

Stories of long ago.

Festschrift für Michael D. Roaf

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Preface

Heather D. Baker / Kai Kaniuth / Adelheid Otto

To present this Festschrift as a tribute to Michael Roaf, someone who has often fulminated openly about the proliferation of the genre, is not something we undertake lightly. In searching for inspiration for this Preface one turns – where else? – to Wikipedia. There one reads: “Die Herausgabe von Festschriften ist freilich nicht unumstritten”.¹ Indeed. Even worse: „a Festschrift frequently enough also serves as a convenient place in which those who are invited to contribute find a permanent resting place for their otherwise unpublishable or at least difficult-to-publish papers“.² And that’s without even mentioning the “graveyards of scholarship”! We have done our best to navigate the pitfalls, knowing full well that whatever we do it will irritate the honorand but will perhaps thereby afford him some little pleasure. In any case, it is a testimony to Michael’s breadth of scholarship, and to his incisive critical perspective, that so many friends, colleagues and students past and present were willing to risk such an exposure and to offer their contributions to this collection of essays presented on the occasion of his retirement from the Institut für Vorderasiatische Archäologie of Munich University. We hope that the contents reflect in some small way Michael’s varied interests which have encompassed mathematics (the subject of his first degree) as well as the archaeology, art, architecture and history of the Ancient Near East, especially Mesopotamia and Iran, ranging in time from the Ubaid period through to the Achaemenid. On behalf of all involved, we thank him for enriching our lives as scholars and we wish him a happy and productive retirement.

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1 <http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Festschrift>, accessed 9 April 2012.

2 The neuroscientist Endel Tulving, as cited in <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Festschrift>, accessed 9 April 2012.

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The Location of Niḫriya and its Disassociation from Na'iri

Jared L. Miller

1. Introduction

This paper attempts to demonstrate that (1) Niḫriya is to be sought along the upper Baliḫ River rather than the uppermost Tigris in the Diyarbakır region and, in so doing, that (2) the later designation Na'iri¹ is unconnected with the name Niḫriya.² This conclusion is significant in that (a) it removes from the postulated 'northern route' of the Old Assyrian trade network the only toponym which might serve as a fixed point; and (b) it places the late 13th-century battle between Ḫatti and Assyria within the westernmost bend of the Euphrates rather than along the uppermost Tigris, a point of no little significance for any attempt to understand the dynamics of this conflict between these two great powers (see most recently Freu 2007; Bányai 2011).

Neither the location of Niḫriya along the upper Baliḫ nor its disassociation from Na'iri is new; and while they seem to have largely reached consensus primarily among Assyriologists,³ Niḫriya is still discussed or placed on maps especially in recent Hittitological publications as if it were located along the upper Tigris,⁴ suggesting that a concise presentation of the evidence is warranted.⁵ Moreover, since my unpublished discussion of the matter along with its suggestion of locating Niḫriya at Kazane Höyük (Miller 1999, 99–117) have occasionally been cited,⁶ it seems desirable to publish an updated summary of those considerations.

1 For the varying forms of Na'iri, see Salvini 1998, 87.

2 The claim that Na'iri is to be derived from or otherwise associated with Niḫriya goes back at least as far as Forrer (1928, 257, 263), who was followed by, among others, Bilgiç (1945–51, 23f.), Lewy (1952, 407 and ns. 2, 3 and 5), Meriggi (1962, 86), Astour (1979, 5 and n. 27; 1992, 5 ns. 15 and 19) and Singer (1985, 106f.).

3 E.g. Galter 1988, 232, n. 74; Durand 1997, 396; Kupper 1998, 35; Charpin / Ziegler 2003, 46 and n. 157; Forlanini 2006, 164f.; Freu 2007, 291; Veenhof 2008a, 159; cf. Heimpel 2003, 640; Jakob 2003, 298 and n. 52.

4 E.g. Crasso 2009, 226f.; Bryce 2005, 43, 316; Starke 2002; Genz 2011, 315; Charpin 2000; but cf. Klengel 1999, 136; Forlanini 2007, 280.

5 Streck (1999, 314) finds a rather too convenient compromise in defining Niḫriya as a 'Region in der Gegend von Diyarbakır und Urfa', followed by Belmonte Marín (RGTC 12/2, 209), where it has become a 'Stadt in der Gegend von Diyarbakır und Urfa'.

6 E.g. Charpin / Ziegler 2003, 46, n. 157; Charpin 2004, 181 and n. 844; Cancik-Kirschbaum 2009, 141 and n. 107; Ziegler 2009, 205.

To this end, the present paper will examine, in chronological order, the available cuneiform sources shedding light on the location of Niḥriya, followed by those relevant for the land of Na'iri, thereby attempting to refute the assumed relationship between the two. This volume in honour of Michael Roaf, who has contributed so much to our understanding of the history and culture of Mesopotamia and its neighbours, seems an appropriate venue for it.

2. Sources for the Location of Niḥriya

2.1. Niḥriya in the Old Assyrian Sources

Alongside the association with Na'iri, Lewy's influential studies in which Niḥriya is placed on the upper Tigris due primarily to his interpretation of *massû* as 'deep-drawing ship', requiring every toponym associated with the word to be located on a body of water navigable by large ships, played a key role in early scholarship. Veenhof (1972, 291 n. 421), in discussing this term in MAH 16158, the text which led Lewy (1961, 66 n. 201) to his conclusion, and Beitzel (1992, 36–39) have shown this not to be the case, so that the discussion need not be repeated here (cf. CAD M/I 327f.; AHw 616). All that need be done for present purposes is to stress that this, along with the association of Niḥriya with Na'iri, to be discussed presently, was the primary consideration for placing Niḥriya on the upper Tigris in early research, and thus, that all support for such a localisation is completely undermined.

Once freed from this ballast, an analysis of the Old Assyrian material is quite suggestive, even if not precise, regarding the location of Niḥriya. As can be seen from CCT II 22 (Michel 1991, 213) and CCT II 49a (Ichisar 1981, 303–304), e.g., an Assyrian merchant could conduct business in Niḥriya on the way to Ḥaḥḥum. This suggests (e.g. Beitzel 1992, 42) that the two lay on the same road to Kaneš, since the *kārû* were clustered along the main trade routes (Larsen 1976, 241; Beitzel 1992, 54 n. 92). Ḥaḥḥum, in turn, can be securely, if not yet precisely, located in northern Syria along the Euphrates to the north of Karkamiš (Fig. 1), likely on the Anatolian bank of the river (Liverani 1988; Miller 1999, 82–89; Veenhof 2008a, 80; 2008b, 8; Ziegler 2009, 202f.; Barjamovic 2011, 87–107, 212–229).⁷

7 The weight of the OAss evidence seems increasingly to suggest that Ḥaḥḥum should be located on the Anatolian side of the Euphrates. First, as Barjamovic (2008, 91f.) notes, "the traders never opened the sealed shipments of tin and textiles before the Euphrates had been passed and no significant trade took place before the caravans reached Ḥaḥḥum". Second, as Kt 94/k 928 (Barjamovic 2011, 100 and n. 271) and Kt c/k 456 (*ibid.* 91 and Barjamovic, pers. comm.) suggest, porters were sometimes paid for the journey from Assur to Ḥaḥḥum, the last entry in their expenses being for a river crossing. Forlanini's (2004, 414, n. 60) placement of Ḥaḥḥum on the Anatolian bank of the river in part because Ḥaḥḥum was not part of the Zalmaqum lands, however, is not based on convincing reasoning. The northern limit of the Zalmaqum lands might just as well be defined by the relatively fertile plain, stretching roughly from Urfa in the northwest to the villages of Bakımlı, Yeşilyurt and Balkatan in the northeast, which is separated from the Euphrates by a series of barren hills. Garelli's (1998) preference for a localisation in the plain of Elbistan, despite its relatively



