A HURRIAN LETTER FROM TELL BRAK

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During the 1990 season of excavations at Tell Brak, the lower part of a cuneiform tablet (TB 11021) was found in the "Mitanni palace" in Area HH. The fragment was immediately identified as Hurrian by Dr. Jesper Eidem, who kindly ceded his primary rights to the present author. I am much indebted to Dr. Eidem for his generosity as well as for his readiness to supply his hand-copy of the tablet for study and publication (Fig. 1). I should also like to thank the Directors of the excavations at Tell Brak, Professor David Oates and Dr. Joan Oates, who gave the permission to publish the important new find and provided excellent photographs (Plate XXXII). I am also grateful to Dr. Diana Stein for reading my text and improving my English.

The text runs as follows:
Obverse
(beginning destroyed)
1′ [   ]x x x x[
2′ [x x x]-ᵣNI-eᴵ-en ul-l[u-
3′ ᵣma-a-nu(-)šáᴵ(-)ki!?-i-ri-e-en z[u?-
4′ ḫi-il-lu-ši-i-ta-a-an ur-ḫa-ni[
5′ a-ru-ú-ten   uš-[

6′ áš-ki-ra-a-nu-uš-ten-na-ma-a[n
7′ ᵐéw-ri-íw-wu-ú-an-na-a-a[n
8′ ḫa-šu-u-ᵣšiᴵ x x x-ᵣliᴵ ᵐše-[e-nu-u-nᵒ

lower edge
9′ a-ú ia[x x x x -k]u?-un-na [

reverse
10′ ḫa-šu-ᵣuᴵ?-š[i x x x x] x x-a-néš?[
11′ nu-ú-íw-w[A] x [x x x x] ḫa-š[a-
12′ na-ak-ku-ᵣla-a-ú niᴵ x x x ᵣúᴵ? še x[
13′ wa-šu-u-u-ᵣliᴵ ᵐéw-ri-íw-wA-ša-m[a-a-an]?
14′ ᵐše-e-nu-u-né-e-we ta-a-an [
15′ ᵣkuᴵ-sa-a-am.ᵣKIᴵ sa-ta-a-ia-am.KI [
16′ [x]-u??-[l]i?-ma-ᵣaᴵ-[a]n ᵐéw-ri-íw-wA[   ]

The text under consideration shares some formal features with the so-called "Mittani letter" of Tušratta found at Tell el-Amarna [*Mit.*]: Just as *Mit.*, it is divided into paragraphs by double lines, and words are divided by spaces.

Also from a palaeographic point of view, our fragment closely resembles the letters of Tušratta and other texts which may be traced back to Mittanian origins, such as letters from

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[1] Special abbreviations: *ChS*: V. Haas, M. Salvini, I. Wegner, G. Wilhelm (ed.), *Corpus der hurritischen Sprachdenkmäler* (Roma, 1984 ff.); *GHL*: F. W. Bush, *A Grammar of the Hurrian Language* (Brandeis University, 1964); *GLH*: E. Laroche, *Glossaire de la langue hourrite* (Paris, 1980); *HuHurr.* V. Haas (ed.), *Hurriter und Hurritisch*, (*Xenia* 21; Konstanz, 1988); *IH*: E. A. Speiser, *Introduction to Hurrian*, (*AASOR* 20; New Haven, 1941); *Mit.*: The Mittani letter (last complete transliteration: J. Friedrich, *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler*, *Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen* 163 (Berlin, 1932), 8–32; last copy: O. Schroeder, *Die Tontafeln von El-Amarna, Texte Nr. 190–202, nebst Zeichenliste* (*VAS* 12; Leipzig, 1915),

Nr. 200; last complete translation: *Les lettres d'El Amarna*, traduction de W. L. Moran (*Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient* 13; Paris, 1987), 139–51: EA 24. A new edition with transliteration, morphemic transcription, translation, photographs, full indices of names, words and morphemes, and a bibliography is being prepared by the author for *ChS* II/1); Neu, *Das Hurritische*: E. Neu, *Das Hurritische: Eine altorientalische Sprache in neuem Licht*, (*Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Abhandl. der geistes- und sozialwiss. Klasse* Jg. 1988/3; Mainz/Stuttgart, 1988); *Fs. Otten 1988*: E. Neu/C. Rüster (ed.), *Documentum Asiae Minoris Antiquae. Festschrift für Heinrich Otten zum 75. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden, 1988).

Fig. 1

kings of Ḫanigalbat and several literary texts in Akkadian language found at Boğazköy. Characteristic sign forms of the Mittani (Mittanni) ductus are (among others) ša and ta, both in contrast with Middle Assyrian palaeography which otherwise displays a high degree of conformity. A minor difference consists in the sign ni (4') insofar as the vertical wedges cross the upper horizontal wedge, which is not the case in *Mit.*

The text is written syllabically throughout, mostly with simple CV-, VC- and V-signs. tin = *ten* (5', 6') and giš = *néš* (10') are the only CVC-signs. Although *Mit.* uses more than forty different CVC-values, this does not constitute a difference in writing habits, because our text contains no further closed syllables which would match one of these values. Both tin and giš (= *néš*) are used in *Mit.* as well; cf. tin: III 23, 27, 28, IV 44, *néš* I 106, III 7, IV 122, 125.

The signs u and ú are both attested. There is only a limited number of cases in which they are part of morphemes or lexical units known from *Mit.*, where u and ú represent a phonemic opposition pair /o/ and /u/. All these cases (7': -*ú-a*°- [= dative suffix -*u̯a*-], 8'–10': -°*u-u-š*°- [preterite suffix -*ož*-], 12': -*a-ú* [verbal suffix 1 ps. sg. ergative -*au̯*], 13': -°*u-u-u-l*°- [verbal suffix *ol*-] show full agreement with the usage of *Mit.*

The re-definition of ki and gi, ku and gu as representations of phonemic /ki/ and /ke/ vs. /ko/ and /ku/, typical for *Mit.*, is not obvious in our text because gi and gu are missing. The few attestations for ki and ku, however, stand for /ki/ and /ko/ only (3': -*ki*!?-*i*-, 6': -*ki-r*°- [verbal suffix -*ir*-], 9': -*k*]*u*?-*un-na* [possibly to be related to the suffix group -*kko-nni*], 12': -*ku-l*°- [verbal root complement -*ol*-], 15': ⌈*ku*⌉-*s*°- [verbal root *koc/z*-, cf. *Mit.* IV 40 *ku-s*°-].

The CV- and VC-signs avoided by the orthography of *Mit.* are also lacking in our text: ba (for a possible exception see commentary for l. 3'), da, ga, qa, di, tu, eš, and ne. The otherwise highly economizing system of *Mit.* orthography allows, however, one redundancy among VC-signs, namely aš and áš. It cannot be said whether the new text shares this feature, because there is only one attestation of the closed syllable /aš/ (6': áš). On the other hand, the sign šá, which is excluded from the *Mit.* repertory, is used here (3').

