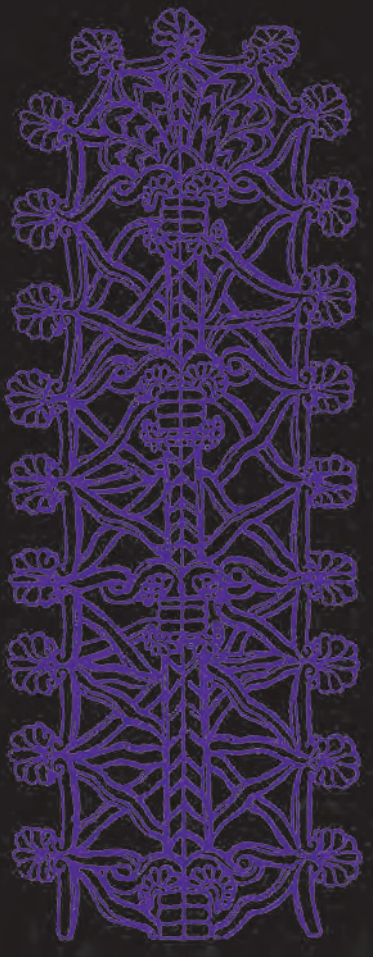
BEYOND HATTI

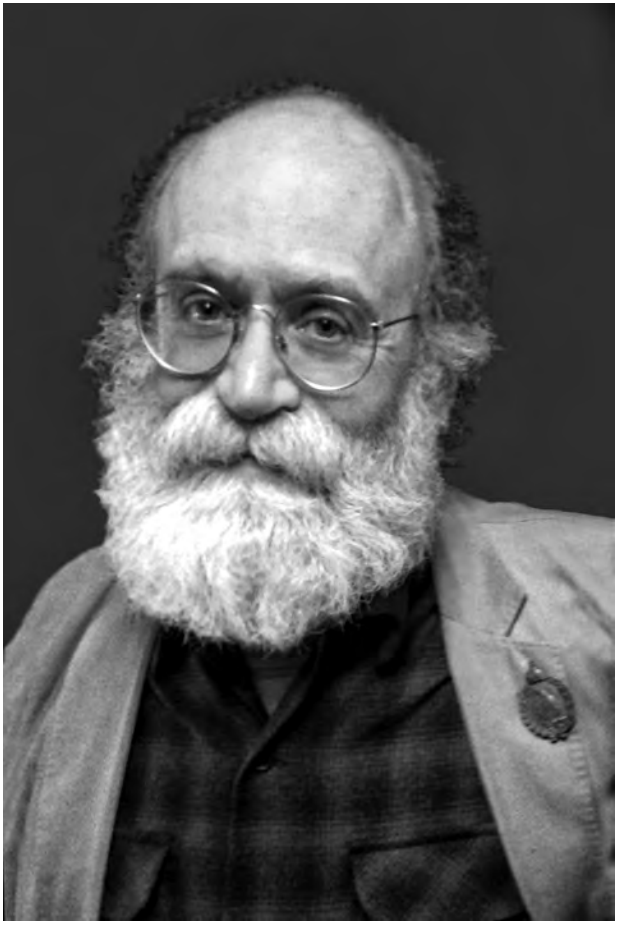
A TRIBUTE TO GARY BECKMAN



Edited by

Billie Jean Collins • Piotr Michalowski

BEYOND HATTI



Gary M. Beckman

BEYOND HATTI

A TRIBUTE TO GARY BECKMAN

edited by

Billie Jean Collins
and
Piotr Michalowski

LOCKWOOD PRESS
ATLANTA

All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying and recording, or by means of any information storage or retrieval system, except as may be expressly permitted by the 1976 Copyright Act or in writing from the publisher. Requests for permission should be addressed in writing to Lockwood Press, P.O. Box 133289, Atlanta, GA 30333, USA.

© 2013 by Lockwood Press

ISBN: 978-1-937040-11-6

Library of Congress Control Number: Number: 2013901050

This paper meets the requirements of ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992
(Permanence of Paper).

CONTENTS

Publications of Gary Beckman vii

Preface xvii

Abbreviations xix

Alfonso Archi
The West Hurrian Pantheon and Its Background 1

Mary R. Bachvarova
Adapting Mesopotamian Myth in Hurro-Hittite Rituals at Hattuša:
IŠTAR, the Underworld, and the Legendary Kings 23

Joel P. Brereton
The Ṛgvedic Ghoṣā Hymns and the Atirātra 45

Billie Jean Collins
The Place of *KBo* 13.145 in the Hantitaššu Text Tradition 63

Marjorie Fisher
A Diplomatic Marriage in the Ramesside Period:
Maathorneferure, Daughter of the Great Ruler of Hatti 75

Benjamin R. Foster
Albert T. Clay and His Babylonian Collection 121

Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.
"The King's Speech": Royal Rhetorical Language 137

Stephanie W. Jamison
A Sanskrit Riddle in Three Movements Rig Veda V.84 155

H. Craig Melchert
Luvian Language in "Luvian" Rituals in Hattuša 159

Piotr Michalowski
The Steward of Divine Gudea and His Family in Ur III Girsu 173

Alice Mouton
Le rituel d'Allī d'Arzawa contre un ensorcellement (***CTH*** 402): une nouvelle édition 195

Elizabeth E. Payne
Accounting for Gold in a Period of Unrest 231

Carole Roche-Hawley and Robert Hawley
An Essay on Scribal Families, Tradition, and Innovation in Thirteenth-Century Ugarit 241

Jack M. Sasson
Prologues and Poets: On the Opening Lines of the Gilgamesh Epic 265

Brian B. Schmidt
The Social Matrix of Early Judean Magic and Divination: From "Top Down" or "Bottom Up"? 279

Piotr Steinkeller
The Umma Field Ušgida and the Question of GARšana's Location 295

Claudia E. Suter
The Divine Gudea on Ur III Seal Images 309

Terry G. Wilfong
Dig Dogs and Camp Cats at Karanis: The Animals of the 1924–1935 University of Michigan Expedition to Egypt 325

Gernot Wilhelm
Texts and Royal Seals of the Middle Hittite Period from the "House of the Chief of the Guards" at Hattuša 343

Index of Ancient Sources 355

Publications of Gary Beckman

Monographs

Hittite Birth Rituals: An Introduction. Sources from the Ancient Near East, 1/4. Malibu, CA: Undena, 1978.

