

# A REVERSE WORD INDEX TO THE MITANNI LETTER

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The Mitanni letter, comprising ca. 470 lines of text, is the longest and best preserved Hurrian document. It was discovered in 1888 in the Egyptian archives at El Amarna in a context of diplomatic correspondence in Akkadian. This letter, written on behalf of Tušratta the king of Mitanni to the contemporary Egyptian Pharaoh Amenophis III (1413-1377), is the only Hurrian text to reflect the language as it was spoken (or at least written) in the Mitanni capital Wašukana and to record the style and graphic habits of the royal chancellery. The Mitanni letter was apparently the work of one scribe and can be securely dated (ca. 1400 B.C.). Thus, in contradistinction to the Hurrian texts found at Boğazköi or Ugarit, it presents a single synchronic stage of the language undistorted by foreign linguistic influences or by the practices of foreign scriptoria.

The tablet itself is preserved in the Vorderasiatische Abteilung of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin under the catalog number VAT 422. It was first published in cuneiform by H. Winckler and L. Abel as text no. 27 in *Der Thontafelfund von el Amarna* (Mitteilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen der königlichen Museen zu Berlin, Hefte 1-3, 1889-1890). A second publication was offered by O. Schroeder as text no. 200 in Heft 12 of the Vorderasiatische Studien, Leipzig 1915. In his sketch of Hurrian grammar (*Handbuch der Orientalistik*, I.2.2, Leiden 1969, p. 2), J. Friedrich characterized Schroeder's edition as "nicht besonders gut," but it is to Schroeder's credit that the word divisions and spacing of signs are better represented than they are in Winckler-Abel. Both these editions were prepared at a time when our knowledge of Hurrian was much more limited than it is today. As Friedrich remarked (p. 3), a new edition of the cuneiform reflecting the current state of knowledge of Hurrian would be opportune.

Transcriptions of the tablet have been published first by J.A. Knudtzon: "Beiträge zur Assyriologie", 4 (1902), pp. 134-153 (Knudtzon's second thoughts on the reading of the text are given in *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* [Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, 2], Leipzig 1908, no. 24, pp. 180-189), and second by J. Friedrich in *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler*, Berlin 1932, pp. 8-32. Friedrich in essence follows Schroeder's cuneiform edition, but was able to control Schroeder's readings by an autopsy of the tablet.

The importance of a reverse word index for the understanding of this text was implicitly recognized already by L. Messerschmidt in his *Mitanni Studien* (Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft, 1899). Here he provided a kind of index of selected forms arranged by their grammatical endings (pp. 96-119). Apart from the fact that this index is incomplete, it is not given in any perceptible alphabetical order. Furthermore, it is antiquated and marred by many misinterpretations, both grammatical and graphic.

The usefulness of a reverse word index as an aid to restoring the text and as an aid to its grammatical and lexical analysis scarcely needs emphasis. Our goal has been to present

the graphic sequences occurring in the Mitanni letter with a minimum of interpretation. To that end we have made a number of decisions which, we feel, have allowed us to circumvent certain difficulties and thereby achieve greater transparency in our presentation.

In the first place, we have not divided the suffixes *-n*, *-man*, etc. from the fully inflected words they are attached to. Given the agglutinative structure of Hurrian and the readiness of this language to incorporate fully inflected forms into larger syntactic constituents that are inflected in their turn, it seemed best to respect the word divisions made by the scribe on the tablet. Furthermore, in the current state of our knowledge of Hurrian, a complete listing of these suffixes with the elements to which they are appended will be of some use.