Plene-writings are employed as frequently as in *Mit.* In *Mit.*, there are very consistent *plene*-writings without any degree of variation, especially in lexemes (e.g. *šēna* "brother" written *še-e-n*°- without exception, *tān*- "to make" always *ta-a-n*°- etc.), whereas many suffixes may be written *plene* or simple without a rule of distribution always being obvious. Thus, it has to be admitted that the patterns of *plene*-writings in *Mit.* are not yet fully understood. The new text uses *plene*-writings very much the same way, cf. 6': -°*a-a-n*°- cf. -°*a-a-n*°- *Mit.* II 16, regularly in *keb-ān*- "to send", vs. -°*a-n*°- *Mit* III 22, regularly in *tiğ-an*- "to show"); 12': -°*u-l*°-, 13' -°*u-u-u-l*°- (verbal root complement -*ol*-, cf. -°*u-l*°- *Mit.* III 63, regularly in *keb = ān = ol*-, -°*u-u-l*°- *Mit.* III 22, regularly in *tūğ = an = ōl*- (for the double *plene*-writing cf. commentary to l. 13'). If the forms ending with -°*i-e-en* in l. 2' and 3' are jussive trans., they differ from the orthography of *Mit.*, where this form never shows a *plene*-writing. In *Mit.*, the enclitic connective -*an* is written *plene* only after the long allomorphs of the enclitic pronouns (-*tta*, -*nna*, -*tilla*, -*lla*), whereas the new text also uses a *plene*-writing for the short form in l. 4': -*ta-a-an* (= *d = ān*; an erroneous omission of -*it*- might, however, be indicated by the long erasure visible in this line). The correct spelling of this pattern in terms of the *Mit.* use is represented in 7': -°*n-na-a-a*[*n* (= *nn(a) = ān*, enclitic personal pronoun 3 pers. sg. plus enclitic connective).

Sign forms, syllabary and orthography of the new fragment thus are largely in agreement with Tušratta's "Mittani letter". A remarkable difference, however, is the use of the vertical wedge not only as an indicator of personal names, but also in connection with *evr(i) = iffə* "my lord" (cf. infra).

Commentary:

2': The first word most likely is a transitive jussive in = *i* = *en* just as the second word in the following line.

ul-l[*u*- is possibly to be connected with the root *ull*-. The meaning "to destroy" for the root *ull*- has already been inferred by Güterbock from the name of the giant Ulli-kummi destined

to destroy Teššup and his cult centre Kumme.[2] Salvini called attention to the Hurrian fragment *KUB* XLV 61 where Kumarbi explains the name Ulli-kummi with the words *ku-um-mi-ni-im ul-lu-li-iš* "Kumme shall be destroyed!".[3] He was also able to link the verb with an Urartian isogloss (*ul-* "to destroy"). In the light of this evidence, the suggestion of a Semitic etymology by Astour (*'ll* "to destroy")[4] does not hold. The first syllable, however, is ambiguous with regard to Hurrian phonology, representing /ol/ as well as /ul/. Bush has forwarded the assumption of a root *oll-* beside *ull-*.[5] There are several derivatives from one or the other root, none of them clear in their meaning.[6]

3': *ma-a-nu*(-) possibly belongs to the pronominal root *mān-*.[7] This root fits well into the paradigm of many pronouns such as *anni, andi, ani, akki—agi*,[8] *-iffə/e*[9], which form the absolute case in *-i/e/ə*, but the oblique cases in *-u/o-*.[10] As for the paradigm of *mān-*, the following forms could be claimed whose meaning, however, is not yet in all cases sufficiently well established by context:

Absolutive: *māne-* (only attested with *-mmaman*) *Mit.* III 35, 36, 38 (2x); ergative: *mānu=ž KUB* XXVII 46+ IV 4; *mānū=l ChS* I/1, 3 Rs. 22; ablative: *mānu=dan Mit.* IV 64; comitative: *mānu=ra KUB* XXVII 46+ I, 20, II 9; essive: *mān=a* (only attested before *šueni* in an expression meaning "totally", "in all respects" or the like); before *-nna*: *mānu=nna Mit.* III 78, IV 66; ergative pl.: *man=ž=ō=dilla- Mit.* I 77; comitative pl.: *man=ž=u=ra* Mari 5:20 (?). The meaning seems to be "everybody" (sg.) and "all" (pl.). The absolutive and essive forms have only been attested so far in idiomatic expressions of assertion or emphasis.

The form *ma-a-nu* without a case ending, however, could not be explained within this framework. *ma-a-nu* in *ChS* I/1, 11 obv. 15, is no clear parallel, because there is no space between *-nu* and the following *ne-eš-ši-*.[11] Since the text otherwise separates words by space, we here probably deal with a larger formation which cannot be convincingly analysed yet.

The sign following *ma-a-nu* is to be read *šá*, not "4", because this figure appears as "ZA" in the Akkadian gift lists of Tušratta, whereas in the Hurrian *Mit.* all numerals are written syllabically. There is a small space between *nu* and *šá*, and *šá* is immediately followed by the next sign. If *šá* is connected with the following syllables, we not only face the difficulty of the oblique form *mānu-* without a case ending, but also the problem of the following verbal form, which in this case contains an unattested root-complement *-ir-*.[12] If, on the other hand, we link *šá* to the preceding *ma-a-nu*, we could explain the resulting form as an ergative *mānu=ž* "everybody". If this is right, the following *-a* has to be regarded either as a part of the pronoun *-nna* which together with the ergative suffix *-ž* becomes *-šša*, or as the enclitic connective *-an*, or both. This, however, cannot be assumed without difficulties: In the first case, we would have to accept a *scriptio defectiva* or a mistake instead of *-°š-šá*, in the second case the final *-n* would have disappeared. A parallel for the lack of final *-n* before a consonant

[2] H. G. Güterbock, *Kumarbi* (Istanbul, 1946), 95.

[3] M. Salvini, Sui testi mitologici in lingua hurrica, *SMEA* 18 (1977), 84 f.; E. Laroche, *GLH*, 279; M. Salvini, Die hurritischen Überlieferungen des Gilgameš-Epos und der Kešši-Erzählung, in *HuHurr*, 158.

[4] M. Astour, Semitic Elements in the Kumarbi Myth, *JNES* 27 (1968), 174–5.

[5] Bush, *GHL*, 360 n. 76.

