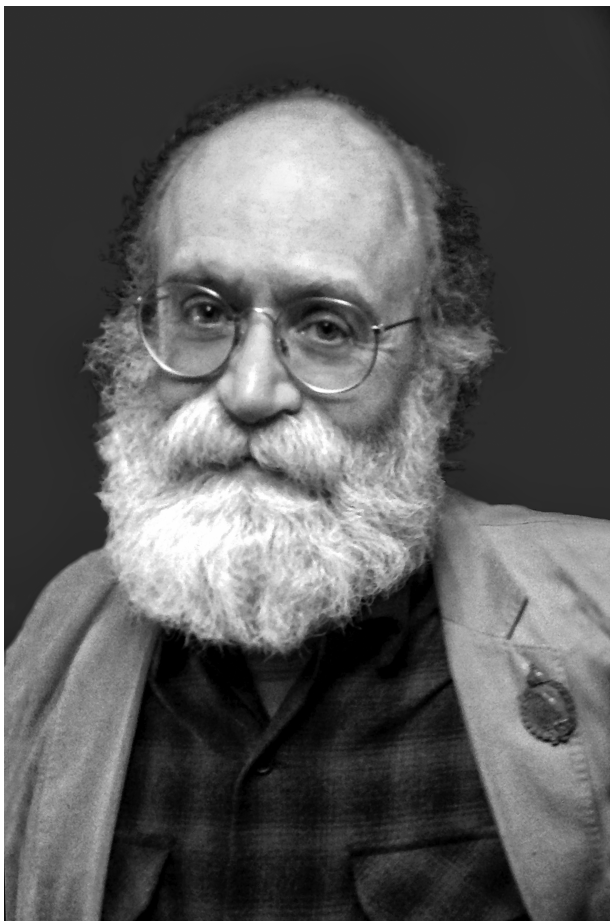


# BEYOND HATTI



Gary M. Beckman

BEYOND HATTI  
A TRIBUTE TO GARY BECKMAN

*edited by*

Billie Jean Collins  
and  
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## THE WEST HURRIAN PANTHEON AND ITS BACKGROUND

*Alfonso Archi*

1. The Hittite versions of Hurrian poems and epics, together with poorly preserved fragments (with the exception of the Epic of Freeing) in the original language, reveal the great debt owed by the Hurrians to Babylonian culture. The ability to create lengthy compositions in free verse is a literary form that they acquired by adapting certain written Akkadian epics to their own tastes (e.g., Gilgameš), and possibly also by listening to bards singing in the Mesopotamian language. Certain themes in these poems, such as the separation of Heaven and Earth and the succession of various generations of gods, derive from Babylonia, as do the tasks of the god Ea. The logogram É.A does not, therefore, “translate” the name of a Hurrian god. On the contrary, Enlil (the name of the supreme Sumerian god) corresponds to Kumarbi according to a Syro-Hurrian theological equation, since both have the title of “father of the gods”; it is for this reason that Kumarbi resides at Nippur (according to Kingship in Heaven).<sup>1</sup>

2. There are numerous cases of cultures that were profoundly influenced by contact with other societies. There was a remarkable exchange between the Sumerian and Akkadian lexicons, resulting from contact between and superimposition of the two ethnic elements. The fact that the East Semites acquired cuneiform writing from the Sumerians, together with the tools required for learning this complex system of writing (lexical lists, “literary” works used as school texts), had a profound impact on Akkadian “literary” texts.

It is impossible to propose an overall evaluation of Hurrian culture and its relations with that of Babylonia. The Hurrian documentation

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1. Alfonso Archi, “Translations of Gods: Kumarpi, Enlil, DAGAN/NISABA, Halki,” *OrNS* 73 (2004) 319–36.

resembles a landscape convulsed by a cataclysm, from which only islands of different geological strata emerge.<sup>2</sup>

The administrative documents from the region of Nuzi (northern Mesopotamia; fifteenth–fourteenth centuries), where the Hurrian language was in use, were drawn up in an Akkadian that was influenced by the spoken vernacular.<sup>3</sup> As early as the start of the nineteenth century, in the area stretching from northern Mesopotamia to eastern Anatolia, as far as Kaneš, part of population was already Hurrian-speaking. In an eighteenth-century treaty between Till-abnû, king of Šehna (Tell Leilan), and Aššur, the deities invoked by name are followed by “the gods of Amurru and Subartu (dingir MAR.TU ù Šu-ba-ri-im),” that is, the Amorite and Hurrian deities, intending “all the other gods” (T.L.-5 I 21).<sup>4</sup> In Amorite Mari a woman of the harem writes to king Zimri-lim, “I will pray for you before Tešup (? ḏIŠKUR) and Hebat” (ARM 10.92, 22–23). From Tikunani (south of Samosata) we have a prism of king Tunib-Teššub (a contemporary of Hattušili I of Hatti) with roughly three hundred personal names, the vast majority of which are Hurrian.<sup>5</sup> The court of Mittani, at Waššukanni (near one of the sources of the Habur river; fifteenth–fourteenth centuries), like all the other eastern courts used Akkadian as the language of diplomacy, as shown by the letters of Tušratta, a contemporary of Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV. A princess of Mitanni, however, arrived to the Egyptian court proudly introduced by a long letter in Hurrian (EA 24). Religious texts from Aleppo and Mukiš

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2. A general presentation of the spread of Hurrian-speaking peoples has been given by Thomas Richter, “Die Ausbreitung der Hurriter bis zur altbabylonischen Zeit: Eine kurze Zwischenbilanz,” in *2000 v. Chr. Politische, wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Entwicklung im Zeichen einer Jahrtausendwende*, ed. J.-W. Meyer and W. Sommerfeld. Colloquium der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 4 (Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei, 2004), 263–311.

3. See Gernot Wilhelm, *Untersuchungen zum Hurro-Akkadischen von Nuzi*, AOAT 9 (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1970). Previous important studies are A. Leo Oppenheim, “Zur Landessprache von Arrapha-Nuzi,” *AfO* 11 (1936/37) 56–65; Albrecht Goetze, “Some Observations on Nuzu Akkadian,” *Language* 14 (1938) 134–43.

4. Jesper Eidem, *The Royal Archives from Tell Leilan. Old Babylonian Letters and Treaties from the Lower Town Palace East* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2011), 417, 425.

5. Mirjo Salvini, *The Habiru Prism of King Tunip-Teššub* (Roma: Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali, 1996). Also a small administrative tablet, probably from the same unknown place, presents only Hurrian personal names (Gernot Wilhelm and R. Akdoğan, “Ein Täfelchen über Gerstenrationen aus Tigunānu(?),” *AoF* 37 (2010) 159–62.



(the region of Alalah) are only known from secondary sources in the Hittite archives. Roughly half of the population of Alalah VII (second half of the seventeenth century) had Hurrian names;<sup>6</sup> at Alalah IV (fifteenth–fourteenth centuries) this proportion rises to around three-quarters.<sup>7</sup> Confirmation of this is provided by tablets from Tell Afis (55 km south of Aleppo), from the period of Hattušili III.<sup>8</sup> Some letters found at Qatna sent by various individuals, including Takuwa, king of Niya, and Hannutti, a Hittite general, to King Idadda, a contemporary of Šuppiluliuma I, are in Akkadian. They include, however, terms explained by Hurrian glosses and words—even verb forms—as elements in Akkadian phrases.<sup>9</sup> Niya lies in the Ghab, near Apamea, and this shows that in inner Syria, between the coast and the valley of the Euphrates, the spoken language was Hurrian.<sup>10</sup>

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6. Anne Draffkorn Kilmer, *Hurrians and Hurrian at Alalah: An Ethno-Linguistic Analysis* (Ph.D. diss.: University of Pennsylvania, 1959).

7. For the use of the Hurrian language in Mukiš, notice that the whole ritual of Allaituraḫḫi “the woman from Mukiš” (CTH 780; Volkert Haas and Hans Jochen Thiel, *Die Beschwörungsrituale der Allaituraḫ(h)i und verwandte Texte*, AOAT 31 [Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1978]; Volkert Haas and Ilse Wegner, *Die Rituale der Beschwörerinnen* <sup>SAL</sup>ŠU.GI, ChS I/5 [Rome: Multigrafica, 1988], nos 1–39) had to be originally in Hurrian.