The alphabetical order adopted for this index may also call for comment. Again, we have decided on the solution that seemed to require the least amount of interpretation. Double writing of consonants and *scriptio plena* of vowels have been ignored in establishing the basic alphabetical order. Words showing these features have been grouped with the comparable words which do not; in fact, the ordering chosen places the forms containing plene and double writings after similar forms with simple writings. There are several advantages to this procedure. First, related forms which otherwise would be scattered throughout the index are grouped together. Second, the order used here allows a quick assessment of the evidence for *scriptio plena* of vowels and doubling of consonants in related items. By placing these words together we have made easier the detection of potential minimal pairs, of differing spellings which are consistent and hence point to phonological contrast. Third, our approach has the advantage of treating single versus double spellings of all consonants and glides in a parallel manner. That is, single and double spellings of *-n-*, *-l-*, or *-w-* are presented in the same way that those of *-t/d-* or *-k/g-* are. The distinction between intervocalic *-t/d-* and *-tt/dd-* may be one of voice, as is commonly accepted, but it could also represent another phonological contrast. The distinction between intervocalic *-n-* and *-nn-*, however, is virtually certain not to be one of voice. To assign a phonetic content to one of these spellings but not to the other, and to let this assignment be reflected in a word index, would obscure the fact that the Hurrian scribes chose the same graphic device to mark distinctions of different kinds within all classes of consonants (stops, fricatives, nasals, liquids, and glides). Furthermore, in some cases (i.e., with some consonants) double writing may be merely a graphic feature. Our ordering procedure in this index keeps all these forms distinct, yet grouped together without need of phonetic interpretation.

Our transliteration is based on Schroeder and Friedrich. We have further collated all our entries with the lemmata in E. Laroche, *Glossaire de la langue hourrite*, Paris 1976-1977. For the individual signs we have followed the values assigned in R. Labat, *Manuel d'épigraphie akkadienne*, 5th ed., Paris 1976. Signs with ambiguous *e/i* vocalism have been transliterated with *i*, but if the initial vowel of a following sign or a *scriptio plena* specifies *e*, the signs in question have been transliterated with this value. Thus we transliterate e.g., *-pé-en*, and not *-pi-en*, and *-né-e-em*, not *-ni-e-im*, following a convention lately applied to the transliteration of Hittite texts. In a very few instances, we have kept in mind evidence from other texts to establish root vocalism. Thus, we have entered *eb-ri-* and *wa-ah-ru-* instead of *ib-ri-* and *w°-h-ru-*. The justification for each of these decisions is to be found in Laroche, *Glossaire*, s.v.

In accordance with Friedrich's practice, the vowel of WA is specified by the initial vowel of the following sign. Thus we transliterate *wi-i(C)*, *we-e(C)*, *wa-a(C)*, *wu-u(C)*. When the following sign begins with a consonant, or there is no following sign (either because WA is word final or because of a lacuna in the text), we transliterate *w°*, which corresponds to Friedrich's *wô*, but is phonetically less committing.

Since our interest is centered more on graphic consistency than on epigraphic detail, we have not signalled implementations of the text in those cases where the implementations seemed secure to Friedrich and to us. Seriously questionable signs, whether because of difficulty of reading or doubtful implementation, are underlined. Brackets are used only in broken words which cannot be completed by having recourse to plausible parallels. In such words the figures do not indicate the number of missing signs, but rather the minimal spaces in Schroeder's edition, and they correspond approximately to the dots given by Friedrich in his transliteration. One sign corresponds to a range of 2-3 dots. Column and line references are given in parentheses if a form or its attestation is uncertain.

For reasons of completeness we have appended a list of words whose endings have been lost and which consequently could not figure in a reverse word index. These are given in direct alphabetical order. The Akkadian *incipit* (I. 1-7) is omitted. The only logogram used in the entire text is GUŠKIN (for *hiyari-* "gold"; II. 53, 60; III. 67). A few other ideograms appear, but are confined to the graphic function of predeterminers. DINGIR ("god") and KUR ("country") are found not only before proper nouns, but also before the corresponding Hurrian common nouns (*eni-* and *umini-* respectively). This practice is a notable cuneiform precedent for the "limited predeterminers" (Meriggi) of Hieroglyphic Luwian.

The alphabetical sequence of the index is: *a* and *°*, *e*, *h*, *i/y*, *k/g*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p/b*, *r*, *s*, *t/d*, *u/w*, *z*. Although we have not made separate entries for *a* and *°*, we have placed *°* after *a*.

