

Scritti di Alfonso Archi sulla religione degli Ittiti

a cura di

Rita Francia, Valerio Pisaniello, Giulia Torri



Collana Materiali e documenti 66

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In copertina: Giulia Torri, *Verso l'Eufrate*.

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Introduzione

Presentiamo in questo volume una raccolta di studi sulla religione degli Ittiti scritti nel corso degli anni dal nostro Maestro, Alfonso Archi.

Sebbene le sue pubblicazioni scientifiche spazino pressoché in ogni ambito della disciplina, dalla religione alla storia, dalla filologia alla geografia fino alla paleografia, ci sembra che le ricerche più significative in ambito religioso meritassero di essere raccolte in un volume perché rappresentative del suo originale pensiero e del suo metodo di studio.

In questo volume, dunque, abbiamo raccolto una serie di articoli, frutto di più di cinquant'anni di ricerca. Questi contributi si riferiscono soprattutto al pantheon ittita e alle sue divinità, alle loro caratteristiche e specificità, al ruolo occupato all'interno del complesso sistema dei "Mille dèi di Hatti" e ai culti ad esse dedicati, giunti a noi attraverso una miriade di testi festivi e rituali e che, forse non a caso, costituiscono la parte più consistente della documentazione in nostro possesso.

La tesi di laurea di Alfonso Archi, pubblicata nel 1966 in un articolo apparso in *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* dal titolo "Trono regale e trono divinizzato", posto in apertura di questa raccolta, ha come tema un argomento a carattere religioso. Inoltre, proprio per la grande importanza che la religione occupa nella cultura ittita, lo Studioso, con l'abilità e la competenza che contraddistinguono la sua ricerca, ha sondato una grande varietà di testi di generi diverso: testi storici, miti e preghiere, testi festivi e rituali.

Già questo primo studio si rivela la formazione classica di Alfonso Archi, evidente sia nella capacità di selezionare e analizzare le fonti sia

nella straordinaria abilità di muoversi in testi di varia origine e contenuto e di cogliere le informazioni che meglio rivelano la ricchezza e la complessità del mondo religioso ittita.

Siamo convinti che i contributi contenuti in questo volume, sebbene siano il prodotto di una faticosa selezione che non rende sufficiente giustizia alla vastissima produzione del nostro Maestro, riescano ugualmente a far emergere in maniera evidente la complessità dell'universo religioso ittita, così come la sua ricettività verso il mondo altrettanto multiforme della Siria e della Mesopotamia nell'età del Bronzo. In un momento in cui la ricerca storico-religiosa porta gli studiosi a cercare di distinguere l'origine etnica e i molteplici livelli culturali della religione ittita, la ricerca di Alfonso Archi ci ricorda che i testi in nostro possesso sono sì una mirabile sintesi di elementi culturali interni all'Anatolia, ma che spesso questi stessi elementi risentono notevolmente dell'influenza proveniente dalle ricche culture fiorite a sud, oltre la catena montuosa del Tauro.

Il suo originale metodo di studio si trova riflesso in tutti gli scritti: ogni cultura fiorita e sviluppatasi nell'area vicino-orientale non è analizzata in isolamento, ma è calata nel suo tempo, nella realtà storica, se vogliamo pan-orientalistica, nella complessa rete di relazioni che si era venuta a costituire in quell'epoca. Sebbene, infatti, gli Ittiti fossero una popolazione indoeuropea, la loro cultura e la loro religione furono fortemente influenzate dalle coeve civiltà del Vicino Oriente con cui vennero in contatto. La straordinaria originalità di questo popolo fu proprio quella di accogliere e rielaborare gli influssi culturali, mescolandovi le proprie ataviche conoscenze. Per rendersi conto di ciò è sufficiente leggere, per esempio, l'introduzione all'articolo "How a Pantheon Forms" del 1993, in cui l'Autore, con pochi tratti, riesce magistralmente a delineare la complessa globalità del mondo religioso ittita e, di riflesso, di gran parte del Vicino Oriente Antico.

Per motivi di coerenza interna al volume, abbiamo dovuto tralasciare, sebbene a malincuore, una serie di studi di ambito religioso che, tuttavia, compaiono nella bibliografia pubblicata nella raccolta di studi a lui dedicata e nell'aggiornamento bibliografico incluso in questo volume. Ci preme ricordare che Alfonso Archi ha svolto un ruolo fondamentale nella decifrazione della funzione e dei modi di operare dei

sistemi oracolari in uso presso gli Ittiti, proponendo lavori che sono ancora oggi un riferimento importante per chi si accinga a studiare tale materia. Qui ricordiamo come fondamentali e per lungo tempo unici “Il sistema KIN della divinazione ittita”, pubblicato in *Oriens Antiquus* del 1974, e “L’ornitomanzia ittita” comparso in *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* del 1975. Altrettanto importante è stato il suo contributo all’edizione e interpretazione di numerosi testi religiosi tra i quali non possiamo non citare “Auguri per il Labarna”, inserito nel volume di studi per Piero Meriggi (O. Carruba, *Studia Mediterranea Piero Meriggi dicata* (StMed 1) Pavia 1979, pp. 27-51) e “Eine Anrufung der Sonnengöttin von Arinna”, comparso negli studi per Heinrich Otten, studiosi che hanno lasciato la loro impronta scientifica nella produzione di Alfonso Archi.

Condensare gli studi di Alfonso Archi sulla religione degli Ittiti in un unico volume è impresa impossibile. Speriamo, tuttavia, che nella lettura di questo libro possano trovare memoria e ispirazioni quanti continuano oggi a studiare questa affascinante cultura. Riteniamo, infatti, di essere riusciti a raccogliere una serie di contributi che riassumono la lezione fondamentale del nostro Maestro: la religione ittita è un insieme di elementi religiosi vari e molteplici che deve essere compreso in quanto parte integrante del complesso mondo religioso vicino-orientale.

Roma, 28 dicembre 2020

Rita Francia
Valerio Pisaniello
Giulia Torri

TRONO REGALE E TRONO DIVINIZZATO
NELL'ANATOLIA ITTITA

Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici 1
(1966), 76-120

TRONO REGALE E TRONO DIVINIZZATO
NELL'ANATOLIA ITTITA

di ALFONSO ARCHI *

I) $G^{iS}GU.ZA$ e $G^{iS}kišhi$ (idgr. $G^{iS}ŠÚ.A$)

Nei testi ittiti ricorrono tre termini per indicare il trono: $G^{iS}GU.ZA$, di cui ancora non è stata identificata la lettura, $G^{iS}kišhi/kešhi$ (idgr. $G^{iS}ŠÚ.A$)¹ e $G^{iS}halmašviz$ (idgr. $G^{iS}DAG$)².

Per quanto $G^{iS}kišhi$ (idgr. $G^{iS}ŠÚ.A$) sia molto più usato ed abbia un significato più generico, tuttavia i punti di coincidenza con $G^{iS}GU.ZA$ sono sostanziali³. Ambedue le parole sono usate per indicare il 'trono della regalità', il simbolo del potere del sovrano.

*KB₀ III 3 II 11 sgg.*⁴ *nu-kán A-NA 'DU-PU ŠEŠ-ŠU ŠA MAŠ-ŠU A-NA $G^{iS}GU.ZA$ LUGAL-UT-TI É-ŠU Û KUR-ŠU li-e ku-iš-ki ha-an-na-a-i*

* Ringrazio O. Carruba, a cui devo alcuni utili suggerimenti, ed il Prof. H. Otten, che mi ha permesso gentilmente di consultare i testi inediti citati alle note 94 e 128.

¹ V. per tutti FRIEDRICH, «RHA» 47, 1947, p. 15 sgg., ove si abbandona l'ipotesi di due letture per $G^{iS}ŠÚ.A$ (in alcuni casi il complemento fonetico per il dat. è *-hi*, *-kitti*), e si pone $G^{iS}kišhi$ come variante. Per l'uso di $G^{iS}kišhi$ nel hurrico ed il passaggio in ittito v. FRIEDRICH, «AfO» 14, 1944, p. 329 sgg.; URUDUŠÚ.A in XXXIII 66 I 15?

² V. EHELOLF, «ZA» NF 2, 1925, p. 312 sgg.

³ Il FRIEDRICH in *Staatsv.* II p. 25 sgg., dopo un primo spoglio dei testi, nota che $G^{iS}ŠÚ.A$ in ittito, oltre ad avere il significato di 'sedia' (Stuhl) come il corrispondente vocabolo acc. *LITTU* ('Schemel') ha anche quello di 'trono', mentre $G^{iS}GU.ZA$ in ittito sembra essere usato solo per 'trono del re' a differenza dell'acc. *KUSSÛ* 'sedia'. Ma la pubblicazione di nuovi rituali (v. *infra* p. 80 sgg.), attesta anche per $G^{iS}GU.ZA$ il significato di 'seggio'. Il SOMMER (*HAB* p. 115) ha posto in evidenza che i testi più antichi mostrano come ideogramma per 'trono' solo $G^{iS}ŠÚ.A$; per $G^{iS}GU.ZA$ nel medio regno cfr. 2 *BoTU* 23 A II 16 (*KB₀ III 1 + 68*, editto di Telepinuš) e 2 *BoTU* 26 2 (XI 3, Cat. 22): un frammento ove è ricordato Alluwannaš.

⁴ Cat. 44.

' e a Duppi-Tešup, alcun fratello della sua famiglia intenterà lite riguardo al trono della regalità, alla sua casa, e al suo paese '.

E così ancora, ad es., in II 17 e nel dupl. XIX 4r II 16,2r.

KBo IV 1 I 17⁵ *AŠ-ŠUM BE-LU-UT-TIM KUR URUḪa-at-ti GIŠŠÚ.A LUGAL-UT-TI-ja*

' riguardo alla signoria del paese di Ḫatti e al trono della regalità '.

Così pure in *KBo* VI 28 I 17.

In X 45 III 24 sgg. ⁶ un trono analogo è previsto per la regina :

LUGAL-uš A-NA GIŠŠÚ.A LUGAL-UT-TI SAL.LUGAL-ma-az-za-kán A-NA GIŠŠÚ.A SAL.[LUGAL-UT-TI] e-ša-an-ta-ri

' il re sul trono della regalità e la regina sul trono della dignità della regina si siedono ' ⁷.

Uguualmente XII 54 Rs. 2 sgg. ⁸ :

LUGAL A-NA GIŠŠÚ.A [LUGAL-UT-TI SAL.LUGAL-]ma-za-kán A-NA GIŠŠÚ.A [SAL.LUGAL-UT-TI e-ša-an-t]a-ri

La successione al potere regale in alcuni testi è indicata con l'atto del sedere sul trono (^{GIŠGU.ZA}, ^{GIŠkišhi} / ^{GIŠŠÚ.A}) del proprio padre :

KBo III 4 = 2 *BoTU* 48 I 3⁹ *ku-it-ma-an-za-kán A-NA GIŠGU.ZA A-BI-JA na-wi e-ša-at*

' Finché non mi ero ancora seduto sul trono di mio padre '.

V. inoltre I 5, 12, 14, 19, 28, IV 44.

VIII 1 II 5 sgg.¹⁰ *ma-a-an I-NA UD.16.KAM ᐁSIN-aš a-ki LUGAL-uš-za-kán KUR-ZU ḫar-ni-ik-zi nu-za pa-iz-zi ta-me-el a-ša-an-da-aš KUR-e GIŠŠÚ.A-an da-a-i ma-a-an I-NA UD.20.KAM ᐁSIN-aš a-ki DUMU.LUGAL ku-iš ar-ḫa pār-ḫa-an-za na-aš EGIR-pa ú-iz-zi nu-za GIŠGU.ZA A-BI-ŠU e-ip-zi ma-a-na I-NA UD.21.KAM ᐁSIN-aš a-ki DUMU.LUGAL-kán I-NA GIŠGU.ZA A-BI-ŠU pa-ra-a na-a-i*

' Se la luna si eclissa al sedicesimo giorno, allora il re porterà alla rovina il suo paese, e andrà a prendere il paese (e) il trono di un'altro che

⁵ Dupl. II 2 I 18 sg.; Cat. 309.

⁶ Cfr. VI 1 sgg. del testo parallelo IX 10; Cat. 509.

⁷ Sul potere della regina v. GOETZE, *Kleinasien*², p. 92 sg.

⁸ Cat. 353. Il testo è cit. da FRIEDRICH, *Staatsv.* II p. 27.

⁹ Cat. 48.

¹⁰ Cat. 191. Trascr. FRIEDRICH, *Heth. El.* II p. 47 sg. e trad. FRIEDRICH, «AO» 25 2 p. 27 sg.

(vi) siede. Se la luna si eclissa al ventesimo giorno, un principe che è stato cacciato ritornerà, e prenderà il trono di suo padre. Se la luna si eclissa al ventunesimo giorno, il principe rimarrà sul trono di suo padre'.

Qui è da notare l'alternanza $G^{15}GU.ZA/G^{15}ŠÚ.A$ all'interno del medesimo testo¹¹. E nei colofoni del SISKUR.SISKUR *šarraššijaš KBo X 34 IV 11* sg. e XI 31 VI 7 sgg.:

1Du-ut-ḫa-li-ja-aš-za-kán LUGAL.GAL DUMU 1Ar-nu-wa-an-da ku-wa-pi A-NA G¹⁵ŠÚ.A A-BI-ŠU e-ša-at

'Quando Tutḫalijaš, il grande re, figlio di Arnuwandaš, si sedette sul trono di suo padre'.

Così in *KBo III 27 = 2 BoTU 10 β 14* e *XIX 49 I 20*.

Coincidenza tra $G^{15}GU.ZA$ e $G^{15}ŠÚ.A$ è forse possibile per XI 3 = 2 *BoTU 26 2*¹² *I-NA G¹⁵GU.ZA GAL* 'sul gran trono' e *KBo IV 14 II 4*¹³ *A-NA G¹⁵ŠÚ.A*¹⁴ *GAL*¹⁵ 'ai grandi troni', ma ambedue i testi, frammentari, non lasciano decidere. Accanto a questi è da tenere presente¹⁴ II 2 II 43 sg.¹⁵:

DINGIR^{MES} KUR^{MES} ma-ni-ja-aḫ-ḫi-ir da-a-ir-ma-at URUḪa-at-tu-ši šalli G¹⁵ŠÚ.A da-a-ir-ma-at nu-za La-ba-ar-na-aš LUGAL-u[š e-eš-zi]

'Gli dei hanno distribuito i paesi, l'hanno messo a Ḫattuša il grande trono, l'hanno messo, e Labarnaš [è] re'.

Con *šalli G¹⁵ŠÚ.A* è stato reso il ḫattico *ti-it-ta-aḫ-zi-la-at*, in cui *tittah-* = *šalli*; su *zilat* v. Laroche, 'RA' 41, 1947, p. 80 sg. (cfr. anche *DLL* p. 115), ma senza risultati conclusivi. L'unica parola ḫattica attestata per trono è *ḫanwašuit*, di cui non è possibile determinare il preciso valore religioso-culturale (*infra*, p. 118 seg.). L'interpretazione complessiva del Laroche, che

¹¹ La stessa alternanza in XXXIV 22 I 7 sgg. (Cat. 201) *idk-ku-wa-aš-ta a-aš-ku-e-eš ŠA-PAL G¹⁵GU.Z[A pa-ra-a] wa-at-ku-wa-an-zi nu a-pa-a-at G¹⁵ŠÚ.A ar-ḫa pi-ip-pa-at-ta-ri* 'Se a. (topi?) saltano fuori sotto il seggio, allora quel seggio sarà rovesciato'. Cfr. FRIEDRICH, « AfO » 15, 1945-51, p. 106, n. 23.

Per $G^{15}GU.ZA A-BI-ŠU$ v. ancora *KBo III 1 II 16*; *KBo VI 29 I 23*; I 1 I 23 e duplicati I 2 I 21 e *KBo III 6 I 20*; XIV 16 I 12; XXIII 103 Vs. 3.

¹² Cat. 22.

¹³ Cat. 92.

¹⁴ La proposta in FRIEDRICH, *Staatsv.* II, p. 27 n. 1.

¹⁵ Cat. 358, ove v. bibl.

¹⁶ Anche $G^{15}ḫurakkiš$ è testimoniato come il simbolo del potere regale (GOETZE, *NBv* p. 52, B IV 17 sg.). In alcuni testi se ne contano quattro accanto ai quattro angoli dell'edificio (v. OTTEN, *Tot.* p. 135, ove sono raccolte le citazioni dei passi più significativi). In due passi, di cui uno almeno è di un rituale, vi si pone un seggio ($G^{15}ŠÚ.A$), ed in XV 42 III 23 è citato tra il trono culturale ($G^{15}ḫalmašuiš$) e la trave del tetto ($G^{15}ŠÜR$) (v. il testo *infra*, p. 97 n. 75). A quest'ultimo è da accostare XXVII 69 VI 2-4 *nu-zan SAL.LUGAL G¹⁵DAG-ti G¹⁵ḫurakkiš piran ešari*.

traduce 'la capitale', è avvalorata anche dall'espressione parallela in *KBo* VI 29 I 31 sg + dupl., Goetze, *NBr* p. 46, *na-aš I-NA URU DU-aš-ša pi-e-da-aš nu-za URU DU-aš-ša-an šal-li* [*AŠ-R*]A *i-ja-at* 'e li (gli dei) portò a Dattašša, e fece Dattašša la grande sede (la capitale)'. Ed è stato d'altra parte precisato (Friedrich, *Staatsv.* II 40 n. 1) che *šalli pedan*, lett; 'grande luogo', 'alta sede', (*AŠRU = pedan*) in alcuni passi potrebbe corrispondere a 'trono regale'. Si veda *KBo* I 28 I 12 sgg. *na-aš-ma ku-iš ŠA* ¹*Pi-ja-ši-li* NUMUN-aš I-NA KUR *Kar-ga-miš šal-li pi-e-da-an ti-ja-zi* 'o chi della discendenza di Piaššiliš nel paese di Kargamiš si insedierà nell'alta sede'', e Goetze, *Hatt.* IV 65 sg. *nu-mu šal-la-i pi-di A-NA KUR URU Hatt-ti LUGAL-iz-na-ni ti-it-ta-nu-ut* "e mi insediò nell'alta sede nel paese di Hatti nella regalità".

In generale per ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA come trono del re si veda *KBo* III 3 II 3, 8; XVII 31 I 15; XXIX 9 IV 7; e per ^{GIŠŠŪ}.A *KBo* III 22 = 2 *BoTU* 7 75; *KBo* III 28 = 2 *BoTU* 10 γ 23; XXI 18 II 11.¹⁷

Ugualmente nei miti, per il trono del re degli dei si alterna ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA (XXXIII 120 III 9, IV 10, passi molto framm.) con ^{GIŠŠŪ}.A:

XXXIII 120 I 8 sg.¹⁸ ^{DA}*la-lu-uš-ša-an* ^{GIŠŠŪ}.A-*ki e-eš-zi*
'(finché) Alaluš sedette sul trono'.

I 15 sg. ^{GIŠŠŪ}.A-*ki-ma-aš-ša-an* ^{DA}*nu-uš e-ša-at* ^{DA}*nu-uš-ša-an* ^{GIŠŠŪ}.A-*iš-ši e-eš-zi*
'ma Anuš sedette sul trono, (e finché) Anuš sedette sul trono'.

Per ^{GIŠŠŪ}.A come 'seggio' XII 65 III² 12¹⁹:

a-ša-an-na-aš-ši ^{GIŠŠŪ}.A-*an a-ru-ni ti-i-e-ir nu-za-kán šal-l[i-iš a-ru-na-aš]* ^{GIŠŠŪ}.A-*ši e-ša-at*
'a lui, il Mare, si dispose un seggio per sedere, e il gran[de Mare] si sedette sul suo seggio'.