[6] Cf. Laroche, *GLH*, 279–80 and add *ul-lu-i Mit.* III 44, 75, *ul-lu-ḫu-ni Al.T.* 138:31 (a profession), and—may be even from another stem with a long vowel—*u-ul-lu-u-ši-ik-ku-un-ni ChS* I/1, 2 Vs. 7' (term of profession following the pattern of *ašḫ=ož=i=kko=nni* "sacrificer").

[7] Speiser, *IH*, § 125, first supposed a pronominal meaning of this stem, but he did not distinguish it from the verbal stem *mann-* (for which cf. E. A. Speiser, Studies in Hurrian Grammar, *JAOS* 59 (1939) 302–3; Bush, *GHL*, 88, 202, 241, 260; E. Laroche, in: *Ugaritica* 5 (Paris, 1968), 452–3; J. Friedrich, Churritisch, in: *HdO* I/2 (Leiden/Köln, 1969), 27; Diakonoff, *HuU*, 59; G. Wilhelm, Hurritische Lexikographie, *Or* 54 (1985), 493; J. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic*

Transcription, (*HSS* 32; Cambridge, Mass., 1987), 86) and the particle of introduction of direct speech *ma-* (for which cf. G. Wilhelm, Die Inschrift auf der Statue der Tatu-ḫepa und die hurritischen deiktischen Pronomina, *SMEA* 24 (1984), 220 n. 10; *idem, Or.* 54 (1985), 493; with alternative explanation C. Girbal, Der Paragraph 24 des Mittani-Briefes, *ZA* 78 (1988), 136).

[8] Cf. Wilhelm, *SMEA* 24 (1984), 221–2; *idem, Or* 54 (1985), 490, 496 (both pronouns with final *-i*, not *-u*).

[9] Cf. Wilhelm, *Or* 54 (1985), 488.

[10] The independent pronoun of the 1st ps. sg. also should be mentioned here, though it displays some peculiarities: Absolutive: *ište(n)*, oblique cases *šo/u-* except ergative *ižaž*.

[11] The same applies to more supposed attestations of *nešši* in this paragraph: *e-eḫ-ḫi-ne-eš-ša* (15, 16).

[12] For the remote possibility of such a root-complement cf. Speiser, *IH*, § 191, who cites the form *a-ri-ir-e KUB* XXVII 38 IV 25. The recently established participle ending *-iri*, however, has to be taken into account there; cf. G. Wilhelm, Gedanken zur Frühgeschichte der Hurriter und zum hurritisch-urartäischen Sprachvergleich, in *HuHurr*, 56.

in Boğazköy Hurrian jussive forms has recently been described by I. Wegner,[13] but this rule seems to be restricted to jussive forms ending in *-en*, and it does not apply to the Hurrian of the Mittani letter.

If—despite all these uncertainties—*šá* belongs to the preceding word, the following word is easy to analyse. The first sign, it is true, has to be emended, since it is neither identical with šu nor with KU or KI otherwise attested in this text. The most probable emendation is *ki!*, because morphological reasons suggest a sign ending in *-i*. The form resolving under these premises is *kīr=i=en*, which is a jussive 3rd ps. sg. from the verb *kīr-*. This verb has been shown by E. Neu to denote "to let, to release" on the basis of the Hurrian-Hittite bilingual from Boğazköy found in 1983.[14] The first two words of l. 2 thus could be translated: "May everybody(??) release(??) him(??)!" It is, however, evident from our arguing that this analysis cannot be considered more than a learned guess.

The last sign in l. 3 could be BA or ZU. Since BA is not used in *Mit.*, ZU seems preferable.

4': The first word is a verbal form based on the well known root *ḫill-* "to say, to speak, to inform".[15] The form is to be analysed as "anti-passive", a transitive verb in a construction without explicit reference to the direct object.[16] The tense is marked by the preterite suffix *-ož-*, which here, contrary to l. 8', is written *non-plene*. In *Mit.*, *-ož-* is never written *plene* in connection with *ḫill-*. The distribution rules of *-ož-* vs. *ōž-* (presumably conditioned by stress patterns) have not yet been studied. *-ož-* is followed by the transitive marker *-i-*, the enclitic personal pronoun 1st ps. sg. absolutive *-d ∼ -tta*, and the enclitic connective *-an*. In *Mit.*, the combination of the short allomorph of the pronoun and the connective becomes *-ta-an*, whereas the long allomorph plus *-an* appears as *-°t-ta-a-an*, with a *plene* writing of the vowel, presumably indicating length by contraction. The new text has a single dental despite the *plene*-writing. This might be a mistake or a writing practice deviating from the strict rules of *Mit.* chancellery orthography. If the analysis of the first word of l. 2' is correct, the *scriptio defectiva* of presumed /ššạ/ as *-šạ* would be a parallel.

The second word, *urḫa-ni[]*, contains the adjective *urġi* "true, sincere"[17] known as an element of personal names such as Urḫi-teššup (Urġi-tēššob), Urḫi-tilla, etc. Although the combination of *urġi* with *ḫill-* is not attested, *urġi* repeatedly refers to words spoken (*kad-*, *kul-*) in *Mit.* (II 103, 106, IV 23, 29). In our context, an adverb would be required, such as the essive (in adverbial use) *urġ=a Mit.* II 106, or the adverbial instrumental[18] *urġ=ae*, as it is attested at Nuzi: *AdŠ* 382 (= *HSS* XVI 259) 2–7: 21! <UDU.MEŠ> (3) *mu-u[d-du-šu]* (4) *ša* PN (5) LÚ.SIPA *ur-ḫa-e-el-la-a* (6) PN (7) *na-WA-[š]a* "21 <sheep>, *muddu-* obligation of the shepherd PN, PN will duly[19] pasture".[20] The ending *-ni* could be the suffix of the ablative-

[13] I. Wegner, Phonotaktischer *n*-Verlust in Jussivformen des Boğazköy-Hurritischen, *Or* 59 (1990), 298–305.

[14] Neu, *Das Hurritische*, 10–12.

[15] Laroche, *GLH*, 105 f.

[16] Cf. *šū=da=man pašš=ož=i* "to me he sent" *Mit.* I 50; *šēn(a)=iffə pašš=ož=i* "my brother has sent" I 65; *ḫill=oz=ī=tt(a)=ān* "and I have told" II 26; *pašš=ed=ī=d=an šēn(a)=i[ffu=d]a* "and I will send to my brother" III 116; *pic=and=ož=i=tt(a)=ān* "I have rejoiced" IV 9; *ḫill=ož=i* "he has spoken" IV 11. For a comprehensive definition of the term "anti-passive" in the framework of Hurrian grammar cf. Ch. Girbal/I. Wegner, Zu einer neuen hurritisch-urartäischen Grammatik, *ZA* 77 (1987), 149 f.

[17] Laroche, *GLH*, 285.