Fig. 1: Map of Northern Mesopotamia, based on Barjamovic (2011, Map 6), reproduced with the kind permission of the cartographers

Nashef (1987, 56–57) identifies the possible sequence Abrum, [GN₂, GN₃], Ḥurupša, Niḥriya, Šinariḥum, Ulama in the letter MAH 16158.⁸ While this list is floating to a large degree, Abrum can be connected to other itineraries, suggesting that Niḥriya would likely follow Ašiḥum,⁹ Burallum and Zalpa, but lie before Buruddum and Ḥaḥḥum (Nashef 1987, 69 Tab. 4). Since only Abrum of this list can be tied into the long list of Nashef's Tab. 4, col. I (1987, 68–69), he suggests that this path would have been a byway. Beitzel (1992, 40f.) proposes the similar sequence between Naḥur and the Euphrates: Naḥur, Elaḥut=Luhayum, Abrum, Atmum, Niḥriya, Zalpa.¹⁰ Forlanini (2006, 160–169) has discussed a number of similar likely sequences.

recent date, must be considered outdated. I wish to thank G. Barjamovic for discussing this issue with me and for his helpful comments.

- 8 Though he later repudiated the suggestion upon realising the toponyms might follow no geographical order (RGTC 4, 88).
- 9 As Veenhof (2008b, 11) notes, Ašiḥum's belonging to the Zalmaqum lands as witnessed in the Mari texts all but excludes Forlanini's (2006, 168–170) placement of it in the environs of Siverek.
- 10 I must agree with Forlanini (2004, 410, n. 27; 2006, 165–167), Charpin (2006, 225–227), Veenhof (2008b, 15f.), Ziegler (2009, 201 and n. 101) and Barjamovic (2011, 107–122), who argue that the documentation begs for a Zalpa somewhere not very far to the north of Samsat. Since it seems unlikely that this Zalpa can be united with the Zal/rwar to be sought in north-western Syria, perhaps along the Karasu, it appears that there were no fewer than four Zalpas in the mid second millennium, including, in addition to Zalpa north of Samsat

Kt 86/k 192 (Barjamovic 2011, 110 and n. 315; Veenhof 2008b, 16, 26f.) places Niḥriya before Ḥaqa, Zalpa and Abrum, whereby Ḥaqa is presumably to be sought to the north of Niḥriya, perhaps before reaching the Euphrates, Zalpa likely after crossing the river, as shown by Barjamovic (2011, 110f. and n. 315, 224, n. 840; see also Forlanini 2006, 165f.). Kt 93/k 194 (Barjamovic 2011, 224, n. 840) apparently records a shipment from Niḥriya to Kaneš alongside one from Uršu to Kaneš, which, despite its uncertain context, would also place it in approximately the same region.

TPAK 1, 50 (Michel 2001, 252f.; Barjamovic 2011, 125 and n. 382) mentions Niḥriya and Ḥurumuḥaššum together in the same sentence, but the geographical relationship between them does not seem to be linear; neither are Mamma and Tegarama, mentioned in the previous lines, necessarily connected with the latter toponyms spatially. Nevertheless, Kt 93/k 291 mentions that a person from Niḥriya had given money to another merchant who was travelling from Mamma and back (Barjamovic 2011, 224, n. 840), so that even if the Niḥriyan's location at the time is not specified, the connection with Mamma is vaguely strengthened. Kt 90/k 110a: 34–39 (Michel / Garelli 1997, 125) also hints that Ḥurruḥaššim likely closely followed Niḥriya. If Nashef's (1987, 16f., 76) suggestion of identifying this city with Ḥuruḥḥiš of the Siege of Uršu (Beckman 1995) turns out to be correct,¹¹ it would hint that it should probably be located somewhere between Niḥriya and the Euphrates.

A location for Niḥriya in the Diyarbakır region is thus all but impossible to reconcile with the Old Assyrian material, while a Niḥriya located along the upper Baliḥ would fit nicely.

2.2. Niḥriya in the Old Babylonian Texts

Niḥriya's interactions with its neighbours and thus the area in which it should be sought have been thoroughly discussed in recent years (Kupper 1998, 35–46; Charpin 2004, 180–183; Ziegler 2009), so that it is clear that the Old Babylonian evidence points unequivocally to the upper Baliḥ.¹² This section will therefore merely summarize a number of the clearest indications.

and Zal/rwar in north-western Syria, also a Zalpaḥ on the Baliḥ and a Zalpa / Zalpuwa in northern Anatolia. Cf. Miller (2001, 70–77), where only the latter three are recognized.

11 DeZ 3281, 13 (Cancik-Kirschbaum 2009, 140, where the text is mistakenly labelled DeZ 2521) contains an ^{URU}Ḥu-um-na-ḥu-ZA, which should be sought perhaps in the same general region, raising the question of whether it might also be linked with the other forms. One would thus have 18th-century Ḥurru(m)ḥaššim, 16th-century Ḥuruḥḥiš and 13th-century Ḥumnaḥusa; cf. Forlanini (2004, 411, n. 38, 412 and n. 42; 2006, 169). It seems likely that Ḥuluḥḥan of the Idrimi Inscription and Haruha of the Hamiyatas / BOROWSKI 3 stele should be sought to the west of the Euphrates.

12 Charpin's (2000) placement of Niḥriya along the uppermost Tigris and his consequent extension of Zalmaqum to the Diyarbakır region does not correspond to his earlier and subsequent conclusions and seems to have been hastily concluded in the wake of the discovery that Tigunatum should be located in the region. Neither does the mention of a deportee from Niḥriya and one from Tigunatum in T.574 suggest that the two toponyms should be sought one beside the other.

Some of the most suggestive testimony is provided by ARM XXVI/1 246 (cf. ARM XIV 55), as it sketches a delimiting relationship between Niḥriya and Tuttul, a toponym which is firmly located at Tel Bi'a (Dossin 1974; Krebernik 1993). Here is reported that the king of Niḥriya, Bûnuma-Addu, had written to Yakbar-lîm, a high functionary at Tuttul, informing him of his desire to perform sacrifices to Dagan in Tuttul. Yakbar-lîm, suspicious that Bûnuma-Addu might have ulterior motives, wrote to Emar inquiring after his intentions. They responded that if Bûnuma-Addu should arrive with an entourage of only 20 persons he undoubtedly desired only to make the requested sacrifices. This report would be very difficult to reconcile with a location of Niḥriya in the neighbourhood of Diyarbakır. If Yakbar-lîm could be concerned that Bûnuma-Addu's intentions might not be peaceful, it could only mean that Niḥriya was so situated in relation to Tuttul that Bûnuma-Addu's movement toward it might be thought of as a military threat if he brought with him a considerable number of men. Considering the geopolitical situation at the time, it is almost inconceivable that a relatively minor kingdom on the upper Tigris could be imagined to pose a threat to Tuttul, at the effluence of the Baliḥ, but the report can easily be reconciled with a location along the northern Baliḥ.