Hittite Birth Rituals. Studien zu den Boğazkoy-Texten, 29. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983.

Hittite Fragments in American Collections, with Harry A. Hoffner Jr. New Haven: Yale Babylonian Collection, 1986. Originally published in *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 37 (1985): 1–60.

Texts from the Vicinity of Emar in the Collection of Jonathan Rosen. Padova: SARGON, 1996.

Catalogue of the Babylonian Collections at Yale. Vol. 2: *Old Babylonian Archival Texts in the Nies Babylonian Collection*. Bethesda: CDL, 1995.

Hittite Diplomatic Texts. SBL Writings from the Ancient World, 7. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999. First edition, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996.

Catalogue of the Babylonian Collections at Yale. Vol. 4: *Old Babylonian Archival Texts in the Yale Babylonian Collection*. Bethesda: CDL, 2000.

The Epic of Gilgameš, with Benjamin R. Foster and Douglas Frayne. Norton Critical Editions. New York: W. W. Norton, 2001.

The Ahhiyawa Texts, with Trevor Bryce and Eric Cline. Writings from the Ancient World. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 2011.

The babilili-Rituals from Hattusa. forthcoming.

Articles

The Ancient Near East, in "News and Views of Ancient History," ed. A. Ward. *Newsletter of the New England Historical Association* 8/1 (1980): 6–9.

A Hittite Cylinder Seal in the Yale Babylonian Collection: *Anatolian Studies* 31 (1981): 129–35.

The Hittite Assembly. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 102 (1982): 435–42.

A Contribution to Hittite Onomastic Studies. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 103 (1983): 623–27.

Mesopotamia and Mesopotamian Learning at Hattusa. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 35 (1983): 97–114.

The Anatolian Myth of Illuyanka. *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society* 14 (1982): 11–25.

Inheritance and Royal Succession among the Hittites. Pages 13–31 in *Kaniššuwar. A Tribute to Hans G. Güterbock*. Assyriological Studies, 23. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

Some New Stamp Seals from the Yale Babylonian Collection, with Alfred Brown. *Oriens Antiquus* 24 (1985): 241–52.

Proverbs and Proverbial Allusions in Hittite. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 45 (1986): 19–30.

A Note on Paragraph 28 of the Hittite Laws. Pages 99–106 in *A Linguistic Happening in Memory of Ben Schwartz*, ed. Yoel L. Arbeitman. Louvain: Peeters, 1988.

The Siege of Uršu Text (CTH 7) and Old Hittite Historiography. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 47 (1995): 23–34.

Three Tablets from the Vicinity of Emar. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 40 (1988): 61–68.

Herding and Herdsmen in Hittite Culture. Pages 33–44 in *Documentum Asiae Minoris Antiquae: Festschrift für Heinrich Otten*, ed. Erich Neu and Christel Rüster. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 1988.

Languages (Hittite). Pages 214–16 in vol. 4 of *Anchor Bible Dictionary.* New York: Doubleday, 1992.

Three Bricks from Yale. *Annual Review of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project* 5 (1987): 1–3.

Assyrian Scholarly Texts in the Yale Babylonian Collection, with Benjamin R. Foster. Pages 1–26 in *A Scientific Humanist. Studies in Memory of Abraham Sachs,* ed. E. Leichty et al. Philadelphia: University Museum, 1988.

A Join Piece to the Esarhaddon Prism *YOS* 9.76. *Annual Review of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project* 6 (1988): 3–4.

The Religion of the Hittites. *Biblical Archaeologist* 52/2–3 (1989): 98–108. Repr. pages 133–43 in *Across the Anatolian Plateau*, ed. David C. Hopkins. Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2002.

A Catalogue of Inscribed Bricks in the Yale Babylonian Collection. *Annual Review of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project* 6 (1988): 1–2.

Medizin. Hethitisch. Pages 629–31 in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 7. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1990.

The Hittite "Ritual of the Ox" (CTH 760.I.2–3). *Orientalia* 59 (1990): 34–55.

More Anatolian Stamp Seals in America. *Oriens Antiquus* (1989): 177–82.

An Anatolian Miscellany. *Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici* 32 (1993): 111–21.

Royal Ideology and State Administration in Hittite Anatolia. Pages 1:529–43 in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, ed. Jack M. Sasson et al. 4 vols; New York: Scribner's, 1995.

Some Observations on the Šuppiluliuma-Šattiwazza Treaties (CTH 51–52). Pages 53–57 in *The Tablet and the Scroll. Near Eestern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo,* ed. M. Cohen et al. Bethesda: CDL, 1993.

Hittite Administration in Syria in the Light of the Texts from Ḫattuša, Ugarit, and Emar. Pages 41–49 in *New Horizons in the Study of Ancient Syriai,* ed. M. W. Chavalas and J. L. Hayes. Bibliothoca Mesopotamica, 25. Malibu, CA: Undena, 1992.

An Adoption and Inheritance Contract from the Reign of Iggid-Lim of Ḫana, with Amanda H. Podany and Gudrun Colbow. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 43–45 (1991–93): 39–51.