8. Alfonso Archi, “The Cuneiform Tablets of Afis,” *OrNS* 81 (2012) 32–55.

9. For the Hurrian glosses in the Alalah IV tablets, see Ignacio Márquez Rowe, “Notes on the Hurro-Akkadian of Alalah in the Mid-Second Millennium B.C.E.,” in *Past Links: Studies in the Languages and Cultures of the Ancient Near East*, ed. Shlomo Izre'el, Itamar Singer and Ran Zadok (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1998), 67 (with previous bibliography).

10. Thomas Richter, “Kleine Beiträge zum hurritischen Wörterbuch,” *AoF* 32 (2005): 23–44; idem, “Ḫurriter und Ḫurritisch im Bronzezeitlichen Syrien,” in *Motivation und Mechanismen des Kulturkontaktes in der Späten Bronzezeit*, ed. Doris Prechel (Florence: LoGisma, 2005), 145–78; idem, “Šuppiluliuma I. in Syrien. Der ‘Einjährige Feldzug’ und seine Folgen,” in *Ḫattuša - Bogazköy. Das Hethiterreich im Spannungsfeld des Alten Orients*, ed. Gernot Wilhelm, Colloquium der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 6 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), 197–203. Richter (“Ḫurriter und Ḫurritisch im Bronzezeitlichen Syrien,” 147) writes: “(Verschiedene Überlegungen machen es deutlich,) daß das Hurritische in weiten Teilen der heutigen Republik Syrien gesprochene Sprache war und als Erstsprache (‘Muttersprache’) zu gelten hat, wenngleich man gegenwärtig davon wird ausgehen müssen, daß es stets neben anderen (semitischen) Sprachen existierte, denen vermütlich ebenfalls der Status einer Umgangssprache zugebilligt werden muß.”

3. Although our knowledge of the Hurrian lexicon is incomplete, and is, moreover, gleaned from different areas and periods, this does sketch out the privileged relations enjoyed with Babylonian culture.<sup>11</sup>

Some loanwords are not of much significance since they are: a) only attested in vocabulary lists: *kurum(m)ati* “food allowance” (RS 94-2939); b) technical terms: *šin(n)iperuḫḫe* “of ivory” (< *šinni piri*); c) Kulturwörter: *kāzi* (< *kāsu*) “cup” (*Bil.*); d) names of animals and trees: *kunkalle* (< *kukkallu*) (a breed of sheep) and *nāli* (< *nālu*) “deer” (*Bil.*), *šerminḫi* (< *šurmēnu*) “cypress”; e) units of measure: *šiklate* (< *šiqlu*) “shekel,” *parizzate* (< *parisu*; a measure of capacity).<sup>12</sup>

The few terms relating to the exercise of power do not reveal any cultural dependency. The Hurrian word for “lord, king” is *ewri*, *allai* being its feminine counterpart.<sup>13</sup> Hurrian *endan* qualifies Tiš-atal of Urkiš (in a Hurrian inscription), while Atal-šen is LUGAL of Urkiš and Nawar (in an Akkadian inscription). For Tupkiš of Urkiš both the titles of *endan* and LUGAL are attested.<sup>14</sup> *Endan* has been interpreted as a profession name: *en+dan*, from Sum. *en*, Akk. *enu(m)*, considering also that the logogram for “king” in the texts from Ebla and Nabada (Tell Beydar) was *en*.<sup>15</sup> In essence *en* was the Sumerian word for “king” in Uruk, while *lugal* was the term in Ur, and *ensi<sub>2</sub>* was the term in Girsu. The scribes of Ebla (and Nabada) chose *en* as the logogram for *malkum* (their word for “king”), because they knew that *lugal* was already equated to *šarrum* in other Semitic speaking centers (e.g., Mari).<sup>16</sup> The scribes of Naram-Sin had to

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11. Erich Neu, *Das hurritische Epos der Freilassung I*, StBoT 32 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996) (= *Bil.*); idem, *Das Hurritische: Eine altorientalische Sprache in neuem Licht* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1988), with a useful index. *GLH*: Emmanuel Laroche, *Glossaire de la langue hourrite*, *RHA* 34–35 (1976–77) 1–323. RS 94.2939: Béatrice André-Salvini and Mirjo Salvini “Un nouveau vocabulaire trilingue sumérien-akkadien-hourrite de Ras Shamra,” *SCCNH* 9 (1998) 3–40; “Addition and Corrections to *SCCNH* 9 (1998) 3–40,” *SCCNH* 10 (1999) 434–35. For terms without quotation, see Laroche, *Glossaire de la langue hourrite*.

12. Neu, *Das Hurritische: eine altorientalische Sprache in neuem Licht*, 16, notes 41–42.

13. Laroche, *Glossaire de la langue hourrite*, 85–86, 42–43.

14. Giorgio Buccellati and Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati, “Überlegungen zur funktionellen und historischen Bestimmung des Königspalastes AP in Urkeš,” *MDOG* 133 (2001) 91.

15. Gernot Wilhelm, “Die Inschrift des Tišatal von Urkeš,” in *Urkesch and the Hurrians. Studies in Honor of Lloyd Cotsen*, ed. Giorgio Buccellati and Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati, *Bibliotheca Mesopotamica* 26 (Malibu: Undena, 1998), 121–23.

16. Alfonso Archi, “Les titres EN et LUGAL à Ebla et des cadeaux pour le roi de Kish,” *MARI* 5 (1987) 37–52.

face the same problem when they had to report the campaigns of their king in Upper Mesopotamia, from the Transtigris to the Jezirah. The local rulers could not be compared with the Akkadian king. The scribes chose, therefore the logogram *en*; *RIME* 2, E2.1.4.25 33–36 and E2.1.4.2: “The governors (ÉNSI.ÉNSI) of Subartum and the lords of the Upper <Lands> (EN.EN *a-lí-a-tim*).” That *en-dan* would be a neologism created in the *scriptorium* of Urkiš and in the northern regions by Hurrian scribes aware of the use of *en* by the Akkadian scribes in their royal inscriptions is possible, but not so evident.

The Hurrians received few words related to the administrative organization: Akk. *’akallu* (< Sum *’a-gal*) “palace”;<sup>17</sup> *ḫalzi* (< *ḫalšu*) “fortress; district,” see also *ḫalzuḫlu* “commandant of a *ḫ*.”; to the exchange activity: *tamkari* (< *tamkāru*) “merchant,” *tamkarašši* “profits”; *puḫkaru* (< *pūḫu*) “replacement.”<sup>18</sup>

Concerning religion, instead, there is a strong Akkadian influence. The ritual *KUB* 27.38 (*ChS* I/5)<sup>19</sup> (probably a ceremony concerning kingship) includes material from three different periods.<sup>20</sup> In the first column there is a Hurrian song related to the preparation of wool figures representing divinized “kings,” *šarrēna* (I 23). The names of these kings are listed in I 1–7. The first names are missing; it follows (the images) “of the divine kings,” *ḫšarri=n(a)=āš=e*, of Atal-šen (king of Urkiš and Nawar), of the Sea, of a mysterious Immar, of the Mountains, of the Rivers (all with the divine determinative). The god list in col. II belongs in general to a more recent period than the section of the divinized kings. In III 13 a list begins with famous “wise kings (*šarrēna*)” of the ancient time, opened by Naram-Sin (with divine determinative, according to the Akkadian tradition!) and Sargon of Akkad (here the text breaks off). In IV 9–11 there is Audalumma king (*ewri*) of Elam, followed by Iammašku king (*ewri*) of Lullu and Kiglipadalli king of Tukriš (IV 13–14); then Man-ištušu “king (*ewri*), the older son of Sargon” and Šar-kali-šarri (IV 22–25). The preceding section (IV 19–21) introduces two divine kings: “Silver, king (*ewri*), as king (*šarra*)

17. Wilhelm, “Die Inschrift des Tišatal von Urkeš,” 129–30.

18. Jeanette Fincke, “Beiträge zum Lexicon des Hurritischen von Nuzi,” *SCCNH* 7 (1995) 17–19.

19. For a general treatment of this ritual, see Stefano de Martino, “KUB XXVII 38: Ein Beispiel kultureller und linguistischer Überlagerung in einem Text aus dem Archiv von Bogazköy,” *SMEA* 31 (1993) 121–34.

20. Annelies Kammenhuber, *Orakelpraxis, Träume und Vorzeichenschau bei den Hethitern*, *THeth* 7 (Heidelberg: Winter, 1976), 89.