[18] Cf. Speiser, *IH*, §§ 165–7; Bush, *GHL*, 166–70; E. Neu, Zum hurritischen "Essiv" in der hurritisch-hethitischen Bilingue aus Hattuša, *Hethitica* 9 (1988), 164; idem, Hurritische Verbalformen auf *-ai* aus der hurritisch-hethitischen Bilingue, in *Studia Indogermanica et Slavica*, [Fs.] *Werner Thomas*, Specimina philologiae Slavicae, Suppl. 26 (München, 1988), 512–13. [The form ending in *-kai* (*pu-ú-ta-an-ka-a-i*) described by Neu as "infinite hurr. Verbalform" (p. 511) could be explained as an infinite verbal form in *-ae* following the verb

pūd=ang-; for a root-complement *-ang-* cf. *pir=ang=umma* "to flee" (inf.) *AASOR* 16, no. 52:18].

[19] *urġ=ae=lla* with the enclitic personal pronoun 3rd ps. pl, referring to the object in an ergative construction, i.e. in the given case to "sheep".

[20] *na-WA-[š]a* is to be connected with the noun *nayni* "pasture" attested in the Hurrian Hittite bilingual from Boğazköy *KBo* XXXII 14 Vs. I 5; cf. E. Neu, in: *HuHurr.*, 101. According to Neu's transliteration, the text says: *a-a-i na-ú-ni-i-e pa-a-pa-an-ni a-me-la-a-an-ni ta-a-ar-re-eš*, which, with regard to the Hittite version, has to be translated "May the fire burn the mountain (serving as) pasture!" In a personal communication from Dec. 1985, E. Neu kindly informed me of the attestation of *nayni* in the Boğazköy bilingual and indicated the possibility of a relationship between *nay-* and Akkadian *nawû* "steppe pasture". Neu, l.c. 102, explains the difficult ending *-i-e* as the enclitic possessive pronoun 3rd ps. sg. *=i(i)=* in combination with the genitive *-ve*, which, according to Speiser, IH § 69, and Bush, *GHL* 118, becomes *-i-i-e-e* in *a-a-i-e-e Mit.* III 28, 29 and *e-ti-i-e-e Mit.* I 91, 98, II 64, IV 19, 25, 28. This, however, is questionable, because forms like *aš-ti-i-i-we* (*ašt(i)=î=ve*) "his wife's" *Mit.* III 76 show that the rule established by Speiser is not valid. In my view (cf. already G. Wilhelm, *Or* n.s. 54 (1985) 494 sub *šeni*)

instrumental case,[21] which, however, has not yet been observed in clearly adverbial use.

5′: The form *a-ru-ú-ten* is attested here for the first time. Evidently, it is derived from the well-known root *ar-* "to give".[22] The suffix *-ūd-* (also *-ud-* and *-od-* ?) has been illuminated recently by the Hurrian-Hittite bilingual from Boğazköy already mentioned above. Here, forms with *-ūd-* like *a-mu-lu-ú-tu-u-um* ($am = ol = ūd = ō = m$) *KBo* XXXII 14 IV 17, *a-mu-du-um* ($am = ud = o = m$) *KBo* XXXII 14 I 37, and *pu-ú-ru-du-um* ($fūr = ud = o = m$) *KBo* XXXII 14 I 38 are translated by Hittite negative forms (*Ú-UL a-uš-zi* III 16 f., *a-ar-aš Ú-UL* II 37, *ú-e-mi-it Ú-UL* II 38).[23] The final *-en* has to be the suffix of the jussive 3rd ps. sg. The form, then, may be translated "He shall not give!"

The following word is not well enough preserved for a reliable restoration. One of the few known words beginning with *uš-* is *ušḫuni* "silver",[24] which would fit the meaning of the preceding verb. If *uš-*[...] was the direct object of the phrase, the verb would stand in topic position, which is not unfamiliar in Hurrian.[25]

6′: This line only contains a jussive form with the suffix *-en* attached to a root compound *ašk = ir = an = o/ušt-*. A root *ašk-* or *āsk-* is rather frequently attested, often with a root-complement *-ol-*.[26] The Hurro-Akkadian tablet IM 70923 from Tell al-Faḫḫār/Kurruḫanni uses the infinitive *ašk = umma* in the sense of "to demand compensation".[27] *ašk = ol-* sometimes refers to "a word" or "words" (*tive*($= na$) *ChS* I/1 41 III 44, 76), and in some cases it appears in connection with *verba dicendi* such as *kul-* (*ChS* I/1 41 III 43) and *kad-* (*ChS* I/1 41 IV 5). There is a vague chance that *ašk = ōl(l)-* corresponds to Hittite *punuš-* "to ask" in the bilingual ritual of Šalašu.[28] It is not clear, however, whether the form in the new text from Tell Brak derives from this same root *āšk-*, because the possibility of a difference in vowel quantity has to be taken into account. But even if the root is the same, the form of the new text contains further grammatical elements which are unparalleled in Boğazköy and which might change the meaning of the verb considerably. As has already been stated above (n. 12), *-ir-* most likely does not rank among the root-complements, but forms participles of the pattern *tabiri* "someone who has cast (metal)", *kebiri* "someone who has set up (a trap)", etc.[29] An *iri*-participle of a root *ašk-* is attested in *aškirušḫu*, the name of "an item of feminine

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the ending *-e-e* has to be defined as another case- or adverbial-ending, hitherto overlooked, as becomes evident in *Mit.* III 28, 29, IV 49 f.: *še-e-ni-íw-wu-⟨ú-⟩e-né-e a-a-i-(i-)e-e* "in the presence of my brother" ($šēn(a) = iffu = ue = n(e) = ē a\underline{i} = (i =)ē$). Here the ending *-e-e* is repeated at the preceding genitive according to the pattern of *Suffixaufnahme*. The article *-ne-* in relational function cannot be followed by a possessive suffix, and consequently the assumed change $= i = ve > = i = i\underline{e}$ cannot be adduced as an explanation here. Furthermore, the forms in *-e-e* are nowhere followed by nouns to which they could refer, as it would be expected, if they were genitives. The passage from the Hurrian Hittite bilingual containing *nau-* and *nauni* has also been treated by H. Otten, Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy. Ein Staatsvertrag Tutḫalijas IV. (*StBoT* Beiheft 1), Wiesbaden 1988, 40. The lexeme in *a-ga-bé-e-na-a-ša* ($agabe = n(a) = až = a$) is also found as *a-qa-a-we* in the following passage from a Nuzi letter: *ù* ⌈*lu*⌉ *a-na e-be-er-ta ša a-qa-a-we lu-*⌈*ú*⌉ *e-be-er-ta* ⌈*ša e*⌉*-ša-a-we HSS* IX 5 (= *AdŠ* 592), 12–15; cf. *CAD* e 9b. There might be a connection with the pair of alternative pronouns *akki—agi* "the one (of two)—the other". For the desiderative form ending in $= i = l = anni$ attested in the bilingual passage quoted above, an exact counterpart is preserved in Urartean: *ard* $= i = l = an(n)i$ "he may give!", *ḫa* $= i = l = an(n)i$ "he may take away!"; cf. G. A. Melikišvili, Die urartäische Sprache (*StPohl* 7), Roma 1971, 64 sq.