## A

te-a : III.42,69,94; IV.2  
 ta-a-ni-a : III.81  
 ši-ya : I.92  
 ta-a-ti-a : I.74; IV.122  
 laš-šu-te-mi-wu-u-ya : I.52  
 a-ru-u-ma-a-aš-šu-hi-ha : III.13  
 e-e-ma-na-a-am-ha : IV.32  
 ur-ha : II.106  
 ši-la-a-hu-uš-ha : IV.66  
 a-ru-u-ši-im-pu-ú-uš-ha : III.16  
 ti-ša-a-an-nu-uh-ha : II.10  
 an-za-a-an-nu-uh-ha : IV.129  
 še-e-ni-iw-wu-ú-e-né-en-nu-uh-ha : II.10  
 še-e-en-nu-uh-ha : IV.121  
 ti-ši-iw-wu-ú-un-nu-uh-ha : III.86  
 hi-ya-ru-uh-ha : III.90,106  
 ka-na-pu-ú-uš-šu-uh-ha : II.25  
 na-hu-ul-li-im-pu-ú-uš-šu-ha : III.96  
 ša-a-ru-ši-im-pu-ú-uš-šu-uh-ha : III.86  
 [3-p]a-a-duh-ha : IV.130  
 a-a-wa-ad-duh-ha : III.17  
 šug-gu-ú-ud-du-u-ha : III.108  
 šug-gu-ú-ud-du-u-ha : II.70  
 šu-ka : II.70; IV.52,53  
 an-zu-gal-la : II.60  
 pa-a-la : II.106  
 ša-a-la : I.47; III.35,37,104  
 ta-al-la : IV.64  
 e-e-la : II.37  
 u-u-ul-la : II.82,89,92; IV.80  
 gu-li-a-a-ma : II.106,106; IV.21,27  
 pa-aš-ši-a-a-ma : IV.55  
 ir-nu-u-hu-ši-a-a-ma : III.67,70

ta-la-ma : IV.7,15  
 ma-a-an-ni-i-im-ma-ma : III.5  
 KUR ma-a-áš-ri-a-an-na : IV.97  
 ma-ka-a-an-na : III.58  
 ma-a-na : I.69,73; II.55; III.5,6  
 SAL ta-a-du-hé-e-pa-a-an-na : IV.67  
 ú-a-du-ra-a-an-na : III.68,69  
 ti-ša-a-an-na : I.107; III.14; IV.34  
 hu-tan-na : I.102  
 KUR hur-wu-u-hé-né-e-w°-na : I.11  
 i-i-ši-ih-hé-na : II.59  
 tup-pa-ku-u-uš-hé-na.MEŠ : II.21,29,36  
 pa-aš-ši-i-it-hé-na : II.88  
 pa-aš-ši-i-it-hé-na.MEŠ : III.26  
 ši-ni-pè-e-ru-uh-hé-na : II.59  
 ta-la-me-na : II.75  
 šu-u-w°-ná-e-en-na : III.23  
 at-ta-iw-wu-ú-e-né-e-en-na : III.71  
 še-e-ni-iw-wu-ú-e-né-e-en-na : III.14  
 eb-re-en-na : III.120  
 ú-ú-ri-a-a-aš-še-na : I.108; III.33; IV.31  
 hu-šu-ud-du-u-la-a-aš-še-na : IV.125  
 ta-a-na-aš-še-na : I.98  
 ú-na-aš-še-na : II.116  
 tup-pa-aš-še-na : II.18; IV.125  
 ta-a-nu-u-ša-a-aš-še-na : I.100,105; II.66; III.53,56  
 ka-du-u-ša-a-aš-še-na : IV.31  
 ta-še-e-e-na.MEŠ : I.88  
 gi-pa-a-nu-lu-u-uš-ta-a-aš-še-na : III.59  
 [6-]ta-a-aš-še-na : IV.100  
 gi-pa-a-nu-u-ša-a-aš-še-na : II.20,22  
 šu-aš-še-na : II.60  
 gi-pa-a-nu-ša-uš-še-na : III.61  
 gi-pa-a-nu-ša-a-uš-še-na : III.18  
 ta-a-nu-ša-a-uš-še-na : I.73  
 te-e-e-na : III.101