...; Hedam(mu), king (*ewri*), Kumarbi created you as king (*šarra*).<sup>21</sup> *Šarre(na)* are the divine kings, while *ewri* is the earthly king.<sup>22</sup> *Šarri* is the common epithet for Teššub,<sup>23</sup> while Hadda of Halab, on whom Teššub had been superimposed, was *bēlu* “lord (of Halab).” His spouse Hepat was *allai* “lady,”<sup>24</sup> not *šarratu*; already from the Ebla period the female partners of the gods were called *ba’ltum* “lady” (not *maliktum* or the feminine of *šarru*!).<sup>25</sup> There was a ceremony of “kingship,” *šarrašši* concerning Teššub, and of “ladyship,” *allašši*, for Hebat.<sup>26</sup> A “Song of Kingship,” *šarraššaš* SĪR<sup>RU</sup>, KBo 8.88 obv. 8–9, was recited, together with the “Song of the Sea,” on the occasion of a festival for Mt. Hazzi (CTH 785). As Howink ten Cate writes: “It is attractive to assume that the ‘Song of Kingship’ of the festival description was identical with either the Hurrian original, the preferable option perhaps, or with the Hittite redaction of the ‘Song of Kingship in Heaven.’”<sup>27</sup>

Other Akkadian loanwords relating to the sphere of religion are *šankunni* (< *šangû*) “priest”; *šukkalli* (< *šukkallu*) “vizier (of gods)”; *arni* (< *arnu*) “guilt”; the epithet *hazzizzi* (< *hasīsi*) “understanding.”

4. M.-Cl. Trémouille has noted a tendency to mention varying gods with epithets:<sup>28</sup> Allani “the Lady (of the Netherworld)”; Hutena “(Those)

21. Gernot Wilhelm, “König Silber und König H̄idam,” in *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner Jr. on the Occasion of His 65<sup>th</sup> Birthday*, ed. Gary Beckman, Richard H. Beal, and Gregory McMahon. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 393–95.

22. Kammenhuber, *Orakelpraxis, Träume und Vorzeichenschau*, 89.

23. Laroche, *Glossaire de la langue hourrite*, 217.

24. Emmanuel Laroche, “Panthéon national et Panthéons locaux chez les Hourrites,” *OrNS* 45 (1976), 98; idem, *Glossaire de la langue hourrite*, 42.

25. Francesco Pomponio and Paolo Xella, *Les dieux d’Ebla*, AOAT 245 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1997), 111–21.

26. Laroche, *Glossaire de la langue hourrite*, 216–17; Hans Martin Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale für den hethitischen König*, StBoT 3 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1967), 47–49.

27. Philo Howink ten Cate, “The Hittite Storm God: His Role and His Rule According to Hittite Cuneiform Sources,” in *Natural Phenomena. Their Meaning, Depiction and Description in the Ancient Near East*, ed. Diederik J. W. Meijer (Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1992), 117.

28. Marie-Claude Trémouille, “La religion des Hourrites: état actuel de nos connaissances,” *SCCNH* 10 (1999) 288–89. Volkert Haas (*Geschichte der hethitischen Religion* [Leiden: Brill, 1994], 309) adds Pairra “die Bauenden” and Irširra “die Säugenden(?),” formed with the suffix *-iri-*.

of favoring”;<sup>29</sup> Hutelluri “midwife”;<sup>30</sup> Mušuni “(She) of justice”;<sup>31</sup> Ebrimuša “the Lord of justice”;<sup>32</sup> Ša(w)uška “the Great”;<sup>33</sup> Tiyabenti “(he/she) who speaks favorably.”<sup>34</sup> The names of two of the principal deities are ethnic indicators: Kumarbi “(He) of Kumar”;<sup>35</sup> Nabarbi “(She) of Nawar.”<sup>36</sup>

This situation is not peculiar to Hurrian. Among the Hittite gods, there are the Storm God Tarḫun(t) “the Victorious”; the Tutelary God(s) Innara / Innarawantes, Annari / Annarumenzi “the Forceful(s)”; Išhašara “the Lady.”<sup>37</sup>

5. Pan-Hurrian gods<sup>38</sup> were Kumarbi; Teššub (in the inscription of Tišatal of Urkiš: IM; one of his major sanctuaries was in Kumme, east of the Upper Tigris, attested in documents of the OB period),<sup>39</sup> Urartian Teišebe (of Qumenu);<sup>40</sup> Šimeki (Šimeka(-n) in Tišatal’s inscription); the

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29. Haas, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion*, 309.

30. *Ibid.*, 483 with note 131.

31. Gernot Wilhelm, “Mušun(n)i, Mušni,” *RLA* 8 (1993–97), 498–99. Originally an independent goddess, Mušuni forms usually a dyad together with Hebat already according to MH texts.

32. Heinrich Otten, “Ibrimuša,” *RLA* 5 (1976–80) 23.

33. Ilse Wegner, “Der Name des Ša(w)uška,” *SCCNH* 7 (1995) 117–20.

34. Ilse Wegner, “Grammatikalische und lexicalische Untersuchungen hurriterischer Beschwörungen aus Bogazköy,” in *Hurriter und Hurritisch*, ed. Volkert Haas, *Xenia* 21 (Konstanz: Universitätsverlag Konstanz, 1988), 152.

35. The name has to be derived from *kum-* “tower,” as well as Kumme, the cult-place of Teššub, to be placed east to the Tigris (Gernot Wilhelm, “Kumme und \*Kumar: Zur hurriterischen Ortsnamenbildung,” in *Beiträge zur altorientalischen Archäologie und Altertumskunde. Festschrift für Barthel Hrouda zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Peter Calmeyer, Karl Hecker, Liane Jakob-Rost and C. B. F. Walker [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994], 315–19.

36. Volkert Haas, “Nabarbi,” *RLA* 9 (1998–2001) 1–2. The Lady of the pasture land (*naw-*) was originally a goddess of the Upper Ḫabur. Although *nawar* cannot be related with Nagar (*contra* Michael Guichard, “Zimrî-Lîm à Nagar,” *MARI* 8: 334–37), it is probable that this goddess has to be identified with the Lady of Nagar and the Haburîtim of the Ur III texts.

37. On the name-giving of the gods, see Haas, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion*, 308–11.

38. In general, see Gernot Wilhelm, *The Hurrians* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1989), 49–57.

39. Wolfgang Röllig, “Kumme,” *RLA* 6 (1980–83), 336–37.

40. It is probable that Teššub was the dominant god already from the end of the third millennium; see Daniel Schwemer, *Die Wettergottgestalten Mesopotamiens und Nordsyriens im Zeitalter der Keilschriftkulturen* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001), 444–50.

Sun God (in the inscription of Atalšen: UTU); Kušuh, the Moon God;<sup>41</sup> Nubadig (Tišatal: Lubadag);<sup>42</sup> Šawuška (Atalšen: INANNA); Nergal of the Sumerian-Akkadian tradition (Tišatal, Atalšen: a Hurrian god equated to him, e.g., Aštabi?);<sup>43</sup> the Lady (NIN) of Nagar (Tišatal)

That of the kingdom of Arrapḫe (sixteenth and fifteenth centuries B.C.E.) is an example of a pantheon in an eastern region formed by pan-Hurrian and local gods.<sup>44</sup> The bowl of Hasanlu (ca. eleventh century), with three male deities in the topmost register: the Moon and the Sun Gods each in a chariot drawn by mules, the Storm God in a chariot drawn by a bull; in the lower registers: a hero fighting a monster with human head and its lower body enclosed in a mountain (the Storm God and Ullikummi); Ištar/Šawuška on two rams, exposing her nude body; the presentation of a newborn child by a female figure (a midwife) to an enthroned god (Ullikummi presented to Kumarbi), shows (according to the fascinating interpretation by Edith Porada<sup>45</sup>) the persistence of the cult of pan-Hurrian gods and mythical motives in the east until the beginning of the first millennium B.C.E.

A goddess of eastern origin who occupied a position of a certain importance in the West Hurrian pantheon is the Elamite Pirinki/ar: a type of Ištar.<sup>46</sup>

The pantheon of Mittani listed in the treaty of Šattiwaza with Šuppiluliuma I responded to political needs, different from those of a cultic pantheon. It opens with Teššub of Heaven and Earth; Moon (Kušuh)

41. Heinrich Otten, "Kušuh," *RLA* 6 (1980–1983), 382–83.

42. Laroche, *Glossaire de la langue hourrite*, 186–87; Gernot Wilhelm, "Lupatik, Nubatik," *RLA* 7 (1987–90), 173–74.

43. The name is written "KIŠ.GAL in Tišatal's inscription, "KIŠ.UNU.GAL in that by Atal-šen, see recently Wilhelm, "Die Inschrift des Tišatal von Urkeš," 124–25. Giorgio Buccellati (review of *La civiltà dei Hurriti. La Parola del Passato* 55. *WO* 34 [2004] 212) has suggested that this logogram should be red Kumarbi. In favor of the identification with Nergal is the presence of <sup>d</sup>U.GUR (who was also the major god at Hayaša) in later documents, Haas, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion*, 367–68.