From Cradle to Grave: Women's Role in Hittite Medicine and Magic. *Journal of Ancient Civilizations* 8 (1993): 25–39.

Hittite Provincial Administration in Anatolia and Syria: The View from Maṣat and Emar. Pages 19–31 in *Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Hittitologia,* ed. O. Carruba, et al. Studia Mediterranea, 9. Pavia: Gianni Iuculano, 1995.

An Old Babylonian Plaint against Black Magic, with Benjamin R. Foster. *Acta Sumerologica* 18 (1996): 19–21.

Mythologie. A. II. Bei den Hethitern. Pages 564–72 in *Reallexikon der Assyrologie* 8. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997.

The City and the Country in Hatti. Pages 161–69 in *Landwirtschaft im alten Orient: Ausgewählte Vorträge der 41. Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Berlin, 4.–8.7.1994*, ed. Horst Klengel aad Johannes Renger. Berlin: Reimer, 1999.

Emar and Its Archives. Pages 1–12 in *Emar: The History, Religion, and Culture of a Syrian Town in the Late Bronze Age*, ed. M. W. Chavalas. Bethesda: CDL, 1996.

Family Values on the Middle Euphrates in the Thirteenth Century BCE. Pages 57–79 in *Emar: The History, Religion, and Culture of a Syrian*

Town in the Late Bronze Age, ed. M. W. Chavalas. Bethesda: CDL, 1996.

The Hittite Language and Its Decipherment. *Bulletin of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies* 31 (1996): 23–30.

Real Property Sales at Emar. Pages 95–120 in *Crossing Boundaries and Linking Horizons: Studies in Honor of Michael C. Astour on His 80th Birthday*, ed. G. D. Young, M. W. Chavalas, and R. E. Averbeck. Bethesda: CDL, 1997.

New Joins to Hittite Treaties. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 87 (1997): 96–100.

The Tongue Is a Bridge: Communication between Humans and Gods in Hittite Anatolia. *Archív Orientální* (1999): 519–34.

Babyloniaca Hethitica: The *pabilili*-Rituals from Boğazköy. Pages 35–41 in *Recent Developments in Hittite Archaeology and History*, ed. H. A. Hoffner, Jr. and K. Aslihan Yener. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2002.

Anatolian Stamp Seals from a California Collection. *Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici* 40 (1998): 83–86.

Ištar of Nineveh Reconsidered. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 50 (1998): 1–10.

The Goddess Pirinkir and Her Ritual from Ḫattuša (CTH 644)," *Ktema* 24 (1999): 25–39.

Opfer, nach schriftlichen Quellen. Anatolien. Pages 106–11 in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 10. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003.

Goddess Worship—Ancient and Modern. Pages 11–23 in *"A Wise and Discerning Mind": Essays in Honor of Burke O. Long*, ed. Saul M. Olyan and Robert C. Culley. Providence: Brown Judaic Studies, 2000.

Gilgamesh in Hatti. Pages 37–58 in *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner, Jr. on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday.* Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2003.

Sargon and Naram-Sin in Ḫatti: Reflections of Mesopotamian Antiquity among the Hittites. Pages 85–91 in *Die Gegenwart des Altertums: Formen und Funktionen des Altertumsbezugs in den Hochkulturen der Alten Welt*, ed. D. Kuhn and H. Stahl. Heidelberg: Forum, 2001.

La religion d'Émar. Pages 1–22 in vol. 2 of *Mythologie et religion des sémites occidentaux*, ed. D. G. del Olmo Lete. 2 vols. Leuven: Peeters. 2008.

International Law in the Second Millennium: Late Bronze Age. Pages 753–74 in *A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law,* ed. R. Westbrook. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

Hittite Chronology. *Akkadica* 119–20 (2000): 19–32.

"My Sun-God": Reflections of Mesopotamian Conceptions of Kingship among the Hittites. Pages 37–43 in *MELAMMU Symposia III*, ed. A. Panaino and G. Pettinato. Milan, 2003.

Ḫantili I. Pages 51–58 in *Kulturgeschichten. Altorientalistische Studien für Volkert Haas zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Th. Richter, et al. Saarbrücken: SDV, 2002.

The Pantheon of Emar. Pages 39–54 in *Silva Anatolica* (Festschrift M. Popko), ed. Piotr Taracha. Warsaw: Agade, 2002.

Two New Hittite Hieroglyphic Seals. Pages 65–68 in *Antiquus Oriens. Mélanges offerts au Profeseur René Lebrun*, ed. M. Mazoyer and O. Casabonne. 2 vols. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004.

A Hittite Ritual for Depression (CTH 432). Pages 69–81 in *Tabularia Hethaeorum: Hethitologische Beiträge Silvin Kosak zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. D. Groddek and M. Zorman. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007.

A Small Town in Late Bronze Age Syria. Review article of W. Mayer. *Tall Munbāqa-Ekalte II: Die Texte*. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 98 (2008): 211–20.

Sacred Times and Spaces: Anatolia. Pages 259–64. *Religions of the Ancient World,* ed. Sarah Iles Johnston. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.

Sacrifice, Offerings, and Votives: Anatolia. Pages 336–39 in *Religions of the Ancient World,* ed. Sarah Iles Johnston. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.

Visual Representation of Hittite Religion. Pages 610–12 in *Religions of the Ancient World,* ed. Sarah Iles Johnston. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.

Hurrian/Hittite Epic. Pages 255–63 in *Blackwell Companion to Ancient Epic*, ed. J. M. Foley. London: Blackwell, 2005.

How Religion Was Done. Pages 343–53 in *A Companion to the Ancient Near East,* ed. D. C. Snell. London: Blackwell, 2005.

An Early Second-Millennium Cuneiform Archive from Chogha Gavaneh, Western Iran, with Kamyar Abdi. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 59 (2007): 39–91.