[21] For this case cf. G. Wilhelm, *ZA* 73 (1983) 96–113.

[22] Cf. Laroche, *GLH*, 52 f.

[23] Cf. E. Neu, Varia Hurritica. Sprachliche Beobachtungen an der hurritisch-hethitischen Bilingue aus Boğazköy, in *Fs. Otten 1988*, 241–2.

[24] In the Hurrian Hittite bilingual from Boğazköy, a variant form of this word, *i-šu-uḫ-ni* (*ižuǧni*), is attested; cf. Neu, *Das Hurritische*, 16 n. 39; *idem*, Zur Grammatik des Hurritischen auf der Grundlage der hurritisch-hethitischen Bilingue aus der Boğazköy-Grabungskampagne 1983, in *HuHurr*, 99.

[25] Cf. *irg* $= am = ōž = a = mān$ ... *Keliia* $= š$ *tažē* $= nē = ve$ *itt* $= ummi$ "Keliya announced the departure of the gift" *Mit.* I 92; *ḫa* $= i = en = i = l = an$ *šēn(a)* $= iffu = ž$ *fir* $= ādē = na$ *šūa* $= lla = man$ 'may my brother take all the nobles" III 30 f.; cf. also III 47, 61, 85, 87, etc.

[26] *āsk-*: *ChS* I/5 41 Rs. 11; 75 IV 24′. *ǎšk* $= ōl-$: *ChS* I/1 41 III 43, 44, 45, 76, IV 2, 5; I/5 40 Rs. 36′. For the latest functional analysis of *-ōl-* cf. E. Neu, in: *Fs. Otten 1988*, 238–46.

[27] I owe the general information about this previously unattested infinitive to an oral communication of Dr. Bahija Ismail Khalil, Baghdad. In a letter from 20 Feb., 1991, Dr. M. Müller, Leipzig, kindly communicated the text number and line (6′) to me and added: "Nach dem Kontext scheint *aškumma e.* zumindest allgemein "zur Rede stellen", "zur Rechenschaft ziehen", wahrscheinlich in dem vorliegenden Zusammenhang spezieller "Ersatz/Regress fordern" zu bedeuten."

[28] *ChS* I/5 40 Rs. 36′; cf. also V. Haas/H. J. Thiel, Die Beschwörungsrituale der Allaituraḫ(ḫ)i und verwandte Texte (*AOAT* 31; Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1978), 302.

[29] Cf. H. Otten, Blick in die altorientalische Geisteswelt. Neufund einer hethitischen Tempelbibliothek (*Jahrbuch der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen 1984*; Göttingen, 1985), 58–9; Wilhelm, in: *HuHurr*, 55–7; E. Neu, Zum hurritischen Verbum, *Or* 59 (1990), 230 n. 17.

finery",[30] a kind of container closed by a lid,[31] attested at Amarna and Alalaḫ. *aškirušḫu* is a formation ending in *-ošḫe*,[32] well known for all kinds of utensils, especially vessels.[33] The meaning of the basic **ašk=ir=i*, however, is not elucidated by the derivative **ašk=ir=o=šḫe*. The verbal noun is, again, verbalized [34] by the causative suffix *-an-*.[35]

The causative suffix is followed by the suffix *-Všt-* which is the last in the chain of root-complements.[36] Its vowel is usually determined by the vowel of the preceding syllable, but there are some unexplained exceptions such as *pic=and=išt- pic=o/ušt-*, and *utt=ašt-*,[37] to which the new form now may be added.

The next suffix is the jussive ending *-en*. The writing with *-ten-* instead of *ti-en* suggests the absence of the transitive class-marker *-i-* which precedes *-en* in transitive jussive forms. Consequently, the form is intransitive and the enclitic personal pronoun 3rd ps. sg. *-nna*, directly attached to *-en*,[38] functions as subject.

The final position is taken by the sentence particle *-man* (not to be confused with *-mān* "and") whose meaning has not been established yet.[39]

7': The determinative for masculine personal names is used here and in l. 13' (presumably also in l. 16') in connection with inflected forms of *evr(e)=iff-* "my lord". This is a deviation from the practice of *Mit.*, where the vertical wedge is restricted to personal names.

The form and spelling of the dative suffix *-va* after the possessive suffix 1st ps. sg. *-iffu-* is the same as in *Mit.*: /u̯a/, written *-°u-ú-a°-*, cf. e.g. *še-e-ni-íu̯-wu-ú-a* I 107.

The address "my lord" shows that the letter is directed to a person superior to the writer. Considering the fact that the letter was found in a palace, its addressee is likely to be a high state official or the king himself.

The form *evr(e)=iffu=u̯a-* is followed by the long allomorph of the enclitic personal pronoun 3rd ps. sg. *-nna* and the enclitic connective *-an*. The regular *plene*-writing of the vowel /a/ probably denotes lengthening by contraction.[40]

[30] *CAD* A/2, 444b.

[31] Cf. H.-P. Adler, *Das Akkadische des Königs Tušratta von Mitanni* (*AOAT* 201; Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1976), 263.

[32] The form *tupp=ag=ō=šḫe=na* Mit. II 21 shows that the suffix may be analysed as the derivational vowel *-o/ō-* and a suffix *-šḫi/e*, which supposedly is formed of the two well known suffixes *-šše/-ži* and *-ḫḫe/-ġe*.

[33] Cf. Anne E. Draffkorn, *Hurrians and Hurrian at Alalaḫ: An Ethno-Linguistic Analysis* (University of Pennsylvania, 1959), 217; Bush, *GHL*, 112; Diakonoff, *HuU*, 70 (5), 72 *ad* (5); M. L. Khačikyan, *Khurritskij i urartskij jazyki* (Jerevan, 1985), 65.

[34] Denominal verbs are not rare in Hurrian; cf. e.g. **ašt=ugar-* "to establish a relationship by marriage" (only attested in *ašt=ugar=i* "relationship by marriage") from *ašti* "woman, wife"; *ewurumma* "to inherit" from **ewuri* "heir" (attested as Akkadianized *ewuru*); *ilimd-* "to swear in" from *ilmi, elami* "oath"; *maġilumma* "to buy" from **maġili < maġiri < * Akk. *maḫīru* "purchase price"; *nikkassamumma* "to account" from **nikkassi <* Akk. *nikkassu* "account"; *šalaššumma* "to adopt as daughter"(?) from *šala* "daughter"; *urġ=upt-* "to keep faith" from *urġe* "true".