44. Karlheinz Deller, "Materialien zu den Lokalpanthea des Königreiches Arrapḫe," *OrNS* 45 (1976) 33–45; the data are epitomized in Haas, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion*, 544–45.

45. Edith Porada, *The Art of Ancient Iran* (New York: Crown, 1965), 97–101; the interpretation of the two following figures on chariots as the Sun and the Moon Gods, was suggested by Pouran Diba, "Le vase en or de Hasanlu, le défilé du cortège divin," *Iran* 3 (1965) 127–32.

46. Gary Beckman, "The Goddess Pirinkir and Her Ritual from Ḫattuša (CTH 664)," *Ktema* 24 (1999) 25–39; Piotr Taracha, "Pirengir," *RLA* 10 (2003–5) 570–71.

and Sun (Šimeki), the local Moon of Harran; some local form of Teššub; Ea lord of wisdom; Sumuqan of Gurta; Anu and Antum; Enlil and Ninlil; the Indo-Aryan deities Mitra-ššil, (W)aruna-ššil, Indra, Našattiyana; the subterranean watercourse of Šamanminu (the Baliḫ-river?); some local forms of Teššub (e.g., of Irrite); Pardahi of Šuda; Nabarbi; Šuruhhi; Ištar-Venus-star; Šala; Belet-ekalli; Damkina; Išhara.<sup>47</sup>

Teššub's epithet "of Heaven and Earth" is derived perhaps from the Syrian milieu (the beginning of the Ugaritic god list is also organized according to cosmological principles<sup>48</sup>). The several hypostases of Teššub and other local deities define approximately the core of the kingdom, therefore having a political function. Ea lord of wisdom, the two couples Anu-Antum and Enlil-Ninlil, as well as Belt-ekalli and Damkina are derived directly from the Babylonian theology. Šala and Išhara were instead Syrian goddesses. The Indo-Aryan deities concerned the cults of the Mittanian aristocracy.

6. The cult lists of the Hurrian gods known to us come from the western regions. Their origin lies in the canon established in Aleppo before Šuppiluliuma I, transmitted to Kizzuwatna and Hatti. The less extensive lists of Ugarit also reflect the Aleppo *ordo*.

E. Laroche reconstructed the lists from Aleppo (1948), published those of Ugarit (1968), and, with insight, interpreted this data (1976).<sup>49</sup> At the head of the pantheon are Teššub and his consort Hebat, each of whom is followed by a court (*kaluti*) of deities, respectively male and female. The Hurrians received Hebat from the local cult: she had been the consort of the Storm God Hadda of Halab at least from the twenty-seventh century.<sup>50</sup> This division by gender was an innovation introduced by the Hurrians residing at Aleppo (there is no evidence to suggest that it derives, instead, from Amorite or pre-Amorite tradition). This probably reflects the positioning of images and symbols of the gods in the temple of Aleppo. According to *KUB 29.8 (ChSI/5 no. 9) I 3–7, 50–57*, the gods were aligned

47. This list is given in Haas, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion*, 542–43.

48. For an edition of the list, see Dennis Pardee, *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit*, WAW 10 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002), 19–21.

49. Emmanuel Laroche, "Teššub, Hebat et leur cour," *JCS* 2 (1948) 113–36; idem, "Textes hourrites en cunéiformes alphabétiques," in *Ugaritica* V, ed. J. Nougayrol, E. Laroche, Ch. Virolleaud and Cl. F. A. Schaeffer (Paris: Geuthner), 497–533; idem, "Panthéon national et Panthéons locaux chez les Hourrites," 94–99.

50. The name Hebat is a later form of <sup>4</sup>Ḫa-a-ba-du, /ḫa(l)abājtū/, "She of Halab," the paretra of Hadda of Halab in the Ebla period (Alfonso Archi, "Studies in the Pantheon of Ebla," *OrNS* 63 [1994] 249–51).



along the right side, the goddesses on the left.<sup>51</sup> The two processions of Hurrian gods at Yazilikaya, instead, portray the male and female gods moving respectively from the left and the right towards the center.

Teššub is followed by six major gods: Tašmišu (his “pure brother”), Kumarbi, Kušuh, Šimeki, Aštabi, Nubadig. A third group of male gods follows, in varying order. The goddesses who come immediately after Hebat enjoy these positions because they are the consorts of the male gods in the second group (phonetic writings reproducing the Akkadian names alternate with logograms). It is only after these that the goddesses of great importance in the cult appear: Šawuška, Išhara, Allani.

Teššub / IM / U	~ Hebat
Tašmišu / Hitt. Šuwaliyat	Ø
Kumarbi / NISABA (= Dagan) / EN.LÍL	~ NIN.LÍL
É.A (Hayya)	~ Damkina (DAM.KI.NA)
Kušuh / 30 / EN.ZU (Šin)	~ Nikkal (NIN.GAL)
Šimegi / UTU	~ Aya (A.A) (- Ekaldu) <sup>52</sup>
Aštabi / NIN.URTA	
Nubadig	

Ea (Hayya) is a Babylonian god. Hurrian texts attribute to this god the Akkadian epithet: “lord of wisdom,” *bēl ḫasīsi* (attested in the Tušratta treaty), Hurr. *māti-ni*, Hitt. *ḫattannas LUGAL-uš* (the epithets may be divinized: <sup>d</sup>*Mati* <sup>d</sup>*Ḫazzizzi*). Also received along with him are his spouse Damkina and his vizier Izzummi (Akk. *Isimud/Ušmù*). The fact that, in Hurrian “songs” Ea plays a role similar to that attributed to him in the Babylonian myths, shows that the god was received directly from Babylonia. The cult of the god had reached Mari as early as the first centuries of the second millennium.<sup>53</sup>

51. Volkert Haas, *Die Serien itkalḫi und itkalzi des AZU-Priesters, Rituale für Tašmišarri und Tatuḫepa sowie weitere Texte mit Bezug auf Tašmišarri*, ChS I/1 (Roma: Multigrafica, 1984), 89.

52. The sequence <sup>d</sup>Aya <sup>d</sup>E/Ikalti / <sup>d</sup>E/Ikaldun is a Syrian misinterpretation of *Aya kallātu* “Aya the spouse (of the Sun),” the usual epithet of this goddess, see Laroche “Teššub, Hebat et leur cour,” 133. Notice that the most aberrant forms occur in Hurrian texts, probably because the Hittite scribe was not acquainted with this name, *KUB* 45.41 II 10: <sup>d</sup>A-ya e-ni-kal-d[u(-)]; 23.13 I 19: <sup>d</sup>A-ya-ni-kán-du.

53. The most recent presentation of this local “pantheon” is in J.-M. Durand, “La religion amorrite en Syrie à l’époque des archives de Mari,” in *Mythologie et religion des Sémites occidentaux I, Ébla, Mari*, ed. Gregorio del Olmo Lete (Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 198.



The other male gods are Hurrian. Lubadag is attested already in the Tišatal's inscription (<sup>d</sup>*Lu-ba-da-ga*); the texts from Hattuša offer the forms Lubadig/Nubadig (in Ugarit: *Nbdg*).<sup>54</sup> It is possible that the natures of Šimeki (the Sun)<sup>55</sup> and Kušuh (the Moon) were influenced, in part, by contact with Babylonia.

The frequent use of logograms in writing the names of these gods and the fact that their spouses are just Babylonian names added to the list of male gods to provide symmetry (only Nikkal appears outside this list), must not, however, mislead us. The grouping of the gods is not a stereotyped reproduction of a Babylonian model,<sup>56</sup> even though the Hurrians were already aware of the Mesopotamian pantheon from the Late Akkadian period on. Apart from Ea (Hayya), included in the Hurrian theology because of his particular personality, the gods of the second group already appear individually in the earliest commemorative inscriptions. The choice of gods in the inscriptions of Tišatal and Atalšen does not appear to have been influenced by literary models, even though some names are written with logograms. (Nergal = Aštabi?).<sup>57</sup> The use of logograms, favored by the cuneiform writing, meant that, already in that period, a correspondence had to be established between the major Hurrian gods and those from Babylonia with similar functions. Without such a comparison, we would know very little about the nature of certain Hurrian gods.