Pantheon. II. Bei den Hethitern. Pages 308–16 in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 10. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004.

Hittite Treaties and the Development of the Cuneiform Treaty Tradition. Pages 279–301 in *Die deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerke,* ed. M. Witte, et al. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006.

The Limits of Credulity (Presidential Address). *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 125 (2005): 343–52.

From Hattusa to Carchemish: The Latest on Hittite History. Pages 97–112 in *Current Issues in the History of the Ancient Near East*, ed. Mark W. Chavalas. Publications of the Association of Ancient Historians, 8. Claremont, CA: Regina Books, 2007.

Fars Archaeology Project 2004: Excavations at Tal-e Malyan, with J. R. Aldea. K. Abdi, and H. Pittman. *Iran* 43 (2005): 39–47.

Ugarit and Inner Syria during the Late Bronze Age. Pages 163–74 in *Le Royaume d'Ougarit de la Crète à l'Euphrate*, ed. J.-M. Michaud. Sherbrooke, Quebec: Éditions GGC, 2007.

Religion. II. Bei den Hethitern. Pages 333–38 in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 11. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008.

Hittite Literature. Pages 215–54 in *From an Antique Land: An Introduction to Ancient Near Eastern Literature,* ed. C. S. Ehrlich. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008.

Literary and Cultural Connections. Pages 192–93 in *Beyond Babylon: Art, Trade, and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium B.C.*, ed. Joan Aruz, Kim Benzel, and Jean M. Evans.New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008.

Temple Building among the Hittites. Pages 71–89 in *From the Foundations to the Crenellations: Essays on Temple Building in the Ancient Near East and Hebrew Bible,* ed. M. J. Boda and J. R. Novotny. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2010.

On Hittite Dreams. Pages 26–31 in *Luwian and Hittite Studies Presented to J. David Hawkins on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, ed. Itamar Singer. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Institute of Archaeology, 2010.

Mesopotamian Forerunners to the "Babilili Ritual" from Boğazköy? Pages 109–20 in *Acts of the VIIth International Congress of Hittitology, Çorum, August 25–31, 2008,* ed. A. Süel. 2 vols. Ankara: T. C. Çorum Valiliği. 2010.

Hittite: Recovery and Grammatical Sketch. Pages 517–33 in *Oxford Handbook of Anatolian Studies,* ed. Sharon Steadman and Gregory McMahon. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Blood in Hittite Ritual. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 63 (2011): 95–102.

Primordial Obstetrics: "The Song of Emergence" (CTH 344). Pages 25–33 in *Hethitische Literatur: Überlieferungsprozesse, Textstrukturen, Ausdrucksformen, und Nachwirken*, ed. Manfred Hutter and Sylvia Hutter-Braunsar. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 391. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2011.

The Horns of a Dilemma, or On the Divine Nature of the Hittite King. Pages 605–10 in *Organization, Representation, and Symbols of Power in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the 54th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Würzburg, 20–25 July 2008*, ed. Gernot Wilhelm. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012.

An Irate Goddess (CTH 710). Pages 1–7 in *Iranian Languages and Culture: Essays in Honor of Gernot Ludwig Windfuhr*, ed. Behrad Aghaei and M. R. Ghanoonparvar. Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2012.

Historical Chronology of Anatolia. In *The Archaeology of Anatolia: An Encyclopedia*, ed. G. K. Sams. New York: Garland, forthcoming.

Aḫḫiyawa und kein Ende: The Battle over Mycenaeans in Anatolia. In *Mycenaeans and Anatolians in the Late Bronze Age: The Ahhiyawa Question*, ed. A. Teffeteller. Oxford, forthcoming.

Bathing the Goddess (CTH 714). Forthcoming in a Festschrift.

The Ritual of Palliya of Kizzuwatna (CTH 475). Forthcoming.

The Promulgation of the Name of the Third Year of Rim-Anum of Uruk, with Piotr Michalowski. Pages 425–33 in *The Ancient Near East, A Life! Festschrift Karel Van Lerberghe*, ed. T. Boiy et al. Leiden: Peeters, 2012.

Corruption in the Hittite Bureaucracy. Forthcoming in the proceedings of the conference on Administration, Law and Administrative Law, Vienna. November 24–26, 2011.

Intrinsic and Constructed Sacred Space in Anatolia. Forthcoming in the proceedings of the Conference on Temple Topography, Ritual Practice, and Cosmic Symbolism in the Ancient World, Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, March 2012.

Foreigners in the Ancient Near East. *Journal of the American Oriental Society.* Forthcoming.

Shamash among the Hittites. Forthcoming in the proceedings of the Conference on Theory and Practice of Knowledge Transfer. Leiden, December 17–19, 2008.

The Hittites Make Peace. Forthcoming in the proceedings of the 52nd Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Münster 2006.

Hittite Religion. Forthcoming in *The Cambridge History of Ancient Religions*, ed. M. A. Sweeney. Cambridge University Press.

Early Hittite Studies in Britain. Forthcoming.

Brief Notes, Encyclopedia Entries, etc.

"A New Tag from the Reign of Nūr-Adad," *NABU* 1988/13.