[35] The two root-complements *-am-* and *-an-*, which Speiser, *IH*, § 176 (1) and (10), had still kept apart, were taken as variants by E. Laroche, Études hourrites, *RA* 54 (1960), 201. Laroche's view has been adopted by later scholars such as Bush, *GHL*, 179 ("tentatively grouped together"), Friedrich, *Churritisch, HdO* I/2 (Köln/ Leiden, 1969), 17, Diakonoff, *HuU* 114, and M. L. Khačikyan, *Khurritskij*, 60. The reason for the assumed allomorphy has been seen in a dissimilation of *-an-* to *-am-* in roots ending in *-n* like *eman-* and *šin-* (Laroche, l.c., Friedich, l.c.), and, as Bush, *GHL*, 180, added, also in roots containing an *-r-* such as *šur-* and *irg-*. The appearance of

-am- in the verb *nikkass=am-* or *nissakk=am-* attested at Nuzi ("to account", derived from Akk. *nikkassu*), however, is not explained by these dissimilation rules. It is more likely that (following an oral suggestion of M. Krebernik) *-am-* and *-an(n)-* have to be kept apart, the first being a factitive suffix (*eman=am-* "to make tenfold", *šin=am-* "to double", *nikkass=am-* "to make an account") and the second a causative-suffix (*keb=ān-* "to make (s.o.) bring", corresponding to Akk. *šūbulu*; cf. G. Müller, Zu einigen hurritischen Verba mittendi, *Mesopotamia* 21 (1986), 230–2; *ar=ann-* "to make (s.o.) give"; cf. Laroche, l.c.) *-an-* is consistently written *plene* in connection with the root *keb-* (16 ×), but always *non-plene* after *tīġ-* (6 ×).

[36] Cf. Bush, *GHL*, 184–6; Diakonoff, *HuU*, 117, separates it from the group of root-complements, but leaves its function open.

[37] Cf. Bush, *GHL*, 185, 351 n. 20.

[38] Also in *Mit.*, *-nna* follows *-en* without the connecting vowel *-i-* which is present between *-en* and the pronoun 3rd ps. pl. *-lla*; cf. *a-ra-an-ni-en-na-ma-an* (*ar=ann=i=e(n)=nna =man*) "he may order it to be given (to him)" *Mit.* III 41, but *a-ra-an-ni-e-ni-la-an* (*ar=ann=i=en=i=l=an*) "and he may order them to be given (to him)" III 39.

[39] Speiser, *IH*, § 212a; Bush, *GHL*, 264–9; Diakonoff, *HuU*, 150 f. Lastly, C. Girbal, *ZA* 78 (1989), 135, argued that the sentence particles ("associatives") *-an* and *-man* are allomorphs of one and the same morpheme. Although it is true, that the use of *-an* and *-man* seems to be conditioned by preceding elements (e.g. *-an* never appears after another vowel than *-a*, *-man* never after the short forms of the enclitic pronouns), there is, however, no strict complementarity; cf. *anammi=ll(a)=ān* and *anammi=lla=man* etc.

[40] Cf. W. Farber, Zu einigen Enklitica im Hurrischen, *Or* 40 (1971), 39; C. Girbal, *ZA* 78 (1988), 135.

8': The first form is a preterital antipassive (cf. commentary on l. 4') with the subject presumably lost at the end of l. 7'; *ḥaž=ōž=i* "[he/I] heard". The *plene*-writing of the preterite suffix is not unusual in *Mit.*, but again the distribution of *plene* vs. *non-plene* is open to discussion.

The ending -ᴦ*li*ꞌ can be analysed as a sequence of the root-complement -*ol*-[41] and the transitive marker -*i*, which again would lead to an antipassive. The form can, however, also be explained as a voluntative in =*l*=*e*.

The third unit of the line can be restored from l. 14', cf. infra.

9': The first word could be the interjection *au* "behold!" attested at Boğazköy.[42] The second word seems to be the relative pronoun *ya/e*-; the context, however, is too broken to be reconstructed.

10': The form *ḫa-šu-*ᴦ*u*ꞌ?-*š*[*i*, if read correctly, is identical with the one in l. 8'. Here too, the subject, which should be represented by an enclitic personal pronoun, is lost in the broken parts.

If the reading of the last preserved sign of the line is correct, the pertinent form is to be analysed as an ergative (-*ž*) of a definite noun (article sg. -*ne*).

11': *nu-ú-íw*-w[A undoubtedly contains the possessive pronoun 1st ps., either sg. (-*iffə*, -*iffe*, *iffu*-; cf. commentary to l. 3 with n. 8) or pl. (-*iff*=*až*), which leads to the noun *nūi* already attested several times in religious context in Boğazköy. In the prayer *ChS* I/1 41,[43] the same word appears, also with the possessive suffix 1st ps. sg. in the ergative case and in connection with the verb *ḫaž*- "to hear": *ga-a-ti-i*[*a-aš*]-*ši* (25) [*t*]*e-ep-ša-ri nu-*ᴦ*u*ꞌ-*ú-i-ip-pu-uš ḫa-a-ši-ia-an*, morphemic transcription: *kād=i*=[*a*=*š*]*še tep*=*šari nūi*=*iffu*=*ž ḫāž*=*i*=*an* "The words he speaketh my ear(?) shall hear!" obv. I 24 sq. A passage of the 10th tablet of the *itkalži*-ritual uses *nui* in a similar context and leaves no doubt about the thematic vowel -*i* which in the previous example is obscured by the initial -*i*- of the possessive suffix; *ChS* I/1 9 III 30 with duplicats: *ḫa-az-zi-zi*(-*pal*) *šal-ḫu-*(*u*-)*le-*(*e*-)*eš nu-u-ia-al* {better: *nu*-(*ú*-)*i-wa*ₐ-(*a*-)*al-la*} *ḫa-*(*a*-)*ša-*(*a*-)*ši-le-*(*e*-)*eš*, morphemic transcription: *ḫassissi*=*v*=*a*=*l šalġ*=*o*=*l*=*e*=*ž nūi*=*v*=*a*=*lla ḫaž*=*āž*=*i*=*l*=*e*=*ž* "Your mind may listen to them, your ear may hear them." The parallelism suggests that *nui* is a synonym of *ḫassissi* (< Akkad. *ḫasīsu*), meaning "ear", "mind" etc., as it has already been seen by M. Salvini.[44] The same parallelism of *nui* and *ḫassissi* is further attested in the substitution ritual *ChS* I/5 63 obv. 7': [*n*]*u-ú-iš nu-ú-i-ta-an ḫa-zi-*[*zi-iš ḫa-zi-zi-ta-an*],[45] morphemic transcription: *nūi*=*ž nūi*=*dan ḫassi*[*ssi*=*ž ḫassissi*=*dan*] "Ear from ear, mi[nd from mind]" (sc.: "may take the sin" or likewise). The combination of *nui* and *ḫassissi* also appears when used as sacrificial terms (*Opfertermini*) in connection with bird offerings in the Hittite ritual *KUB* XL 79 rev.? 12, 16.