Nikkal (NIN.GAL) holds an important position in the Hurrian pantheon,<sup>58</sup> since her cult was already widespread in Syria. It reached Mari as early as the last century of the third millennium,<sup>59</sup> and, further, Ugarit.

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54. Initial *lu-* and *nu-* alternate also in Sumerian (D. O. Edzard, *Sumerian Grammar* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 18. Note the OB misinterpretation: <sup>d</sup>*Nu-ba-an-da-ag* (ARM 26/1 581, n. 281, 8: a god of Karkamish).

55. Šimegi's vizier was the Hurrian Lipparu; Ilse Wegner, *Hurritische Opferlisten aus hethitischen Festbeschreibungen*. Teil I: *Texte für IŠTAR-Ša(w)uška*, ChS I/3.1 (Rome: Bonsignori, 1995), no. 1 obv. II 21.

56. Wilfred Lambert ("The Mesopotamian Background of the Hurrian Pantheon," *RHA* 36 [1978], 129–34) suggested instead that the Hurrian pantheon was modelled on a Mesopotamian pantheon, possibly an archaic Sumerian one.

57. The influence of a literary model may be in some cases quite marked in writing a commemorative document. A good example is given by the foundation inscription of Yaḥdun-Lim of Mari, which presents some formulas inspired by Babylonian models, e.g., ll. 137–147: "Enlil, judge of the gods, ... Sin, the elder brother among the gods, ... Nergal, the god of the weapon, ... Ea, king of destiny."

58. Fiorella Imparati, *RLA* 9 (1998–2001), 356–57.

59. Durand, "La religion amorrite en Syrie," 198, 211.

The goddess was the spouse of Yariḫ; a Ugaritic hymn is dedicated to her. The Hurrian documents from Ugarit have not only the couple Kušuh—Nikkal, but also Umbu (*'Ib*)—Nikkal, as in the Hurrian-Hittite texts.<sup>60</sup> Umbu is another name for the moon received by the Hurrians.<sup>61</sup>

7. Teššub received some traits from the Syrian Hadda. The Mountain-gods Hazzi (> Gr. Kasion, the Jebel al-Aqra'; Šapuna, the mountain of the Ugaritic Ba'1, was the Kasion: *ks*)<sup>62</sup> and Namni (the Anti-Cassius?) are associated with him.<sup>63</sup> It is quite possible that these two mountains were included in the cult of Teššub at Aleppo, although there is no evidence for it.<sup>64</sup> The Hurrians gave the names Šerri(š) and Hurri to the two bulls who drew the chariot of the Storm God; an attribute of Hadda of Halab already attested by the Eblaite documentation.<sup>65</sup> Teššub inherited also Hebat, the spouse of Hadda of Halab from the third millennium.<sup>66</sup>

Kumarbi was equated with Enlil (the Sumero-Akkadian father of the gods) and Dagan, the Syrian god of the Middle Euphrates region.<sup>67</sup> In the Hedammu and Ullikummi myths (as well as in other fragmentary documents of the Kumarbi cycle) his vizier is Mukišanu, whose name is derived from Mukiš, the region of the city of Alalah.<sup>68</sup>

Ša(w)uška and Ištar were equated already in the last centuries of the third millennium.

8. Several gods were received from the Syrian milieu. NIN.É.GAL, Bēlet-ekallim, appears together with NIN.GAL, Nikkal, already in the “old” pantheon of Mari;<sup>69</sup> therefore, she was introduced to Syria from Babylonia already in the Ur III period. In the cult of Teššub of Halab (*CTH* 698) she is associated to Pithanu, *KBo* 14.142 I 16, dupl. *KUB* 27.13 I 10: <sup>d</sup>Pithanu Ū ANA <sup>d</sup>NIN.É.GAL ŠA <sup>d</sup>U <sup>uru</sup>Halap. She is qualified as concubine of

60. Manfred Weippert, “<sup>d</sup>NINGAL/Nikkal,” *RLA* 9 (1998–2001) 357–59.

61. Durand (“La religion amorrite en Syrie,” 211–12) suggests that this name was diffused in Northern Jezirah.

62. Schwemer, *Wettersgottgestalten*, 516 note 4194.

63. For a text in Hurrian where both mountain gods are mentioned, see *ChS* I/5 no. 97 rev. 9.

64. Schwemer, *Wettersgottgestalten*, 229.

65. Alfonso Archi, “Hadda of Ḫalab and His Temple in the Ebla Period,” *Iraq* 72 (2010) 11 with n. 44.

66. See note 50.

67. Archi, “Translations of Gods: Kumarbi, Enlil, DAGAN/NISABA, Halki.”

68. Wilhelm, “Mušun(n)i, Mušni.”

69. Durand, “La religion amorrite en Syrie,” 198.

Teššub, *KBo* 14.142 I 14, dupl. *KUB* 27.13 I 9: <sup>d</sup>NIN.É.GAL *na-šar-ta-aš-ša / na-šar-ti-ya ŠA* <sup>d</sup>IM/U;<sup>70</sup> *KBo* 35.155 IV 5 (*ChS* I/3.2 no. 151):<sup>71</sup> [A-NA] *E-ŠE-ER-TI* <sup>d</sup>U-*ub-bi-na*. For Pithanu, see also *KUB* 45.28+39.97(+)  
I 5: GAM <sup>gis</sup>ŠÚ.A <sup>d</sup>U <sup>d</sup>*Pithanuš ešzi* “down at Teššub’s throne sits Pithanu.”  
NIN.É.GAL had to be represented in a particular fashion because a statue  
of her (ALAM, *zalmi*, <sup>d</sup>*Zalmi*) is mentioned in the cult of Ištar of Šamuha  
(*KUB* 27.1 II 54; 47.64 III [2]) and Hattarina (*KUB* 45.37 III 12, 38, 11), in  
the (*ḥ*)*išuwa* festival (*KBo* 15.37 II 38; 33.181 obv. 12; *KUB* 40.102 II 13).<sup>72</sup>  
The Hurrian writing is <sup>d</sup>*Pi-en-ti-kal-li*, *KUB* 27.13 I 20; Ug. *pdg*.<sup>73</sup>

(<sup>d</sup>)*Ur/Úr-šu-u/ú-i/e* / (<sup>d</sup>)*U-ur-šu-u/ú-i/e*, followed always by (<sup>d</sup>)*Iš-kal-li*,  
belongs to the court of Hebat. Very few passages have only (<sup>d</sup>)*Iškalli*.<sup>74</sup> A  
Hurrian passage of the (*ḥ*)*išuwa* festival, *KBo* 17.98 V 15–16 (dupl. *KUB*  
40.103 I 1–2) (*ChS* I/3.2 nos. 140, 141) has: <sup>d</sup>*Uršui Iškalli Ḥu-u[-ur-ni(?)]*  
/ *a-am-ma-na* (<sup>d</sup>)*Iškalli*, where *amma* could be an epithet of Iškalli.  
The Hurrianized ritual “aux dieux antiques” *CTH* 492 qualifies Iškalli as  
“witness of the goddess,” *KUB* 17.20 II 13–14: EGIR-ŠU-*ma* <sup>d</sup>*Ḥu-ur-ni-  
iš e-eš-zi* GAM-*ma* <sup>d</sup>*Iš-ḥa-aš-ḥa-ar-na ŠI-PU* / DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> *e-eš-zi*  
EGIR-ŠU-*ma Iš-kal-li ŠI-PU* DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> MUNUS<sup>MEŠ</sup> *e-eš<-zi>* “behind  
sits Ḥušurni, next sits Išhašharna witness of the male gods; behind sits  
Iškalli witness of the goddess” (in III 10–11: <sup>d</sup>*Iškalli kutruaš* “Iškalli  
witness”).<sup>75</sup> This term could be derived from Akk. *ešgallu* “great temple  
(also a name of the nether world)” (the gods listed in the ritual *KUB*  
17.20 are the Anunnakkū), and attributed to Uršui (/Uršu=e/), therefore:  
“the great temple (of the nether world deities) of the city of Uršu(m)”; its  
original meaning must soon have been lost.