"A Draft for an OB Seal Inscription," *NABU* 1988/72.
"Texts and Fragments [A Hittite Fragment]," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 41 (1989): 115–16.
"A Stray Tablet from Haft Tépé," *Iranica Antiqua* 26 (1991): 81–83.
"Emar Notes. 1: Arana—A Phantom Ruler." *NABU* 1996/121.
"Emar Notes, 2: A Politic Intervention?" *NABU* 1996/122.
"New Examples of an Inscription of Sîn-iddinam," *NABU* 1997/85.
Tablet Fragments from Sepphoris," *NABU* 1997/86.
Obituary of Hans Gustav Güterbock, *Archaeological Odyssey*, July/August 2000, 12.
"A Scrap from Emar," *NABU* 2000/45.
"Month XII," *NABU* 2000/46.
"Šalatiwara," *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 11 (2008): 571.
"Šanda," *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 12 (2009): 6.
"Speiseverbot," *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 12 (2011): 642.
"Literary and Cultural Connections" and entries nos. 96, 98, 99, and 117. Pages 192–93, 158, 173–75 in *Beyond Babylon: Art, Trade, and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium B.C.*, ed. J. Aruz et al. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008.
"Hittite *āštawar* = 'leftovers,'" *NABU* 2010/80.
"Sonnengott (Sun god), Anatolien, philologisch," *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 12 (2011): 611–13.
"Hittite Poetry." Pages 638–39 in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, ed. R. Greene. Princeton University Press, 2012.
"Tašime/iz," *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, forthcoming.
"Tawananna," *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, forthcoming.
"Telipinu," *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, forthcoming.
"Thron," *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, forthcoming.
"Tontafel," *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, forthcoming.
"Ahhiyawa," "Anitta," "Aryans," "Hatti," "Hattusili I and His Dynasty," "Hattusili III," "Hattusa," "Hittites," "Kanesh," "Kings, Hittite," Mursili I," "Suppiluliuma I," "Telipinu." In *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, ed. R. Bagnall et al. Oxford: Blackwell-Wiley, 2013.

Edited Volumes

Kaniššuwar. A Tribute to Hans G. Güterbock on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday. Assyriological Studies 23. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1986. With Harry A. Hoffner Jr.

H. A. Hoffner Jr., *Hittite Myths*, Writings from the Ancient World. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991. 2nd ed.: Society of Biblical Literature, 1998.

Civilizations of the Ancient Near East. New York: Scribner's, 1995. Associate Editor.

A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law Leiden: Brill, 2003. Associate Editor.

Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner, Jr. on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2003.

Text, Artifact, and Image: Revealing Ancient Israelite Religion. Providence: Brown Judaic Studies, 2006. With T. J. Lewis.

H. A. Hoffner Jr., *Letters from the Hittite Kingdom*, Writings from the Ancient World. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009.

Materials Translated

R. M. Sigrist, *Neo-Sumerian Texts from the Royal Ontario Museum. I. The Administration at Drehem*. Bethesda, MD: CDL, 1995. From the French.

Contributions of G. Frantz-Szabó, V. Haas, K. Kohlmeyer, and G. Wilhelm to *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*. New York: Scribner's, 1995. From the German.

"Elkunirša and Ašertu," "The Storm-god and the Serpent," "The Wrath of Telipinu," "Plague Prayers of Mursili II," "Excerpt from an Oracle Report," "Hittite Proverbs," "Excerpt from the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual Wisdom Text," and "The Bilingual Edict of Hattušili I." Pages I:149–53, 156–60, 204–6, 215–17; II:79–81 in *The Context of Scripture*, ed. William W. Hallo and K. Lawson Younger Jr. Leiden: Brill, 1997, 2000. From Hittite and Akkadian.

Texts from Hattuša and Ugarit. Pages 26–29, 31–35 in *Sources for the History of Cyprus* II, *Documenta Mundi*, ed. B. Knapp. Altamont, NY: Greece and Cyprus Research Center, 1996. From Hittite and Akkadian.

The 'Anitta Text'" and "The Annals of Hattušili I." Pages 216–22 in *The Ancient Near East: Historical Sources in Translation*, ed. M. W. Chavalas. London: Blackwell, 2006. From Hittite and Akkadian.

Preface

This collection of essays honors the life and work of Gary Beckman, on the occasion is his 65th birthday on August 22, 2013. The essays were contributed by his colleagues, students, and friends, and their breadth—traversing Anatolia, Syria, Mesopotamia, and beyond—are a measure of the range of his influence as a scholar, teacher, and editor, and in recognition of his deep learning, broad intellectual interests, generous dedication to teaching, and editorial skills.

Gary Beckman obtained his PhD from Yale in 1977. He remained there, teaching and acting as assistant curator of the Yale Babylonian Collection until 1992, when he moved to the University of Michigan. He is currently Professor of Hittite and Mesopotamian Studies in the Department of Near Eastern Studies at Michigan, having served as department chair for six years. In 2004–2005 he held the position of President of the American Oriental Society, and since 1999 has been associate editor for the ancient Near East of the Society's journal. Professor Beckman has published widely on Hittite religion and on Hittite social organization and diplomacy. Beyond his work as a Hittitologist, he has compiled two catalogues of the Old Babylonian cuneiform tablets held by the Babylonian Collection of Yale University, and studied extensively the the tablets of the Epic of Gilgamesh recovered from the site of the Hittite capital Hattusa, among other important contributions. His interest in the reception and adaptation of Syro-Mesopotamian culture by the Hittites in particular inspired this collection in his honor.

The photograph of Gary on the back cover was taken by Billie Jean Collins upon their first meeting at the Yale Babylonian Collection in 1982. The frontispiece was provided by Marjorie Fisher.