Ed ancora XXXVI 25 I 8 ed in Güterbock, *Ullikummi*, 'JCS' 5, 1951, p. 135 sgg., I^a tav., col. I 12, C III 16, A IV 49, 52.²⁰

¹⁷ Singolare è *IBoT* I 36 II 105 sgg. *LUME-ŠE-DI-ma* [^G]ŠGU.ZA *ti-it-ta-nu-zi LUGAL-uš-kán pa-ra-a ú[-i]z-z[i]* GAL DUMUMEŠ É.GAL *ma-an QA-AZ-ZU har-zi LUGAL-uš-ša-an* ^{GIŠ}h[u-]l[u-]g[a-an-ni] *e-ša* 'un uomo della guardia dispone un trono (nella carrozza?). Il re viene fuori, il capo dei funzionari di palazzo lo tiene per mano, il re siede nella carrozza'. Quest'interpretazione è avvalorata da Alp (*Beamt.* p. 7 sg.) con 2393/c (+) I 1 sgg. ove viceversa il re scende dal h., viene preso per mano dal capo dei funzionari di palazzo, ed una guardia del corpo prende giù il trono.

¹⁸ Cat. 238.

¹⁹ Cat. 240₃.

²⁰ V. anche OTTEN, *Eine Beschwörung der Unterirdischen aus Boğazköy*, «ZA» NF 20, 1961, p. 124 col. II 39.

In una evocazione gli dei sono invitati a riprendere il loro posto nell'interno del tempio:

XV 34 II 13 sgg.²¹ *nu EGIR-pa šu-me-in-za-an Éka-ri-im-na-aš SIG₅-an-d[a-aš] ú-wa-at-ten nu-za-an EGIR-pa šu-me-in-za-an G^{IS}DAG-ti tap-ri-ja [e-eš-ten] nu-za-an kat-ta šu-me-in-za-an pár-ku-wa-i SIG₅-an-ti mi-iš-ṛ[i-wa-an-ti] G^{IS}ŠÚ.A e-eš-te-en*

'Tornate <o dei> ai vostri splendidi templi, e di nuovo [sedete sul vostro trono e seggio, sedete sul vostro puro splendido, meraviglioso trono]'

E di nuovo G^{IS}DAG e *tapri-* anche in II 37²².

Nei rituali, in XII 26 II²³, ove lo stesso dio Sole con Kamrušepaš compie i preparativi, tra gli oggetti disposti figura un G^{IS}GU.ZA: r. 3 sg. *nu-wa-za^p Kam-ru-ši-pa-aš ŠA AN.BAR G^{IS}GU.ZA da-a-iš* 'e K. dispose un trono di ferro'. Molto più frequente è invece G^{IS}kišhi (G^{IS}ŠÚ.A): in III 36 I 7 G^{IS}ŠÚ.A è ricordato accanto ad una tavola di canna, in XXXII 113 II 5 insieme ad una tavola ed un letto, ed ancora v. ad es. XVII 25 I 2, 26 I 2; XXIV 14 I 3; XXXII 123 II 24; XXXIII 70 III 4. La sua funzione è chiarita da alcuni testi:

XXXV 133 I 18 sgg.²⁴ *nu G^{IS}ŠÚ.A ti-an-zi nu-uš-ša-an ŠA LUGAL TUGNÍG.LAM^{(M)EŠ} an-da ap-pa-an-da ti-an-zi A-NA G^{IS}ŠÚ.A-ma pi-ra-an kat-ta KUŠNÍG.BAR TUGLUM.ZA ti-an-zi še-er-ra-aš-ša-an KUŠE.SIR^{HI}.A TUGBAR.DUL₅^{(M)EŠ} TUGGAD.DAM^{MEŠ} ti-an-zi nam-ma I G^{IS}BANŠUR ZAG-za I G^{IS}BANŠUR GÜB-za ti-an-zi*

'Allora dispongono un seggio, e dietro vi dispongono i vestiti da cerimonia del re, e innanzi al seggio depongono una tenda, un vestito LUM.ZA, sopra dispongono le scarpe, i mantelli lunghi, i gambali (?); inoltre dispongono una tavola a destra (e) una tavola a sinistra'.

KBo V 2 I 31 sgg.²⁵ *I G^{IS}ŠÚ.A I G^{IS}GÌR.GUB I KUŠsar-pa-aš na-at A-NA DU ti-an-zi ma-a-an EN SISKUR.SISKUR-ma SAL-za nu-*

²¹ Cat. 416.

²² G^{IS}DAG-iš-ša NAGGA GAR[.RA] 'trono intarsiato di piombo' come trono di una divinità in VON BRANDENSTEIN, *Bildbeschr.* T. 2 IV 3 (p. 14 sg.), ma per l'intera r. v. la collazione di L. Rost, «MIO» VIII, 1963, p. 181 n. 84, che però nella trad. ha dimenticato la seconda metà della r. Per *tapri-*, un prestito hurricco di cui è difficile stabilire il significato preciso, cfr. oltre a LÚ/SAL*tapri*aššiš, LÚ *tapri* KBo XI 5 I 7, VI 24; X 91 II 15; GAL *tapri-* XXI 7 III 3; (acc.) KBo VIII 63 I 8; GAL LÚ^{MEŠ} *tapri* XXI 7 III 5; con tema in dentale LÚ^{MEŠ} *tapriti* IBoT II 129 Vs 29. Inoltre SAL*taprijaš* XXXII 128 I 31, 32; cfr. XXV 48 III 10-11.

²³ Cat. 3491.

²⁴ Cat. 4591; trascr. OTTEN, *LTU* p. 109.

²⁵ Cat. 424; trascr. FRIEDRICH, *Heth. Et.* II p. 35 sgg.

uš-si G^{IS}ĥa-aš-ša-al-li ŠA SAL-ja TUGNÍG.LÁM^{MEŠ} na-at A-NA D^{HÉ}-pát ti-an-zi

‘ un seggio, uno sgabello, un cuscino(?), e li dispongono al dio della tempesta; ma se il mandante del sacrificio è una donna, allora per lei (prendono) uno sgabello e abiti da cerimonia per donna e li dispongono a Ĥebat ’.

II 48 sgg. nu G^{IS}ŠÚ.A ĥa-an-te-iz-zi PA-NI ĥu-up-ru-uš-ĥi da-a-i ŠA-PAL G^{IS}ŠÚ.A-ma G^{IS}GÌR.GUB da-a-i nu-uš-ša-an A-NA G^{IS}ŠÚ.A TUGNÍG.LÁM^{MEŠ} še-ir da-a-i A-NA G^{IS}GÌR.GUB-ma-aš-ša-an še-ir K^{UŠE}.SIR TUGGAD.DAM da-a-i

‘ e dapprima dispone il seggio dinnanzi al vaso(?), e sotto al seggio pone lo sgabello, sul seggio poi mette i vestiti da cerimonia e sullo sgabello pone le scarpe ed i gambali(?) ’.

In alcuni rituali questi seggi fanno parte del corredo sacro delle divinità,²⁶ si veda ad es. XXIX 4 I 28 sgg.:²⁷

II G^{IS}GAN.KAL II G^{IS}BANŠUR II G^{IS}GA-AN-NU-UM G^{IS}I-NU-TIM G^{IS}ki-iš-ĥi-ta pá-r-ga-aš-ti VI še-kán na-at II-ŠU pa-az-za-na-a-an I-NU-TIM G^{IS}ki-iš-ĥi-ta a-ša-an-na-aš I G^{IS}GÌR.GUB I-NU-TIM tar-ma-al-la

‘ due tavole per sacrificio, due tavole, due piedestalli di legno, una combinazione di seggi (con) altezza (di) sei spanne e due volte . . . , una combinazione di seggi per sedere, uno sgabello, una combinazione di tarmalla ’.

XXIX 8 I 58 sgg.²⁸ nu EN SISKUR.SISKUR ma-a-an LÚ na-aš-za-an ŠA D^{IS}KUR G^{IS}ŠÚ.A e-ša-ri[m]a-a-na-aš SAL-ma na-aš-za-an ŠA D^{HÉ}-pát A-NA G^{IS}GÌR.GUB e-ša-ri

‘ e se il mandante del sacrificio è un uomo, allora si siede sul seggio del dio della tempesta; ma se è una donna, allora si siede sullo sgabello di Ĥebat ’²⁹.

Così probabilmente anche G^{IS}GU.ZA in KBo XI 1 Vs. 40 ma-a-an G^{IS}GU.ZA D^U NA⁴ZI.KIN ku-iš-ki kat-ta la-aĥ-nu-ut na-aš-ma-kán šu-up-pa TÚL

²⁶ In questa maniera sarà forse da intendere ŠA D^{KAL} G^{IS}ŠÚ.A KBo III 8 III 13, 31.

²⁷ Cat. 430; per l'intero testo v. KRONASSER, *Die Umsiedlung der schwarzen Gottheit*, Wien 1963.

²⁸ Cat. 389₂.

²⁹ Oscuro è il significato di OTTEN, *Eine Beschwörung der Unterirdischen*, «ZA» NF 20, 1961, p. 130, III 17 sg. D^A-a-pi par-ku-nu-ma-aš-za G^{IS}ŠÚ.A da-a nu-za-kán IGI-an-da pá-r-ku-nu-ma-aš KIN^{TI} a-ú ‘ Dio Api, prendi il seggio di purificazione e controlla i preparativi della purificazione ’.

ku-iš-ki ša-aḫ-ta ' se qualcuno abbatte il seggio (e?) la stele del Dio della tempesta ³⁰ o qualcuno contamina la fonte pura '.

Da questi rituali bisogna distinguere quelli funebri, in cui sul trono (^{G1S}GU.ZA) viene deposta l'immagine del defunto; se però si tratta di una immagine femminile, questa viene posta su uno sgabello (^{G1S}ḫapšalli) ³¹ :

XXX 24 II 14 sgg. ³² *na-at-kán* ^{G1S}ZA.LAM.GAR-aš *an-da pi-e-da-an-zi*
na-an-ša-an A-NA ^{G1S}GU.ZA GUŠKIN *a-se-ša-an-zi ma-a-an SAL-za-ma*
na-an-ša-an ^{G1S}ḫa-aš-ša-al-li-ja-aš GUŠKIN *a-še-ša-an-zi*
 ' e la (l'immagine) portano dentro alla tenda, e lo (l'uomo) mettono
 su un trono d'oro; ma se è una donna, la mettono su uno sgabello d'oro '.

Così anche XXXIX 14 IV 6 ³³, ove i seggi usati sono d'argento, mentre in XXXIV 66 + XXXIX 7 III 1 sg. ³⁴ l'immagine (non si specifica se di uomo o di donna), viene posta su un trono intarsiato d'oro: ^{G1S}GU.ZA GUŠKIN GAR.RA ³⁵.

Ugualmente riguardo alle ossa del defunto; per le quali però il ^{G1S}GU.ZA viene sostituito dal ^{G1S}ŠÚ.A :

XXX 15 + XXXIX 19 Vs. 8 sg. ³⁶ *na-at-ša-an A-NA* ^{G1S}ŠÚ.A.AN ³⁷
a-ša-an-na ti-ja-an-zi ma-a-an SAL-za-ma na-at-ša-an ^{G1S}ḫa-aḫ-ša-li-ja-aš
ti-ja-an-zi
 ' e le (le ossa) pongono a sedere su un seggio; ma se (si tratta di) una
 donna, le pongono su uno sgabello '.

³⁰ Per questa costruzione cfr. DU URUAŠŠUR NA4ZI.KIN XII 2 I 10; HT 14 17; DU KARAS NA4ZI.KIN HT 14 6; DLAMA NA4ZI.KIN XII 2 III 5 etc.

³¹ Per (^{G1S}ḫapšalli- (^{G1S}ḫaššalli- come sedile usato dalle donne v. EHELOLF, XXIX p. IV Nr. 8 e SOMMER, « OLZ », 1939, p. 681, che identifica in (^{G1S}ḫapšalli- la lettura di ^{G1S}GĪR.GUB. In realtà esso serviva come sgabello tanto per poggiarvi i piedi (256/e 5 sg. GĪRĪLA-na ^{G1S}GĪR.GUBMEŠ [...])ti-an-zi ' sgabelli per i piedi ... dispongono ': OTTEN, « ZA » NF 16, 1952, p. 230 sg., ove v. altri passi) quanto come sedile, soprattutto per donne (cfr. OTTEN, art. cit. p. 231), ma anche per uomini: GÜTERBOCK, Ullikummi, I* tav. col. II 22 sgg. nu a-ru-na-aš IQ-BI A-NA DKu-mar-bi-wa ^{G1S}ḫa-aš-ša-al-li [(a)]-ša-an-na ti-ja-an-du ^{G1S}BANŠUR-un-ma-w[a-aš-š]i pi-ra-an ti-ja-an-du ' Ed il Mare parlò : ' Per Kumarbi dispongono uno sgabello per sedere, una tavola dinanzi a lui dispongono ! '.

³² Trascr. e trad. OTTEN, Tot. p. 60 sg.

³³ V. OTTEN, op. cit., p. 82 sg.

³⁴ V. OTTEN, op. cit., p. 40 sg.

³⁵ Sicuramente da intendere ' l'immagine dell'uomo ': in simili casi la distinzione si dà per scontata.

³⁶ V. OTTEN, op. cit., p. 66 sgg.

³⁷ V. OTTEN, op. cit., p. 66 b.

Ed ancora alle rr. 13, 14, 48.

La distinzione fatta nei rituali funebri tra ^{G1S}GU.ZA, sempre in materiale prezioso, e ^{G1S}ŠÚ.A, conferma per quest'ultimo, fermo restando per ambedue i termini il significato di 'trono', una maggiore estensione semantica.

Si vedano ancora i due testi seguenti, ove tra i doni di Amenophis III al re di Arzawa figurano preziosi ^{G1S}GU.ZA mentre nella casa di un pescatore si trova un semplice ^{G1S}ŠÚ.A.

VBoT I 36 sgg.³⁸ III ^{G1S}GU.ZA ^{G1S}šar-pa BA-ŃA[-A(?) GUŠKIN(?)]
GAR.RA X ^{G1S}GU.ZA ŠA ^{G1S}ESI IŠ-TU KA × UD A[M.SI(. . .)] U-
UH-ĤU-UZ

'tre seggi con(?) bel(?) šarpa[intarsiati con oro(?)], dieci seggi in ebano intarsiati con avorio'

XXIV 7 IV 42 sg.³⁹ LUŠU.PIŠ URUŪr-ma URU-ri a-ar-aš na-aš-kán
I-NA É-ŠU an[-d]a [p]a-it na-aš-za-kán ^{G1S}ŠÚ.A-ki e-ša-at

'Il pescatore arrivò ad Urma, ed entrò nella sua casa e si sedette su una sedia'.⁴⁰

II) ^{G1S}Ĥalmašuiž (idgr. ^{G1S}DAG) ed i luoghi sacri

^{G1S}Ĥalmašuiž (idgr. ^{G1S}DAG)⁴¹, il terzo termine che significa 'trono', è testimoniato nei cerimoniali delle feste ad indicare uno dei luoghi sacri (AŠ-RIŪ^{1A})⁴² del tempio, che, in quanto tale, riceve offerte culturali accanto alle divinità. Una festa che si svolge nel tempio del Dio della tempesta (X 11)⁴³ ci presenta una delle liste più complete dei luoghi sacri :

³⁸ Cat. 117; trascr. e trad. Rost, «MIO» IV, 1956, p. 334 sgg.

³⁹ Cat. 237.

⁴⁰ Da ricordare anche KBo I 28 Rs. 2 sgg. in cui OTTEN legge, sull'originale, «ZA» NF 16, 1952, p. 234) -h]dn [A-NA(?) DU]TUŠI(?) ^{G1S}ŠÚ.A-az le-e p̄ar-ki-ja-nu-an-zi 'e] non devono far[lo(?)] alzare dal seggio [dinanzi alla mia Maes]tà(?)', e per l'interpretazione si richiama al privilegio per Šunaššuraš 'di fronte a lui nessuno deve rimanere seduto'. (WEIDNER, 'BoSt'. VIII 92 sgg. I 42 sg.).

⁴¹ Nominativo con tema in i-: ^{G1S}DAG-ti-iš KBo II 6 II 34; VI 46 II 17. ^{G1S}DAG-iš V 4 I 9, 53; II I 60; VI 23 Vs 5; 45 I 52; XXII 57 Vs. 9; 64 II 6; PDAG-eš GUB-eš V 5 III 9. (cfr. Tašimmetiš VIII 41 II 8 (ĥatt. DTašimmet XXVIII 75 III 8, 10) e DDašimiz XX 24 IV 13). Per la lettura ittita dell'ideogramma v. EHELOLF, «ZA» NF 2, 1925, p. 312 sg., il quale, notando alcune incertezze nella scrittura di ^{G1S}ĥalmasuiž-, pensava ad un'origine straniera della parola. Il FRIEDRICH in «ZA» NF 3, 1927, p. 181 n. 5, l'accosta al ĥattico wa-šu-it-tu-un (II 2 III 16, 20, 24). Più correttamente il LAROCHE, Rech. p. 21 sg., e 'RA' 41, 1947, p. 89, legge ĥatt. ĥa-an-wa-šu-it-tu-un.

⁴² V. GOETZE, Kleinasiens², p. 162.

⁴³ Cat. 523; IV 8-20 trascr. e trad. GOETZE, «Lang.» 29, 1953, p. 268.

- II *na-aš-ta* LUGAL-*uš* I-NA É D¹ŠKUR
 16 *an-da pa-iz-zi na-aš A-NA* DINGIR^{LIM}
UŠ-KI-EN ta ha-a-li-ja
 18 *ta nam-ma UŠ-KI-EN*
- ^LALAM.KA × UD *me-ma-i* ^Lki-i-ta-aš
 20 [*hal-*]za-i ^Lpal-wa-tal-la-aš
 [*pa*]l-wa-a-iz- zi
- ' Poi il re entra nel tempio
 16 del Dio della tempesta, ed al dio
 s'inchina e s'inginocchia
 18 e ancora s'inchina.
- L'adoratore di statue recita, il *kitaš*
 20 invoca, il *palwatallaš*
palwaizzi '.

Nella parte in lacuna (inizio della terza colonna) si doveva offrire alle divinità, come risulta dall'ordine seguito in altre feste (v. ad es. quella del dio Zababa che è tra le più complete)⁴⁴, quindi si passa ai ll. ss., di cui i primi tre, anch'essi in lacuna, da IV 7-13 risultano essere l'altare (ZAG.GAR.RA), le Damnaššaraš, e Šuwaliaz.

- III 2' I NINDA.KUR₄.RA A-N[A¹ D¹Šu-wa-li-ja-at-ti]
da-a-i I NINDA.KUR₄.RA *pa[r-]š[i-ja]*
 4 *na-an* GUNNI *iš-tar-na*
da-a- i
- 6 I NINDA.KUR₄.RA-ma ^{NINDA}har-za-zu-un
i-ja-an- zi
- 8 I ^{NINDA}pár-š¹u-ul-li ^{GIŠ}DAG-ti
da-a- i
- 10 I ^{NINDA}pár-aš-š¹u-ul-li ^{GIŠ}AB-ja
da-a-i I ^{NINDA}pár-aš¹-š¹u-ul-li
 12 [^{GIŠ}PA DINGIR^{LIM} *da-a-i*
- [I NINDA.]KUR₄.RA *pár-ši-ja na-an*
 14 [*PA-N*]I ^{GUD}še-ri *da-a-i*
 I NINDA.KUR₄.RA *pár-ši-ja*
 16 *na-an PA-NI* ^{GUD}Hu-ur-ri *da-a-i*

⁴⁴ La maggior parte del testo conservatoci è in *KBo* IV, 9 per duplicati e paralleli v. Cat. 487₁; trad. FRIEDRICH, « AO » 25, 2, 1925, pp. 5-9, GOETZE, *ANET*, pp. 358-61.

- I NINDA.KUR₄.RA *pár-ši-ja*
 18 *na-an* VI NINDA *ḥar-z[a-z]u-un i-ja-an-zi*
- I NINDA *par-aš-šu-ul-li* PA-NI GIŠTUKUL
 20 *da-a-i* I NINDA *pár-aš-šu-ul-li*
 PA-NI GIŠMAR.GID.DA *da-a[-i]*
 22 [I NIN^{DA}] *pár-aš-šu-ul-li*
ḥa-at-tal-wa<-aš> GIŠ-*i da-a-i*
 24 I NINDA *pár-aš-šu-ul-li nam-ma*
 GUNNI *ta-pu-uš-za da-a-i*
- 26 I NINDA *pár-aš-šu-ul-li*
 A-N[A] ALAM ¹ GIŠPA DINGIR^{LIM} *da-a-i*
 28 I NINDA *pár-aš-šu-ul-li*
 A-N[A AL]AM ¹ *Du-ut-ḥa-li-ja*
 30 *da-a-i*

2 'Un pane normale a Šuwalijaz
 pone; spezza un pane normale
 4 e nel mezzo del focolare
 lo pone.