An element received from literary tradition (perhaps in Syria) is <sup>d</sup>*Ḥi-in-  
kal-lu-uš* (*KUB* 17.20 II 8), <sup>d</sup>*Ḥe-en-kal-li* (*KUB* 60.153:11): the phonetic  
writing of Sum. ḥé-gál “abundance,” divinized in the Hurrianized ritual  
“aux dieux antiques” *CTH* 492.<sup>76</sup>

70. Laroche, *Glossaire de la langue hourrite*, 179.

71. Ilse Wegner, *Hurritische Opferlisten aus hethitischen Festbeschreibungen*. Teil II: *Texte für Teššub, Hebat und weitere Gottheiten*, *ChS* I/3.2 (Rome: Bonsignori, 2002).

72. Haas, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion*, 382–83; Ben H. L. van Gessel, *Onomasticon of the Hittite Pantheon* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 363, 735–37.

73. Albrecht Goetze, “The Ugaritic Deities *pdgl* and *ibnkl*,” *OrNS* 9 (1940), 223–28; Laroche, *Glossaire de la langue hourrite*, 200.

74. Van Gessel, *Onomasticon of the Hittite Pantheon*, 203–4, 541–42

75. Laroche, “Teššub, Hebat et leur cour,” 128–29.

76. Volkert Haas, “Ḥingallu,” *RLA* 4 (1972–75), 416.

Hatni is followed by Piša(i)šaphi, an adjective (*-ḫi*) which refers to the name of a mountain god, who, in the Hurro-Canaanite myth *KUB* 33.108, rapes Ištar/Šawuška.<sup>77</sup> Mount Pišaiša appears in the lists of the oath deities following Mt. Lebanon and Mt. Šariyana (Hermon); it was therefore close to the coast.<sup>78</sup>

9. Some deities already belonged to the pantheon of people of Semitic language settled in Syria already in the third millennium B.C.E., as the documents from Ebla have revealed.<sup>79</sup> Among them there are Adamma; Aštabi(l); Hebat;<sup>80</sup> Išhara; Rašap, who received a prothetic vowel before *r-*: <sup>d</sup>*Aršappa*, <sup>d</sup>*Iršappa*,<sup>81</sup> in the Hurrian pantheon of Ugarit: *eršp*.<sup>82</sup> He appears among the male gods in Hurrian cults celebrated at Hattusa (*CTH* 704, 705) sometimes with the epithet: *dam-gàr-ra-(aš-)-ši*, *dam-ki-ra-a-ši* “(tutelary god) of the market,” *KUB* 34.102 II 13; *KBo* 33.208 II 11 (*ChS* I/3.2 no. 5); *KBo* 35.144 I 18 (*ChS* I/3.2 no. 23), as well as in the cult of Šawuška of Šamuha, *KUB* 27.1 II 23.

In the third millennium, Šalaš was the consort of Wadaʿanu and also of Dagan of Tuttul.<sup>83</sup> At Mari LUGAL / *Bēl mātīm* (Dagan) is followed by Šalaš (written also NIN.ḪURSAGA). According to the Hurrian-Hittite

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77. The texts *KBo* 14.142 I 10 and *KUB* 27.13 I 7 list Ištar followed by <sup>d</sup>*Piša(i)šaphi*, reflecting the connection between the two deities.

78. Jared L. Miller, “Piša(i)šaphi,” *RLA* 10 (2003–5), 576–77.

79. Haas (in a study written before the publication of the Ebla documents: Volkert Haas, “Substratgottheiten des westhurrischen Pantheons,” *RHA* 36 (1978) 59–69) was the first to consider the influence of a substrate in the formation of the West-Hurrian pantheon. He attributed to the Syrian substrate the following deities: Išhara, Hebat, Lilluri, Kubaba, and Adamma. I have reconsidered several times this problem at the light of the Eblaite documentation: Alfonso Archi, “Substrate: Some Remarks on the Formation of the West Hurrian Pantheon,” in *Hittite and Other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Sedat Alp*, ed. Heinrich Otten, Ekrem Akurgal, Hayri Ertem and Aygül Süel (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1992), 7–14; “The Former History of Some Hurrian Gods,” in *Acts of the IIIrd International Congress of Hittitology*, ed. Sedat Alp and Aygül Süel (Ankara: Uyum Ajans, 1998), 39–44; “Formations of the West Hurrian Pantheon: The Case of Išhara,” in *Recent Development in Hittite Archaeology and History*, ed. K. Aslihan Yener and Harry A. Hoffner Jr. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2002), 21–33.

80. See above note 50.

81. Van Gessel, *Onomasticon of the Hittite Pantheon*, 47–48.

82. Emmanuel Laroche, “Textes hourrites en cunéiformes alphabétiques,” in *Ugaritica* V, ed. Jean Nougayrol, Emmanuel Laroche, Charles Vrololeaud and Claude F. A. Schaeffer (Paris: Geuthner, 1968), 521.

83. Archi, “Šalaš Consort of Dagan and Kumarbi,” in *Studio Historiae Ardens. Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Philo H. J. Howink ten Cate on the Occasion*

tradition, Šaluš/Šalaš became the consort of Kumarbi because he had been equated with Dagan.<sup>84</sup> Šalaš receives the epithet <sup>d</sup>Pitinhi “of Bitin” and follows Kumarbi, for example, *ChS* I/1 no. 9 I 16–18.<sup>85</sup> This epithet: *bi-di-en-ḫi-(ni-da)* is attested to already in an OB Hurrian document from Mari.<sup>86</sup> Bitin is a city attested to in the Alalah tablets.<sup>87</sup>

It is in general difficult to attribute a divine name to a linguistic family. Names such as Adamma, Aštabil, Kubaba, and Šalaš are in any case hardly Semitic.

According to the texts from Ebla, Adamma was the spouse of Rašap, while in the Hurrian pantheon from Kizzuwatna she forms a dyad with Kubaba, sometimes enlarged to include Hašuntarhi. Adamma gave the the name to the ninth month of the local calendar: <sup>d</sup>*A-dam-ma-(um)*.<sup>88</sup> Kubaba does not appear, instead, in the Ebla text, although she is attested as the goddess of Karkamiš already from the eighteenth century.

The cult of <sup>d</sup>*Áš/Aš-da-bíl* was fairly widespread in the period of Ebla. This name is written <sup>d</sup>*Aš-ta/da-(a)-bi* at Hattuša and Alalah (a month name), *Aštb* in the Hurrian god lists of Ugarit. In the Hurro-Hittite texts he is considered a warrior god. The writing <sup>d</sup>*Aš-ta-bí-il*, attested in three documents from eighteenth-century Mari, confirms that the name ended originally in *-l*, even though it tended to disappear at this time as it is

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*of His 65th Birthday*, ed. Theo P. J. van den Hout and Johan de Roos (Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1995), 1–6.

84. Notice that the list of the deities invoked in the treaty from Tell Leilan L.T.-5 opens with [AN] / [<sup>d</sup>EN-LÍL] / [LUGA]L *ma-tí-in* / [<sup>d</sup>D]a-gán (Eidem, *The Royal Archive from Tell Leilan*, 329, 417): three denomination of the same god, because LUGAL *mātim* was the epithet of Dagan of Tuttul, and in Syria Dagan was equated to Enlil. According to a contract from Hana, “the king Šunuhrammu offered a sacrifice to Dagan of the Hurrians (i.e., Kumarbi: <sup>d</sup>*Da-gan ša Ḫur-ri*)” (Ignace J. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians* [Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago, 1944], 63).

85. Ilse Wegner, *Gestalt und Kult der Ištar-Šawuška in Kleinasien*, AOAT 36 (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981), 86–87; Daniel Schwemer, “Šaluš, Šalaš,” *RLA* 11 (2006–8) 590.

86. Fr. Thureau-Dangin, “Tablettes Hurrites provenant de Mâri,” *RA* 36 (1939) 17, no 5, 3.

87. J. A. Belmonte Marín, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der Texte aus Syrien im 2. Jt. v. Chr.* RGTC 12/2 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2001), 59–60.