ABBREVIATIONS

AAA	Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology
AAS	J..-P. Grégoire, *Archives administratives sumériennes* (Paris 1970)
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament
ABAW	Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Abt.
ABAW NF	Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil-hist. Klasse, Neue Folge
AEPHE	*Annuaire École pratique des Hautes Études (Ve section)*
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
AHw	W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* (Wiesbaden 1959–1981)
AIL	Ancient Israel and Its Literature
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
ÄHK	Elmar Edel, *Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköy in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache.* Band I: *Umschriften und Übersetzungen,* Band II: *Kommentar.* Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westphälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Band 77 (Opladen 1977)
ALASP	Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syren-Palästinas und Mesopotamiens
AM	Albrecht Goetze, *Die Annalen des Muršiliš*, MVAeG 38 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1933)
Amherst	Theophilus G. Pinches, *The Amherst Tablets* (London: Quaritch, 1908)
AnAn	Anatolia Antiqua
AnAr	inventory number of the Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi of Ankara
ANB	*American National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)
AnOr	*Analecta Orientalia*
AnSt	*Anatolian Studies*

AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AOATS	Alter Orient und Altes Testament Sonderreihe
AoF	*Altorientalische Forschungen*
ARCE	American Research Center in Egypt
ArchAnz.	*Archäologischer Anzeiger*
ArchBibSt	Archeology and Biblical Studies
ARM	Archives royales de Mari
ArOr	*Archiv Orientální*
ARRIM	Annual Review of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project
ASAE	*Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte,* Kairo
ĀśGS	*Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra*
ASJ	*Acta Sumerologica*
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
ĀśŚS	*Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra*
AUCT	Andrews University Cuneiform Texts
AuOr	*Aula Orientalis*
AuOrSup	Aula Orientalis Supplements
AVŚ	*Atharvaveda Śaunaka*
BaM	*Baghdader Mitteilungen*
BAW	Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
BBVO	Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient
BCT	P. J. Watson, *Catalogue of Cuneiform Tablets in Birmingham City Museum* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1986–1993)
BdÉ	Bibliothèque d'Études, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Kairo
BDTNS	Base de Datos de Textos Neosumerios
Bil.	Erich Neu, *Das hurritische Epos der Freilassung* I, StBoT 32 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996)
BIN	Babylonian lnscriptions in the Collection of J. B. Nies
BiOr	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*
BM	British Museum catalogue number
BMSAES	*British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan*
Bo	Tablet siglum of texts from Boghazköy
BPOA	Biblioteca del Proximo Oriente Antiguo
BRM	Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan
BSILL	Brill's Studies in Indo-European Languages & Linguistics
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

CANE	Jack M. Sasson, *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*. 4 vols. (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1995)
CDLB	Cuneiform Digital Library Bulletin
CDLI	Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative
CDLJ	Cuneiform Digital Library Journal
CEDAE	The Centre d'Étude et de Documentation sur l'Ancienne Égypte
CFEETK	Centre Franco-Egyptien d'Étude des Temples de Karnak Louqsor (Égypte)
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CHD	H. G. Güterbock, H. A. Hoffner, Jr. and T. P. J. van den Hout, eds., *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1980–)
ChS	Corpus der hurritischen Sprachdenkmäler
CM	Cuneiform Monographs
CoS	William W. Hallo and K. Lawson Younger, eds. *The Context of Scripture*. 3 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1997–2002).
CST	T. Fish, *Catalogue of Sumerian Tablets in the John Rylands Library (*Manchester 1932)
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum (London 1896–)
CTA	A. Herdner, *Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939*, Mission de Ras Shamra 10, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique 79 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale and Geuthner, 1963)
CTH	Emmanuel Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites*. Études et Commentaires, 75 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1971)
CTMMA	Corpus of Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art
CUSAS	Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology
DAB	*Dictionary of National Biography* (New York: Scribner's)
DBH	Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie
DVS-HjM	Det Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Hist.-filol. Meddelelser
EA	El Amarna catalogue number
EEF	Memoirs of the Egypt Exploration Fund, London
EES	Memoirs of the Egypt Excavation Society, London

Emar	Daniel Arnaud, *Recherches au pays d'Aštata: Emar VI: Les textes sumériens et accadiens*/ (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1985–1987)
ETCSL	The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature. Online: http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk.
FHL	Jean-Marie Durand and Emmanuel Laroche, Fragments hittites du Louvre. Pages 73–107 in *Mémorial Atatürk: Études d'archéologie et de philologie anatoliennes* (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations, 1982)
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GE	Gilgamesh Epic
GLH	Emmanuel Laroche, *Glossaire de la langue hourrite, RHA* 34–35 (1976–77) 1–323.
GOF	Göttinger Orientforschungen
GoGS	*Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra*
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
HEG	J. Tischler, *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar* (Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 1983–)
Hetkonk	Konkordanz der hethitischen Texte
HKM	Sedat Alp, *Maşat-Höyük'te bulunan civi yazili Hitit tabletleri/Hittite Cuneiform Tablets from Maşat-Höyük* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1991)
HiGS	*Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛhyasūtra*
HLC	George A. Barton, *Haverford Library Collection of Cuneiform Tablets*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: Winston, 1905–1914)
HOS	Harvard Oriental Series
HSAO	Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient
HSS	Harvard Semitic Series
HT	L. W. King, *Hittite Texts in the Cuneiform Character from Tablets in the British Museum* (London 1920)
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
IBoT	*Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde bulunan Bogazköy tabletleri* (Istanbul)
IOS	Israel oriental studies
ISCANEE	International Scholars Conference on Ancient Near Eastern Economies
ITT	inventory numbers of tablets from Tello

JANER	*Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religion*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JARCE	*Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JCSSup	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies* Supplement series
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JEOL	*Jaarbericht van het Voor-Aziatisch-Egyptisch-Gezelschap*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSS	*Journal of the Semitic Studies*
KAR	E. Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts* I/II (= WVDOG 28, 1919; 34, 1923)
KBo	*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* (Bd. 1–22 in WVDOG, Leipzig/Berlin, 1916–*)*
KH	Ketef Hinnom
KRI	Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1975–1990)
KRIT	Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translations: Translated and Annotated* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993–)
KRITANC	Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994–)
KTU	M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, *The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places* (KTU: second, enlarged edition), Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas und Mesopotamiens 8 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1995);
KUB	*Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi* (Berlin: Akademie, 1921–)
LAPO	Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient
L.	Tablet siglum of texts in the Archeological Museum in Istanbul (Lagash/Girsu)
LB	tablets in the de Liagre Bohl Collection (Leiden)
LD	Carl R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien nach den Zeichnungen der von Seiner Majestät dem Könige von Preussen, Friedrich Wilhelm IV., nach diesen Ländern gesendeten, und in den Jahren 1842–1845 ausgeführten wissenschaftlichen Expedition auf Befehl Seiner Majestät*. 13 vols. (Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung. Repr. Genève: Éditions de Belles-Lettres, 1972)