6 Di un pane normale
 fanno pane con grasso;
 8 un pezzo di pane pone
 al trono,

10 un pezzo di pane pone
 alla finestra, un pezzo di pane
 12 pone allo scettro del dio.

Spezza un pane normale e
 14 e lo pone davanti a Šeriš,
 spezza un pane normale
 16 e lo pone dinnanzi a Ḥurriš,
 spezza un pane normale
 18 e ne fanno sei pani con grasso,

un pezzo di pane pone
 20 dinnanzi alla mazza, un pezzo di pane
 pone dinnanzi al carro,
 22 un pezzo di pane
 pone al legno del chiavistello,
 24 un pezzo di pane ancora
 pone accanto al focolare,

- 26 un pezzo di pane
pone alla statua di Ḫattušiliš,
- 28 un pezzo di pane
pone
30 alla statua di Tutḫalijaš',
- IV I NINDA *pár-aš-šu-ul-li*
2 A-NA ALAM ¹Šu-up-pi-lu-li-u-ma
da-a-i EGIR-an-da-ma
4 NINDA.KUR₄.RA^{U1.A} GAL *pár-ši-ja-an-z[i]*
na-an PA-NI ZAG.GAR.RA-ni
6 *ti-an- zi*
- UGULA LÚ^{MES} MUḪALDIM *me-ma-al*
8 ZAG.RAG.RA-ni *pi-ra-an*
III-ŠU šu-uḫ-ḫa-a-i
10 *Dam-na-aš-ša-ra-aš-ša*
pi-ra-an I-ŠU
12 ^DŠu-wa-li-ja-at-ti
I-ŠU GUNNI iš-tar-na
14 *pi-e-di I-ŠU G^{IS}DAG-ti I-ŠU*
G^{IS}AB-ja I-ŠU'
16 *G^{IS}PA DINGIR^{LIM} I-ŠU'*
- ^{GUD}Še-ri I-ŠU ^{GUD}Hu-ur-ri [I-ŠU]
18 TUKUL' I-ŠU *G^{IS}MAR.GID.DA I-ŠU*
ḫa-at-tal-wa-aš G^{IS}-i I-ŠU
20 [*nam-ma*] GUNNI *ta-pu-uš-za I-ŠU*
- [A-N]A ALAM ¹G^{IS}PA.DINGIR^{LIM} I-ŠU
22 [A-N]A ALAM *Du-ut-ḫa-li-ja I-ŠU*
A-NA ALAM Šu-up-pi-lu-li-u-ma
24 I-ŠU *šu-uḫ-ḫa-a-i*
- ' un pezzo di pane
2 pone alla statua
di Šuppiluliumaš. E poi
4 spezzano grandi pani normali
e li pongono
6 dinanzi all'altare.
- Il capo dei cuochi
8 versa tre volte del tritello
davanti all'altare,

- 10 davanti alle Damnaššaraš
una volta,
12 a Šuwalijaz
una volta, nel mezzo del focolare
14 una volta, al trono una volta,
alla finestra una volta,
16 allo scettro del dio una volta,

a Šeriš una volta, a Hurriš [una volta],
18 alla mazza una volta, al carro una volta,
al legno del chiavistello una volta,
20 [ancora] accanto al focolare una volta,

alla statua di Hattušiliš una volta,
22 alla statua di Tutḥalijaš una volta,
alla statua di Šuppiluliumaš
24 versa una volta '.

Dunque i ll. ss. sono onorati in maniera diversa: mentre nell'offerta del tritello (col. IV) si differenzia solo l'altare, che ne riceve tre volte, in quella del pane (coll. III e IV), oltre al maggiore quantitativo che assai probabilmente era dovuto anche in questo caso all'altare, in lacuna nella parte superiore dalla III col., Šuwalijaz, il focolare, Šeriš e Hurriš ricevono un pane normale intero, gli altri ll. ss. invece un pezzo di pane normale preparato con del grasso.

Solo raramente i ll. ss. ricevono offerte uguali a quelle delle divinità, come ad es. quella del *kattapalaš* in *KBo* IV 9 II 44-50⁴⁵ (cfr. anche X 9r III 4⁴⁶ *AŠ-RI^{U1A} DINGIR^{MES}-ja hu-u-ma-an-ti-i pi-ra-an BAL-an-ti* 'libano ai luoghi sacri e agli dei tutti'. ove gli dei ed i ll. ss. sono posti sullo stesso piano); più spesso invece la differenza è quantitativa: nello stesso testo, III 1 sgg., gli dei hanno tre libazioni di vino mentre i ll. ss. una sola. Così anche in II 8 II⁴⁷ ad ognuna delle divinità, v. ad es. il Dio della tempesta della foresta (rr. 3-5), è dato I *DUGBURZĪTUM UTUL^{U1}hurutel* I NINDA. KU₇ 1/2 UPNI I NINDA *punnikeš* 1/2 UPNI III AN.TAḤ.ŠUM^{SAR} "una coppa di *hurutel*, un pane dolce di una mezza manciata, un pane *punnikeš* di una mezza manciata, tre piante AN.TAḤ.ŠUM^{SAR}", e lo stesso quantitativo d'offerte è riservato a tutto il gruppo dei ll. ss., portando però a nove, una per ciascun l. s., le piante AN.TAḤ.ŠUM^{SAR} (rr. 19-24).

⁴⁵ Cat. 487.

⁴⁶ Cat. 532.

⁴⁷ Cat. 486.

Altre volte l'offerta è anche qualitativamente diversa da quella degli dei, come in XI 35 II 11 sgg.⁴⁸:

- LUGAL-uš III NINDA dan-na-aš A-NA DU.GUR
 12 pár-ši-ja II NINDA dan-na-aš pár-ši-ja
 ta-at NINDA ħar-za-zu-ta i-ja-an-zi
- 14 UGULA LU.MEŠ MUĤALDIM NINDA ħar-za-zu-ta
 LUGAL-i pa-ra(-a) e-ip'zi
- 16 LUGAL-uš QA-TAM da-a-i UGULA LU.MUĤALDIM III NINDA ħar-
 za-zu-un
- ZAG.GAR.RA-ni da-a-i ħa-aš-ši-i I-ŠU
 18 GIŠDAG-ti I-ŠU GIŠAB-ja I-ŠU
 ħa-tal-wa-aš GIŠ-ru-i I-ŠU nam-ma GUNNI
 20 ta-pu-uš-za I-ŠU da-a-i
- ' Il re spezza tre pani *dannaš* a Šulinkattiš,
 12 spezza due pani *dannaš*
 e ne fanno pani con grasso.
- 14 Il capo dei cuochi porge al re
 i pani con grasso,
 16 il re (im)pone la mano, il capo dei cuochi pone
- all'altare tre pani con grasso, al focolare una volta,
 18 al trono una volta, alla finestra una volta,
 al chivistello una volta, ancora accanto
 20 al focolare pone una volta '.

A questo primo giro dei ll. ss. subito dopo l'offerta alla divinità, ne seguono direttamente altri con diverse sostanze: col tritello (*memal*), rr. 21-25, e col vino, r. 26 sgg.; così anche in II 8 11 (cfr. *supra* p. 87) rr. 32-3 EGIR-ma IŠTU KAŠ GEŠTIN AŠRI^{III.A} QĀTAMMA irĥanzi 'E poi con birra (e) vino così fanno il giro dei ll. ss.', e più completo ancora è IBoT III 1 rr. 50-51 EGIR-ŠU UGULA LU.MUĤALDIM memalit AŠRI^{III.A} irĥāizzi EGIR-ŠU TA KAŠ GEŠTIN tawalit AŠRI^{III.A} irĥāizzi, dove il capo dei cuochi fa il giro dei ll. ss. col tritello, la birra, il vino e il *tawal*. Inoltre, tranne alcuni casi come KBo IV 9 II 44 sgg. ove l'unico offerente è il capo dei cuochi, chi offre alle divinità ha un rango superiore (in genere è il re stesso) a colui che assolve lo stesso compito per i ll. ss. (v. ad. es. ancora 35 II 11-20).

⁴⁸ Cat. 480; trascr. FRIEDRICH, *Heth. El.* II, pp. 29-31.

Il nucleo dei ll. ss. è costituito dal focolare (*haššaš*), dal trono (^{GIŠ}*hal-mašuiš*), dalla finestra (^{GIŠ}*luttāi*) e dal legno del chiavistello (^{GIŠ}*hattalwaš GIŠ-ru*)⁴⁹.

Non vi è dubbio che quest'ultimo sia il sistema di chiusura della porta e non quello della finestra: anche se a volte segue direttamente alla finestra (II 13 II 42; XX 45 I 17, IV 3, 9), in alcuni casi tra i due s'inseriscono altri ll. ss.: ^{TUL}Kuwannani in II 8 II 28, ^{DH}šašamiliš, la fonte e il pithos in XXV 18 III 33 sgg., etc. Il suo carattere magico risulta chiaro da *KBo* IV 2⁵⁰ ove si plasma un piccolo cane di sego da porre sul chiavistello (I 22 sg. [U]R.TUR.RA *ap-pu-uz-zi-ja-aš i-en-zi na-an-ša-an ŠA É^{LIM} (GIŠ)ha-tal-wa-aš GIŠ-ru-i ti-an-zi*) perché gli spiriti avversi (*kallar uštar*, v. discussione in Kronasser, art. cit. p. 100 sg.) non entrino nel palazzo; seguono quindi pratiche magiche a cui sono sottoposte a più riprese le persone stesse del re e della regina e gli elementi principali del palazzo: i quattro angoli, la soglia ed il chiavistello.

Ma già in epoca hattica esisteva un rituale per la posa del chiavistello (*kawah*)⁵¹, utilizzato ancora dagli ittiti: II 2 II 37 sgg.⁵²:

ma-a-an I-NA É-GAL^{LIM} GIBIL GIŠha-at-tal-wa-aš GIŠ-ru
 38 *ti-it-ta-nu-wa-an-zi Ū LUzi-li-pu-ri-ja-tal-la-aš*
a-pi-ja-ak-ku a-ni-ja-zi ta ki-e INIM^{MES} me-ma-i

‘Quando in un nuovo palazzo si pone
 38 il legno del chiavistello, il sacerdote del dio Zilipuriš⁵³
 celebra (una cerimonia) per l'occasione e dice le parole seguenti’.

Questo costituiva uno degli atti conclusivi della costruzione dell'edificio, probabilmente non un tempio ma un palazzo reale: II 48 sg. *ma-a-na-at ta-pa-ri-ja-u-e-ni-ma L[a-ba-ar-na-as LUGAL-wa-]aš É-ir* ‘E come la disporremo la dimora di L[abarnaš re]’; da ciò dipendeva un futuro favorevole, le cui

⁴⁹ A parte le liste irregolari, per cui v. *infra*, p. 97 sgg., è possibile che qualche volta uno di questi ll. ss. non sia ricordato; ad es. nelle liste ricostruibili in XX 45 IV (Cat. 530) manca sempre ^{GIŠ}*halmašuiš*, e ^{GIŠ}*luttāi* in X 21 V 21 e X 23 IV 7 sg.; ma almeno in quest'ultimo caso si può pensare ad una dimenticanza dello scriba, poiché ^{GIŠ}*luttāi* è necessario nella lista della col. III per completare la r. 5 [(^{GIŠ})*luttija*] I-ŠU.

⁵⁰ Cat. 329; trad. parziale FRIEDRICH, « AO » 25 2, 1925, pp. 14-16; trascr. e trad. KRONASSER, « Die Sprache » VIII, 1962, p. 89 sgg.

⁵¹ LAROCHE, « RA » 41, 1947, p. 93.

⁵² Cat. 358; la bilingue hattico-ittita è trascr. da FRIEDRICH, *Kl. Spr.*, 1932, p. 1-5 (ma v. ora FRIEDRICH, *Entzifferung verschollener Schriften und Sprachen*, 1954, p. 64 sgg.); trascr. e trad. LAROCHE « RA » 41, 1947, p. 73 sgg.

⁵³ Gli altri testi ove è cit. il dio hattico Zilipuriš non chiariscono il rapporto tra questi e la regalità.

premesse risalivano all'origine stessa del diritto regale (II 43 sg. DINGIR^{MEŠ} KUR^{MEŠ} *ma-ni-ja-aḥ-hi-ir da-a-ir-ma-at* URU^U *Ḥa-at-tu-ši šal-li* G^{IS}ŠÚ.A *da-a-ir-ma-at nu-za La-ba-ar-na-aš* LUGAL-*uš* [*e-eš-zi*] 'Gli dei hanno distribuito i paesi, e l'hanno messo a Ḥattuša il grande trono, l'hanno messo, e Labarnaš [è] re') ed alla legalità rituale (l'edificio viene costruito con materiale puro: le porte ed il trono⁶⁴ sono costruiti dal dio Zilipuri⁶⁵. Lo stesso dio Šulinkattis pone gli oggetti cultuali (*U-NU-TE*^{MEŠ}) sul chia-vistello (III 48-50) perché lasci entrare il bene ma non lasci entrare il male. (III 54-55 *a-aš-šu an-da tar-ni-eš-ki-id-du i-da-lu-ma-kán an-da li-e tar-na-i*).

Ḥaššaš (idgr. GUNNI)⁶⁶ indica tanto il focolare fisso che quello mobile: [L]Ú G^{IS}BANŠUR GUNNI-*an* [EG]IR-*an ar-ḥa da-a-i* 'L'uomo della tavola riporta via il focolare' X 33 I 9-10;⁶⁷ così pure in *Bo* 5239⁶⁸ i focolari posti in diretta relazione con alcune divinità sono mobili⁶⁹: colofone 2 sg. GUNNI^{ḪI.A} *Ḥa-bi-ru-w[a?]* *x an-da* DIB-*zi* SALAM[A. DINGIR^{LIM}] GUNNI^{ḪI.A} ŠA DEREŠ.KI.GAL *an-da* DIB-*zi* 'prende i focolari delle [. . . .] divinità Ḥabiru. «La madre del dio» prende i focolari di EREŠ.KI. GAL'⁶⁰.

Offerte al focolare in posizione isolata non sono infrequenti, ed in qualche caso è certo che così s'intende onorare una divinità o l'anima di un morto: XXXIV 66 + XXXIX 7 (dupl. XXXIX 8) III 55-60⁶¹:

- ku-it-ma-an ak-kán-da*[-*aš* ZI-*a*)*n*
 56 *A-NA* GUNNI *kat-ta-an* [(*ke-e-ez-za* I) LÚ
a[r-t(a-ri)] ke-e-ez-j[(*a* I LÚQA.)ŠU.DU₈.A (*ar-ta-ri*)]
 58 [(*nu* DUGḤAB.ḤAB^{ḪI.A} GESTIN)] *ḥar-kán-z*[*i* (*nu* GIM-*an ak-kán-*
da-aš ZI-*an*)]
 -*z*]i? LÚQA.Š[(U.DU₈.A-*ma-kán ḥa-as-si-i an-da*)]
 60 [(*ke-e-ez-za ke-e-ez-*)]*zi*[-*ja ši-pa-an-z*)*a-ki-iz-zi*]

⁶⁴ Sul significato del trono in questo testo v. *infra* p. 117 sgg.

⁶⁵ Dopo il nome del dio segue lacuna.

⁶⁶ Uomini addetti alla sorveglianza del focolare in OTTEN, *Eine Beschwörung der Unterirdischen*, «ZA» NF 20, 1961, p. 136 sg. col. IV 16.

⁶⁷ Per altri passi v. R. NAUMANN, *Architektur Kleinasiens*, 1955, p. 178.

⁶⁸ V. OTTEN, «JCS» IV, 1950, pp. 133-34.

⁶⁹ Su essi vengono bruciate le offerte: rr. 4-5 *na-an* LUSANGA DU ANE ŠA DEREŠ. KI.GAL[. . . .]*ar-ḥa wa-ar-nu-z*[*i*?] 'allora il sacerdote del Dio della tempesta del cielo lo brucia [nel focolare(?)] di EREŠ.KI.GAL.'

⁶⁰ Per altri focolari legati a divinità v. XI 28 II 26 sgg.:

- (Cat. 534) 26 *INA* I GUNNI *nepiš tekann-a*
INA II GUNNI D^{IS}KUR DUTU-*i-ja*
 28 *INA* III GUNNI DNIN.É.GAL
 D^{IN}araš

E così anche nella III colonna.

⁶¹ Trascr. e trad. OTTEN, *Tot.* p. 44 sg.

- ‘ Mentre [libano (?)] all’anima del morto,
 56 accanto al focolare da questa parte si pone un[
 e da quest’altra si pone un cop[piere’].
 58 Essi tengono brocche di vino, e come [libano (?)] all’anima del mor-
 to, il coppiere liba nel focolare
 60 da questa parte e da quella ’.

Ma altre volte, anche per le cattive condizioni del testo, è difficile stabilire se non si tratti invece di un’offerta per il focolare stesso. Si veda per tutti XXVII 69 III (Cat. 473₂) dove, dopo un passo lacunoso, alle rr. 8-10 si legge:

- 8 ^{LU}MUḤALDIM DUMU.É.GAL *za-al-ḥa-ja-az*
 GUŠKIN GEŠTIN *ḥa-aš-ši-i*
 10 *ta-pu-uš-za ši-p[a-a]n-ti*
- 8 ‘ Un cuoco (e) un funzionario di palazzo da un *zalḥai*
 d’oro offrono vino
 10 accanto al focolare ’.

Indipendente da rapporti con singole divinità è invece il culto del focolare come l.s., tra i quali spesso risalta per il maggiore numero d’offerte, e, come in X 23 III 13 sgg. (Cat. 487₃), anche per particolari azioni che a queste seguono:

-]x GUNNI III-ŠU
 14 [*ši-pa-a*]n-ti ^{LU}ALAM.KA × UD
 [*me-ma*-]i ^{LU}pal-wa-tal-la-aš
 16 [*pal*-]wa-a-iz- zi
 [UGULA ^L]U.MEŠ MUḤALDIM UGULA LÚ^{MEŠ} GIŠBANŠUR-ja
 18 [*an-d*]a šu-up-pi-ja-aḥ-ḥa-an-zi
- [UGULA ^L]U.MEŠ MUḤALDIM A-NA GIŠBANŠUR DIN[GIR^{LM}]
 20 [I-š]U GIŠDAG I-ŠU G^{IŠ}AB-ja ? I-ŠU ?
-] al focolare tre volte
 14 [li]ba, l’adoratore di statue
 [reci]ta, il *palwatallaš*
 16 *palwaizzi*.
 [Il capo] dei cuochi e il capo dei
 18 si purificano.
- [Il capo] dei cuochi alla tavola del dio
 20 [una vol]ta, al trono una volta, [alla finestra (?)] una volta (?).’

Si può anzi dire che il giro cultuale dei ll.ss. è tutto imperniato sul focolare, che ne è in pratica il punto di partenza e d'arrivo: *KBo* IV 9 III 6 sgg. (Cat. 487₁)

<i>hašši</i>	' al focolare '
^{GIŠ} DAG- <i>ti</i>	' al trono '
^{GIŠ} AB	' alla finestra '
^{GIŠ} <i>hattalwaš</i> ^{GIŠ} - <i>ru</i>	' al legno del chiavistello '
<i>hašši tapuša</i>	' accanto al focolare '

Il testo è tipico: al focolare nella maggiore parte dei casi segue il trono e quindi la finestra. A questo punto, nelle liste più ampie, s'inseriscono altri ll. ss. tra i quali, come in *KBo* IV 13 III 23, V 7, può essere lo stesso focolare (^{GIŠ}AB-*ja É.ŠA-ni* EGIR GUNNI ' alla finestra, alla camera interna, di nuovo al focolare '); quindi dal chiavistello della porta si ritorna al focolare, di cui non è tuttavia possibile localizzare l'esatta posizione all'interno del tempio.