ḫa-š[*a*- again is a form of the verb *ḫaž*- "to hear". The combination of *nui* and *ḫaž*- corresponds to the Boğazköy passages and confirms the semantic definition of *nui*. The restoration of the verbal form, however, is difficult. It is tempting to restore *ḫaž*=[*au̯*] "I hear" on the basis of the first form of the next line. On the other hand, the Boğazköy passages show *nui* as *agens* of *ḫaž*-. This could apply here, too, but in this case the verb would have to be restored with the root-complement -*až*-,[46] which has only been attested with non-indicative forms so far.

[41] For the latest treatment of -*ol*- cf. Neu, *Fs. Otten 1988*, 238–43.

[42] *ChS* I/5 87 Rs. IV 8–29 passim, 88 Rs. III 4'; cf. H.-J. Thiel, Überlegungen zu einigen Demonstrativa und Partikeln des Hurritischen, in *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians in Honor of Ernest R. Lacheman* (Winona Lake, 1981), 335; the relationship between *au* and the pair of alternative pronouns **akku*—**agu* postulated by Thiel can no longer be sustained after these pronouns have been identified as *i*-stems; cf. supra n. 8.

[43] Cf. G. Wilhelm, Zur hurritischen Gebetsliteratur, D. R.

Daniels *et al.*, *Ernten, was man sät, Festschrift Klaus Koch* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1991), 37–47.

[44] M. Salvini, *RA* 82 (1988) 64; for older views cf. E. Laroche, *GLH*, 187 f. s.v.; V. Haas/G. Wilhelm, *Hurritische und luwische Riten aus Kizzuwatna*, (*AOATS* 3; Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1974), 93 with reference to luw. *nu*(*t*)- which, however, has to be kept apart according to *CHD* L-N 471, 476 f.

[45] The restoration was rightly suggested by the editors V. Haas and I. Wegner.

[46] Cf. Bush, *GHL*, 181 f.

12': The root *nakk*- means "to dispatch" and corresponds to Akkadian *w/muššuru*.[47] The root-complement *-ol-* has not yet been attested in conjunction with *nakk-*. The broken context does not allow a closer semantic definition. The ending *-āu̯* (1st ps. sg. ergative) shows a *plene*-writing, as it is the case in approx. 40% of all its attestations in *Mit.*

13': The verbal root *faž*- in *Mit.* III 112 has been tentatively translated as (French) "envahir".[48] This has been confirmed by the Hurrian Hittite bilingual which gives Hittite *andan uу̯a*- "to come in" as the equivalent.[49] The ending is difficult to define without the help of an intelligible context. The root-complement *-ol-* might be present again, though there is no *Mit.* parallel for the double *plene*-writing.[50] The general meaning of the text would suggest a voluntative in *=l=e*, but this could only be reconciled with the assumption of the root-complement *-ol-* if we accept a *scriptio defectiva* of *-ll-*, for which see commentary to l. 4'.

The second word of this line—*evre* "lord" with suffixes—presumably opens a new sentence. Unfortunately, the possessive ending of the 1st ps., following the noun, is ambiguous; it could be singular or plural. In the first case, we would have to read the sign WA as *wu* (*=iffu=ž=*), in the second *wa* (*=iff=až=*). If the suffix is sg., the form stands in the ergative case, if pl., in the dative. Lines 4', 7', and 12' show that the sender refers to himself, not to a group of "we". This would tell in favour of the first solution. Difficulty, however, arises from the subsequent suffixes. The last preserved sign *m[a* should be restored as one of the sentence particles ("associatives") *-mān* "and" or *-man* (meaning unknown). In *Mit.*, however, there is no ergative form to which one of these associatives is attached directly or with the help of a meaningless connecting vowel.[51] Consequently, in accepting the solution suggested by context we are forced into grammatical interpretations *ad hoc* whereas the less likely solution ("to our lord") poses no such difficulties.

14': Šēn(n)ōn(n)i is a personal name well attested in tablets from Nuzi, but also from Nippur and Assur.[52] It is based on the noun *šena* "brother", which in personal names often appears as *šenni* (in Old Hurrian personal names: *šen*). The same name is probably to be restored in l. 8'. There are parallels for the derivational type in *=o=n(n)i*, e.g. *mad=o=nni* "(Ea,) the wise" (from *madi* "wisdom").[53] The name carries the gentive ending *-ve* without any further suffix. The absence of *Suffixaufnahme* suggests that the following word is a noun in the absolute case.

tān is a word of unknown formation and meaning attested in *Mit.* in unclear context (II 9).

15': The two words ending in *-am*.KI do not fit into any known grammatical features. Probably they are place-names with the determinative KI. It should be kept in mind, however, that this kind of writing place-names, well-known from the Old Babylonian period,[54] would be an archaism here.[55] The other tablets from the Mittani palace at Tell

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[47] Cf. Müller, *Mesopotamia* 21 (1986), 233–6; Wilhelm, *ZA* 79 (1989), 131. The Hurrian Hittite bilingual from Boğazköy provides further attestations of *nakk-*, this time in the context of *manumission*; cf. E. Neu, *Or* 59 (1990), 226 f. It seems difficult, however, to arrive at the basic meaning of *nakk-* through the correspondence of Hurr. *nakk-* und Hitt. *iу̯a-*, offered by *KBo* XXXII 15 I/II 19' f. The phrase *nakk- kirenzi* "to promulgate a *manumission*" (Hitt.: *iу̯a- parā tarnumar*) could easily derive from a basic meaning "to dispatch, to release, to let go" etc., comparable to the Old Assyrian phrase *ṭuppam waššurum* "to send a letter".

[48] G. Wilhelm *apud* W. L. Moran, *Les lettres d'El-Amarna* (Paris, 1987), 147 (unpublished German and English versions: "eindringen"; "invade").

[49] *KUB* XXXII 13 I 3 *waₐ-šu-ma-i* //II 4–5 *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an ... an-da-an ú-it* "when he came in"; cf. Neu, *Hurritische Verbalformen auf -ai*, 513 n. 40; idem, in *Fs. Otten 1988*, 245 n. 39.

[50] *Mit.* IV 69 should be divided into *šukko* "one" and *ōli* "another" (*contra* J. Friedrich, *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler*, 29).