LDT	Carl R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthopien. Textband (*Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1897–1913. Repr. Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag)
LKA	L. Ebeling, *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur* (Berlin 1953)
Liv.	museum numbers in the Merseyside County Museums, Liverpool
M.	registration number of texts found at Mari
MARI	*Mari, Annales de Recherches Interdisciplinaires*
Maşat	tablet siglum of texts from Maşat Höyük
MB	Middle Babylonian
MC	Mesopotamian Civilizations
MDOG	*Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft zu Berlin*
Mesopotamia	Mesopotamia. Copenhagen Studies in Assyriology (Copenhagen 1972–)
MH	Middle Hittite
MLC	Morgan Library Collection, siglum of the Yale Babylonian Collection, New Haven
MRAH	Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire
MSL	*Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon/Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon* (Rome 1937–)
MSS	*Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*
MVAeG	Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft
MVN	Materiali per il vocabulario neosumerico
MVS	Münchener vorderasiatische Studien
NATN	David I. Owen, *Neo-Sumerian Archival Texts Primarily from Nippur* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1982)
NCBT	siglum of the Newell Collection of Babylonian Tablets
NEA	*Near Eastern Archaeology*
NH	New Hittite
Nik.	M. V. Nikol'skij, *Drevnosti Vostocnyja*, III/2 (St. Petersburg 1908)
Nisaba	Studi Assiriologici Messinesi
NRVN	M. Çig and H. Kizilyay, *Neusumerische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden aus Nippur,* I (Ankara 1965)
NS	New Script
OA	*Oriens Antiquus*
OB	Old Babylonian
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis

OIP	Oriental Institute Publications, The University of Chicago
OIS	Oriental Institute Seminars
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*
OMRO	Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden
ORA	Orientalische Religionen in der Antike
Orient	*Orient*. Report of the Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan (Tokyo 1960–)
OrNS	*Orientalia*, *Nova Series*
OrSP	*Orientalia, Series Prior*
PBA	Proceedings of the British Academy
PGS	*Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra*
PM	Porter, Bertha and Rosalind L. B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1927–)
Princeton	Marcel Sigrist, *Tablettes du Princeton Theological Seminary: Epoque d'Ur III* (Philadelphia: Samuel Noah Kramer Fund, 1990–2005)
PTS	Tablet siglum of the collection of the Princeton Theological Seminary
RA	*Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale*
RdÉ	*Revue d'Égyptologie*
RGTC	Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes
RIH	Ras Ibn Hani text inventory number
RIME	The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods
RLA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archaologie*
RS	Ras Shamra text inventory number
RSO	Ras Shamra-Ougarit
RT	*Recueil de travaux relatifs à; la philologie et à; l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*
RTC	F. Thureau-Dangin, *Recueil des tablettes chaldéennes* (Paris 1903)
ṚV	*Ṛgveda*
ṚVKh	*Ṛgveda Khila*
SAAB	*State Archives of Assyria. Bulletin*
SAK	*Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur*
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization

SAT	Marcel Sigrist, *Sumerian Archival Texts* (Bethesda: CDL, 1993–)
SB	Standard Babylonian
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SCCNH	Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians
ŚGS	*Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhyasūtra*
SJOT	*Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament*
SMEA	*Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici*
SNAT	T. Gomi and S. Sato, *Selected Neo-Sumerian Adminstrative Texts from the British Museum* (Chiba, Japan 1990)
STA	Edward Chiera, *Selected Temple Accounts from Telloh, Yokha and Drehem* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1922)
STBoT	Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten
StMed	*Studia Mediterranea*
STU	C. L. Bedale, *Sumerian Tablets from Umma in the John Rylands Library* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1915)
StudAs	Studia Asiana
Syracuse	M. Sigrist, *Textes économiques néo-sumériens de l'Université de Syracuse* (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les civilisations, 1983)
TAPS	Transactions of the American Philosophical Society
TCL	*Textes cunéiformes, Musées du Louvre* (Paris 1910–)
TCS	Texts from Cuneiform Sources
TCTI	Tablettes cunéiformes de Tello au Musée d'Istanbul: datant de l'époque de la IIIe Dynastie d'Ur
TÉL	C. Virolleaud and M. Lambert, *Tablettes écomomiques de Lagash* (Paris 1968)
THeth	Texte der Hethiter
T.L.	Tell Leilan inventory number
TS	*Taittirīyasaṃhitā*
TSDU	H. Limet, *Textes Sumériens de la III^e^ dynastie d'Ur* (Brepols 2002)
TTK	Türk Tarih Kurumu
TTKYayın	Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları
TUAT	Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments
TVOA	Testi del Vicino Oriente Antico

UAVA	Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie
UCP	University of California Publications in Semitic Philology
UET	Ur Excavations. Texts (London 1928–)
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen*
UNL	G. Pettinato, *Untersuchungen zur neusumerischen Landwirtschaft I*, 1. und 2. Teil (Naples 1967)
UTI	*Die Umma-Texte aus den Archäologischen Museen zu Istanbul*
VBoT	Albrecht Götze, *Verstreute Boghazköy-Texte* (Marburg 1930)
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
WAW	Writings from the Ancient World
YBC	Yale Babylonian Collection
YOS	Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts
YOSR	Yale Oriental Series, Researches
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*
Zinbun	*Zinbun. Memoirs of the Research Institute for Humanistic Studies, Kyoto University* (Kyoto: Zinbun Kagaku Kenkyusyo, 1957–)