A series of texts elucidates the interactions between Niḥriya and its neighbours, above all with Zalmaqum and Šuda, links which taken together become increasingly difficult to explain without geographical proximity. A.3591 (Guichard 1994, 256–257; Joannès 1996, 343; Heimpel 2003, 50f., 640; Charpin / Ziegler 2003, 197 and n. 230) lists the kings of a number of cities, including Bûnuma-Addu of Niḥriya, where he follows Sibkuna-Addu of Šuda and Asdî-takim of Harrân and precedes Yarkab-Addu of Ḥanzat¹³ and Abî-Etar of unknown affiliation. In ARM XXV 11 appears a similar list including Bûnum[a-Addu], Sibkuna-Addu of Šuda, Yarkib-Addu of Ḥanzat and one Asdî-Addu. In ARM III 57, a thousand men of Zalmaqum, subjects of Bûnuma-[Addu] and led by one Yanšib-[Dagan], are recorded by Kibri-Dagan as arriving together in Terqa. In ARM XXVII 79, the events of which must be related to those of ARM III 57, one [Y]anšib-Dagan, leading a force of 2,000 Zalmaqum troops of Bûnuma-Addu, arrives at Qaṭṭunân. The brother of Bûnuma-Addu is witnessed as heading a 500-man contingent of Zalmaqumans into Zalpaḥ (Dossin 1939, 117). In A.2995+M.14337 (Ghouti 1992, 63) Ibâl-pî-El, a representative of Zimri-lîm, describes how a sheikh of Arduwânum, a city of Zalmaqum, had divulged that a certain Bašsum, the administrator and military commander of the region west of the Ida-Maraş toward the Baliḥ (Ghouti 1992, 65–66), had been surreptitiously rendering service to Bûnuma-Addu of Niḥriya without the knowledge of Mari. In ARM I 19+M.9541 (Durand 1987/90, 157–159; Charpin / Ziegler 2003, 132) Šamšî-Adad

13 Sasson's (2002, 221) ascription of Yarkab-Addu to Talḥayum would seem to be a simple slip; cf. Durand (1988), Kupper (1998, 36, 47, ref. to ARM XXVII 78), Heimpel (2003, 640) and Charpin (2004, 232, n. 1172). For a possible identification of Ḥanzat with Šubat-Šamaš, see Ziegler (2009, 206f. and n. 122), referring to a suggestion by I. Arkhipov and N. Fouqué.

warns Yasmaḥ-Adad not to advance from Niḥriya to Šuda, because the enemy might conclude that he intended to enter *a-na li-ib-bi ma-[at ...]-im*,¹⁴ which would be understood as a retreat, thereby emboldening the foe. In A.2500+ is detailed, *inter alia*, how a merchant of Emar claimed that when he left for Mari in the service of the king, five of his servants ran away from his household. Three were in the possession of Būnuma-Addu, king of Niḥriya, while the other two were at Zuluḥān, the location of which is not known, in the possession of Ḥatnammuru (Durand 1990, 75–77). ARM XXV 86 registers a 19-shekel silver vase of Niḥriya for delivery to Sibkuna-Addu of Šuḥḥuda (i.e. Šuda). In ARM XXVI/1 32, the messengers of Būnuma-Addu and Sibkuna-Addu appear together as representatives of their kingdoms to Mari. ARM XXIII 241 lists the distribution of silver to a person of Niḥriya, which is listed between Yamḥad and Ḥarran. ARM XIV 77 seems to witness two persons of Niḥriya, designated at the same time individuals of Zalmaqum (cf. ll. 14 and ARM XIV 78: 4, 7).

The repeated associations and interactions of Niḥriya with Zalmaqum, Šuda and Ḥarran are difficult to understand without assuming a close spatial association as well, though precisely how close is impossible to deduce. While Zalmaqum and Šuda can be placed only approximately, the location of Ḥarran is assured (Postgate 1972–75a; RGTC 3, 92), and Niḥriya, Zalmaqum and Šuda must, with Ḥarran, be contained in a single geographical complex.

Further supporting evidence includes ARM I 103 (cf. Durand 1998, 45 n. h, 469; Charpin / Ziegler 2003, 132f.), in which Šamši-Adad writes to Yasmaḥ-Adad concerning one Zigildānum, who had informed Šamši-Adad about the tense situation in Ḥurmiš. Šamši-Adad informs his son that, due to Zigildānum's message, he will leave Niḥriya for Admum, and will write again the following day. Admum is the third stop from Ḥarran toward Šubat-Enlil on the Old Babylonian itinerary (Goetze 1953, 61–62), placing it perhaps at the easternmost reaches of the upper Baliḥ or the westernmost of the upper Ḥabur (Anbar 1973, 28).¹⁵

14 Durand (1998, 477), followed e.g. by Joannès (1996, 345 n. 100), restores Yapturum as the intended goal of the retreat, though he previously considered it unlikely (Durand 1987/90, 159).

15 Further attestations of interest include the following: ARM VII 164 lists transactions with persons of Kurda, Ḥanzat, Niḥriya and Wanan. ARM VII 211 lists silver for two persons of Kurda, one Pi-Nār[...] of Niḥriya, and for one Burra-A[N?] of Šuda, among persons of Apum, Andariq, Ašnakkum, the Rabbean tribe and Aḥuna. The ruler of Niḥriya, Būnuma-Addu, is associated with Aḥuna again in ARM XIV 55, as well as with Tuttul and Yamḥad. In ARM XII 747 appears a list of goods for persons from Babylon, Ḥaṣor, Yamḥad, Karkemiš, Eluḥut, Azuḥinum, Niḥriya, Emar, Ešnunna... and Ḥaya-Sumu (of Ilānšurā?). Kannurum of Niḥriya is listed as a recipient of silver in M.10539, along with individuals of Ḥaṣor, Yaḥurra, Aḥuna, Susa and Šuna (Bonechi 1992, 14). A.4513 shows deportees from Alatrū being settled in the towns of Niḥriya (Durand 1998, 312). A.4426 witnesses Niḥriya with Tazuwā and [Yaptur]jum (Durand 1998, 561). LAPO 17 606 also witnesses Būnuma-Addu involved in the struggle for Talḥayūm, a city in the north-western Jezirah.

A text first published by Dossin (1939; see now ARM XXVIII 20 and Durand 1997, 396–398) shows that two individuals who had been implicated in a suspicious affair in Irrit(a), located between Ḥarran and Karkamiš or Ḥarran and Uršu (RGTC 3, 111; RGTC 5, 138–139; RGTC 6, 144; RGTC 12/1, 205–206; Charpin 2004, 231 and n. 1173; Archi 2008, 92–93, 95–96; Ziegler 2009, 197–198), and had discussed it with a servant of Būnuma-Addu, should undergo a trial by river (Falkner 1957/58, 21–22; Beitzel 1992, 54). Durand (1997, 396) has even interpreted this document as showing that ‘Il s’est passé apparemment un problème grave de frontière entre Carkémish et Niḥriya, une des métropoles du Zalmaqum.’ In the same article, Dossin mentions a text in which it is explained that Būnuma-Addu had not taken the city of Aparḥâ, but rather Ḥadurâḥâ. While Ḥadurâḥâ is a hapax, Aparḥâ is mentioned in ARM X 178, a letter from Yasmaḥ-Addu to Akātiya, in which he reports that Larīm-Numaḥâ of Aparḥâ had taken the city Ziḥlalum. Yasmaḥ-Addu takes prompt action, levying troops from the ‘Bord-de-l’Euphrate’ and rushing to his aid. Aparḥâ should be ‘située près de Niḥriya’ according to A.427+M.8431 (Charpin 1994, 187; 1995), which is the same text to which Dossin (1939, 117) refers.

Nearly as explicit is A.4631 (Joannès 1994, 149), in which the import of ice from (i.e. presumably through) Šubat-Šamaš and Niḥriya to Mari is mentioned. Assuming that the ice was brought from the mountains to the north, a journey through the northern Baliḥ is more readily imaginable than any conceivable route through the Diyarbakır region.

Finally, an Old Babylonian document of unknown provenience published by Tsukimoto (1997) may, if his interpretation is correct, lend support to a more southerly location for Niḥriya. The text records that a group of men brought a herd of horses from the land of Lullû, was detained in Niḥriya, then continued on to Ebla. Tsukimoto suggests that Lullû here is not the well-known Lullû in the western Zagros, but that situated between Eluḥut and Ḥaḥḥum in Mari B.308,¹⁶ i.e. somewhere in the north-western reaches of the Ḥabur triangle or in the western Ṭūr ‘Abdin. If so, the text would be much easier to understand if Niḥriya were located somewhere between there and Ebla than in the Diyarbakır region.