88. Alfonso Archi, “Studies in the Ebla Pantheon, II,” *OrNS* 66 (1997) 416–17. Adam(ma) was a month name also at Emar; the pantheon of Emar included Adam(m)atera (Gary Beckman, “The Pantheon of Emar,” in *Silva Anatolica. Anatolian Studies Presented to Maciej Popko on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. Piotr Taracha (Warsaw: AGADE, 2002), 40.

demonstrated by *I-bal-aš-ta-bi*, the name of a man from the northern Habur region.<sup>89</sup>

These gods of the Ebla period, who later did not belong to the Amorite pantheon, were, so to say, free to be included in the pantheon of newcomers, as the Hurrians.<sup>90</sup> Among them there was also a great goddess, Išhara, who reached Babylonia from western Syria already in the Late Akkadian period. She was the tutelary goddess of the Eblaite kingship. Even the Hurrians were aware of this tradition, because in the Epic of Freeing she tries to protect Ebla against Teššub; moreover, a Hurrian document from Emar mentions Išhara of Ebla.<sup>91</sup> A local god from the time of Ebla was instead Ammarik, whose name appears in a text in Hurrian listing mountains of Syria (including Pišaiša), and also in a Hittite document where the border of Karkamiš towards Mukiš are defined. After having conquered Haššum (a city north of Aleppo), Hattušili I brought from there to Hattuša the statuette of “the Storm God lord of Armaruk” (a corrupted form for Ammarik). The Hurrians had therefore inherited cult of a divinized mountain, which went back at least to the middle of the third millennium.<sup>92</sup>

10. Interference between Hurrian and West Semitic resulted in the concept “the god the father,” *eni attanni*; “the gods of the father,” *enna attanni=wena* (GLH, 63–64). The Hurrians, in becoming aware of Mesopotamian mythical narratives, acquired the idea of a succession of earlier generations of the gods, “the former, primeval gods,” *ammatina enna*, Hit. *karuileš šiuneš*. The most elaborate Akkadian writings on these “former gods” are to be found in later works such as the *Epic of Creation* (*Enūma eliš*) or the god list *An = Anu ša amēli*.<sup>93</sup> The poem of Kingship in Heaven, which narrates the succession of kingship from Alalu to Anu, Kumarbi, and Teššub, invokes these gods: “[...] Let the primeval

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89. Some not convincing Semitic etymologies of this divine name are listed in Pomponio and Xella, *Les dieux d'Ebla*, 75–76, included the bold one (*pace* Xella) by J. M. Durand: /yaštabi-il/ “El/The god has satisfied himself.” At Ebla -BĪL is never used to represent -il “god.”

90. Archi, “The Former History of Some Hurrian Gods,” 41.

91. Archi, “Formations of the West Hurrian Pantheon,” 27–33.

92. Haas, “Zwei Gottheiten aus Ebla in hethitischer Überlieferung,” OA 20 (1981) 251–53.

93. The theme of an omniscient son of Enki destined by his father to be king of the gods, found in the Old Babylonian *Song of Bazi* (Andrew R. George, *Babylonian Literary Texts in the Schøyen Collection*, CUSAS 10 [Bethesda, MD: CDL, 2009], 1–15) finds an echo in the Hurrian poem of Ea and the Beast.

gods, who [.....] mighty gods, listen! (it follows a list of these gods). ... Let Ammezzadu, [Tuhuši(?) ...] the father (and) mother of [...] listen! Let [Enlil(?) and Apant]u, the father (and) mother of Išhara, listen. Let Enlil [(and) Ninlil ...], who are the mighty (and) firmly established gods, listen!”

“Father (and) mother” indicate the known (and unknown) ancestors of a deity, invoked in order that all the gods may be present. In the *kaluti* of Teššub,<sup>94</sup> the bulls Šerri and Hurri are followed by (nos. 18–19): “the gods of the father of Teššub; the gods of the father of the sacrificer (DINGIR<sup>MES</sup>-*na attanni=wena ašhušikkunni=na*); similarly, in the *kaluti* of Hebat,<sup>95</sup> the goddesses Adamma, Kubaba, Hašuntarhi are followed by (nos. 15–16): “the gods of the father of Hebat; the gods of the father of the sacrificer.” As well as for Teššub and Hebat the gods of the father are attested for other major deities: the Sun God Šimeki, NIN.GAL, Šawuška, Lilluri. Exceptionally, the gods of the father of Šimeki are qualified as “male,” and those of Šawuška as “female”: an irrational division by gender.<sup>96</sup> A list of the passages where the gods of the father occur is given by van Gessel,<sup>97</sup> *ad/t-d/ta-aš* DINGIR<sup>MES</sup>; 999: DINGIR<sup>MES</sup>A-BI; 1002–6: *e-en-na / DINGIR<sup>MES</sup> at-ta-an-ni-bi/we-na*).

A theological system can admit that a god has a father (and a mother). “The gods of the father of DN” is, instead, an anomalous expression, modeled on “the gods of the father of the sacrificer.” In Semitic Syria the cult of the god(s) of the father was widespread from the third millennium.<sup>98</sup> An echo of this can be found also in the Tale of Appu and the Romance of Kešši, which the Hurrians composed in Syria.<sup>99</sup> Used to refer to the gods, “the god of the father” is a misconception.

94. Reconstructed by Laroche, “Teššub, Hebat et leur cour,” 115–16.

95. *Ibid.*, 121–22.

96. Wegner, *Gestalt und Kult der Ištar-Šawuška*, 44–46.

97. *Onomasticon of the Hittite Pantheon*, 980–81.

98. In some Syrian milieu these gods included also the deified ancestors, according to Karel van der Torn, “The Domestic Cult at Emar,” *JCS* 47 (1995) 39.

99. Jana Siegelová, *Appu-Märchen und Hedammu-Mythus*, StBoT 14 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1971), 23–24. *Tale of Appu*: *attaš-miš* DINGIR<sup>MES</sup>-*aš*; *Romance of Kešši*: <sup>1</sup>*Kiššiyaš attaš* DINGIR<sup>MES</sup>. The Month-festival KUB 2.13 VI 22–24 (Jörg Klinger, *Untersuchungen zur Rekonstruktion der hattischen Kultschicht*, StBoT 37 [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996], 568–69) has: “The king drinks once in standing position the god of his father (DINGIR<sup>MES</sup> A-BI-ŠU) from a cup. The singer sings in Hattian.” This (in origin) old text has some interpolations, e.g., two forms of Ištar in the preceding passages.



The Hurrian god lists from Ugarit, interpreting the respective lists in Ugaritic, reveal that the Hurrian theology had no difficulty in placing a “god father” at the head of its own pantheon, that is to say, an unnamed entity at the origin of everything: *eni attanni* “god father” (RS 24.295, 24.254); *attanni* “father” (24.274) *enna-(šta) attanna-(šta)* “gods fathers” (24.261), who were followed by El, Kumarbi, and Teššub.<sup>100</sup>

In light of the Hurrian to Ugaritic equivalence: *ilib* - DINGIR *a-bi* of the “Akkadian pantheon,” J. Nougayrol noted that “‘Dieu (ou: dieu) du père’ reste la traduction la plus ‘ingénue’ du texte accadien, et elle présente aussi l’avantage de convenir à tous les passages où *ilib* se rencontre. Cependant, *a-bi* peut être tenu également pour un st. abs. = st. cstr. de *abu*, d’où ‘Dieu (ou dieu) père’, ... et, étant donné la place faite à ce dieu dans les textes rituels, il semble que cette interprétation soit préférable.”<sup>101</sup>

The Ugaritic pantheon opened with a genealogy, probably reflecting a need to systemize resulting from the influence of Babylonian theology: Ilib - El - Dagan - Baʿl. Dagan only played a marginal role in mythopoetic thought (he usually appears in relation to his son, Baʿl: *bn bʿl*) or in the Ugaritic cult; El is a figure created in the West Semitic milieu during the second millennium. The god El did not exist in the earliest Semitic pantheons: those of Ebla and Akkad.<sup>102</sup> Still open to discussion is whether Ilib was “the god of the father,” that is “of the clan” (which would fit in well with West Semitic tradition), or (less probably) was an artificial figure, “god father.”<sup>103</sup>

The Hurrian pantheon did not follow the genealogy described in Kingship in Heaven. Following the Ugaritic order, Teššub was preceded first by Kumarbi (equated with Dagan); then El (entirely extraneous to the Hurrians) and, lastly, a “god father”: a generic ancestor of the gods, since the sense of “the god of the clan” was not fully understood.<sup>104</sup>

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100. Laroche, “Textes hourrites en cunéiformes alphabétiques,” 519); “La syntaxe du hourrite n’autorise aucune hésitation: *atta-nni* “le père” est une apposition à *en(n)i*, “dieu” ou “le dieu” (Laroche, “Textes hourrites en cunéiformes alphabétiques,” 523).

101. Jean Nougayrol, “Textes suméro-accadiens des archives et bibliothèques privées d’Ugarit,” in *Ugaritica* V, 44–46. For the Semitic lists of Ugarit, see also Pardee *Les textes rituels*, Ras Shamra-Ougarit XII (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 2000), 292; idem, *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit*, 12–24.

