* Lower
 Zab
 Zab, Upper, r., *see* Upper
 Zab
 Zabš/zali, l., 38, 85
 Zaduri, c., 47
 Zagros, mts. and region, 7, 36,
 40, 55, 57, 60, 65, 70, 85,
 88, 101-3, 108
 Zagzaga, p., 108
 ZA.ĜA.KI, canal of, 96

 ZA.ĜA.ZA^{KI}, c., 95
 zalag, "shining, resplendent"
 (Sum.), 16
 zalġu, "gold," 16
 Zanzani, p., 108
 Zariqum, p., 39
 Zeitā/ūn, c., 104
 Zidāna, c., 104
 Zidānum, c., 104
 Zige, p., 53; *see also* Zike
 Zigulae, p., misread for Zi-
 gume, 19, 38
 Zigume, *ensi* of Subartu, 19,
 25, 38, 105, 107 f.
 zik, 19, 105
 Zike, p., 53, 105
 Zikipa, p., 105
 Zikiu, p., 105
 Zimri-Lim, k. of Mari, vii,
 41 f., 93
 Zina, p., 27

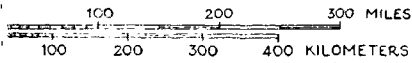
 Zincirli, c., anc. Šimāla, 61
 Zipšam, p., 115
 Zitānu, c., 104
 Zizānu, d., 16
 Zu-ba-ri, possible reading in-
 stead of *Su-ba-ri* (gen.),
 "Subarians," 48 f.
 Zubari, p., 44
 Zubuš, p., 20, 105, 107
 Zupari, "Subarians," 29, 49
 Zurzur, p., 105
 Zurzura, c., 105
 Zurzura, p., 20, 40, 105, 107 f.
 Zuzu, p., 53

abduša, p., 105, 107
at, p., 104 f., 107 f.
dirta, k. of Maittanni?,
 75 f.
ennan, p., 27
ki-Tešup, p., 83



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