A.4350 witnesses a treaty between Išḥuna-Addu of Niḥriya and Yaḥdun-lîm of Mari along with an otherwise unknown Kabi-tamar (Charpin / Ziegler 2003, 51 and n. 191). Cf. also unpubl. T.574 and A.2723 (Charpin / Ziegler 2003, 51 and n. 190, 108 and n. 269, 148); ARM XXIV 84: 4; ARM XXV 527: 5; ARM XXV 536: 4; ARM XXIII 83: 10. Of course, the Tikunani Letter (Salvini 1994; 1996, 107–116; Durand 2006) must also be mentioned for its reference to Niḥriya, which, however, provides only the vaguest geographical information.

16 In B.308 (see now ARM XXVIII 60; Durand 1998, Nr. 302 = B.308) Ibâl-Addu, king of Ašlakkâ, explains to Zimri-lîm that, since he is near the upper lands, he is well informed concerning Eluḥut, Lullû, Ḥaḥḥum, Zalmaqum, Burundum and Talḥayûm.

2.3. Niḫriya in the Nuzi Texts

Niḫriya is the residence of an AN.ZA.GÀR in two occurrences in a Nuzi text (AO. 12425, Contenau 1931, no. 6), but provides no useful geographical information (Fadhil 1983, 329). Lewy's (1952, 407 n. 1) claim¹⁷ that Niḫriya should be considered a Hurrian name because it is found as a personal name in the Nuzi documents should be discarded. Assyrian, Babylonian and Kassite names appear at Nuzi as well as Hurrian (Maidman 1995, 934). With no firm evidence of a Hurrian etymology¹⁸ the claim can be ignored; of course, even if a Hurrian etymology should prove tenable, it should hardly be used as an indication of the city's location.

2.4. The Hittite Sources and the Battle of Niḫriya

The only two occurrences of Niḫriya in the Hittite sources, excepting one instance of a geographically uninformative Šawuška of Niḫriya (Wegner 1981, 187), pertain to the Battle of Niḫriya known from KBo 4.14.¹⁹ This paper is not the forum in which to debate the details of the Battle of Niḫriya according to this and related texts from Ḫattusa, the letter of an Assyrian king from Ugarit (RS 34.165) and the Assyrian sources, which may well relate to the same events,²⁰ nor whether RS 34.165 is to be assigned to Salmānu-ašarēdu I or to Tukultī-Ninurta I. Instead, it is the rather secure location of Niḫriya along the upper Baliḫ that provides the geographical context of the altercation.

2.5. Niḫriya in the Middle Assyrian Sources

The texts from Tall Šēḫ Ḫamad date to the reigns of Salmānu-ašarēdu I and Tukultī-Ninurta I (Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996, 9). BATSH 4 3 is a letter from Sīn-mudammeq, an administrator responsible for much of northern Mesopotamia, to Aššur-iddin, an official of the Assyrian administration at Dūr-Katlimmu (cf. also BATSH 4 8, 54'–57'). In lines 10–23 he informs his superior that a 1500-man force is assembled in the Ḫasūmu mountains, and that an attack is imminent, either against Niḫriya, the land of 'upper Ḫānu' along the eastern banks of the Baliḫ (Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996, 109; Röllig 1997, 289–290) or the banks of the Ḫābūr. An identification of Ḫasūmu here with the Ḫasāmu Mountains of the NAss and OB texts seems likely, as the two toponyms must in any case be placed in north-western upper Mesopotamia (Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996, 109; Postgate 1972–75b, 128; Joannès 1996, 342). As Cancik-Kirschbaum points out (1996, 110), Sīn-mudammeq seems to use the three potential targets in a north-south-east arrangement – or, one might add, a west-south-east order – i.e. they may attack anywhere, in any direction. Again, though

¹⁷ Followed e.g. by Singer 1985, 105 n. 30.

¹⁸ Cf. Beitzel 1992, 54 n. 92; Röllig 1997, 289.

¹⁹ Edition Stefanini 1965; see most recently Bemporad 2002, Freu 2007 and Bányai 2011.

²⁰ For basic studies, see Lackenbacher 1982; Singer 1985; Harrak 1987, 185–188, 217–219, 244–245, 260–261; Galter 1988; Dietrich 2003; see also Klengel 1991, 235–238; Jakob 2003, 297–299; and recently Bányai 2011.

not conclusive, a Niḥriya near Diyarbakır would seem to fit the historio-geographical picture less well than a more southerly Niḥriya along the upper Baliḥ.

A further text from Tall Šēḥ Ḥamad, DeZ 3281, recording the distribution of barley to various cities, places Niḥriya in what Rölliḡ (1997, 283) feels can be used as an itinerary of sorts after Ḥuzirānu, Ḥarrānu, Ayya, Ḥabayatu, Aranziqu and Bušayā'u and before the 'upper' Ḥanu and Ḥumnaḥuša. Ḥuzirānu is likely to be identified with Sultantepe on the upper Baliḥ (Postgate 1972–75c, 122–125), while Ḥarrānu is certainly Ḥarran (Postgate 1972–75a, 535–536); the 'upper' land of Ḥanu should be located between the lower Baliḥ and the lower Ḥabur (Rölliḡ 1997; Cancik-Kirschbaum 2009, 126–128), and for Aranziqu²¹ locations at Tall al-Hāḡḡ (RGTC 12/2, 31; Richter 2007, 307) and at Tall Karous have been suggested (Rölliḡ 1997, 286f.; Cancik-Kirschbaum 2009, 141). This list obviously agrees very well with a northern Baliḥ location for Niḥriya, but not for one near Diyarbakır.

A further point reinforced by these texts from Šēḥ Ḥamad is that by the time of Tukultī-Ninurta I, Niḥriya was a familiar city on the map well within Assyrian domains, in contrast to the vague and remote conception of the land of Na'iri (see below).

2.6. Niḥ(i)ria(ni) in an Inscription of Sarduri II

Diakonoff and Kashkai (RGTC 9, 60–61) note that some authors identify Niḥ(i)ria(ni), the royal city of Arme of Sarduri II's inscriptions (Salvini 2008, Nos. A 9–1, l.d. 12 and A 9–18, 10), with OAss and OB Niḥriya. These authors' suggested identifications and locations range from 'Nep'erkert N.-W. of Amid-Diyarbakır' (Piotrovsky) to 'Egil, O(ld) Arm(enian) Angel in the valley of the Upper Western Tigris, a tributary of the Zebenesu' (Kapancyan) to 'the O(ld) Arm(enian) province of Nihorakan in the valley of Ūšemdinansu, a tributary of the Greater Zab' (Artununjan). Sarduri's Niḥ(i)ria(ni) is thus clearly floating, as his inscription provides no clear geographical anchors.

21 Perhaps to be equated with Araziqi of MSH02G-275: 29 (Richter 2007, 307), [A]rasiga of KBo 18.28++ i 26' (Forlanini 2004, 415, n. 63; Miller 2008, 123 and n. 34), Araziq in AIT 7, 49; 55, 39; 358, 4 (RGTC 12/2, 31), as well as Araziqu of Aššur-bēl-kala's (RIMA 2 A.0.89.7 iv 4f.; Rölliḡ 1997, 286) and Tukultī-apil-Ešarra I's inscriptions (RIMA 2 A.0.87.1 vi 61–69; Rölliḡ 1997, 286) and perhaps Egyptian ṛṭkn (RGTC 12/2, 31). As Rölliḡ (1997, 286) notes, a location west of the Euphrates is difficult to reconcile with the MAss sources, while a location to its east would seem equally difficult to square with the Alalah attestations, leading one to wonder if this might be another case of homonymy. Moreover, the metathesis attested in classical Eragiza / Erraziga (RGTC 12/2, 31; Forlanini 2004, 415, n. 63), if in fact to be equated with Araziqu, might suggest that one should bring Aragizi of RS 34.143 and Ugaritic ṛgz (RGTC 12/2, 29) into the equation as well. If so, perhaps the Alalah and Ugaritic attestations should be paired with (at least) classical Eragiza between Ugarit and Alalah, while the MAss and Hittite attestations could refer to a town to the east of the Euphrates. These initial speculations obviously require further study.