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wi-i-ra-te-e-na : III.120,121  
 ta-li-im-te-na : III.120,121  
 ti-we-e-na : II.75  
 ti-we-e-na.MEŠ : I.99,105,108; II.80; III.53,56;  
 IV.30  
 ti-we-e-e-na : I.73  
 še-e-ni-iw-wu-ú-e-na : I.111; IV.65  
 KUR u-u-mi-i-ni-iw-wu-ú-e-na : II.113  
 e-ru-uš-ki-i-in-na : I.97  
 e-ru-uš-ki-i-na : I.100  
 ti-wi-i-li-na : IV.6  
 hi-iš-mi-i-in-na : II.117  
 KUR u-u-mi-i-in-na : II.73,83,88,89; III.25,32  
 KUR u-u-mi-i-in-na.MEŠ : IV.124  
 ka-ti-i-in-na : III.101  
 aš-ti-i-in-na : III.105  
 ú-ú-na : II.14  
 te-u-u-na : III.74  
 i-šu-ú-hu-ši-ik-ku-u-un-na : IV.92  
 ma-a-nu-ú-un-na : IV.66  
 šu-u-un-na : II.78  
 šu-u-w'-na-a-šu-u-un-na : III.60  
 ma-ka-a-an-ni-iw-wu-ú-un-na : II.54  
 at-ta-a-ar-ti-iw-wu-un-na : (II.78)  
 at-ta-a-ar-ti-iw-wu-ú-un-na : III.66  
 aš-ti-iw-wu-ú-un-na : I.51  
 [3-z]u-u-u-un-na : II.75  
 [6-m]a-a-pa : II.115  
 at-ta-i-ip-pa : III.52,58  
 hu-tan-pa : (IV.124)  
 du-ru-pa : III.121  
 pi-id-du-ka-a-ra : III.110  
 [2]-aš-ša-a-a-ra : II.97  
 pa-aš-ši-i-it-hi-iw-w'-ra : IV.53  
 še-e-ni-iw-w'-ra : III.64  
 ti-iw-w'-ra : I.71

at-ta-a-ar-ti-iw-w'-ra.MEŠ : IV.98  
 e-e-še-né-e-ra : III.100  
 ha-a-w'-ru-e-né-e-ra : III.101  
 ši-ra : III.3  
 ha-a-aš-ra : I.60,61  
 šu-ú-ú-ra : II.93  
 ta-a-ta-uš-še-na-a-šu-ra : I.71  
 iš-ta-ni-a-ša : II.70; III.110; IV.129  
 w'-ri-a-ša : III.73  
 ta-a-ti-a-aš-ša : III.92  
 ša-wa-al-la-ša : I.79  
 u-u-ul-la-a-ša : III.73  
 na-ak-ka-aš-ša : III.77, 106  
 KUR ma-a-áš-ri-a-an-na-ša : IV.105  
 eb-re-en-na-a-ša : III.72  
 KUR u-u-mi-i-in-na-ša : II.96  
 KUR u-u-mi-i-in-na-a-ša : III.73  
 na-w'-ha-pa-aš-ša : III.90  
 ta-a-ar-ra-ša : III.122  
 [20]-a-an-nu-u-hu-u-ša-a-aš-ša : IV.90  
 ta-a-nu-u-ša-a-aš-ša : IV.7  
 it-ta-aš-ša : II.7  
 [-12]-ta-a-aš-ša : IV.101  
 iš-ta-ni-iw-w'-ša : I.81; II.65; III.108; IV.122  
 aš-du-ka-a-ri-iw-w'-ša : II.76  
 aš-d[u-4-]ib-ri-iw-w'-ša : IV.115  
 e-ti-iw-w'-ša : II.80; IV.126  
 ú-ú-ul-ša : IV.68  
 te-hu-u-ša : II.100  
 gi-u-u-ša : IV.8  
 a-ku-u-ša : I.87  
 gu-lu-u-u-ša : I.83  
 a-a-zu-lu-u-ša(-) : II.117, (120), 124  
 am-mu-u-u-ša : I.95  
 gi-pa-a-nu-u-ša : III.107  
 ta-a-nu-u-ša : III.106