Tra il focolare ed il trono a volte compare lo scudo (^{KUŠ}*kuršaš*)⁶²: un attributo della divinità protettrici (^{LUŠ}SANGA ^{DKAL}-*za* ^{KUŠ}*guršan ŠA* ^{DKAL} ^{URU}*Kašamma karapzi* accanto ad es. a ^{GIŠ}PA^ĪLA ^{ŠURU}*ḫaš ŠA* ^{DZA}.BA₄.BA₄ XX 80 III 14 sgg.)⁶³, e spesso considerato esso stesso una di queste⁶⁴. Che uno scudo potesse rappresentare divinità diverse risulta da *Bo* 2393 + *Bo* 5138⁶⁵, tra le quali verosimilmente è anche *Ziḫarijaš*⁶⁶; ciò spiegherebbe l'inclusione di questo dio tra i ll. ss. (*infra*, p. 99), che in *KBo* IV 13 III 21 e V 5 risulta essere tra l'altare ed il focolare, ma in XX 42 II 9 occupa lo stesso posto dello scudo.

Tra i ll. ss. saltuari è l'altare (*istananaš*, idgr. (^{GIŠ}ZAG.GAR.RA), per la costruzione del quale si depone ' sotto all'altare un altare d'argento di un siclo un altare d'oro di un siclo, un altare di lapislazzuli, un altare di cri-

⁶² II 13 II 41; X 21 V 20; XXV 18 III 19, 30, IV 26, V 19; XXXII 135 IV 4; XXXIV 117 10; etc.

⁶³ Per la sua posizione all'interno del tempio cfr. OTTEN, *Überl.* D III 9 p. 58, *istanani pivan* SILÁ[-aš] ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš gam[kanza]* (cfr. XVII 10 IV 27 ^D*Teliḫpinuwaš pivan* ^{GIŠ}*ēja arla* ^{GIŠ}*ejaz-kán* UDU-aš ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš kankanza* ' un palo è eretto dinanzi a Telepinuš, dal palo (è) appeso un k. di pecora '). ove però si può anche tradurre (cfr. OTTEN, *op. cit.*, p. 59, GOETZE, *ANET* p. 128) ' dinanzi all'altare (fu) appeso un vello di pecora '.

⁶⁴ LAROCHE, *Rech.* p. 75. In XXXIV 130 (Cat. 532) riceve offerte prima isolatamente (II 5) e poi come l. s. (III 12).

⁶⁵ OTTEN, *F. Fr.*, p. 351 sgg.; cfr. le considerazioni a p. 358.

⁶⁶ GÜTERBOCK, « *Historia* » Einzelschriften-Heft 7, 1964, p. 68.

stallo di roccia un altare di ferro, un altare di rame, un altare di bronzo, un altare di pietra AŠ.ŠĪR.GAL, un altare di *k'*. (KBo IV 1 Rs. 14-16)⁶⁷:

- 14 ZAG.GAR.RA-*ni-ma kat-ta-an* I ZAG.G[(AR.R)]A KÚ.BABBAR
 ŠA I GÍN I ZAG.GAR.RA GUŠKIN ŠA I GÍN
 I ZAG.GAR.RA NA⁴ZAG.GÍN «I ZAG.GAR.RA» I ZAG.GAR.RA
 NA⁴DU₈.ŠÚ.A I ZAG.GAR.RA AN.BA[R]
 16 I ZAG.GAR.RA URUDU I ZAG.GAR.RA ZABAR I ZAG.G[(AR.
 RA N)⁴AŠ.ŠĪ]R. G[(AL)] I [(ZA[G[(GA)]R[(R)]A ^(N)A⁴[(k)]u-
 u[(n-k)]u[(-nu-uz-zi-)ja-aš]

Negli elenchi precede il focolare, e può ricevere offerte uguali (ad es. II 8 II 25 sgg.; KBo IV 13 III 21 sgg.) o maggiori (XI 35 II 16 sgg., 22 sgg., 28; X 11 IV 7 sgg.; etc.) agli altri ll. ss.

In X 15 IV (Cat. 532), che presenta una lista alquanto irregolare, è lo stesso re ad offrire all'altare:

nu-uš-ši UGU[LA L]Ú^{MES} GIŠBANŠUR LĀL *pa-a-i*

- 4 LUGAL-*uš* ZAG.GAR.RA-*ni* III -ŠU *da-a-i*
 UGULA LÚ^{MES} GIŠBANŠUR LĀL *ha-aš-ši-i*
 6 III-ŠU *da-a-i na-aš-ta* LUGUDÚ
 IŠ-TU DUGĪR.KĀN LĀL *da-a-i*

- 8 *nu ha-at-tal-wa-aš* GIŠ-i I-ŠU *da-a-i*

' e il capo degli uomini della tavola gli dà il miele.

- 4 Il re pone tre volte all'altare,
 il capo degli uomini della tavola tre volte pone
 6 del miele al focolare, e poi l' 'unto'
 prende del miele dal vaso ĪR.KĀN

e (lo) pone al legno del chivvistello'.

Ma subito dopo (rr. 9-13) l' 'unto' liba a tutti e tre i ll.ss.: *ištanani* III-ŠU GUNNI III-ŠU *hattakwaš* GIŠ-i I-ŠU.

Incerta rimane invece la funzione dell'*istananaš* in XX 45 IV (Cat. 530), dove potrebbe essere considerato un l. s., ma anche ricevere le offerte della divinità⁶⁸:

na-aš-kán an-da I-NA É ^DVII.VII.BI *pa-iz-zi na[-aš A-NA* DIN-
 GIR^{LIM} UŠ-KI-EN

⁶⁷ Cat. 309, ove v. duplicati; trad. GOETZE, ANET p. 356 sg. Altro materiale prezioso viene posto sotto l'altare in Rs. I 2.

⁶⁸ Ad es. l'altare è specificatamente escluso dai ll. ss. in XI 21 IV 14 sgg. (Cat 532)

- 14 A-NA DUMU.LUGAL *pa-ra-a e-ip-zi nu-uš-ša-an* DU[MU.LUGAL
iš-ta-na-ni III AŠ-RA *da-a-i* GUNNI-ši *an-dur[-za I-ŠU* ^{GIŠ}AB-ja
 I-ŠU [^{GIŠ}*ha-at-tal-wa-aš* GIŠ-i I-ŠU]
- 16 *nam-ma ha-aš-ši-i ta-pu-uš<-za>* I-ŠU [*da-a-i*]

L^USANGA ^DVII.VII.BI *ta-pi-ša-na-an* A-NA DUMU.LUGAL [*pa-
 ra-a e-ip-zi*

- 18 L^USANGA ^DVII.VII.BI *iš-ta-na-ni pi-ra-an* III-ŠU [*ši-pa-an-ti*
 GUNNI-ši *an-dur-za I-ŠU* ^{GIŠ}AB-ja I-ŠU]
^{GIŠ}*ha-at-tal-wa-aš* GIŠ-i I-ŠU *nam-ma* GUNNI-ši [*ta-pu-uš-za I-ŠU*
 ši-*pa-an-ti*]

‘ Egli entra nel tempio di Šepittaš e [s’inchina alla divinità

- 14 porge al principe, allora il pri[n]cipe
 all’altare pone tre parti, den[tro al focolare una volta, alla finestra
 una volta, al legno del chiavistello una volta,]
 16 ancora accanto al focolare [pone] una volta.

Il sacerdote di Šepittaš [porge] al principe un vaso *t.* [

- 18 Il sacerdote di Šepittaš [liba] tre volte all’altare, [dentro al focolare
 una volta, alla finestra una volta,]
 al legno del chiavistello una volta, ancora [accanto] al focolare
 [liba una volta]’.

Accanto all’altare gli dei avevano anche delle tavole (^{GIŠ}BANŠUR)⁶⁵
 la cui funzione non sempre è possibile distinguere da quella dell’*ištananaš*:
 XX 2 III 3 sgg. (Cat. 548)

[I NIND]A.KUR₄.RA *pár-ši-ja na-an-kán* A-NA ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR ^DU
da-a-i

- 4 EGIR-ŠU-ma ^DUTU ^{URU}A-ri-in-na
^DMe-iz-zu-ul-la-an TUS-aš *e-ku-zi*
- 6 L^UNAR ŠIR^{RU} L^UALAM.KA × UD *me-mi-eš-ki-iz-zi*
 I NINDA.KUR₄.RA *pár-ši-ja na-an-kán* A-NA ŠA ^DUTU ^{URU}A-ri-
in-na

LUGAS-uš *memal* ^{GIŠ}ZAG[.GAR.RA-ni] VI-ŠU *išhuwāi* UGULA L^U.MEŠMUĤALDIM
memalit AŠRI^U[A] *irhaizzi hašši* I-ŠU ^{GIŠ}DAG-ti I-ŠU . . . ‘ Il re versa sei volte del
 tritello all’altare, il capo dei cuochi col tritello fa il giro dei ll. ss.: al focolare una
 volta, al trono una volta ’; non così invece in *KB0* IV 13 III 20 sgg. AŠRI^U[A]
irhānzi ištanani I-ŠU ^DZitharija I-ŠU *hašši ištarna pidi* I-ŠU ^DDAG I-ŠU

⁶⁵ Durante le celebrazioni di feste potevano venire usate più tavole: X 88 I 6-7
 (Cat. 504) ŠA LUGAL SAL.LUGAL DUMUMEŠ LUGAL L^U.MEŠ DUGUD XVIII
^{GIŠ}BANŠUR *tianzi*.

- 8 ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR-*i da-a-i* EGIR-ŠŪ-*ma* ^{DKAL} ^{URU}Ĥa-at-*ti*
 TUŠ-aš *e-ku-zi* ^{LU}NAR SİR^{RU}
 10 ^{LU}ALAM.KA × UD *me-mi-eš-ki-iz-zi* I NINDA.KUR₄RA *pár-ši-ja*
na-an-ša-an A-NA ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR ^{DKAL} *da-a-i*

- ‘ Spezza un pane normale e lo pone sulla tavola del Dio della tempe-
 4 sta, e poi liba seduto alla Dea del sole d’Arinna
 (e) a Mezzullaš;
 6 il cantore canta, l’adoratore di statue recita;
 spezza un pane normale e lo pone sulla tavola
 8 della Dea del sole d’Arinna, e poi liba seduto
 al Dio protettore di Ĥatti, il cantore canta,
 10 l’adoratore di statue recita, spezza un pane normale
 e lo pone sulla tavola del Dio protettore.

La tavola della divinità veniva considerata un l.s.: II 6 IV 27 sgg.
 (Cat. 478₁)

- U]GULA ^{LU}MUĤALDIM PA-NI GUNNI
 28 [I ?-Š]U *ši-pa-an-ti*
 [A-NA] ^{GIŠ}BANSUR DINGIR^{LIM} I-ŠU
 30 ^{GIŠ}DAG-ti I-ŠU ^{GIŠ}AB-*ja* I[-ŠU]
^{GIŠ}ĥa-tal-wa-aš ^{GIŠ}-*i* I-ŠU
 32 *nam-ma* GUNNI *ta-pu-u[š-za]*
 I-ŠU *ši-pa-an-ti*

- ‘] il capo dei cuochi dinnanzi al focolare
 28 liba [una (?) vol]ta,
 [alla] tavola del dio una volta,
 30 al trono una volta, alla finestra una [volta,]
 al legno del chiavistello una volta,
 32 ancora accanto al focolare
 liba una volta ‘.

V. anche X 23 III 3, 19, IV 6.

Non si può considerare con sicurezza un l.s. la stele (^{NA4}ĥuwaš*i*, idgr.
^{NA4}ZI.KIN) nonostante la lista in *IBoT* I 2 III ⁷⁰:

- LU[GAL-]uš PA-NI ^{NA4}ZI.KIN
 2 II-ŠU *ši-pa-an-ti*
 GUNNI I-ŠU

⁷⁰ Cat. 532; trascr. trad. BOSSERT, *HKS*, p. 48.

- 4 ^{KUŠ}[k]ur-ši I-ŠU
^{GIŠ}DAG-ti I-ŠU
- 6 ^{GIŠ}AB-ja I-ŠU
ha-tal-wa-aš ^{GIŠ}-i I-ŠU
- 8 *nam-ma ha-aš-ši-i*
ta-pu-uš-za I-ŠU

- Il re dinnanzi alla stele
- 2 liba due volte,
 al focolare una volta,
- 4 allo scudo una volta,
 al trono una volta,
- 6 alla finestra una volta,
 al legno del chiavistello una volta,
- 8 ancora accanto
 al focolare una volta'.

Incerti rimangono altri passi come XX 42 II 3 sgg. ove la stele sembra rappresentare il Dio della tempesta (v. I 10); XI 18 II 7 sgg.; XXX 41 II 18 sgg., IV 9 sgg. Ora se è vero che la stele è una delle forme sotto cui una divinità veniva adorata, in altri casi essa è un oggetto culturale⁷¹ che coesiste all'immagine della divinità: v. ad es. XXV 25 I' 9 (Cat. 302) DINGIR^{LUM} PANI ^{NA4}ZI.KIN *taninuwanzī* 'sistemano la divinità innanzi alla stele'⁷².

Altri 11. ss. piuttosto rari sono la fonte Kuwannanijaš nella foresta di Tauriša (II 8 II 28), oppure in alcuni templi semplicemente 'la fonte' TÚL (KBo XI 30 I 17; XI 30 V 5; XXV 18 III 34, IV 30, V 23), 'lo scettro del dio' ^{GIŠ}PA DINGIR^{LIM} (KBo II 30 Vs. 5; X 11 III 12, IV 16, dopo la finestra), 'l'arma' ^{GIŠ}TUKUL (KBo II 29 Vs. 5; 30 Vs 9; X 11 III 19, IV 18), 'il carro' ^{GIŠ}MAR.GID.DA (X 11 III 21, IV 18), uno strumento musicale dedicato alla divinità: ^{GIŠ}ᐁINANNA DINGIR^{LIM} lett. 'il legno di Ištar della divinità' (KBo IV 13 III 24, V 8) 'il pithos' ^{DUG}haršijalli (tra la fonte ed il chiavistello in XXV 18 III 35 e V 24; manca invece nella lista in IV 24-32; dopo 'il legno di Ḫašamiliš' in III 23. ? V. anche XXX 41 II 26, IV 16), il vaso *išpanduzzi* (XXX 41 II 24, IV 17)⁷³. In genere sembra trattarsi di particolari luoghi od oggetti di

⁷¹ Nel rituale di Maštiggaš (v. GOETZE, *ANET*, p. 350-51, e L. ROST, « MIO » I, 1953, p. 345-79) ci si serve di sette *huwaši* per compiere atti magici.

⁷² Già GOETZE (*Kleinasiem*² p. 168) ha avvicinato questa espressione a *ištanani taninuwanzī* 'sistemano all'altare' (v. ad es. XXV 24 II 9, Cat. 302, DINGIR^{LUM} *warpanzi* ^{GIŠ}ištanani-an-kán *dāninuw[anzi]* 'lavano la divinità e la dispongono all'altare'.

⁷³ Notare anche LUGAL-aš *lamni* 'al nome del re' XXX 41 IV 18.

singoli templi come le statue dei tori Šeriš e Hurriš nel tempio del Dio della tempesta (X 11 III 14-16, IV 17; v. anche *KBo* II 30 Vs 6)⁷⁴.

Ed ancora alcune parti del tempio stesso come 'la camera interna' É.ŠÀ (*KBo* IV 13 III 23, V 7 ^{G1S}AB-ja É.ŠÀ-ni) e "il palco" *taršanzipaš* (*KBo* IV 13 III 24 sg., V 8 sg. ^D*Taršanzipi* ^{G1S}*hattalwaš* G1S-ru; *IBoT* III 15 IV 4)⁷⁵.

Alcune liste assolutamente irregolari sono difficilmente interpretabili anche per le cattive condizioni del testo:

XI 30 V	2		-z]i	
		]ha-aš-ši-i?	iš-tar-na?	]pi-di I-ŠU
	4]	
		]x TÚL-i		I-ŠU

⁷⁴ Subito dopo l'offerta accanto al focolare in X 11 III 27-IV 2, IV 21-24, (tempio del Dio della tempesta) compaiono le statue di Hattušiliš, Tudhalijaš e Šuppiluliumaš, e quella di Hattušiliš in *KBo* IV 9 III 11 (tempio di Zababa). È da ricordare anche *KBo* II 30 Vs. (Cat. 523₂), da cui si ottiene la seguente serie: ^D*Damnaššaraš* ^D*Šuwalijati hašši* ^{G1S}DAG-ti ^{G1S}uttija ^{G1S}PA.1.A-aš ANA ^{GUD}Šeri ^{GUD}Hurri ^{G1S}TUKUL *hattalwaš* G1S-ru ^{GUNNI} tapuša ANA ALAM ¹Hattušili ANA ALAM ¹Tudhalija ANA ALAM ¹Šuppiluliuma ANA ALAM ¹Muršili, e *KBo* II 29 Vs. (Cat. 523₁) dove però manca la statua di Tudhalijaš.

⁷⁵ In XV 42 III (Cat. 432), dopo le offerte per gli dei ed il trono, seguono quelle per il *kurakkiš* e per altri elementi dell'edificio:

. nu DINGIRMEŠ

20 *kán-ga-ta-iz-zi* EGIR-ŠŪ-ma nam-ma-pát A-NA NINDA SIG *kán-ga-ti-ja*
te-pu iuh-ša-i na-at-ša-an ^{G1S}DAG-ti *pt-eš-ši-az-zi*

22 nu ^{G1S}DAG-ti-in *ga-an-ga-ta-iz-zi* EGIR-ŠŪ-ma *kán-ga-ti*
iš-tar-ni-ja-aš ku-ra-ak-ki da-a-i EGIR-ŠŪ-ma

24 *ga-an-ga-ti A-NA* ^{G1S}ÜR.1.A É-ri *iš-tar-na pi-di da-a-i*
 EGIR-ŠŪ-ma *kán-ga-ti É-ri-pát iš-tar-na pt-di da-a-i*

26 EGIR-ŠŪ-ma-aš-ša-an *kán-ga-ti A-NA* ^{GUNNI} *iš-tar-na pt[-di]*
da-a-i EGIR-ŠŪ-ma *kán-ga-ti ha-at-tal-wa-aš* G1S-ru-i *d[a-a-i]*

28 EGIR-ŠŪ-ma *kán-ga-ti A-NA* ^{GUNNI} *ta-pu-uš-za da-a[-i]*
 EGIR-ŠŪ-ma *kán-ga-ti A-NA* É.ŠÀ *ša-aš-ta-an x[*

e gli dei

- 20 'soddisfa; poi ancora parimenti sul pane sottile taglia
 anche un pò di verdura e la getta al trono
- 22 e soddisfa(?) il trono, poi pone
 della verdura nel *kurakkiš* di mezzo, poi
- 24 pone della verdura alla trave del tetto nel mezzo della casa,
 poi pone verdura nel mezzo della casa,
- 26 poi pone verdura nel mezzo del focolare
 poi p[one] verdura al legno del chivistello,
- 28 poi pone verdura accanto al focolare,
 poi [depone] verdura alla camera interna [al (??) letto].