Therefore, if Niḫ(i)ria(ni) is equated with Niḫriya of the OAss and OB sources, the location for Niḫriya according to the earlier texts, which provide clear geographical evidence, should be accepted. This does not mean, however, that one must grant that Sarduri II ruled over such an expanse, or even campaigned so extensively, for he mentions Assyria in exactly the same context; no one, of course, has ever suggested that Sarduri II conquered and / or ruled over Aššur. It might be suggested, alternatively, that Sarduri equated in his text a (presumably) successful battle against Niḫ(i)ria(ni) of Arme with a claim of sovereignty over it. This is certainly the case with the mentions of Aššur-nērārī in the same inscription, so that it is hardly outlandish to suggest such in the case of Niḫiria(na) as well. If this line of reasoning is considered unsatisfactory, one would perhaps be forced to disassociate Niḫ(i)ria(ni) from OAss and OB Niḫriya, since a royal city of Arme located along the upper Baliḫ does not fit well with what is traditionally understood regarding the farthest reaches of Urartian expansion (Salvini 1995, 67–68).²² Either way, the location of this royal city of Arme is far from secure and should cause no hesitation whatsoever in locating Niḫriya according to the rest of the available sources.

2.7. Niḫriya at Kazane Höyük?

One should seek Niḫriya, then, within perhaps some 50 km of Şanlıurfa or Ḥarran on the upper Baliḫ. One archaeological site that should be considered a candidate is therefore Kazane Höyük, recently briefly excavated by a team led by Patricia Wattenmaker. The site has a significant Middle Bronze occupation, from which two Old Babylonian tablets, one from the reign of Šamšī-Adad, are likely to have originated (Michalowski / Mısı̄r 1998).

The tentative suggestion is not without difficulties, however. The site also contains an important EB occupation phase, so that one might expect the city to be mentioned in the Ebla archives, though Niḫriya is not. Michalowski and Mısı̄r (1998, 53), who suggest Uršum as a possible identification of the site, which seems highly unlikely (Miller 1999, 59–66; Archi 2008), encountered the same difficulty, leading them to consider the alternate possibility of Abarsal for Kazane, known only from the Ebla archives, admitting that ‘one would have to posit that the place acquired a new name after the Early Dynastic period’ (Michalowski / Mısı̄r 1998, 53). The same proposition might have to be made concerning the suggestion of Niḫriya. While the location of Kazane fits well with the area in which Niḫriya should probably be sought, further archaeological and documentary evidence must become available from this region before firmer conclusions can be made.

No less important is the fact, as Barjamovic (2011, 224, n. 840) has noted, that occupation at Kazane tapers off sharply between 1800–1400, after which time no further evidence for occupation has been forthcoming (Creekmore 2008), which one would expect for Niḫriya in light of the Middle Assyrian and Hittite sources. Of

²² Cf. Forlanini (2004, 416; 2006, 166 and n. 97), whose acceptance of the equation seems to be one reason for his opting for a site for Niḫriya as far north and east as Lidar.

course, precious little is known of the nature of Late Bronze Age Niḥriya, so that one could speculate that it might have been hardly more than a military fortress that has thus far been missed by the archaeological investigations. Such an explanation would, however, not be fully convincing in light of the fact that references to Niḥriya are known from texts from Nuzi, Ugarit (authored by the king of Assyria), Ḫattusa and Dūr-Katlimmu and was thus a site of some import. Therefore the suggestion of locating Niḥriya at Kazane Höyük must be taken with caution pending further archaeological investigation of the site.

Alternatives could be sought anywhere within the upper Baliḥ region. Barjamovic (2011, 224, n. 840) suggests perhaps Telgoran or Turna, while Forlanini (2006, 163–170; cf. Cancik-Kirschbaum 2009, 141 and n. 107) places it at Lidar. The former two options avoid the difficulties just mentioned regarding Kazane's archaeological profile, but only because essentially nothing is known about theirs. Lidar can presumably not be excluded, though the Old Assyrian and Mari evidence would seem to suggest a location more within the upper reaches of the Baliḥ than along the Euphrates.²³

3. The Elusive Land of Na'iri

In contrast to the concrete picture that has emerged thus far for the city of Niḥriya, 'Mit N(airi) werden in den verschiedenen Epochen und in den einzelnen Quellen ganz unterschiedliche territoriale und politische Einheiten bezeichnet' (Salvini 1998, 90). This paper will now turn to sketching the evolution of the designation Na'iri, whereby it will become clear that it did not emerge from Niḥriya, as formulated most recently by Singer (1985, 106), who wrote that, 'while the early form (Niḥriya) ... apparently kept its restricted meaning, referring to a city, Na'iri (became), like in the Neo-Assyrian sources, a more general designation for the northern lands.'

²³ Forlanini's (2004, 413) placement of Niḥriya at Lidar – cf. its location along the uppermost Baliḥ in his earlier work, e.g. di Nocera/Forlanini 1992, Tav. X – seems to be predicated at least in part (cf. n. 22) upon an interpretation of the Tikunani Letter according to which Tunip-Teššub had previously sacked Niḥriya as part of his preparations for the attack on Ḫaḫḫum, following Salvini (1994, 65). This, in turn, is his reason for searching for Niḥriya between Tigunatum and Ḫaḫḫum. It is entirely uncertain, however, whether the mention of something having been brought from Niḥriya in the Tikunani Letter should be interpreted in this manner (cf. e.g. Durand 2006), and even if it were, there is nothing to suggest that this would place Niḥriya on a straight line between Tigunatum and Ḫaḫḫum. Neither would Forlanini's assertion that 'Questo azione avrebbe avuto il massimo valore strategico se Niḥriya si fosse trovata vicino all'Eufrate' support his localization of Niḥriya, first, because there is nothing to say that the capture of Niḥriya would have had maximal strategic value as opposed, e.g., to secondary or tertiary value, and second, because a site apart from the Euphrates could for any number of reasons have high strategic value as well. Neither do we know that the Syrian bank of the Euphrates was controlled by Tunip-Teššub's allies, allowing him to cross the river, pace Forlanini (2004, 415, n. 60), nor does the find of a seal of Kunzi-Teššub at Lidar lend any support whatsoever to the localization (cf. Forlanini 2004, 415).

3.1. Na'iri in the Middle Assyrian Sources

Na'iri meant in the Middle Assyrian period, especially during the reigns of Tukultī-Ninurta I and Tukultī-apil-Ešarra I (Tiglath-pileser I), a loosely bound collection of states led by local kings or chieftains (Salvini 1998, 90). For Mayer (1995, 32), 'Eine Synopse der Inschriften macht deutlich, daß für die Assyrer der Zeit *Mātāt Nairi* und *Māt Šubarê / Šubrê* weitgehend Synonyma waren – eine Sammelbezeichnung für ein "Barbaricum" in den nordwestlichen Bergen.'