102. Alfonso Archi, “Il in the Personal Names,” *OLZ* 91 (1996) 133–51.

103. See the long discussion in Pardee, *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit*, 187, 296–300, who interprets Ilib as /’ilu’abi/ > /’ilu’ibi/.

104. According to van der Torn, “Ilib (in general the deified ancestor) stands (in this list) for a primeval deity whose reign has long since come to end” (“Ilib and the God of the Father,” *UF* 25 (1993) 385.



11. It is possible that Hutena and Hutellura, who belong to the *kaluti* of Hebat, have been modeled on the Syrian birth goddesses.<sup>105</sup>

E. Laroche has analyzed the name Hutellura as *hute=ll=ur<sup>o</sup>=na*: plural (-*na*), comitative (-*ra-*); Hutena as a nominal form, deriving both from the verb *hut(e/i)*. From their Hittite equivalent Gulšeš, and the DINGIR.MAḪ<sup>MES</sup>, he deduced that they were female divinities, and suggested the meaning “to favor” for the verb, in agreement with passages in the Mittani letter. The goddesses who determined one’s fate were seen as benevolent entities, auguring well.<sup>106</sup> Hutena is “Those of favoring:” *hud=we=na*. In the Hurrian birth ritual *KBo 27.1:10* (= *ChS I/5*, no. 98): <sup>MUNUS</sup>*Ši-in-ti-ma-a-ni hu-ti-il-lu-r[i]*, *hutilluri* means “midwife,” being apposition of the personal name Šindimani.<sup>107</sup>

The Ugaritic pantheon has *kṛrt* (Kotharāt) translated <sup>d</sup>*Sa-sú-ra-tum* in the Akkadian version (RS 20.24), and *hḏn hḏlr* (Hutena - Hutellura) in the Hurrian lists.

The Sumero-Akkadian Mother Goddess was assisted by seven assistants called “wombs,” Šassūrātu, who, because also of their equivalences in the Ugaritic lists, have to be identified with birth goddesses.<sup>108</sup> The Kotharāt were seven in number.<sup>109</sup> The Kūšarātum were known also in the region of Mari.<sup>110</sup>

Proof of the interference between the Syrian and the Hurrian birth goddesses is that *hutilluri* is the apposition to Šindimani in a Hurrian birth ritual *KBo 27.1* (= *ChS I/5*, no 98, 10: <sup>MUNUS</sup>*Ši-in-ti-ma-a-ni hu-ti-il-lu-r[i]*) with the meaning of “midwife.” As Volkert Haas has remarked, the first element of Šindimani is *šind(i)* “seven,” showing that the Hutena-Hutellura goddesses were a heptad,<sup>111</sup> as well as the West Semitic Kotharāt.

12. While conquering Aleppo, Šuppiluliuma I was fully aware of the extraordinary importance of the cult of the city’s storm god in Syria and eastern Anatolia. Thus he assigned religious functions to Telepinu, the

105. Alfonso Archi, “The Anatolian Fate-Goddesses and Their Different Traditions,” forthcoming.

106. Laroche, “Teššub, Hebat et leur cour,” 124–26.

107. Haas, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion*, 483

108. Marten Stol, *Birth in Babylonia and the Bible: Its Mediterranean Setting*, CM 14 (Groningen: Styx, 2000), 80–83.

109. Gregorio del Olmo Lete, “Mythologie et religion de la Syrie au II millenaire av. J.C. (1500–1200),” in *Mythologie et religion des Sémites occidentaux, II: Émar, Ougarit, Israël, Phénicie, Aram, Arabic*, ed. G. del Olmo Lete (Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 43.

110. Wilfred G. Lambert, “The Pantheon of Mari,” *MARI* 4 (1985) 529–30.

111. *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion*, 372–73.

son he established as king in Aleppo, while the task of wielding Hittite control over northern Syria was entrusted to another son, Piyaššili/Šarrikušu, king of Karkamiš.<sup>112</sup> Hurrian rituals had been celebrated at the Hittite court since at least the time of Arnuwanda I and of Tuthaliya III (father of Šuppiluliuma). A copy of the *itkaḫi* and *itkalzi* rituals for the archives of Hattuša (CTH 777) was made from manuscripts kept in the palace of Šapinuwa. When “Tuthaliya, the Great King, son of Arnuwanda, [sat] on the throne of his father,” on that occasion “the king [perform(ed)] the kingship ritual (SÍSKUR *šarrašian[za]*) for [Teššub], and [then celebrat(ed)] the queenship ritual ([SÍSKUR] *allašiyanza*) for [Hebat],” *KUB* 11.31 VI 1–6 (*CHD* Š, 245, s.v. *šarrašši*- B; *CTH* 700).

The cults of some Syrian and Hurrian deities, such as Išhara (*KUB* 40.2), or Ištar/Sawuška of Nineveh (*ChS* I/3.2, nos. 35–50),<sup>113</sup> reached Anatolia directly. Other deities were introduced to Anatolia through the canonical Hurrian pantheon established at Aleppo. It is probable that it was Šuppiluliuma himself who introduced the cult of Teššub and his consort Hebat to Hattuša in the form laid down in Aleppo.<sup>114</sup> The *ordo* of the deities in two *kalutis*, one for the gods and the other for the goddesses, including deities of Hurrian and Syrian origin, marked a dramatic change in the Semitic Syrian tradition, which we cannot, however, date with any certainty. It is unlikely that this was promoted by the dynasty of Ilimilima and his son Idrimi, king of Alalah who, at least in the name giving, maintained the West Semitic tradition. It is, however, a matter of fact that Alalah and (according to the cult lists) Halab became predominantly Hurrian by at least between the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Certain gods, such as the consorts of some major gods, had no autonomy whatsoever and were only received as elements in the pantheon. Akkadian names were distorted, as were also Hurrian names that the Hittite scribes could not understand.

Although the *itkaḫi* and *itkalzi* rituals did not present god lists, the fragmentary ritual that mentions a queen and the princes Mannini and

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112. Horst Klengel, “Nochmals zum Rolle der Herrscher von Ḫalab und Karkamiš in der hethitischen Großreichzeit,” in *Kulturgeschichte. Altorientalischen Studien für Volkert Haas zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Thomas Richter, Doris Prechel and Jörg Klinger (Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei), 2001.

113. Gary Beckman, “Ištar of Nineveh Reconsidered,” *JCS* 50 (1998) 1–10.

114. The documents, listed in CTH 698, *Cult de Teššub et Ḫebat d'Alep*, attest a long textual tradition; the only historical reference is, however, to Muwattalli II, *KBo* 14.142 III 34 (Vladimir Souček and Jana Siegelová, “Der Kult des Wettergottes von Ḫalab in Ḫatti,” *ArOr* 42 (1974) 39–52.

Pariawatra (to be dated therefore, to Arnuwanda I) includes already the *kaluti* of Hebat (*ChS* I/3.2 nos. 76–83). The *ordo* of Aleppo had, therefore, already reached Kizzuwatna at least at the time of Tuthaliya I. A quite different *kaluti* of the same period is that of NIN.GAL (no. 84). The usual *kalutis* are attested for Teššub and Hebat of Kizzuwatna (nos. 89–99), for Teššub of Manuzzi (nos. 100–106), Teššub of Šapinuwa (nos. 107–108), and Teššub of Durmitta (no. 126). The (*ḫ*)*išuwa*-festival had instead a different pantheon (*ChS* I/4, 143–55, 3rd tablet).<sup>115</sup>

A shortened version of the Aleppo pantheon is that found in the Hurrian texts from Ugarit.<sup>116</sup> Emar was not influenced by the process of Hurrianization of the Aleppo cult; the Hurrian Šeliš, Tašmišu, and Tenu belong only to the Anatolian Ritual (*Emar* VI 471, 472), while the Syrian Adammatera and Šuwala appear in some local rituals.<sup>117</sup>

Through the contacts with Kizzuwatna and then with the Hittite conquest of Aleppo, the *ordo* of Aleppo found a more favorable expansion towards the western than the eastern regions.

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115. Ilse Wegner und Mirjo Salvini, *Die hethitisch-hurritischen Ritualtafeln des (ḫ)išuwa-Festes* (Rome: Multigrafica, 1991).

116. Laroche, “Textes hourrites en cunéiformes alphabétiques,” 518–27.

117. Schwemer, *Wettergottgestalten*, 409; Beckman, “The Pantheon of Emar.”