- 6]x A-NA VII *pi-di* I-ŠU
]x *nam-ma ha-aš-ši-i*
- 8 [*ta-pu-uš-za*] I-ŠU *ši-pa-an-ti* ⁷⁶
- X 83 I 2 [EG]IR-ŠU-*ma* x[
šar-ḥu-u-li ZAG[-*az* ?
- 4 I-ŠU A-NA GUNNI [
 I-ŠU KÁ *ku-e-iz(-)z[i](-)*
- 6 *ha-an-te-iz-zi-ja-az* x[
 I-ŠU A-NA GUNNI *iš-tar-na* [*pi-di* I-ŠU]
- 8 ^D*Zi-li-pu-u-ri-i* I-ŠU A-NA [
tak-ni-i pi-ra-an kat-ta tak-na-x]
- 10 *tar-ša-an-zi-pi* EGIR ^{GIŠ}IG I-ŠU *za*²[-
ši-pa-an-ti tak-ni-i pi-ra-an kat-ta
- 12 *tar-ša-an-zi-pi* EGIR ^{GIŠ}IG I-ŠU *ḥ[a-at-tal-wa-aš]*
 GIŠ-*ru-i* I-ŠU *ši-pa-an[-ti]* ⁷⁷

Va rilevato che tra i ll. ss., oltre al trono che a volte ha il determinativo divino, compaiono alcune divinità anche di rango elevato, forse perché in qualche caso il modo in cui venivano rappresentate può aver portato a considerarle anche come oggetti strettamente legati al tempio. Così Zitharijaš poteva essere rappresentato da uno scudo (v. *supra*, p. 92); per Ḥašamiliš, che come l. s. segue la finestra (II 8 I 36, II 27; XX 39 V² 4; etc.) e che compare anche nella forma ^DḤašamilijaš GIŠ 'il legno di Ḥašamiliš' (XXV 18 III 33, IV 29, V 22), il Goetze, basandosi sul potere che ha la divinità di rendere invisibili le truppe in marcia (Goetze, *Muršiliš* p. 126 sg., *KBo* IV 4 III 33-35) propone un oggetto che schermi la luce proveniente dalla finestra ⁷⁶. Per le Damnaššaraš (*KBo* II 30 Vs. I; X 11 IV 8 sgg.: *ištanani* ^D*Damnaššaraš* ^D*Šuwalijatti* GUNNI *ištarna pīdi*) e per Šuwalijaz (*KBo* II 30 Vs. 2; X 11 IV 12; XXX 41 II 22 sgg., IV 12 sgg. ^D*Šuwalijatti* ^D*Ḥašamili* GUNNI [*piran*]) il Güterbock ⁷⁹ dà come ipotesi decorazioni della porta ⁸⁰, anzi nel primo caso vedrebbe più precisamente delle sfingi. Ed ancora 'il demone del cortile' Ḥilaššiš (XX 13 IV 4 ^{GIŠ}DAG-*ti* ^D*Ḥilašši* e XXX 41 II 26 sg. ^{DUG}*ḥaršijalli* GUNNI ^D*Ḥilašši*), Zilipuriš (X 83 I 8), ed anche Telepinuš in *IBoT* II 4 Vs. 4 sgg. (Cat. 496_s):

- 4 [ZA]G.GAR.RA-*ni* III-ŠU GUNNI¹⁻ *i* III-ŠU[
^D*Te-li-pi-nu* I-ŠU ^{GIŠ}*ha-tal-wa[-aš* GIŠ-*i* I-ŠU]
- 6 [*na*]-*ma ha-aš-ši-i ta-pu-uz-z[a* I-ŠU

⁷⁶ Cat. 482_s.

⁷⁷ Cat. 532. V. anche la lista in *IBoT* III 1 44-49.

⁷⁸ «Lang.» 29, 1953, p. 269 sg.

⁷⁹ «RHA» 68, 1961, p. 15 e p. 18 n. 21.

⁸⁰ Già GOETZE, «Lang.» 29, 1953, p. 269.

Questi dei, che appartengono a diverse cerchie, sottolineano il carattere composito dei ll. ss.: Telepinuš, Zitharijaš e Zilipuriš sono di origine hattica, Țašamiliš compare nelle liste delle divinità di Kaniš⁸¹ e Suwalijaz è il nome ittito per Ninurta⁸². E pure sfumano la differenza tra ll. ss. e divinità poiché negli stessi testi sono incluse tanto tra le liste di queste che di quelli.

Per Zitharijas v. *KBo* IV 13 II 13 sgg. (Cat. 494₁):

^DZA.BA₄.BA₄ ^DDAG-ti
^DKAL LUGAL É dubbašša ŠA ^DDAG-ti
^DZitharija

e III 21 sg.:

<i>ištanani</i>	'all'altare'
^D Zitharija	'a Z.'
<i>hašši ištarna pidi</i>	'nel mezzo del focolare'
^D DAG	'al trono'

come pure IV 19 e V 5.

Per Țašamiliš e Šuwalijaz v. XXX 41 II 22 sgg. e IV 12 sgg. (Cat. 497₄):

^D Šuwalijatti	'a Š.'
^D Țašamiliš	'a Ț.'
GUNNI [<i>piran</i> ?]	'[di fronte (?)] al focolare
^D IG ₁ išpanduzzi	'al vaso i.'

e col. VI, ove il re liba a Šuwalijaz (r. 5), a Țašamiliš (r. 11) e al Dio della tempesta (r. 17, 21 e 29).

GIŠ ^DINANNA DINGIR^{LIM} compare tra le divinità in *KBo* IV 13 II 22, III 10, IV 7, e tra i ll. ss. in III 24 e V 8.

Altri testi poi, danno fluttuazioni tra ll. ss. e divinità anche per alcuni dei ll. ss. più ortodossi: il focolare, il trono ed il chiavistello.

535/c + 1258/c⁸³

Vs. 1 ^DLe-e[l-wa-ni-j]a-aš pi-ra-an da-a-i[
 12 da-a-i ^D[Ta-š]a-am-ma-at-ta-as pi-r[a-an da-a-i]
^DUTU-aš pi-ra-a[n d]a-a-i ^DIš-tu-u[š-ta-ja-aš pi-ra-an da-a-i]
 14 ^DPa-a-pa-ja-aš [pī]-ra-an da-a-i ^D[
^DZi-lī-pu-ū[-r]a²-aš pi-ra-an da-a[-i]
 16 ^DŠi-tar-zu-na-a[(-)] da-a-i ha-at[-ta-lu-wa-aš GIŠ]
 pi-ra-an da-a[-i h]a²-aš-ši-i x[

⁸¹ GOETZE, art. cit. p. 270.

⁸² Hurricco Tašmišuš: GÜTERBOCK art. cit. p. 13; v. anche GOETZE, art. cit. p. 268 sg.

⁸³ OTTEN, « JCS » IV, 1950, p. 123.

Bo 4363⁸⁴

III	]P <i>Ta-ši-me-ez pi-ra-an</i> III-ŠU
6	š <i>i-pa-an-]ti</i> LÚ ^{GIŠ} BANŠUR-aš-še ša-ra-a e-ep-zi -]ŠU ^D Pa-ap-pa-ja-aš pi-ra-an III-ŠU
8	]x ^D Zi-li-pu-ri-ja-aš I-ŠU ha-]at-ta-lu-wa-aš ta-ru-ù-i I-ŠU
10	hal-ma-aš-š]u-ù-i-it-ta-aš pi-ra-an I-ŠU š <i>i-pa-an-ti</i>

Ma i testi più numerosi sono per il focolare: XX 24 III (Cat. 524₁) dà questa serie: *Išpanzašepaš* 'il demone della notte' (r. 2), il focolare (^D*Haššaš*, r. 9 e 12), le divinità maschili (r. 19) e *Maljaš* (r. 26); v. inoltre:

XX 99 III 1 sgg.⁸⁵

[^D <i>Šuwalijattan</i>]	'[Š.]'
^D <i>Hašamilin</i>	'H.'
[^D]	
[^D]	
^D <i>Halkin</i>	'la divinità del grano'
DINGIR.LÚ ^{MEŠ} -eš	'le divinità maschili'
GUNNI	'il focolare'
^D <i>Hilaššin</i>	'H.'

XXV 18 III 3 sgg. (Cat. 490₁):

^D <i>Šuwalijatti</i>	'a Š.'
^D <i>Ki-ki-x</i>	'a K.'
hašši	'al focolare'
^{TUL} <i>Uirijatum</i>	'alla fonte U.'

IBoT II 19 4 sg. (Cat. 518)⁸⁶:

DINGIR.LÚ ^{MEŠ} ŠA ^D É.A	'le divinità maschili di EA'
GUNNI	'il focolare'
^D G[ulšeš?]	'G. (?)'
^D <i>Hilaššin</i>	'H.'

KBo XI 32 Vs. 20 (ma v. anche la lista in Vs. 36 sgg., 40):

GUNNI	'al focolare'
DINGIR.LÚ ^{MEŠ} -aš ⁸⁷	'alle divinità maschili'
^D <i>Malija</i>	'a M.'

⁸⁴ OTTEN, *l. c.*

⁸⁵ Cat. 521₁, per l'integrazioni v. GOETZE, art. cit. p. 270.

⁸⁶ Per tutto il passo v. GOETZE, art. cit., p. 273.

⁸⁷ Il testo ha DINGIR^{MEŠ}.LÚ-aš.

Anche in alcune liste di divinità hurriche, ordinate e studiate da E. Laroche⁸⁸, sono enumerati oggetti templari che ricevono offerte in quanto appartengono alla 'cerchia' di un dio (ad es. Tešub). Alcuni di questi corrispondono a ll.ss. ittiti: *šau-* = ^{GIŠ}TUKUL 'arme', *kešhi-* 'trono', *šukuri-* 'chiavistello', *twenni-* = ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR DINGIR^{LIM} 'tavola del dio', ed in XXVII 13 I 26⁸⁹ nel loro complesso sono chiamati 'tutti i luoghi sacri' (dat. *AŠRI*^{HI.A} *humandaš*). Ma anche quest'ultima denominazione, e in un adattamento ittita di un testo hurrico ciò non poteva non avvenire, non basta per uguagliarli ai ll. ss. ittiti. A parte la differenza degli elementi e della struttura dei due gruppi, quelli hurrici all'interno delle liste formano un tutt'uno con le divinità stesse. Si veda per tutti XXVII 8 (Cat. 402₂):

- Vs. EGIR-ŠU-ma ^DGAŠAN ^DNi-na-at-ta ^DKu-li-it-ta ^{URU}Ni-nu-wa-wi,
^DGAŠAN
 10 ^DNi-na-at-ta ^DKu-li-it-ta TUŠ-aš e-ku-zi I NINDA.KU, *pár-ši-ja*
 [K]I.MIN
 EGIR-ŠU-ma ^DNa-a-pár-wi, ^DŠu-u-wa-la TUŠ-aš e-ku-zi I NINDA.
 KU, *pár-ši-ja* K[I.M]IN
 12 EGIR-ŠU-ma ^DUr-šu-u-i ^DIš-kal-li ^DŠa-a-la-aš
^DPi-te-in-hi TUŠ-aš e-ku-zi I NINDA.KU, *pár-ši-ja* KI.MIN
 14 EGIR-ŠU-ma ^DA-dam-ma ^DKu-pa-pa ^DHa-šu-un-t[ar-hi]
 TUŠ-aš e-ku-zi I-NINDA.KU, *pár-ši-ja* KI.MIN
 16 EGIR-ŠU-ma DINGIR^{MES}-na at-ta-an-ni-wi,-na ^DHé-pát-we,-na
 [DI]NGIR^{MES} at-ta-an-ni-wi,-na aš-hu-ši-ku-un-ni-w[e,-]na TUŠ-aš
 18 e-ku-zi I NINDA.KU, *pár-ši-ja* KI.MIN
 Rs. EGIR-ŠU-ma *mu-tu-ur-ši* ^DHé-pát-te-we,-na na-a-am-ni
 2 *na-at-hi hu-u-up-pi ki-ni-ti da-a-e-ja za-a-al-li*
 TUŠ-aš e-ku-zi I NINDA.KU, *pár-ši-ja* KI.MIN
 4 EGIR-ŠU-ma *u-šu-u-ni* ^DHé-pát-we,-na a-za-am-mi-na
^DHé-pát-wi,-na a-za-mi-na ^DIš-ha-ra-wi,-na
 6 TUŠ-aš e-ku-zi I NINDA.KU, *pár-ši-ja* KI.MIN
 EGIR-ŠU-ma *tu-u-ni tap-ri* ^DHé-pát-we,-na *ki-iš-hi a-da-a-ni*
 8 *ni-ra-am-pi ša-la-an-ni* TUŠ-aš e-ku-zi I NINDA.KU, *pár-ši-ja*
 KI.MIN

⁸⁸ « JCS », 2, 1948, pp. 113-136.

⁸⁹ LAROCHE, art. cit., p. 129.

- Vs. E poi alla Signora, a Ninatta, a Kulitta, alla Signora di Ninive,
 10 a Ninatta, a Kulitta liba seduto, spezza un pane dolce, idem.
- E poi a Nabarbi, a Šuwala liba seduto, spezza un pane dolce, idem.
 12 E poi a Uršui, a Iškalli, a Šalaš,
 a Pitinḫi liba seduto, spezza un pane dolce, idem.
- 14 E poi a Adamma, a Kubaba, a Ḫašuntarḫi
 liba seduto, spezza un pane dolce, idem.
- 16 E poi agli dei paterni di Ḫebat,
 agli dei paterni di *ašbušikkunni* liba
 18 seduto, spezza un pane dolce, idem.
- Rs. E poi al *muturši* di Ḫebat, al *manni*,
 2 al *nathī*, al *huppi*, al *kiniti* al *daja*, al *zalli*
 liba seduto, spezza un pane dolce, idem.
- 4 E poi al *ušunni* di Ḫebat, al *azammīna*
 di Ḫebat, al *azammīna* di Išḫara
 6 liba seduto, spezza un pane dolce, idem.
- E poi al *tuni*, al *tapri* di Ḫebat, al *kišhi*, al *adanni*,
 8 al *nirampī*, al *šalanni* liba seduto, spezza un pane dolce, idem.

Essi fanno parte dell'apparato templare di un determinato dio (*kešhi* di Ḫebat etc.) che viene usato in occorrenza di feste e rituali: in XII 5 ad es. Ištar viene posta su uno sgabello (^{G1S}*haššalli*)⁹⁰; cfr. l'elenco di oggetti contenuto in XXIX 4⁹¹. I ll. ss. ittiti invece, almeno quelli principali, non sono in diretta relazione con la singola divinità, ma sono elementi costitutivi del tempio da cui bisogna distinguere gli oggetti dedicati alle divinità.

III) L'uso templare di ^{G1S}*ḫalmašuiž*

Per ^{G1S}*ḫalmašuiž*, e così anche per altri ll. ss., non si deve intendere un oggetto dedicato al dio ed a questi riservato; esso è invece il trono del re e della regina all'interno del complesso templare.

- X 2I I⁹² *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma* LUGAL-uš *ši-pa-an-tu-u-an-ta*
 2 *ir-ḫa-a-iz-zi ta-aš-ši* GAL DUMU É.GAL
^{G1S}*kal-mu-uš* GUŠKIN *pa-a-i* II DUMU^{MEŠ} É.GAL

⁹⁰ Trascr. e trad. J. DANMANVILLE, « RHA » 70, 1962, p. 51 sgg.

⁹¹ V. *supra*, p. 81.

⁹² Cat. 497₃, ove v. bibl.

- 4 LUGAL-i *pi-ra-an hu-ja-an-te-es*₁₄ LUGAL-uš
a-ra-aḥ-za pa-iz-zi ta-aš-ši-kán
- 6 GAL DUMU É.GAL ^{GIS}*kal-mu-uš e-ip-zi*
- [LU]GAL-uš-ša-an ^{GIS}*hu-lu-ga-an-ni-ja*
- 8 [e-]ša ta a-ra-aḥ-za pa-iz-zi
 EGIR-az-ma ta-li-ša da-ra-an-zi
- 10 LUGAL-uš ^{GIS}*hu-lu-ga-an-na-az kat-ta*
ú-iz-zi GAL DUMU^{MEŠ} É.GAL LUGAL-i
- 12 ^{GIS}*kal-mu-uš pa-a-i*
- II DUMU^{MEŠ} É.GAL LUGAL-i *pi-ra-an hu-ja-an-te-eš*
- 14 LUGAL-uš-kán ^E*ha-li-en-tu-u-aš an-da*
pa-iz-zi GAL DUMU É.GAL-kán LUGAL-i ^{GIS}*kal-mu-uš*
- 16 *e-ip-zi LUGAL SAL.LUGAL* ^{GIS}*DAG-ti e-ša-an-da*
- II DUMU^{MEŠ} É.GAL-kán ^{GIS}ŠUKUR ^{GIS}*kal-mu-uš*
- 18 GAD-an-na an-da *ú-da-an-zi nu GAD-an*
 LUGAL-i *pa-a-i* ^{GIS}*kal-mu-uš-ma-aš-ša-an*
- 20 ^{GIS}*DAG-ti ZAG-az da-a-i ta* ^{GIS}ŠUKUR-ma
 DUMU É.GAL ^{GIS}ŠUKUR *ḥar-zi ta-aš a-ap-ḥa*
- 22 *pa-iz-zi ta-aš-kán LUGAL-i me-na-ah-ha-an-da*
ḥa-aš-ši-i ta-pu-uš-za ti[-i]z-z[i]

‘E come il re termina

- 2 di libbre, allora il capo dei funzionari di palazzo
 gli dà il *kalmus* d’oro. Essendo corsi
- 4 due funzionari di palazzo dinnanzi al re, il re
 esce, e il capo dei funzionari di palazzo
- 6 gli prende il *kalmus*.

Il re siede

- 8 nella carrozza ed esce;
 e dietro dicono *tališa*.
- 10 Il re scende dalla carrozza,
 il capo dei funzionari di palazzo dà
- 12 al re di *kalmuš*.

Essendo corsi dinnanzi al re due funzionari di palazzo,

- 14 il re entra nel *ḥ*;
 il capo dei funzionari di palazzo prende al re
- 16 il *kalmuš*, il re (e) la regina siedono sul trono.

Due funzionari di palazzo portano dentro

- 18 la lancia, il lituo e il panno, (uno) dà
 il panno al re, ma pone

- 20 il lituo sul trono a destra, mentre il funzionario di palazzo della lancia
(trat)tiene la lancia, torna
22 indietro, e si pone dirimpetto al re accanto al focolare '.

Ambedue i sovrani siedono sul trono in X 17 II 9 e XXV 16 I 6, il re da solo in *KBo* II 37 4-5 e X 28 I 1-3, e la regina in XXVII 69 I 20 sg., II 20 sg. e VI 2 sgg. (*nu-zan* SAL.LUGAL ^{GIŠ}DAG-ti ^{GIŠ}kurakki *piran ešari*).

Indicativo per ^{GIŠ}halmašuiš nella funzione di l.s. e di trono è XXXIV 117 9 sgg. (Cat. 532):

- LUGAL ?-u]š² ^{GIŠ}DAG-az *kat-ta ti-ja-zi* UGULA ^{LU.MEŠ}MUḪALDIM
kat-ta [
10]x *ḫa-aš-ši-i kur-ši* ^{GIŠ}DAG-ti ^{GIŠ}AB-ja *ḫa-a*[*t-tal-*
wa-aš ^{GIŠ}-i
nam-m]a² *ḫa-aš-ši-i* x[
' il r]e (?) scende dal trono. Il capo dei cuochi giù[
10]x al focolare, allo scudo, al trono, alla finestra, al
legno del chiavistello,
ancor]a (?) al focolare x['

Così anche XXXIV 130 II 12 e 18.

Questo trono non è riservato solo alla coppia reale, ma in XI 9 = 2 *BoTU* 24 IV⁹³, durante le offerte alle immagini reali, se ne serve il capo dei funzionari di palazzo, che sembra essere il dignitario di grado più elevato presente.

- 8 GAL DUMU^{MEŠ} É.GAL *I-NA* ^É[*ḫa-li-en-tu-u-wa-aš* ?]
pa-iz-zi ta-aš É.ḪI[.UŠ.ŠA]
10 *ti-ja-zi QA-TI-ŠU a-a*[*r-ri*]
an-da-aš-kán pa-iz-zi
12 *ši-u-na-aš UŠ-KI-EN*
GAL DUMU^{MEŠ} É.GAL *pa-iz-zi*
14 ^{GIŠ}DAG-ti *še-ir* ^{GIŠ}AB-ja
ta-pu-uš-za ti-ja-zi
16 ^{LU.MEŠ} MUḪALDIM-kán I GUD I UDU *an-da* [*u-un-ni-ja-an-zi*]
na-aš-kán A-NA GAL DUMU É.GAL
18 *me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da a-ra-an-zi*

⁹³ Cat 31.