3.1.1. Salmānu-ašarēdu I (Shalmaneser I) (1273–1244)

The name Na'iri is not found in Salmānu-ašarēdu I's extant inscriptions. He refers to the northernmost fringes of the Assyrian world as Uruatri, though 'with few of the later connotations it was to have four centuries later. It was initially a vague geographical referent to an area north of Assyria containing a multiplicity of lands' (Zimansky 1995, 1138). According to Barnett (1982, 331), this 'Uruatri was evidently subsumed into Nairi after being crushed by Shalmaneser I and disappeared as an entity for two hundred years. It then suddenly reappears in a text of Ashur-bel-kala..., by whose time the panorama in the north-east appears to have undergone an almost total change.'²⁴

3.1.2. Tukultī-Ninurta I (1244–1208)

It is during the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I that Na'iri first appears in the Assyrian texts as 'a general name for the Highlands' (Diakonoff 1984, 56). He records the Na'iri lands as being associated with the Upper Sea, i.e. Lake Van²⁵ (RIMA 1 A.0.78.4: 5', A.0.78.26: 7–13; Russell 1984, 192).

Tukultī-Ninurta I's inscriptions also report the flight of Eḫli-Teššub, king of Alzi, likely located just east of Išuwa at the north-western most sources of the Tigris (e.g. TAVO B III 6) or at the Ergani-Maden pass (Russell 1984, 184), into the 'very border of Nairi, to an unknown land' (RIMA 1 A.0.78.1 iv 10; Salvini 1998, 88). Obviously, it is likely that Eḫli-Teššub would have fled from Alzi to the north, away from Assyrian territory rather than toward it.

Two other passages from inscriptions of Tukultī-Ninurta I (RIMA 1 A.0.78.1 iv 24–36; A.0.78.5: 1–9) similarly suggest a location farther afield than the Šubarû lands, the Kašiyari Mountains and the Qutû tribes (Salvini 1998, 88). In the first Tukultī-Ninurta I expresses the vastness of his conquests to the north, in which he declares to have been allotted by the gods all the lands of Kašiyari to the border of Na'iri. In the second he claims a series of titles, ending with 'all the lands of Na'iri',²⁶ intended to make clear that he is emperor of all the world and its extremities.

24 That the region of the remnants of Ḫanigalbat 'took a new name, Nairi' (Barnett 1982, 329–330) is surely an oversimplification. Ḫanigalbat is used through the beginning of the 12th century as a term for the reduced kingdom of Mitanni and by the Neo-Assyrian kings for the area from the Tūr 'Abdīn to Ḫarran (Wilhelm 1989, 41).

25 But cf. Diakonoff 1984, 69, 163 n. 124, 164 n. 128; Russell 1984, 192 n. 86.

26 For Freu (2007, 291) this alone is sufficient to separate Niḫriya from Na'iri.

Galter (1988, 222) understands the similar formulaic list in RIMA 1 A.0.78.24 as 'einen detaillierten Ersatz für das fehlende *šar kibrāt arba'i* "König der vier Weltufer," which appears elsewhere. Tukultī-Ninurta I continues in A.0.78.24 with a listing of the farthest reaches of the lands over which he claims to have governed. Galter (1988, 223) sees the order of the lands as 'zuerst die Gebiete östlich des Tigris (ll. 25–28: Mat Qutī bis Mat Paphī), dann die westlich daran angrenzenden Länder (ll. 28–31: Katmuḥi, Alzi, ganz Subartu) und schliesslich die Nairi-Länder im Norden (ll. 31–33)'. Later in the same text, Tukultī-Ninurta I claims, after becoming lord of Katmuḥu, Alzu, Madanu, Niḥanu, Alaia, Tepurzu, Purulumzu, and the entire land of the extensive Šubaru, to have 'cut straight as a string through the rocky mountains of the lands Nairi' (RIMA 1 A.0.78.24:28–33). Finally, he deported populations, in descending quantitative order, from Subartu, Katmuḥu²⁷ and Na'iri, suggesting again that the latter would have been farther in Assyrian eyes than the former two.

It is not only the royal inscriptions of the period that provide clear evidence for the question at hand. The Tell al-Rimaḥ tablets attest both the city of Niḥriya (^{URU}*Ni-iḥ-ri-a*; TR.3005) and the land of Na'iri (KUR-*at Na-i-ri*; TR.3019), including one of the earliest mentions of the latter, in TR.3019, dated by its *līmu* Nabû-bēl-ušur to the beginning of the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I or, more likely, to the end of that of Salmānu-ašarēdu I (Donbaz 1991, 75; Jakob 2003, 171f.). Indeed, it is the occurrence of both names in this archive that leads Salvini (1998, 87) to categorically disassociate them. In these texts the former, Niḥriya, is a seemingly familiar entity, as the text lists '2 mina of wool of the *ḥudādu* of the city of Niḥriya which is the *ilku* payment brought in from the brothers' (Wiseman 1968, 179; cf. Röllig 1997, 288). The latter, Na'iri, occurs as the land from which a two-year-old mare was brought by one Uballissu-Marduk. The former thus seems to speak of specific administrative matters in a familiar city, the latter of imports from another land. Further, it cannot be considered likely that the scribe(s)²⁸ of these two tablets, from the same city, during the same generation,²⁹ writing for the same family, would spell the name of one and the same place so differently, though neither can such be categorically excluded.³⁰

The internal evidence from the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I is therefore enough to bring into serious doubt the equation of Niḥriya and Na'iri or the derivation of the latter from the former. Even in its first occurrences Na'iri should certainly not be restricted or even related to the upper Tigris region where it could be equated with

27 For Katmuḥu see Postgate (1976–80, 487). The inscriptions of Tukultī-apil-Ešarra I suggest that Katmuḥu should be located beyond the Kašiyari / Tūr 'Abdin (RIMA 2 A.0.87.1: 71–76; Kessler 1980a, 22–71).

28 For the family's eight scribes, five attested by name, see Wiseman 1968, 177.

29 For the dating, cf. Galter 1988, 231, Donbaz 1991, Röllig 1997: 288.

30 The labour crews from Subaru, Katmuḥḥa and [Na'iri] paid with wool for working on a temple in Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta in MARV 27+MARV III 54: 22ff. (Jakob 2003: 22, n. 163, 52) are presumably to be understood in a similar fashion, if indeed to be restored as such. Cf. now also a mention of Na'iri in MARV 10 7 r. 11.

a Niḫriya located there or from where it might have expanded conceptually until it became almost synonymous with the territory of Urartū. Rather it applied already to an area stretching far to the north of the Assyrian frame of reference.

Thus, while Niḫriya, as seen in RS 34.165 and the Šēḫ Ḥamad texts (see above), was a well-known city for Tukultī-Ninurta I, where – assuming the Battle of Niḫriya is to be dated to his reign – he had fought personally, the Na'iri lands are 'unknown' expanses to the north of familiar geography.³¹

3.1.3. Tukultī-apil-Ešarra I (Tiglath-pileser I) (1114–1076)

Na'iri is not mentioned again for over a century, until the time of Tukultī-apil-Ešarra I, when he battles with 23 (or 60) kings of Na'iri, leaving his inscription at Yoncalı in the Murat Valley, claiming to have reached the 'Upper Sea' (Barnett 1982, 330). One also finds that the Assyrians campaigned 'to the Sea of Na'iri', i.e. the Van and / or Urmia Lakes (Salvini 1998, 89; Russell 1984, 191–192; Liverani 1992, 23).

Tukultī-apil-Ešarra I's army, so he claims, had to cross 16 mighty mountains before reaching the Euphrates and the Na'iri lands (RIMA 2 A.0.87.1 iv 43–v 32; Salvini 1998, 88). While it is clear that such phrases are inflated for literary effect, it seems that between known Assyrian territory and the Euphrates there were significant mountains to cross. The Kašiyari Mountains do not seem to qualify, as by this time they were both a known quantity and regularly referred to by name. The only other candidate would seem to be the Taurus Mountains, the Murat Su being the stretch of the Euphrates in question. Tukultī-apil-Ešarra I's inscriptions at Yoncalı and at the Tigris tunnel thus suggest that the Na'iri lands were considered to be associated with the Taurus Mountains, the Murat Su and the regions toward Lake Van (Salvini 1998, 88).