[51] Either the ergative suffix is not followed by an associative at all (by far the most cases), or by *-an* (*Mit.* IV 14, 57). Only when the ergative suffix is followed by an enclitic pronoun ending in a vowel, the associatives *-an* and *-man* appear fairly frequently; cf. with an attempt of explanation C. Girbal, *ZA* 78 (1988), 135.

[52] Spellings: *Še-en-nu-un-ni* and *Še-en-nu-ni*; cf. *NPN*, 131b, *AAN*, 126a.

[53] Cf. also *NPN*, 240b with more personal names of this type.

[54] Cf. B. Groneberg, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der altbabylonischen Zeit* (*RGTC* 3; Wiesbaden, 1980), passim.

[55] During the Middle Babylonian period, double determination with URU and KI is fairly common; cf. K. Nashef, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der mittelbabylonischen und mittelassyrischen Zeit* (*RGTC* 5; Wiesbaden, 1982), passim. This pattern is also found in the letter of a king of Mittani (the so-called "Sauštatar-letter") from Nuzi: URU *pa-aḫ-ḫa-ar-ra-še*. KI *HSS* IX 1 obv. 3; URU *a-ti-lu*.KI *ibid.* 8.

Brak as well as the Mittani letter only use the determinative URU to designate place names.[56]
Apparently there are no attestations of these toponyms outside our text.

16′: The last line presumably starts with a verbal form, maybe a non-indicative form in
$= l = e$, to which the enclitic connective -*mān* is attached. It is not clear whether the second
word, *evr*(*e*) = *iff*[ ], is the subject resp. *agens* (absolute or ergative), the *patiens* (absolute)
or an indirect participant (dative, directive or comitative) of the sentence.

The fragmentary state of the text turns the attempt to translate it into an extremely
hazardous enterprise which nevertheless is undertaken here with all reservations:
"(2′) He may [...]... destroy (??) (3′) May everybody(??) release(??) him(??)!.[...] (4′) And
I have duly informed [...] (5′) He shall not give si[lver(??)]!

(6′) He may ..[...] (7′) And to my lord he/him/it [...] (8′) I/he have/has heard. ... (...)
Šē[nōni (...)] (9′) Behold! [...] which [...]... (10′) I/he have/has heard [...] (11′) My ear [(...)
shall(??) duly(??)] hear [(...)] (12′) I am dispatching ... (13′) I will/he shall come in to our
lord (or: my lord [*agens*]) (14′) ... of Šēnōni (15′) (the towns of) Kusam (and) Satayam (16′)
and I will/he may(??) (...) my lord [(...)]."

[56] URU *na-war* TB 8001:7, 12; URU *na-wa-ar* TB 8002:2; URU *ta-i-de₁ ibid.* 3 (cf. N. J. J. Illingworth, Inscriptions from Tell Brak 1985, *Iraq* 50 (1988), 101, 105). URU *i-ḫi-be-ni Mit.* I 86; URU *ni-i-nu-a-a-we* III 98.

PLATE XXXII
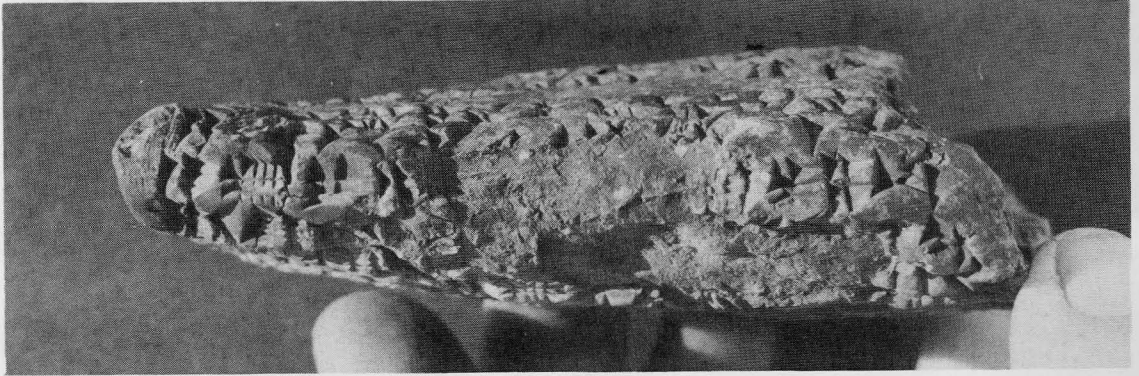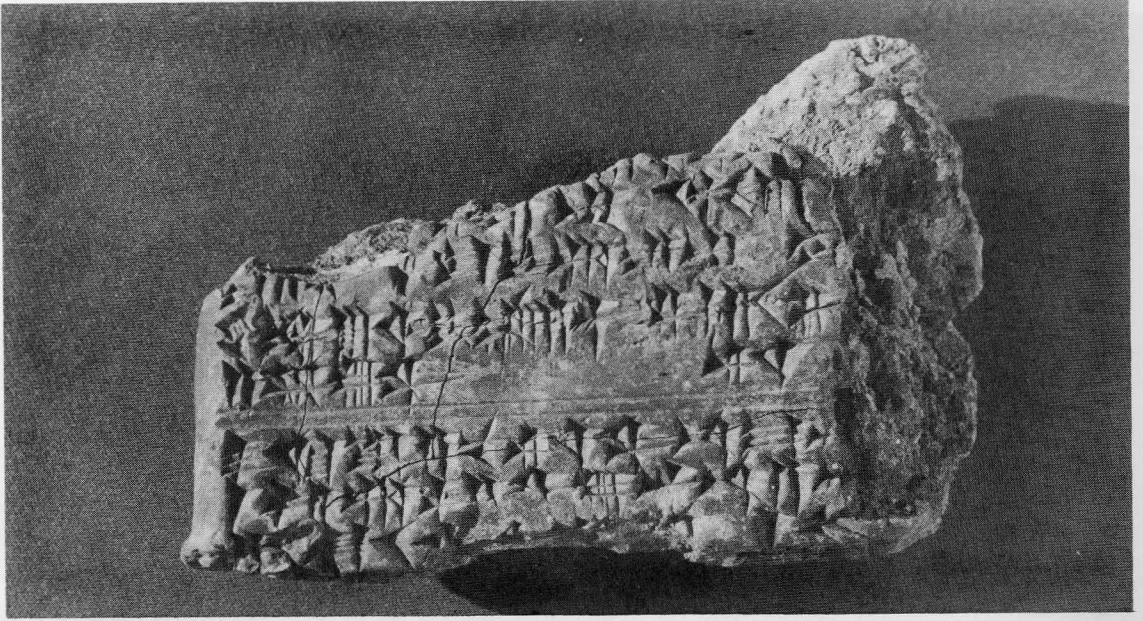
Hurrian letter from Tell Brak (TB 11021).