- 8 ' Il capo dei funzionari di palazzo va
nel [b. (?)] e entra
10 nell'edificio per le abluzioni, si lava le mani,
entra,
12 s'inchina agli dei.
- Il capo dei funzionari di palazzo va
14 a disporsi sul trono
accanto alla finestra.
- 16 I cuochi conducono avanti un bue ed una pecora
e li dispongono
18 di fronte al capo dei funzionari di palazzo '.

Sul trono o accanto ad esso si pongono anche insegne ed armi. Contemporaneamente il lituo, l'asta e la lancia in X 17 II (Cat. 493₁) mentre vi è seduta la stessa coppia reale :

- LUGAL SAL.LUGAL ^{GIŠ}DAG-ti a-ša-an-da
10 DUMU É.GAL-kán an-da pa-iz-zi
^{GIŠ}SUKUR ^{GIŠ}ma-a-ri-in GAD-ja ħar-zi
12 nu GAD LUGAL-i pa-a-i
^{GIŠ}kal-mu-uš-ma-kán ^{GIŠ}ma-a-ri-in
14 ^{GIŠ}SUKUR ^{GIŠ}DAG-ti da-a-i
a-pa-a-aš-ša EGIR-pa pa-iz-zi
16 na-aš tar-ša-an-zi-pi pi-ra-an
ti-ja-zi nu ka-a-aš-mi-iš-ša-a
18 ħal-za-a-i

- ' Il re (e) la regina siedono sul trono,
10 il capo dei funzionari di palazzo entra,
tiene la lancia, l'asta ed il panno,
12 e dà il panno al re,
ma il lituo, l'asta,
14 e la lancia pone sul trono ;
ed egli indietreggia
16 e si pone dinnanzi
al palco e grida
18 kašmišša '.

Ancora il lituo e la lancia (o le lance) in X 18 VI 6-8; XI 34 VI 35-36. Il lituo da solo in II 10 III 15-16; X 3 I 26; XXV 16 I 10; *lBoT* III 59 8-9; e a destra del trono in *KBo* IV 9 III 30-31; X 21 I 19-20. Le lance in XI 24 Rs. 16-19 *ABoT* 13 I 21 e l'asta in *ABoT* 13 I 8, e a destra del re in trono in *KBo* IV 9 IV 9-11.

In *KBo* XI 73 Rs. 14 sgg. vi si pone il panno, dopo che il re e la regina vi si sono asciugate le mani:

14 LUGAL SAL.LUGAL ŠUMESŠ-ŠU-NU
ar-ra-an- zi

16 [G]AL DUMUMESŠ É.GAL GAD-an
pa-a-i ŠUMESŠ-ŠU-NU

18 a-an-ša-an- zi

GAL DUMUMESŠ É.GAL LUGAL-i

20 GAD-an da-a-i DUMU É.GAL-ma
ku-iš G1SŠUKUR GUŠKIN ħar-zi

22 lák-hán G1SDAG-ti da-a-i

14 ' Il re (e) la regina si lavano
le mani,

16 il capo dei funzionari di palazzo dà
il panno, si asciugano

18 le mani.

Il capo dei funzionari di palazzo prende
20 al re il panno, e il funzionario di palazzo
che tiene la lancia d'oro
22 allora pone sul trono '.

G1SĤalmašuz risulta trovarsi in varie parti del complesso templare: nel *ĥalentuwa* ad es. in *KBo* X 23 I 18-21; X 3 I 20-26; *ABOT* 13 I 4-5, ma fuori da questo in *KBo* IV 9 I 33-34, II 42, nel tempio del dio Zababa; 'fuori della camera interna' (É.ŠĀ-az) nel *ĥešta-* in II 13 II 32-33; 'nel tempio di Zitharijaš' X 17 II 8-9; insieme agli altri ll. ss. nella 'cucina' in XI 35 (Cat. 480₁).

D'altra parte all'interno del tempio esistono anche altri seggi, i quali però devono essere tenuti distinti dal G1SĤalmašuz⁹⁴: in II 3 I 44-47 'i sacerdoti' LU.MESŠSANGA hanno 'i loro seggi' G1SŠŪ.A-ŠU-NU⁹⁵; in *KBo* IV 9 vengono disposti dentro al tempio del dio Zababa delle sedie a sdraio G1SĤaputi (idgr. G1SGU.ZA G1D.DA)⁹⁶ quando il re e la regina si trovano nel *ĥalentuwa*: nu LŪMESŠ G1SPA G1SGU.ZA G1D.DA^{H1A} ti-an-zi 'gli araldi dispongono le sedie a sdraio' (I 25). E probabilmente è su di questi che i dignitari ('i principi' DUMUMESŠ.LUGAL, etc., V 20 sgg.) vengono

⁹⁴ In *Bo* 2843 III, ove G1SDAG sembra essere al centro di un'azione sacrificale, alla r. 20 si legge nu G1SŠŪ.A PANI DINGIR^{LIM} G1SDAG-ti tianzi 'e pongono il seggio al trono dinanzi al dio'.

⁹⁵ Per G1SŠŪ.A cfr. anche XI 25 III 17 sg.

⁹⁶ OTTEN, *KBo* IX, Vorwort, p. VI n. 128.

fatti sedere dall'araldo per partecipare ad un pasto sacro, mentre il re e la regina siedono sul ^{GIŠ}*halmašuiš* (II 42, III 26) ⁹⁷.

Il corredo templare prescritto (v. *supra* p. 81 sg.) poteva essere arricchito anche da oggetti dedicati alla divinità come preda di guerra:

KB0 X 2 II 32 sgg. [I ^{GIŠ}BANŠ]UR GUŠKIN TAM-LU-Ū III
^G[^{IS}BANŠU]R KÚ.BABBAR[...] KÚ.BABBAR I ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA NI-
 ME-D[I GUŠKIN T]AM-LU-Ū A-NA ^DUT[U ^{URU}TÚL-na
 p]t-e-da-aš-hu-un
 'una tavola d'oro massiccio, tre 'tavole' d'argento, [...] d'argento,
 un trono con spalliera [d'oro] massiccio portai alla Dea del
 sole [d'Arinna] '.

Un significato tecnico invece è quello che ^{GIŠ}*halmašuiš* assume negli oracoli KIN ⁹⁸ ove, avendo indifferentemente come determinativo DINGIR e GIŠ, figura sia come elemento attivo (XVI 75 II 9 sg. ^{GIŠ}DAG-iš GUB-iš ŠA LUGAL A-DAM-MA ME-aš nu-kán DINGIR^{MES}-aš 'il trono si alzò, prese il sangue scuro del re, e (ciò è stato dato) agli dei'), sia come destinatario di un'azione: V 1 I 62 sg. DINGIR^{MES} GUB-ir SILIM-ul KASKAL LUGAL-ja ME-ir nu-kán EGIR ^{GIŠ}DAG II LÚ^{MES} ^{URU}Hat-ti-ma-aš ZAG-tar KASKAL ^DZA.BA₄.BA₄-ja ME-ir na-aš ^DU-ni SUM-za 'Gli dei si alzarono, presero la salute e la spedizione del(?) re, e di nuovo al trono (posero; ?) seconda (volta): gli uomini di Hatti presero a loro la giustizia, e la spedizione di (?) Zababa, ed essi sono dati al Dio della tempesta '.

IV) Il Trono divinizzato

Se si prescinde da alcune divinità che compaiono saltuariamente tra i ll. ss. (*supra*, p. 98 sg.), questi assumono solo raramente posizioni di rilievo nel culto ittito, e non perché a volte abbiano il determinativo DINGIR (^DAB XX 45 I 17, IV 3), ciò che non è sempre significativo, ma in quanto sono inclusi in qualche lista di divinità (*supra*, p. 99 sg.). Particolare risalto ha però il focolare in un rituale per la costruzione di una palazzo reale (XXIX 1) ⁹⁹, alla installazione del quale prende parte tutta la famiglia reale, la cui continuità anche qui, come nel rituale per la costruzione di un edificio *KB0* IV 1 ¹⁰⁰, ma con più insistenza, viene legata analogicamente al nuovo elemento ed alla sua solidità:

⁹⁷ ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA GÍD.DAHLA e poi i ll. ss., tra cui ^{GIŠ}*halmašuiš*, in XXXII 135 IV 2-6.

⁹⁸ V. GOETZE, *Kleinasien*², p. 150.

⁹⁹ Cat. 308; trascr. e trad. SCHWARTZ, «Orientalia» 16, 1947, p. 23 sgg., trad. parziale GOETZE, *ANET*, p. 357 sg.

¹⁰⁰ Cat. 309, ove v. duplicati e bibl.

XXIX 1

III *ma-a-an* ^{LU.MEŠ}KISAL.LUḪ-*ma* ^{É.MEŠ} GIBIL^{TIM}-*kan* GUNNI-*an*
GIBIL-*an*

38 *ti-an-zi nu ki-i ud-da-a-ar me-m[i-j]a-an-zi*

DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*wa* GUNNI *da-a-ir nu-wa-ra-an* [^{N^A}*ku-u*]n-na-ni-it

40 *ḫu-u-ra-i-ir na-an AN.BAR-it ša-an[-ḫi-]ir*

nu-uš-ša-an DINGIR^{MEŠ} *e-ša-an-ta-ri nu-za-an* ^{É-aš} BE-LU^{MEŠ} ^{TIM}

42 LUGAL-*uš* SAL.LUGAL-*ša* DAM^{MEŠ} *pa-aḫ-ḫu-wa-ar-še-eš*
e-ša-an-ta-ri

' Quando i lavatori del vestibolo installano un focolare nuovo
38 nel nuovo edificio, allora dicono le seguenti parole :

« Gli dei hanno installato il focolare, lo hanno ornato (?)

40 con pietre preziose e lo hanno rifinito (?) col ferro »,

Allora gli dei siedono, e i signori della casa,

42 il re, la regina, le spose, i figli di secondo rango

si siedono, '

IV *na-at-ša-an ḫa-aš-ši-i ḫa-li-ih-li-ja-an-da-ri*

2 *nu* DUMU.NITA^{MEŠ} DUMU.SAL^{MEŠ} *ḫa-aš-še-eš ḫa-an-za-aš-še-eš*
ma-aḫ-ki-eš[-ša]-an-du

GUNNI-*ma te-ez-zi a-pa-at-wa-mu a-aš-šu*

' Ed essi al focolare s'inclinano

2 « E i figli le figlie, i nipoti (e) i pronipoti diventino numerosi ! »

E il focolare dice: « Ciò a me sta bene ».

nu ^{GIS}GESTIN-*aš* ^{GIS}*ma-aḫ-la-an ti-an-zi* KI.MIN ^{GIS}GESTIN-*ma-wa*

14 *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an kat-ta šu-u-ur-ku-uš ša-ra-a-ma-wa*

^{GIS}*ma-aḫ-lu-uš ši-i-ja-iz-zi* LUGAL-*ša* SAL.LUGAL-*ša kat-ta*

16 *šur-ku-uš kat-ta-ma* ^{GIS}*ma-aḫ-lu-uš ši-i-ja-an-du*

' Allora dispongono un tralcio di vite. Idem.

14 Come la vite affonda le radici e

innalza i tralci, il re e la regina affondino le radici

16 e i tralci ' .^{100*}

Tuttavia solo ^{D/GIS}Halmašuiž presenta il carattere definitivo di una divinità. Nel pantheon di Anittaš figura in una posizione di primissimo piano : è al Trono divinizzato che pare che il dio di Neša Šiušummiš consegni Ḫattuša

^{100*}) Da emendare *kat-ta-ma* in *ša-ra-ma*, oppure da intendere temporalmente : 'in basso' = 'in futuro' facciano discendere la loro prole ?

(ša-an ^DḪalmaš[*mittu?*] ^DŠušmiš *parā paiš ša-an išpandi nakkit dāhhun* 'E Š. la consegnò [a(?)]Ḫ, ed io la presi di notte d'assalto'. *KBo III 22 = 2 BoTU 7 46* sgg.) ricompensando così Anittaš per aver riportato a Neša la sua immagine di cui si era impradonito il re di Zalpuwa (rr. 39 sgg.). Ḫalmašuiž sarebbe dunque una divinità già precedentemente legata al re, e quindi di Kuššara, che Anittaš poi porta con sé a Neša ('nella mia città' URU-JA): É ^DḪalma-šu-it-ta-aš É ^DIŠKUR-na-a[(š BE-LI-JA Ú É ^DŠi-ú-na-šum-mi-iš AB-NI)] 'Costruì il tempio di Ḫalmašuiž, il tempio del Dio della tempesta mio signore, e il tempio di Šiunašummiš'. (r. 57).

Nei testi più tardi il Trono divinizzato ha un ruolo centrale solo nel rituale XXIX 1 per la costruzione di un nuovo edificio, probabilmente un palazzo reale. Nella prima parte il re, dovendo procurarsi il legname, assicura il Trono che egli viene sulle montagne con intenzioni amiche, ognuno continuerà a regnare sul proprio territorio: il Trono sulle montagne ed il re nel paese assegnatogli dagli dei; il Trono stesso gli ha portato l'investitura.

Con molta attenzione si chiarisce che non c'è alcuna intenzione di diminuire l'autorità del Trono:

- I 10 [nam-ma? LUGAL-u]š ^{GIŠ}DAG-ti te-ez-zi e-ḫu pa-a-i-wa-ni
[nu zi-i]k ḪUR.SAG^{MES}-aš EGIR-an ti-i-ja LU^{MES}-aš-mi-iš
- 12 [le-]e ki-iš-ta ga-a-i-na-aš-mi-iš le-e ki-iš-ta
[a-r]a-aš-mi-iš a-ra-a-aš-mi e-eš
- 14 e-ḫu HUR.SAG-ri pa-a-i-wa-a-ni nu-ut-ta LUGAL-uš za-ap-zi-ki
pi-iḫ-ḫi nu-za-kán za-ap-zi-ki-it e-du-wa-a-ni zi-ik
- 16 ḪUR.SAG-an-da-an pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-ša-nu-ut
- LUGAL-i-ma-mu DINGIR^{MES} DUTU-uš ^DIŠKUR-aš-ša ut-ne-e É-ir-
mi-it-ta
- 18 ma-ni-ja-aḫ-ḫi-ir nu-za LUGAL-uš-sa ut-ne-me-et É-ir-mi-it-ta
pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-mi zi-ik am-me-el É-na le-e ú-wa-si
- 20 ú-ga tu-e-el pá-r-na Ú-UL ú-wa-a-mi
- LUGAL-e-mu DINGIR^{MES} me-ek-ku-uš MU.KAM^{BI.A}-uš ma-ni-ja-
aḫ-ḫi-ir
- 22 ú-it-ta-an-na ku-ut-re-eš-me-it NU.GÁL
- LUGAL-u-e-mu ma-ni-ja-aḫ-ḫa-en ^{GIŠ}ḫu-lu-ga-an-ne-en ^{GIŠ}DAG-iz
- 24 a-ru-na-za ú-da-aš an-na-aš-ma-aš KUR-e ḫi-e-še-ir nu-mu-za
LUGAL-un
la-ba-ar-na-an ḫal-zi-i-e-ir
- 26 nu EGIR-pa ad-da-aš-ma-an ^DU-an wa-al-lu-uš-ki-mi nu ^{GIŠ}BI.A
LUGAL-uš
^DU-ni ú-e-ek-zi ḫé-e-ja-u-e-eš ku-it ta-aš-nu-uš-ki-ir šal-la-nu-uš-ki-ir

36 *Ú-UL-wa LUGAL-wa-aš a-ra-as-mi-iš zi-ik nu-wa-mu i-ni GIŠ-ru*
ma-ni-ja-ab na-at-kán kar-aš-mi ^{GIŠ}DAG-iz-ma EGIR-pa LUGAL-i
te-ez-zi kar-aš-ša-at-kán kar-aš ^{PUTU}-uš-ša-at-ta
 38 *PIŠKUR-ta-aš-ša ma-ni-ja-ab-bi-ir*

- I 10 ' Allora il re dice al Trono : « Su, andiamo,
 tu sta dietro le montagne. Non diventare
 12 un mio uomo (?), non diventare un mio parente,
 sii mio amico al mio amico (?).
 14 Su, andiamo alla montagna, Io, il re, ti darò
 il vaso di vetro, mangiamo dal vaso di vetro. Tu
 16 custodisce la montagna !

A me, il re, gli dei, il Dio del sole e il Dio della tempesta, hanno
 concesso

- 18 il paese e la mia casa. Io, il re, il mio paese e la mia casa
 custodirò. Tu non venire nella mia casa,
 20 e io non verrò nella tua casa.

- A me, il re, gli dei hanno concesso molti anni,
 22 degli anni la loro brevità non esiste.

- A me, il re, il Trono ha portato il governo e la carrozza ¹⁰¹
 24 dal mare, hanno aperto il paese di mia madre ¹⁰² e mi hanno chiamato
 Labarnaš, il re.

- 26 E perciò esalto (?) il Dio della tempesta, mio padre. Il re richiede
 al Dio della tempesta le piante che le piogge hanno fatto forti
 (e) grandi.

- Non sei un amico mio, del re ? Concedimi queste piante,
 36 ed io le abatterò '. Il Trono risponde
 al re : ' Abbattile, abbatti(le) ! Il Dio del sole
 38 e il Dio della tempesta te le hanno concesse » '.

¹⁰¹ *GIŠhuluganniš*, che qui sembra essere un simbolo della dignità regale, oltre ad essere usato dalla coppia reale, serve anche per gli spostamenti delle immagini divine : X 91 II 5 *našta DINGIRLUM IŠTU É.DINGIRLIM parā uđanzi na-an-kán GIŠhuluganni ašešanzi*.

¹⁰² Frase di significato non chiaro. Cfr. A. KAMMENHUBER « ZA » NF 23, 1965, p. 197 n. 77.

In un secondo momento, quando il re entra nel nuovo edificio, il Trono interviene ancora per garantirgli una lunga vita: l'aquila viene inviata al mare per osservare che cosa abbiano stabilito le divinità del destino:

- 50 *ma-a-an-ma* LUGAL *an-da-an pá-r-na ú-iz-zi* ^{GIŠ}DAG-iz ^ÁMUŠEN-an
ḫal-za-a-i e-ḫu-ta a-ru-na pí-e-i-mì ma-a-an pa-a-i-ši-ma
 52 *nu ú-li-li-ja* ^{GIŠ}TIR-na *šu-ú-wa-ja*
ku-i-e-eš a-ša-an-zi

II

- a-pa-a-aš-ša* EGIR-*pa te-ez-zi šu-wa-ja-nu'-un-wa*
 2 *nu-wa* ^DIS-*du-uš-ta-ja-aš* ^DPa-*pa-ja-aš kat-te-er-re-e[š]*
ka-ru-ú-e-le-e-eš DINGIR^{MEŠ} *ku-ú-še-eš*
 4 *ḫa-a-li-an-te-eš a-ša-an-zi*
 EGIR-*pa'-ma te-iz-zi nu ku-it is-ša-an-zi a-pa-ša-aš-ši*
 6 EGIR-*pa te-iz-zi* ^{GIŠ}ḫu-*u-la-li ḫar-zi*
^{GIŠ}ḫu-*u-šu-uš šu-u-wa-du-uš ḫar-kán-zi*
 8 *nu* LUGAL-*wa-aš* MU.KAM^{ḪIA} -*uš ma-al-ki?-ja-an-zi*
ú-it-ta-an-na ku-ut-ri-eš-mi-it kap-pu-u-wa-u-wa-ar-ša-me-et
 10 *Ú-UL du-uq-qa-a-ri*

- 50 'Quando il re entra nell'edificio, il Trono chiama l'aquila¹⁰³: « Su, io ti mando al mare. E quando vai allora osserva le erbe (?) (e) le piante quelle che rimangono ».

II

- Quella risponde: « Ho osservato ;
 2 Išduštajaš e Papajaš, le eterne divinità degli inferi, queste
 4 (ci) sono, inchinate ».
 Allora (il Trono) dice: « E che cosa fanno ? » Quella gli
 6 risponde: « Tiene una conocchia, tengono specchi ripieni
 8 e filano (?) gli anni del re.
 Degli anni la loro brevità (e) il loro conteggio
 10 non sono visibili »'.