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).[1]

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

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

resembles a landscape convulsed by a cataclysm, from which only islands of different geological strata emerge.[2]

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.[3] 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).[4] In Amorite Mari a woman of the harem writes to king Zimri-lim, "I will pray for you before Tešup (? ^{d}IŠKUR) 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.[5] 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

2. A general presentation of the spread of Hurrian-speaking peoples has been given by Thomas Richter, "Die Ausbreitung der Ḫurriter bis zur altbabylonischen Zeit: Eine kurze Zwischenbilanz," in *2000 v. Chr. Politische, wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Entwicklung im Zeichen einer Jahrtausenwende*, 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 Ḫurro-Akkadischen von Nuzi*, AOAT 9 (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1970). Previous important studies are A. Leo Oppenheim, "Zur Landessprache von Arrapḫa-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 Ḫabiru 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;[6] at Alalah IV (fifteenth–fourteenth centuries) this proportion rises to around three-quarters.[7] Confirmation of this is provided by tablets from Tell Afis (55 km south of Aleppo), from the period of Hattušili III.[8] 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.[9] 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.[10]

6. Anne Draffkorn Kilmer, *Hurrians and Hurrian at Alalaḫ*: *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 Allaiturahḫi "the woman from Mukiš "(*CTH* 780; Volkert Haas and Hans Jochen Thiel, *Die Beschwörungsrituale der Allaiturah(ḫ)i und verwandte Texte*, AOAT 31 [Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1978]; Volkert Haas and Ilse Wegner, *Die Rituale der Beschwörerinnen* ^{SAL}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 Alalaḫ 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 Umgamgssprache 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 priviliged relations enjoyed with Babylonian culture.[11]

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 pīri*); 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* (< *parīsu*; a measure of capacity).[12]

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.[13] 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.[14] *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.[15] In essence en was the Sumerian word for "king" in Uruk, while lugal was the term in Ur, and ensi$_2$ 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).[16] The scribes of Naram-Sin had to

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 *Urkesh 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. *ʾakallu* (< Sum ʾà-gal) "palace";[17] *ḫalzi* (< *ḫalṣu*) "fortress; district," see also *ḫalzuḫlu* "commandant of a *ḫ*."; to the echange activity: *tamkari* (< *tamkāru*) "merchant," *tamkaraššī* "profits"; *puḫukaru* (< *pūḫu*) "replacement."[18]

Concerning religion, instead, there is a strong Akkadian influence. The ritual *KUB* 27.38 (*ChS* I/5)[19] (probably a ceremony concerning kingship) includes material from three different periods.[20] 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," ^{D}*šarri=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 (IV19–21) 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*)."[21] *Šarre*(*na*) are the divine kings, while *ewri* is the earthly king.[22] *Šarri* is the common epithet for Teššub,[23] while Hadda of Halab, on whom Teššub had been superimposed, was *bēlu* "lord (of Halab)." His spouse Hepat was *allai* "lady,"[24] 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*!).[25] There was a ceremony of "kingship," *šarrašši* concerning Teššub, and of "ladyship," *allašši*, for Hebat.[26] A "Song of Kingship," *šarrašš̆yaš* SÌR^{RU}, *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*.'"[27]

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

4. M.-Cl. Trémouille has noted a tendency to mention varying gods with epithets:[28] Allani "the Lady (of the Netherworld)"; Hutena "(Those)

21. Gernot Wilhelm, "König Silber und König Ḫidam," in *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner Jr. on the Occasion of His 65th 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. Emmanual 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";[29] Hutelluri "midwife";[30] Mušuni "(She) of justice";[31] Ebrimuša "the Lord of justice";[32] Ša(w)uška "the Great";[33] Tiyabenti "(he/she) who speaks favorably."[34] The names of two of the principal deities are ethnic indicators: Kumarbi "(He) of Kumar";[35] Nabarbi "(She) of Nawar."[36]

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."[37]

5. Pan-Hurrian gods[38] 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),[39] Urartian Teišeba (of Qumenu);[40] Šimeki (Šimeka(-n) in Tišatal's inscription); the

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 hurritischer 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 hurritischen 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 orginally 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 Haburītum 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 Keilschrifkulturen* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001), 444–50.

Sun God (in the inscription of Atalšen: UTU); Kušuh, the Moon God;[41] Nubadig (Tišatal: Lubadag);[42] Šawuška (Atalšen: INANNA); Nergal of the Sumerian-Akkadian tradition (Tišatal, Atalšen: a Hurrian god equated to him, e.g., Aštabi?);[43] 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.[44] 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[45]) 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.[46]

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, "Kušuḫ," *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 ^{d}KIŠ.GAL in Tišatal's inscription, ^{d}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 ^{d}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.[47]

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[48]). 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).[49] 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.[50] 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 (*ChS* I/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 ^{d}*Ḫa-a-ba-du*, /ḫa(l)abājtu/, "She of Halab," the paredra 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.[51] 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 (Sîn)	~ Nikkal (NIN.GAL)
Šimegi / UTU	~ Aya (A.A) (- Ekaldu)[52]
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: ^{d}*Mati* ^{d}*Ḫazzizzi*). Also received along with him are his spouse Damkina and his vizier Izzummi (Akk. Isimud/Ušmû). 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.[53]

51. Volkert Haas, *Die Serien itkaḫi 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 ^{d}Aya ^{d}E/Ikalti / ^{d}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: ^{d}*A-ya e-ni-kal-d*[*u*(-); 23.13 I 19: ^{d}*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.