Tukultī-apil-Ešarra I campaigned against the kings of the countries of Na'iri in his third year according to his Prism Inscription (Russell 1984, 185), and his text at Yoncalı reads, in part, 'Conqueror of Nairi from Tumme t[o] Dayaeni, conqueror of Habhi as far as the Great Sea' (Russell 1984, 186). In several further inscriptions one finds, 'Conqueror of / I conquered the extensive Nairi-lands from Tumme to Dayaeni(...)' (Russell 1984, 188, n. 65), a phrase which has been utilised to define the poles of Na'iri territory. Liverani (1992, 20), e.g., concludes that, 'Tummu is quoted in the texts... as the south-easternmost land of Nairi (whose north-western end is Dayaeni, near the Euphrates sources), an indication quite imprecise, yet in accordance with the more exact location derived from ASN's (Aššur-nāšir-apli II [Assurnāširpal II]) Annals.'

During the time of Tukultī-apil-Ešarra I it is thus clear that the term Na'iri still referred to far-away lands across the Taurus Mountains. Na'iri in the late 12th century, 'appears to have indicated to the Assyrians the wild and mountainous country in the north beyond the barrier of the Hakkari and Judi Dağ ranges, from Tur 'Abdin in the south-west perhaps as far as the Urmia basin in the south-east as far as the Çoroh valley in the north-west' (Barnett 1982, 331).

31 Similarly Harrak 1987, 244–245; Diakonoff 1984, 48.

3.1.4. Aššur-bēl-kala (1073–1056) and Salmānu-ašarēdu II (1030–1019)

Aššur-bēl-kala refers only to Urartu in his inscriptions, except for a single reference to the mountains of the Na'iri lands (Salvini 1998, 88). Salmānu-ašarēdu II, as recorded by Aššur-nāšir-apli II, constructed fortifications against Na'iri, including that at Tīdu, often identified with Kurḫ on the upper Tigris (Salvini 1998, 88; Kessler 1980a, 77; cf. Kōroğlu 1998).

3.2. Na'iri in the Earlier Neo-Assyrian Sources

In the Neo-Assyrian period, the designation Na'iri evolved various meanings depending on the political constellation and on who was using the term.

3.2.1. Adad-nērāri II (911–891), Tukultī-Ninurta II (890–884)

Salvini (1998, 88f.) considers the references to Na'iri in the inscriptions of Adad-nērāri II as patterned on those of his forebears and therefore not to be taken as indicative of his reign, and sees similarly the records of Tukultī-Ninurta II, who claims to have fought against the tenacious Na'iri Lands and to have campaigned in 'die hohen Berge des Landes Šubarū bis zum Land Gilzānu und dem Land N(airi).'³² Salvini (1998, 89) takes these references as pointing to nothing more than a vague geographical term for the north.

3.2.2. Aššur-nāšir-apli II (Assurnaširpal II) (883–859)

The Na'iri lands by the time of Aššur-nāšir-apli II begin after one crosses the Kašiyari Mountains from the south, as he claims, 'Das Kašyarigebirge überschritt ich und gelangte ein zweitesmal in die Na'iriländer' (Kessler 1980a, 67; RIMA 2 A.0.101.17 iv 38–39). At the same time Aššur-nāšir-apli II was aware that in the time of his predecessor, Salmānu-ašarēdu II, Sinabu and Taidu were not included in the Na'iri lands, but were border towns on the Assyrian side. Aššur-nāšir-apli II records, 'Sinabu and Tīdu, Festungen, die Salmanassar, der König von Assur, mein Vorgänger, gegen das Land Na'iri eingerichtet hatte, welche aber das Aramäerland gewaltsam weggenommen hatte, brachte ich wieder an mich' (Kessler 1980a, 92; RIMA 2 A.0.101.19:92–94). Hence, formerly the Na'iri lands would have begun only north of the upper Tigris (cf. Kessler 1980a, 29, 33–34, 70). Thereafter Aššur-nāšir-apli II makes clear that these same towns are now counted as a part of Na'iri that had become part of Assyrian territory: 'Die Assyrer, die im Lande Na'iri die Festungen von Assur hielten, welche das Aramäerland unterworfen hatte – ihre Städte und geeigneten Wohnsitze ließ ich sie einnehmen und in Ruhe bewohnen' (Kessler 1980a, 92; RIMA 2 A.0.101.19:94–95).

Salvini (1998, 89) shows that Na'iri could at this time also serve as a synonym for Ḫubuškia,³³ as was the case during the ensuing reign of Salmānu-ašarēdu III. Mayer (1995, 34) would differentiate between this capital of the Na'iri lands and a country

32 Na'iri here is largely restored; only *na-* is preserved (see Diakonoff 1984, 82).

33 For Ḫubuškia see Levine 1972–75, 479; Hawkins 1995, 99 n. 147.

designated by the same name: ‘bei Ḫubuškia muß getrennt werden zwischen dem Hauptstadt des Fürstentums Nairi dieses Namens, der nur bei Sargon II. genannt wird, und der Stadt und der Region, die von Asurnasirpal II, Salmanasar III., Adad-nērārī III. und Asarhaddon erwähnt werden.’

By the time of Aššur-nāšir-apli II the Assyrian conception of Na’iri seems to have fragmented. While it sometimes appears to represent the northerly areas, beginning with the plains north of the Kašiyari Mountains, at times it is confused with, or includes, the land of Ḫubuškia. At the same time there seems to have been an understanding that the realm’s borders had evolved over the decades.

3.2.3. Salmānu-ašarēdu III (Shalmaneser III) (858–824)

In Salmānu-ašarēdu III’s so-called Poetic Account, his campaigns against the royal cities of Urartu are followed by the statement, ‘I set up monuments of my might in the mountains and by the lakes. I trampled all Nairi’ (Russell 1984, 190). In the Kurkh Monolith inscription he details further smashing triumphs throughout the Na’iri lands, washing his weapons in the Sea of Na’iri (Russell 1984, 191f.; RIMA 3 A.0.102.2). In the Cameron Annals, the Upper and Lower Seas of Na’iri are mentioned. Exactly which lakes are intended with these designations is uncertain, but Russell (1984, 191, 194) and Salvini (1998, 89) seem to agree in regarding the Sea of Na’iri as Lake Urmia, and the Upper and Lower Seas of Na’iri as Lakes Van and Urmia. Salmānu-ašarēdu III utilises this Sea of Na’iri as the designation of the north-eastern end of his empire, while the Mediterranean serves as the north-western border.

Salvini (1998, 89) shows that Salmānu-ašarēdu III also refers to Na’iri in a vague, traditional sense. He claims that the inscriptions of Salmānu-ašarēdu III at the source of the Tigris, ‘weist die Richtung der assyr(ische) Feldzüge gegen N(airi), der Taurus-Kette in das Tal des Murat Su führten’ (Salvini 1998, 89).

3.3. Na’iri in the Urartian Inscriptions of Sarduri I, Išpuini, Menua and Sarduri II

Na’iri served as the Akkadian designation of Urartu itself in the inscriptions of the Urartian kings (Zimansky 1995, 1136), first in those of Sarduri I, who was then mimicked by Išpuini and Menua (RGTC 9, 60; Salvini 1998, 89; Russell 1984, 176). Apart from the few references in the inscriptions of these kings, Na’iri does not appear in the Urartian sources. Sarduri I, of course, understood that from the Assyrian point of view the term Na’iri stood by this time roughly for the mountainous regions over which he ruled. Hence, when composing the Akkadian versions of his inscriptions, he used the term Na’iri, which stood for Biainili in the Urartian versions (Salvini 1998, 89; Zimansky 1995, 1136). Salvini (1998, 89) notes that Sarduri I’s use of the term would have conflicted with the designation of king Kakia of Ḫubuškia, who also bore the title king of Na’iri according to Salmānu-ašarēdu III.