¹⁰³ Anche in XVII 10 I 23 sgg. l'aquila è mandata in cerca di Telepinuš, e ciò evidentemente per la sua vista acuta e per la sua forza: ^DAranzaḫaš ^ÁMUŠEN-aš GIM-an *iarnaš* 'Come un'aquila A. si levò'. XVII 9 I 14; ALAM-iš-ši NAGGA-aš *i-e-er* SAG.DU.ZU AN.BAR-aš *i-e-er ša-a-ku-wa-aš-ši* ^ÁMUŠEN-aš *i-e-er* KA × UD^{ḪIA} -*ma-aš-si* UR.MAḪ-aš *i-e-er* 'Hanno fatto la sua figura di stagno, hanno fatto la sua testa di ferro, hanno fatto i suoi occhi d'aquila, i suoi denti di leone'. XXIX 1 II 52 sgg.

Ed ancora si fa ricorso al Trono al momento di dare l'intonaco :

- III *ma-a-an-za* ^{LU.MEŠ}KISAL.LUḪ É ^{MEŠ}GIBIL *ḫa-ni-eš-šu-u-wa-an-zi*
ap-pa-an-zi
- 30 *nu ki-i ud-da-a-ar me-mi-ja-an-zi* ^{G1Š}DAG-iz-wa
 [f]ar-aš-ki-iz-zi *ma-a-an-wa-za É-ir an-dur-za ḫa-ni-eš-te-ni*
- 32 [n]u-wa MU.KAM ^{GI.A}GÍD.DA *ḫa-ni-es-te-ni a-aš-šu ḫa-ni-iš-te-ni*
ma-a-an-na-at a-ra-aḫ-za-ma ḫa-ni-eš-te-ni nu na-aḫ-ša-ra-ad-da-an
- 34 *ḫa-ni(-eš)-te-en nu iš-ḫa-šar-wa-a-tar ḫa-ni-eš-te-en*
- III 'Quando i lavoratori del vestibolo incominciano ad intonacare, il
 nuovo edificio,
- 30 allora dicono le seguenti parole: « Il Trono
 dichiara: Quando intonacate l'edificio all'interno,
- 32 allora intonacate anni lunghi, intonacate il bene;
- ma quando intonacate all'esterno, allora intonacate
- 34 rispetto, allora intonacate amicizia » '.

Altrove Ḫalmašuilz compare come divinità, in posizione isolata in I 14 I 7,¹⁰⁴ e nelle liste degli dei per lo più vicino a Zababa ed a Allatum :

- VI 45 I 52 ¹⁰⁵ ^DA.A-aš ^DDam-ki-in-na-aš ^DZA.BA₄.BA₄ ^DDAG-iš
 ^DAL-LA-TUM
- KBo IV 13 II 11*¹⁰⁶ I ^{NINDA}*dan-na-aš A-NA* ^DU ¹⁰⁷URUḪa-at-ti
- 12 » ^DKar-zi ^DḪa-pa-ta-li-ja
- » ^DZA.BA₄.BA₄ I ^{NINDA}*dan-na-*
 aš ^DDAG-ti
- 14 » ^DKAL LUGAL É *dub-ba-aš-*
 ša ^DDAG-ti ¹⁰⁸
- » ^DZi-il-ḫa-ri-ja
- 16 » ^DPi-ir-wa ^DAš-ka-ši-pa

¹⁰⁴ Cat. 375; EHELOLF, con collazione, legge ^DḪal-ma-aš-šu-ud! -du-ú: ° ZA . NF 2, 1925, p. 313.

¹⁰⁵ Cat. 285. Dupl. VI 46 II 17.

¹⁰⁶ Cat. 494; la stessa lista in III 28 sgg., IV 14 sgg., IV 38 sgg.

¹⁰⁷ In III 30, IV 16, IV 40; *IBOT II 61 5* ^DKAL.

¹⁰⁸ 'A KAL re, e (?) al Trono della casa *dubbaš*'.

IBoT I 29 Vs. 20 ¹⁰⁹ LUSANGA *Ḫal-ki-aš* LUSANGA ^DZA.BA₄.BA₄
 LUSANGA ^DTa-a[š-me-du ¹¹⁰]x-aš
 LUSANGA ^DḪal-ma-aš-šu-i-it-ti II LUSANGA ^DAn-zi-li
 []x x
 22 LUSANGA ^DḪa-ša-am-mi-li I LÚ ^{GIŠ}PA I LÚ ŠUKUR
 I L[Ú]]x x x

Da KBo X 27 IV 18 sgg. si ottiene questa lista: ^DParga ^{DE}A ^DAL-LATUM ^DDAG-ti ^DḪanzunzi ^DMAḪ, ed in XXX 29 Vs. 9 sgg. ¹¹¹ si ha:

. nu-za ^DUTU ^{URU}A-ri-in-na
 10 [e-]ša-at ^DḪal-ma-aš-šu-iz-za-ma-az ^{URU}Ḫa-a-ar-pi-ša KI.
 MIN
^DḪa-a-te-pi-sa-az ^{URU}Ma-li-lu-u-ḫa KI.MIN ^DKAL
^{URU}Ka-ra-aḫ-na
 12 [^DŠa?-]uš-ga-ša-az ^DTe-li-pi-nu-uš ^{URU}Ta-a-u-ni-ja KI.
 MIN

Tanto Ḫatepišaš che le città Ḫarpiša e Maliluḫa non sono per il mometo altrove testimoniate; le altre città appartengono all'area del bacino del Halys ¹¹².

Ancora Zababa e Ḫalmašuiš in una festa celebrata nel tempio di Zababa:

KBo IV 9 II 42 ¹¹³ nu-uš-ša-an LUGAL-uš ^{GI[ŠDA]}G-ti ti-ja-zi
 SAL.LUGAL-ma É.ŠA-na pa-iz-zi
 44 nu UGULA ^{LÚ.MEŠ}MUḪAL/DIM] ^{UZU}kat-ta-pa-la-an
 ú-da-i nu PA-NI ^DDAG-ti
 46 Ú PA-NI ^DZA.BA₄.BA₄ I-ŠU da-a-i
 ḫa-aš-ši-i I-ŠU ^{GIŠ}DAG-ti I-ŠU
 48 ^{GIŠ}AB-ja I-ŠU ^{GIŠ}ḫa-at-tal-wa-aš ^{GIŠ}ru-i
 I-ŠU nam-ma ḫa-aš-ši-i ta-pu-uš-za
 50 I-ŠU da-a-i
 UGULA ^{LÚ.MEŠ}MUḪALDIM iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-šar ^{GEŠ}TIN
 52 LUGAL-i pa-ra-a e-ep-zi LUGAL-uš QA-TAM da-a-i
 III UGULA ^{LÚ.MEŠ}MUḪALDIM ^DDAG-ti pi-ra-an
 2 III-ŠU Ú A-NA ^DZA.BA₄.BA₄
 III-ŠU ši-pa-an-ti

¹⁰⁹ Cat. 505.

¹¹⁰ Integrazione secondo Bo 3228 10.

¹¹¹ Cat. 338₁.

¹¹² Garstang and Gurney, *Geography*.

¹¹³ Cat. 487₁; trad. FRIEDRICH, »AO» 25, 2, p. 5 sg., GOETZE, ANET, p. 358 sg.

- 4 UGULA^{LU.MEŠ}MUḪALDIM UGULA LÚ^{MEŠ} GIŠBANŠUR-
ja
an-da šu-up-pi-ja-ah-ḫa-an-zi
- 6 UGULA^{LU.MEŠ}MUḪALDIM *ḫa-aš-ši-i* I-ŠU *ši-pa-an-ti*
^{PDAG-ti} I-ŠU^{GIŠ}AB I-ŠU
- 8 ^{GIŠ}*ḫa-at-tal-wa-aš* GIŠ^{ru-i} I-ŠU
nam-ma ḫa-aš-ši-i ta-pu-uš-za
- 10 I-ŠU *ši-pa-an-ti*
- II 42 ' Il re si pone sul trono,
mentre la regina va nella camera interna.
- 44 Il capo dei cuochi porta
del *kattapalaš*, e pone una volta
- 46 dinnanzi al Trono e dinnanzi a Zababa;
al focolare una volta, al trono una volta,
- 48 alla finestra una volta, al legno del chiavistello
una volta, ancora accanto al focolare
- 50 pone una volta.
- Il capo dei cuochi presenta un recipiente di vino
- 52 al re, il re (im)pone la mano.
- III Il capo dei cuochi dinnanzi al Trono
- 2 offre tre volte e al Dio della guerra
tre volte.
- 4 Il capo dei cuochi e il capo degli uomini della tavola
si purificano.
- 6 Il capo dei cuochi offre una volta al focolare,
al trono una volta, alla finestra una volta,
- 8 al legno del chiavistello una volta,
ancora accanto al focolare
- 10 offre una volta'.

Il fatto che nello stesso testo a distanza di poche righe l'ideogramma DAG¹¹⁴ rappresenti una divinità, un luogo sacro, ed il trono del re e della regina (III 26 LUGAL SAL.LUGAL^{GIŠ}DAG-ti *a-ša-an-ta* ' il re (e) la regina siedono sul trono ' e IV 7 sgg. *nu* DUMU É.GAL^{GIŠ}ŠUKUR GUŠKIN

¹¹⁴ Per il determinativo si noti che DINGIR precede DAG non solo in II 45 e III 1, ove è chiaro trattarsi di una divinità, ma anche in III 7 ove invece si tratta di un l.s. Così in XXIX 1 I 23 il Trono divinizzato ha per determinativo GIŠ, mentre nel duplicato più antico 3 Vs. 4 DINGIR, ed ancora determinativo divino in 1 I 36 e GIŠ in I 10, 50, II 11, III 30. Indifferentemente i due determinativi negli oracoli KIN.

^{G1S}*mu-kar-ra pi-e-da-i na-at-ša-an pa-iz-zi* ^{G1S}DAG-ti LUGAL-i ZAG-na-az
^{G1S}*ma-a-ri kat-ta-an da-a-i* 'allora un impiegato del palazzo porta una lancia
d'oro e un *mukar*, e va a porli sul trono alla destra del re accanto al *mariš*')
è assai significativo. Tenendo presente che alcune divinità compaiono anche
come II. ss. negli stessi testi, in quanto l'oggetto con cui sono rappresentate
si presta a questa ambivalenza (*supra*, p. 98), si può pensare che in que-
sto caso il trono templare rappresenti lo stesso Trono divinizzato.

Come parallelo varrà il caso probabile di un altro oggetto divinizzato:
^{D/G1S}*halputiliš*, di cui non si conosce ancora il significato, ma la cui origine,
come quella di *halmašuiš*, è da riportare alla cultura hattica, e che come
*halmašuiš*¹¹⁵ si è diffuso oltre l'area ittita¹¹⁶. In XX 88¹¹⁷ con il determina-
tivo G1S, esso riceve numerose offerte:

- VI 8 UDU^{H1.A} *ar-kán-zi* UZU^š*u-up-pa hu-i-šu* UZUGAB^{H1.A}
UZUZAG.UDU^{H1.A} SAG.DU^{H1.A} GÌR^{MEŠ} G1S*hal-pu-u-ti-li*
10 *pi-ra-an ti-i-ja-an-zi*
UZUNÍG.GIG UZUŠA *ha-ap-pi-ni-it za-nu-wa-an-zi*
12 LU^GUDÚ ^D*Te-li-pi-nu* III NINDA.KUR₄.RA KU₇ ŠA 1/2 UP-NI
DUMU.LUGAL *pa-a-i na-aš par-ši-ja še-e-ra-aš-ša-an* UZUNÍG.GIG
14 ŠAL-MU-TIM *da-a-i na-at* ^{G1S}*hal-pu-u-ti-li pi-ra-an kat-ta*
hu-i-šu-wa-aš-ša-an UZU^š*u-up-pa-ja-aš še-ir da-a-i*
16 LUŠILA.ŠU.DU₈-aš ^{DUG}KU-KU-UB KAŠ DUMU.LUGAL *pa-a-i*
DUMU.LUGAL
^{G1S}*hal-pu-u-ti-li pi-ra-an* III-ŠU *ši-ip-pa-an-ti* ^{DUG}KU-KU-UB
18 LUŠILA.ŠU.DU₈ *pa-ra-a pa-a-i* DUMU.LUGAL UŠ-GI-EN
na-aš-kán pa-ra-a pa-iz-zi
8 'Tagliano a pezzi le pecore, carne cruda: i petti,
le spalle, le teste, i piedi, dinnanzi
10 al *halputiliš* depongono.
Il fegato (e) il cuore cuociono con la fiamma (?),
12 l'unto' di Telepinuš dà tre pani normali dolci di mezza manciata
al principe, ed egli (li) spezza (e li) pone

¹¹⁵ In un rituale luvio in XXXV 67 II 2 (v. MERIGGI, « Athenaeum » NS 35, 1957, p. 75): *halmašuiš[tiš-du]* *gangataimmiš ašd[u]*, cfr. ^{G1S}DAG *gangataizzi* in XV 42 III 22 (*supra*, p. 97 n. 75). Dal testo è forse possibile ottenere una lista con *šarhuliš-šu* (r. 1, cfr. X 83 I 3, *supra*, p. 98) e *hašša[nittiš ?]* (r. 4). V. ancora MERIGGI, « WZKM » 53, 1957, p. 222 sg., n. 72.

¹¹⁶ Per la lettura]*x-hal-pu-ú-ta* in Rs 6 del rituale palaico XXXV 165 cfr. OTTEN, « ZA » NF 14, 1944, p. 140, e KAMMENHUBER, « RHA » 64, 1959, p. 8.

¹¹⁷ Cat. 489₁.

- 14 sul fegato intero, e li depone davanti al *halputiliš* sulla carne cruda.
- 16 Il coppiere dà al principe un boccale di birra, il principe offre tre volte dinnanzi al *halputiliš*; il boccale
- 18 (a?) il coppiere consegna, il principe s'inchina, ed egli esce'.

In XXV 27¹¹⁸ invece figura come divinità (v. anche XII 4 IV 7) accanto a *Halmasuiz*, che viene festeggiato nel tempio del Dio del sole e in quello del Dio della tempesta di Aleppo.

- I 14 [I-NA] É^DUTU-ma EZEN × ŠE *ha-da-ú-ri* I GUD X UDU *aš-ša-nu-ma-aš-ma*
ma-a-ši-wa-an lam-ni-ja-an-zi
- 16 LÚ.MEŠ^S*hal-li-ja-ri-iš-ša* ^DDAG-ti¹¹⁹ *i-ja-an-zi*
- 14 ' Nel tempio del Dio del sole la festa *hadauri*, un bue (e) dieci pecore di preparazione come ordinano,
- 16 i *hallijareš* festeggiano il Trono'.

Seguono le offerte.

- III *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma-kán* ^DHal-pu-ti-li-iš *pa-iz-zi*
- 10 LÚ.MEŠ^S*ša-la-aš-ḫi<iš>-ma-za* ^DDAG *i-ja-an-zi*
 I[GUD] V UDU II PA ZÍD.DA II ^{DUG}KA.DŪ
- 12 *lu-u[k-k]at-ti-ma šu-up-pa* ŠE+NAG-ar
- lu-uk-kat-t[i-]ma I-NA* É^DU ^{URU}Hal-pa
 LÚ.MEŠ^S GAD.TAR-ma-za ^DDAG-ti *i-ja-an-zi*
- ' La mattina (dopo) *Halputiliš* va ;
- 10 e i *šalašhi* festeggiano il Trono ;
 un [bue], cinque pecore, due mezze misure di farina, due recipienti di birra.
- 12 La mattina (dopo) il purificare la carne.
- La mattina dopo nel tempio del Dio della tempesta di Halpa,
- 14 gli uomini GAD.TAR festeggiano il(?) Trono'.

¹¹⁸ Cat. 508₃.

¹¹⁹ ^DHalmasuitti qui e in III 14 invece dell'acc., si potrebbe spiegare in quanto si tratta di parola di origine straniera ; cfr. IV 9 III 17 ^DHalmasšuttu.

Seguono le offerte.

Il Laroche¹²⁰ ha spiegato ^DHalputiliš, hatt. *Halwutte* (XXVIII 83 Vs. 4), *ka-halwuzzil* (XXVIII 75 II 3, 4) (cfr. *Ka-halputti* XXVIII 13 Rs. 34 b), come 'Dio di Halpa', basandosi su XXII 51 Rs. 14¹²¹

z]a? ^DPi-ir-wa-an DÜ-zi ^DU.GUR x hal-pu-ti-li-in EZEN ^{GiS}zu-up-pa-r[i

ove x sarebbe URU, mentre e per posizione del segno e per costruzione sintattica è forse meglio leggere -ma, pur restando oscuro il senso della frase (^DU.GUR gen ?)¹²². Che anche in *IBoT* II 8 Rs. IV?¹²³ un testo parallelo a XXV 27 III 12 sgg., ma appartenente ad un altro gruppo di feste (si noti la r. 3), ad Halputiliš segue ^DU ^{URU}Halpa, può essere un argomento a favore quanto contrario.

<i>IBoT</i> II 8 Rs IV? ¹²³	3	UD]XV.KAM	[
	4	^D H]al-p[u-t]i-li-iš pa[-iz-zi šu-]up-pa wa-ar-pu-u-wa-ar x[
	6	]x ^D U ^{URU} Ha-la-ap pa-iz-z[i ^D DA]G-in DÜ-an-zi hal-ku-eš-ša[r	
	8	]x KÁ.GAL ap-pa-an-zi [

Sul carattere del Trono divinizzato non gettano maggior luce i testi hattici: I 17 VI 32¹²⁴, dove viene ricordata anche Kammama (r. 37), una città della regione centrale, e la bilingue II 2 II 37 IV 23 sgg.¹²⁵ un rituale per la posa del chivastello in un nuovo edificio (É.GAL^{LIM} GIBIL: tempio o palazzo?). Il testo ittita ha a III 17 sgg.:

III	KÁ-aš-ma-az-kán ^D Zi-li-pu-ra-aš LUGAL-uš t[a(-aš)]
18	^{GiS} hal-ma-aš-šu-it-ta-an i-e-it
	d[a-]a-aš[-m]a-aš-za TÚG ^{H1.A} KUŠNÍG.BÀR ^{H1.A} KUŠE.SIR ^{H1.A} -ja
22	na-aš-ša-an da-a-iš ^{GiS} DAG-ti

¹²⁰ « RA » XLI, 1947, p. 77 sgg.; « JCS » I, 1947, p. 214.

¹²¹ Cat. 221₉₈.

¹²² Una discussione più approfondita di tutto il problema, basata anche su testi ancora inediti, è da vedere in un lavoro di prossima pubblicazione di O. CARRUBA.

¹²³ Cat. 481₁.

¹²⁴ Cat. 371₁; trascr. e trad. BOSSERT, *HKS*, p. 49 sgg.; alla r. 33 sarà meglio leggere senz'altro *kal* invece di *LAMA*.

¹²⁵ Cat. 358; trascr. e trad. FRIEDRICH, *Kl. Spr.*, pp. 1-5 (ma v. ora anche *Entzifferung verschollener Schriften und Sprachen*, 1954, p. 64 sgg. e per le integrazioni *Helthisches Keilschrift Lesebuch* I, 1960, p. 37 sgg.), LAROCHE, « RA » 41, 1947, p. 73 sgg.

- 25 [d]a-a-aš[-ma-z]a GA².KIN.AG² IM²-ZU-ja na-at-ša-an da-a-iš
^{GIŠ}DAG.-ti
- 28 na-aš-ta [DINGIR]²MEŠ² an-[(da u-uš-k)i-e-ir] nu pi-i-e-ir i²-ja-ta
 ta-me-e²-ta L[a]-b[a-ar-na-i] LUGAL-i
- 32 [na]m²-ma² A-N[A] SAL.LUG[AL DUMU]^{MEŠ} DUMU.[DUM]^{UMES}
 ha-aš-šu-uš [ha-a]n-z[a-aš-š]u-u[š] pi-an-du
- ‘ Zilipuraš, il re, le porte, ed egli
 18 il trono ha fatto.
- Poi ha preso le vesti, le tende (?), e le scarpe,
 22 e le ha messe sul trono.
- 25 Poi ha preso il formaggio (?) ed il latte cagliato (?) ,
 e li ha messi sul trono.
- 28 Allora gli dei hanno guardato, e pienezza (e) rigoglio
 hanno dato a Labarnaš, il re.
- 32 Inoltre (ne) diano alla regina, ai figli, ai figli dei figli,
 ai nipoti ed ai pronipoti ’.