ta-a-a-nu-u-ša : I.85  
 ú-nu-u-u-ša : I.86  
 a-ru-u-u-ša : I.46  
 ša-a-ru-u-ša : III.1  
 wa-ah-ru-ša : I.60  
 ha-šu-u-ša : IV.89  
 pa-aš-šu-u-u-ša : II.108,109  
 še-e-ni-iw-wu-uš-šu-u-u-ša : I.67  
 ap-su-u-ša : IV.63  
 ka-du-u-ša : I.96  
 ša-ad-du-u-ša : I.64  
 na-a-zu-u-ša : I.94  
 [2-š]a-a : IV.115  
 š[a-3-]ša : II.75  
 ka[-8-]ša : I.10  
 še-e-ni-iw-w'-ta : I.115; II.56,102; III.2,8,12,22,27,  
                   117; IV.1,5,16  
 u-u-lu-u-hé-e-et-ta : IV.60  
 ša-a-ri-il-le-e-ta : IV.124  
 ka-til-le-e-ta : II.50  
 gu-le-e-ta : IV.27  
 gu-le-e-et-ta : IV.60  
 ti-i-ha-nu-u-ul-le-e-et-ta : III.22  
 lma-né-e-ta : I.53; II.19  
 gi-pa-a-né-e-ta : II.54  
 ú-né-e-et-ta : III.21  
 a-re-e-ta : I.106  
 w'-re-e-ta : III.13,(88)  
 w'-re-e-e-ta : III.15; IV.39  
 pa-aš-še-e-e-ta : IV.55  
 pè-te-eš-te-e-et-ta : III.29  
 ú-ú-e-et-ta : III.12  
 [7]-e-ta : I.61  
 a-a-i-i-ta : III.98; IV.2,3,15,91  
 pa-a-hi-i-ta : I.61  
 SAL w'-du-ú-uk-ki-i-ta : IV.68

ša-a-ri-il-li-it-ta : IV.116  
 ka-til-li-ta : IV.21  
 KUR u-u-mi-i-ni-i-ta : III.93,112  
 ni-ha-a-ri-i-ta : II.9; IV.47  
 w'-ri-i-ta : I.91; III.(88),94  
 e-ti-i-ta : I.99,102,104,106; III.115; IV.15,62  
 e-ti-i-i-ta : I.82; III.53  
 [-]la-a-u-[5-]it-ta : II.81  
 a-za-al-ta : IV-67  
 [-10-i]l-ta : IV.102  
 pè-en-ta : II.5  
 uš-ta-a-nu-u-uš-ta : II.76  
 pi-su-uš-ta : II.62  
 id-du-u-uš-ta : I.90  
 šu-ú-ú-ta : III.113; IV.24  
 pa-aš-ši-i-it-hi-wu-ú-ta : I.53  
 [18]-ta : I.57  
 a-gu-ú-a : I.81  
 za-ru-u-a : (IV.105)  
 gi-lu-u-šu-a : I.89  
 ni-i-nu-šu-ú-a : IV.7  
 at-ta-iw-wu-ú-a : III.68  
 DINGIR e-e-ni-iw-wu-ú-a : III.98  
 še-e-ni-iw-wu-ú-a : I.102,107; III.14,20,62,62,112  
 KUR u-u-mi-i-ni-iw-wu-ú-a : II.31; III.88  
 am-ma-ti-iw-wu-ú-a : III.67  
 i-ri-i-in-na-ar-ti-iw-wu-ú-a : III.72  
 [6]-a : II.50  
 lim-mu-u-ri-ya-w' : III.104  
 dša-uš-ka-a-w' : III.98  
 na-w' : IV.15  
 lšu-ut-tar-na-a-w' : I.47  
 ldu-uš-rat-ta-a-w' : III.103  
 URU ni-i-nu-a-a-w' : III.98  
 i-i-iš-hé-e-w' : IV.16  
 i-i-il-le-e-w' : IV.126