Sarduri II, who claimed to have conquered a certain Niḫ(i)ria(ni), the capital of Arme (see above), was presumably well enough acquainted with the historical inscriptions of his forebears, Sarduri I, Išpuini and Menua, in which Urartu itself is designated as Na'iri. If one assumes that the appellation Na'iri had in some way evolved from Niḫriya, it must be considered striking that Sarduri II does not embellish in his inscriptions his purported victory over Niḫ(i)ria(ni) in any manner whatsoever. Surely (re)conquering the territory from which his kingdom had taken its name would have been a momentous event for him. In effect one would have to assume that the Urartian kings were unaware of the roots of the name of their kingdom, and that the tradition by means of which the city and / or land of Niḫriya had lent its name to the land of Na'iri was no longer current by this time. This is obviously not impossible, but does not seem to be overly likely given the chronological overlap in the use of the two terms, i.e. the fact that they were both current in the 13th century.

3.4. Na'iri in the Later Neo-Assyrian Sources

By the later Neo-Assyrian period, Na'iri had become an Assyrian province with defined borders and a governor.³⁴ In Mayer's (1995, 32) words, however, Na'iri in this period could also refer to a 'Vasallenfürstentum zwischen Assyrien und Urartu, westlich des Urmia-Sees, im Einzugsbereich des Oberen Zāb gelegen, mit der Hauptstadt Ḫubuškia.' Still, for the Assyrians, the term Na'iri never lost its propensity to appear as a vague, geographical notion (Salvini 1998, 90).

Šamšī-Adad V (823–811) mentions 'Paddira of the land of Na'iri' (RIMA 3 A.0.103.1 ii 7–8), which, according to Kessler (1980a, 101 n. 383), is to be placed in the far east of the Assyrian world, toward the Median lands, from which he concludes that, 'Daß bei Šamšī-Adad die Landschaftsbezeichnung Na'iri in geographisch ganz anderer Dimension als bei Assurnasirpal II. gebraucht wird, scheint durch den ausführlich geschilderten dritten Feldzug des Šamšī-Adad, der auch gegen Na'iri führte, eindeutig.' During his third campaign against Na'iri Šamšī-Adad V received the tribute of Dadī, king of Ḫubuškia (Levine 1972–75, 479). From these attestations, it seems that the land(s) of Na'iri during the time of Šamšī-Adad V referred to one or several kinglets in the mountains far to the east.

According to Salvini (1998, 89) and Wäfler (1986, 91), Adad-nērāri III's (810–783) claim to have taken tribute from all the kings of the Na'iri Lands is entirely anachronistic.

By the time of Tukultī-apil-Ešarra III (744–727) at the latest Na'iri served as the specific name of a northern province of the Assyrian empire, with its own governor (Salvini 1998, 89).³⁵ Kessler (1995, 60) understands the usage as 'a literary designation

34 For the stele of the *turtānu*, Aššur-šēzibanni, 'governor of Nineveh, Katmuḫi and Niḫria', see Andrae 1913, 62–63 no. 66, Forrer 1928, 257, 263, Goetze 1953, 59 n. 47, Falkner 1957/58, 22, Nashef (RGTC 5, 206) as well as the convenient summaries of Jakob 2003, 134–135.

35 See e.g. Ann.19*:20 and 13*:1 (Tadmor 1994, 65); Ann.6:4 (Tadmor 1994, 77); Summ.1:36 (Tadmor 1994, 127); cf. also Kessler 1980b, 218; Zimansky 1985, 49.

for the governorship of Amēdi’, and at the same time as ‘eine eigentümlich scheinende Verwendungsweise, die Reduzierung des Landschaftsnamens Nairi auf den einer kleinen, konkret beschriebenen assyrischen Provinz’ (Kessler 1986, 79). Thus the name Na’iri could indicate a concrete political unit in the upper Tigris realm or a ‘literary’ designation for the vast north.

Šarru-kēn II (Sargon II) (721–705) apparently used the term again as synonymous with the land of Ḫubuškia, whose king, Ianzû, titled king of Na’iri, paid him tribute (Salvini 1998, 90). Further, Salvini (1998, 90) claims that at this time Na’iri ‘ein kleinerer Landstrich war und nicht mehr die “ausgedehnten Länder von N(airi)” älterer Quellen... (weil) N(airi) an die kleine Provinz Uaiais südl(ich) von Urartû angrenzte.’ After the reign of Šarru-kēn II the term Na’iri is no longer found (Kessler 1980a, 37 n. 164).

3.5. The Disassociation of Niḫriya from Na’iri

As noted above, the location for Niḫriya on the upper reaches of the Tigris can be traced back to two assumptions which have been shown to be erroneous, i.e. (1) Lewy’s interpretation of *massû* as ‘deep-drawing ship’, in fact refuted long ago (see above) and (2) an association of Niḫriya with Na’iri. It has been the latter assumption that has allowed Niḫriya to remain along the upper Tigris on the maps of recent publications. Singer (1985, 106), e.g., writes that, ‘Those who locate Niḫriya in the upper reaches of the Ḫābūr or Balīḫ are influenced mainly by the Mari occurrences which “pull” southward. The Assyrian, Hittite and Urartian sources, however, strongly favour a more northerly location, somewhere in the upper Tigris Valley.’ The latter sources, though, favour a northerly location only if Niḫriya is associated with Na’iri.

There are, as demonstrated, several compelling reasons to reject the connection. First, as noted by Salvini (1998, 87), they should be disassociated ‘wegen des gleichzeitigen Vorkommens beider Namen in derselben Quelle’, i.e. in the texts of the Tell al-Rimah archive. Second, the association rests largely on the assumption of a phonological development,³⁶ which, though attested elsewhere, cannot be shown to have occurred in the case of Niḫriya and Na’iri.³⁷ Third, as detailed above, the designation Na’iri first appears in the 13th century as the name of the unknown, ill-defined lands to the north of familiar Assyrian territory and only later evolves to represent an Assyrian province along the upper Tigris, while never entirely losing its capacity to refer to the mountainous expanses to the north.

It is thus seen that the development of the use of the term Na’iri has occasionally been confused in recent studies that argue for the association of Niḫriya and Na’iri, as in the following quote concerning the battle between Tukulti-Ninurta I

36 1) i > a and/or i/a; 2) ḫ > ’ and/or ḫ’/. See Hecker 1968, 17, 47 and Lewy 1952, 393–417; 1962, 53 n. 45.

37 Harrak (1987, 244–245), e.g., asserts that ‘it is hard to justify the sudden shift of the form /Nihriia/ to /Nairi/ or even /Ni-i-ri/. For many centuries the ending /-ia/ in Nihriia was preserved..., and the archives of Shalmaneser I and Tukulti-Ninurta I are no exception.’

and the Hittites in the 13th century: 'There is ... no foundation to the view that Nairi simply replaced the name of Uruaṭri in Tukulti-Ninurta's inscriptions. Although this is surely the case in later texts, when the geographical connotations of the two terms had changed and they were used intermittently, this does not apply automatically to the thirteenth century' (Singer 1985, 107). The problem is not, however, that the juxtaposition of the names Na'iri and Urartu during the heyday of the Urartian state has been applied retroactively to the 13th-century situation. It is, indeed, just the opposite. The assumption of a 13th-century equivalence or overlap between Niḫriya and Na'iri takes a situation which existed only in Neo-Assyrian times, i.e. when the term Na'iri was utilised as a designation for an Assyrian province around the upper reaches of the Tigris, and foists it upon the 13th century.

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