ka-ti-le-e-w<sup>·</sup> : IV.18  
 hi-il-lu-le-e-w<sup>·</sup> : III.102; IV.24, 45  
 tup-pu-le-e-w<sup>·</sup> : III.100  
 ur-du-le-e-w<sup>·</sup> : II.53  
 KUR ma-a-áš-ri-a-an-né-e-w<sup>·</sup> : II.71  
 KUR mi-i-it-ta-a-an-né-e-w<sup>·</sup> : III.104  
 KUR mi-zí-ir-re-e-w<sup>·</sup>-ná-e-w<sup>·</sup> : III.105  
 KUR hur-ru-u-hé-né-e-w<sup>·</sup> : I.14  
 KUR hur-wu-u-hé-né-e-w<sup>·</sup> : II.72  
 ta-la-me-né-e-w<sup>·</sup> : IV.3  
uk-w<sup>·</sup>-la-a-áš-še-né-e-w<sup>·</sup>.MEŠ : (IV.70)  
 ta-še-e-né-e-w<sup>·</sup> : I.91, 92, 99, 104  
 a-ru-u-ša-u-š-še-né-e-w<sup>·</sup> : III.41  
 ti-we-e-né-e-w<sup>·</sup> : I.110  
 še-e-ni-iw-wu-ú-e-né-e-w<sup>·</sup> : I.97; II.6; III.76, 114; IV.44, 48  
 dši-mi-i-gi-né-e-w<sup>·</sup> : I.105  
 KUR u-u-mi-i-in-né-e-w<sup>·</sup> : I.62; II.71, 72  
 ni-ha-a-ar-re-e-w<sup>·</sup> : III.41  
 ta-a-du-ka-a-ar-re-e-w<sup>·</sup> : III.65; IV.123  
še-kul-zir-re-e-w<sup>·</sup> : (III.1)  
 KUR mi-zí-ir-re-e-w<sup>·</sup> : I.62  
 w<sup>·</sup>-še-e-w<sup>·</sup> : III.112  
 pí-su-u-š-te-e-w<sup>·</sup> : II.55  
 we-e-w<sup>·</sup> : III.55, 58  
 [6]-e-w<sup>·</sup> : IV.127  
 i-[7]-e-w<sup>·</sup> : II.82  
 at-ta-i-i-w<sup>·</sup> : I.87, 106  
 pa-a-hi-i-i-w<sup>·</sup> : I.60  
 pa-a-áš-ši-hi-iw-w<sup>·</sup> : III.54, 57  
 pa-a-áš-ši-i-it-hi-iw-w<sup>·</sup> : I.114; IV.36, 40, 45, 51  
 e-e-li-iw-w<sup>·</sup> : III.35  
 ur-hu-ub-du-ši-li-w<sup>·</sup> : III.64  
 e-ni-i-w<sup>·</sup> : I.105  
 e-e-ni-i-w<sup>·</sup> : I.87  
 še-e-ni-iw-w<sup>·</sup> : I.18, 49, 65, 75, 110; III.33, 99, 112;  
                   IV.12

KUR u-u-mi-i-ni-iw-w<sup>·</sup> : I.68; II.17, 99  
 KUR u-u-mi-i-ni-i-w<sup>·</sup> : I.97; IV.15  
 du-ru-pí-i-i-w<sup>·</sup> : III.114  
 du-u-ru[-6]-pi-iw-w<sup>·</sup> : III.116  
 ni-ha-a-ri-i-w<sup>·</sup> : III.36, 38  
 w<sup>·</sup>-ri-iw-w<sup>·</sup> : II.94  
 eb-ri-i-w<sup>·</sup> : III.104, 105  
 ki-i-pa-a-áš-ši-iw-w<sup>·</sup> : II.114  
 ti-w<sup>·</sup> : I.83; II.12, 79, 101; III.49;  
                   IV.2, 4, 13, 14, 17, 19, 107  
 e-ti-i-w<sup>·</sup> : III.55  
 e-ti-i-iw-w<sup>·</sup> : III.91  
 ge-el-ti-i-w<sup>·</sup> : IV.44  
 pu-ú-ra-mar-ti-iw-w<sup>·</sup> : II.89  
 a-š-ti-i-i-w<sup>·</sup> : II.6, 9; IV.46  
 ti-wi-iw-w<sup>·</sup> : III.75  
 [4-i]w-w<sup>·</sup> : IV.106  
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