Qui il trono, che viene costruito da Zilipuraš, pare svolgere la sua funzione nell’ambito rituale, ma ne sfugge il significato preciso; certo è per questa che al re e alla sua famiglia è concessa prosperità. Si potrebbe pensare al trono su cui siede il re nel palazzo, ma d’altra parte il traduttore ittita (non sappiamo quanto fedele interprete), ha nettamente separato la sfera religiosa da quella temporale (DINGIR^{MEŠ} KUR^{MEŠ} ma-ni-ja-aḫ-ḫi-ir da-a-ir-ma-at URUḪa-at-tu-ši šal-li ^{GIŠ}SÚ.A da-a-ir-ma-at nu-za La-ba-ar-na-aš LUGAL-uš [e-eš-zi] ‘ Gli dei hanno distribuito i paesi: l’hanno messo a Ḫattuša il grande trono, l’hanno messo. E Labarnaš [è] re ’ II 43 sgg.).

E l’iscrizione d’Anittaš presenta la stessa distinzione: il Dio trono riceve per il re Ḫattuša da parte del dio Šiušummiš, ma d’altra parte l’insegna regale consegnata ad Anittaš dal principe di Purušhanda è rappresentata da ^{GIŠ}SÚ.A (nu LÚ URUPu-ru-uš-ḫa-an-da [. . . .] šu-mu I ^{GIŠ}SÚ.A AN.BAR I PA GAM² AN.BAR [. . .]).

Allo stato attuale delle ricerche non è possibile dire se questa concezione dipenda da un’eventuale insensibilità ittita per il trono come ‘ insegna creante ’, oppure sia già in origine ḫattica. Certo è che dai testi più antichi risulta abbastanza chiaro il rapporto Trono divinizzato-potere regale: la bilingue II 2 II 37 sgg. ed il rituale XXIX 1 sono a favore di un Ḫalmašuiz come insegna (manijahḫai- esprime il potere su ciò che è stato concesso, ed anche se ci sfugge il significato preciso di ^{GIŠ}ḫuluganniš, è in conseguenza di questi elementi che il Labarnaš è re; ed ancora è Ḫalmašuiz che attraverso le divinità del destino garantisce al re un lunga vita). E in questo

senso si potrebbe spiegare, ma in via del tutto ipotetica, il declino e la scarsa vitalità del Trono divinizzato al tempo delle dinastie di Ḫattuša, in quanto il significato di questa divinità sarebbe stato estraneo alla cultura ittita; il testo di Anittaš testimonierebbe dunque la frattura della concezione hattica del trono regale da quella ittita, pur conservando ancora a Ḫalmašuiž un ruolo di primo piano. Il fatto però che tra i luoghi sacri del tempio gli ittiti abbiano conservato per il trono la parola hattica, ma non così ad es. per il focolare ed il chiavistello, non può spiegarsi solamente con la presenza della divinità Ḫalmašuiž che ne avrebbe determinato il sopravvivere nell'ambito templare, ma è a favore di un valore originario anche culturale.

E anche l'interpretazione di Kretschmer, che vede in Ḫalmašuiž un appellativo, una metafora del tipo *Sancta Sedes*¹²⁶ e l'analisi morfologica di Laroche¹²⁷ ('sur quoi l'on s'assied' con suffisso femm. hattico -it),¹²⁸ non sono affatto a sfavore di una divinità Trono-insegna creante: basti ricordare che Isis, il cui nome viene scritto col simbolo del seggio, e che secondo Sethe¹²⁹ sarebbe la personificazione del trono, e quindi del potere regale¹³⁰ è la madre di Horus, e d'altra parte il sovrano egiziano è l'incarnazione vivente di Horus.

Il riscontrare un culto del trono in regioni ed epoche diverse ha provocato una serie di indagini generiche ed in parte errate. Così Kretschmer (l. c.), accettando i dati raccolti da Reichel¹³¹ vede nel culto del trono ittita il tramite attraverso cui un originario culto sumerico è giunto attraverso i Frigi all'Egeo ed alla Grecia. Ma l'opera di Reichel poggia tutta su una interpretazione inesatta di una gemma minoica¹³². Nei troni rupestri del-

¹²⁶ « Ar. Or. » XVII I, 1949, p. 413 sgg.; come appellativo anche OTTEN, *Hanûbuch der Orientalistik* I, VIII 1, 1964, p. 98. Per divinità hattiche designate con appellativi cfr. ^DKattahhaš 'la Regina' e ^DTakiha['il Leone (v. LAROCHE, « JCS » I, 1947, p. 209).

¹²⁷ 'RA' 41, 1947, p. 89.

¹²⁸ Il suffisso però sarebbe in questo caso -it(u) con possibili alternanze vocaliche testimoniate dalle forme ittite u/a, a/i: cfr. hatt. ḫa-a-an-wa_a-šu-it-un, -id-du-ú-un, -id-du-un (II 2 III 16, 20, 24), ed in contesti ittiti Ḫal-ma-aš-šu-id-du-ú (I 14 I 7, da integrare verosimilmente ekuzi) e Ḫal-ma-aš-šu-ut-tu₄... šipanti (KBo IV 9 III 17 sg., forma accadizzante (HW p. 48) o hattica? TUM ha tanto il valore di tu (SALTu₄-un-na-ú-ja VII 53 IV 7) che di tum (tum^{um}-me-ni XVII 28 I 10)). Così anche Zi-li-pu-ru-ú [akuwa]nzi KBo XI 28 IV 15 sg.). In ittito oltre al tema in i- (v. n. 41), si ha un tema in a- (ḫalmašuižtan II 2 III 18), ed uno in u-: ^DḪal-ma-aš-šu-id-du-un 1523/c II 2 e ^DḪal-ma-aš-šu-i-id-du-ú-un 2419/c + 2423/c + 2731/c I 20, ma ḫal-ma-aš-šu-ú-it-ti ta-pu-uš-za in I 39). (cfr. ^DZilipuriš XXXII 87 IV 12, 22; ^DZilipuraš II 2 III 17; ^DZi-li-pu-ru-un 1523/c II 3 e ^DZa-li-pu-ru-ú-un 2419/c + 2731/c I 22).

¹²⁹ *Urgeschichte*, 1930, p. 85.

¹³⁰ KEES, *Der Götterglaube im Alten Ägypten*, 1941, p. 98.

¹³¹ *Vorhellenische Götterculte*, 1897.

¹³² A FURTWÄGLER (*Ant. Gemm.* III, p. 45₂) è bastata una nota per farne giustizia; cfr. anche la violenta recensione di VON FRITZE, *Rhein. Mus.* 55, 1900, p. 588 sg. Anche l'indagine di H. DANTHINE (*Mél. Dussaud*, 1939, p. 857 sgg.) è viziata, almeno nella parte riguardante gli ittiti, da un errore d'interpretazione che infirma anche

l'epoca Frigia non bisognerebbe poi vedere un culto del ' trono vuoto ', ma, come spiega ragionevolmente Akurgal,¹³³ essi appartenevano a Cibele, ed in alcuni casi anche ad Attis. Incerta rimane invece la funzione del grande trono di Kızıl Dag, databile dopo la caduta del regno ittita, e a cui contribuisce a dare una più precisa collocazione culturale la proposta di Meriggi¹³⁴ di leggere nell'iscrizione della ' scala ' il nome dei Moschi¹³⁵.

una parte maggiore del lavoro: nel rilievo di Boğazköy (BITTEL, *Kleinfunde Boğazhöy*. 1937, tav. 9, AKURGAL, *Arte itt.*, 1961, tav. 71) non è da vedere un trono, ma una stele.

¹³³ *Phrygische Kunst*, 1955, p. 96 sgg.

¹³⁴ « *Athenaeum* » N.S. XLII, 1964, p. 52 sgg.

¹³⁵ Nell'area mesopotamica, dei troni in materiale prezioso venivano offerti alle divinità almeno dall'epoca di Gudea di Lagaš; fino alla prima dinastia di Babilonia questo tipo di dono rivestiva tale importanza da poter servire a denominare l'anno in cui esso avveniva (UNGNAD, *Datenlisten*, « *RAss* », 1938). Essi potevano venire utilizzati durante le celebrazioni religiose (sull'identificazione del celebrante col Dio, ed in questo senso sull'uso diretto che il Dio faceva degli oggetti del tempio, v. VAN BUREN, *The Sacred Marriage*, « *Orientalia* » 13, 1944, p. 21 sgg.). Da notare il culto del trono (¹³gu-za/¹⁴gu-za/¹⁴ si-gu-za) testimoniato ad Ur III (N. SCHNEIDER, « *Orientalia* » 16, I 47, p. 56 sgg.); il carattere di divinità è assunto dall'oggetto in quanto esso appartiene ad un Dio o ad un sovrano divinizzato (ad es. le offerte vengono fatte anche ad altri oggetti templari di particolare importanza). Che il trono, in quanto insegna del potere concessa dal Dio, avesse in sé la capacità attiva di creare il re (FRANKFORT, *Kingship and the Gods*, 1948, p. 245), risulta dall'esame dei testi almeno in epoca sumerica; ancora da chiarire, nonostante L'ORANGE, *Studies on the Iconography of cosmic Kingship*, 1953, la reale consistenza di un trono cosmico, testimoniato con sicurezza nella Bibbia (WIDENGREN, *Sakr. Königtum*, 1953; cfr. anche il recente commento ai Libri dei Re di J. GRAY, 1964, p. 247).

FÊTES DE PRINTEMPS ET D'AUTOMNE
ET RÉINTÉGRATION RITUELLE D'IMAGES
DE CULTE DANS L'ANATOLIE HITTITE

Ugarit-Forschungen 5 (1973), 7-27

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Alfonso Archi – Roma

I. Cultes phrygiens et cultes hittites

Parmi les fêtes concernant la sortie du temple de l'image divine, celle dédiée à Cybèle est célèbre. Ce culte prévoyait une ablution de l'idole dans le Gallos, torrent qui coulait près de Pessinonte, dans la Galatie occidentale, et successivement dans l'Almo, quand cette statue fut transportée à Rome. La cérémonie, qui avait lieu à la fin du mois de mars, est interprétée comme un rite pour amener la chute de la pluie¹. En Galatie encore, à Ancyre, le même culte était attribué à deux divinités nommées Artémis et Athéna: les images étaient portées en procession, parmi la musique et les danses, à la rive d'un lac, où avait lieu une *lavatio*².

Du reste, les monuments rupestres d'époque phrygienne ou néo-hittite, en particulier les "trones vides", attestent les processions sacrées et les cultes en plein air. Ils se trouvent en général sur des hauteurs rocheuses, et leur rapport avec des cours d'eau ou des lacs, quelquefois possible, n'est pas toujours évident³. Strabon, XII 3 32, rappelle des rites analogues en honneur de la Grande Mère, à propos de Comana du Pont: "Au-dessus de

¹ V. H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle* (Paris 1912) 136-140 et 395; cf. Fr. Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*⁴ (Paris 1929) 54. Pour de telles cérémonies en honneur de Cybèle, non célébrées à Rome, v. F. Schwenn, *PWRE* XI, 2, col. 2256 sq.; et en général sur le rite du bain sacré donné aux déesses de la fécondité, cf. M. Eliade, *Traité d'histoire des religions* (Paris 1948) § 64. Selon Lucien, *Syr.* 47, les images des divinités de Hiérapolis de Syrie étaient aussi conduites à un lac, non loin du temple.

Dans la religion grecque, de telles fêtes avec procession et *lavatio* de l'image ne sont pas rares: sur Athena Polias, aux Plynteria (première moitié de juin), v. L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin 1932) 18 sqq.; sur Hera et d'autres divinités, v. aussi op. cit. 21 et note 2, qui renvoie, à propos d'une liste, à R. Heberdey, *Öst. Jahresh.* 7 (1904) 213 et note 10; cf. encore M. Nilsson, *Gesch. Griech. Religion*² I (München 1955) 102 sq. Ce rite a le caractère fondamental d'une purification et d'un renouvellement annuel.

² V. M. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste* (Leipzig 1906) 255 sq.

³ Sur la ville de Midas et les environs, v. E. Akurgal, *Phrygische Kunst* (Ankara 1955) 96-100; les trônes du Kızıl-dağ (cf. H.G. Güterbock, *In memoriam Halil Edhem* [Ankara 1949] 63-66, planches 9-12) appartiennent à un milieu néo-hittite, comme le montrent les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques, dont l'une entre autres est peut-être liée aux Mosques, dont P. Meriggi, *Athenaeum* N.S. 42 (1964) 52-59 propose de lire le nom dans "l'inscription de l'escalier".

L'étude des rapports entre phrygiens et néo-hittites est un des devoirs les plus urgents de l'archéologie anatolienne.

la Phanarée se trouve Comana Pontique, qui porte le même nom que la ville située dans la Grande Cappadoce, dédiée à la même déesse, et consacrée selon le même modèle; on a utilisé des normes presque identiques pour les sacrifices, les "enthousiasmes" divins, les hommages aux prêtres, surtout à l'époque des rois qui régnaient avant celui-ci: quand deux fois par an, pendant les "exodes" (procession) de la déesse (*ἑνὴκα δὲς τοῦ ἔτους κατὰ τὰς ἐξόδους λεγόμενας τῆς θεοῦ*) le prêtre portait un diadème, et était le second en honneur après le roi.⁴

Les origines de Comana de Cappadoce, la grande ville sacrée d'époque hellénistique et romaine, remontent au moins au deuxième millénaire, quand elle était déjà un des centres religieux les plus importants de l'Anatolie. Rien n'interdit donc de penser à une continuité des cultes, d'autant plus qu'un cycle cultuel avec comme points de références principaux deux fêtes annuelles, l'une au printemps et l'autre en automne, et au moins une procession à l'occasion de cette dernière, est attestée de manière diffuse dans toute l'aire centrale de l'Anatolie, dès l'époque hittite déjà.

Une série d'inventaires conservés à Hattuša, la capitale hittite, dans lesquels sont enregistrés les renseignements relatifs aux temples des villes situées dans les régions périphériques, nous le démontre. Ils s'agit de descriptions de statues, d'énumérations de symboles et d'objets sacrés, manifestations du culte, régime des offrandes⁴. Il n'est pas possible de déterminer avec exactitude l'ampleur des régions intéressées, puisque les villes mentionnées sont en grande partie des centres mineurs, qu'il est difficile de localiser; les textes semblent donc intéresser divers secteurs de tout le haut-plateau anatolien: Šallunatašši (KUB XVII 35 IV 17), à moins qu'il ne s'agisse d'un cas d'homonymie, est située dans le territoire de Tuwanuwa, identifiée avec Tyana, au nord de la Cilicie⁵, tandis que par ex. Aššaradda (KBo II 1 II 40), Wattarwa (II 21, 25) ou le mont Šuvara (I 32, 37, III 26, 34, IV 17; FBo II 16 I 7, 14) se trouvent à l'ouest⁶. D'autres localités se situent au contraire au nord. Du reste, les textes sont en grande partie attribuables au règne de Tuḫalija IV (deuxième moitié du XIII^e siècle) qui dut entreprendre, surtout au nord, une œuvre de restauration des cultes, après que son père, Ḫattušili III, eut refoulé les Kaška de la région du fleuve Halys⁷.

La section suivante de KBo II 7, relativement étendue, peut donner une idée de comment se présente ce genre de documentation:

Ro 6' *ma-a-an A-NA* ḪUR.SAGŠi-id-du-wa *zé-e-ni* DUG⁶ḫar-ši šu-ub-ḫa-a-an-zi I NINDA⁶dan-na-aš pâr-ši-an[-zi]
 I UDU *an-na-al-li-in* ḪUR.SAGŠi-id-du-wa BAL-qn-zi XII BÂN ZÍD.DA I DUG⁶ḫu-u-up-pâr-aš KAŠ
 GIŠZA[G¹.GAR.RA]

8 IV PA <ZÍD.DA> IV DUG KAŠ aš-nu-ma-aš EZEN-ŠÚ *tar-ra-a-wa-a-an-za*

GIM-an-ma TE-ŠI DÙ-ri *te-it-ḫa-i* DUG⁶ḫar-ši gi-e-nu-an-zi I UDU BAL¹-an-zi 1/2 BÂN ZÍD.DA I DUG⁶ḫa-
 n[-i-eš-ša-aš KAŠ]

10 GIŠZAG.GAR.RA I BÂN ZÍD.DA I DUG⁶ḫu-u-up-pâr KAŠ aš-nu-ma-aš ZÍZ *ma-al-la-an-zi ḫar-ra-an-zi*

⁴ Les textes, rédigés avec des critères très différents, sont cités par E. Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites* (Paris 1971) (ici = *Cat.*) n^{os} 501-530, avec la bibliographie. Pour les études principales, v. C.G. von Brandenstein, *Hethitische Götter nach Bildbeschreibung in Keilschrifttexten* (MVAeG 46.2; Leipzig 1943); L. Jakob-Rost, «Zu den Hethitischen Bildbeschreibungen», *MIO* 8 (1961) 161-217; 9 (1963) 175-239 (ici cités comme Rost, I et Rost, II).

Les problèmes discutés dans cet article ont été esquissés par H.G. Güterbock en *Neuere Hethiterforschung*, ed. G. Walser, *Historia*, Einzelschriften – Heft 7 (1964) (ici = *Hethiterforschung*) 72, qui indique une dissertation inédite de Ch.W. Carter, Chicago, qui m'est inaccessible.

⁵ V. J. Garstang – O.R. Gurney, *Geography*, 72 et 124.

⁶ Op. cit. 108.

⁷ Cf. A. Goetze, *Kleinasien*² 169 et Rost, I 164 sqq., qui s'exprime avec une grande prudence.

- lu-kat-ma* HUR.SAGŠi-id-du-wa-an NINDA.KUR₄.RA DUG^{har-ši-aš} NA₄ZI.KINHJA pí-tén-zi I
NINDA dan-na-aš pár-ši-an[-zi]
- 12 I GUD I UDU HUR.SAGŠi-id-du-wa I UDU DU I UDU DUTU I UDU DKAL I MÁŠ.GAL DVII.VILBI
II BÁN ZÍD.DA I DUG KA.DÙ ŠA III BÁN I DUG^{hu-u-up-pár-aš} KAŠ GIŠZAG.GAR.RA I PA IV BÁN
ZÍD.DA
- 14 II DUG KAŠ I DUG KA.DÙ aš-nu-ma-aš DINGIR^{LUM} še-eš-zi
-
- lu-kat-ma* UTÚL^{ši-ja-am-mi} DÙ-an-zi 1/2 BÁN ZÍD.DA I DUG^{ha[-ni-e]š-ša-aš} KAŠ GIŠZAG.GAR.RA
III BÁN ZÍD.DA I DUG KAŠ aš-nu-ma-aš
- 16 DINGIR^{LUM} kar-ap-pa-an-zi INA É.DINGIR^{LIM} ŠÚ-an ar-ḥa pí[-té]n-zi [I] NINDA dan-na-aš pár-ši-
an-zi
- DINGIRMEŠ NA₄ZI.KIN-ma-aš-ma-aš pí-tén ḥar[!]-kán[!]-zi
-

- Ro 6 Quand en automne, pour le mont Šidduwa ils versent dans le pithos, ils rompent un pain *dannaš*,
ils immolent la brebis de toujours au mont Šidduwa; sa fête est pourvue de douze *sūtu* de farine
8 (et) une coupe de bière pour l'au[te]l, de quatre *parīsu* <de farine> (et) quatre vases de bière à dis-
position (de la communauté).

Quand vient le printemps, (et) qu'il tonne, ils ouvrent le pithos, immolent une brebis; un demi *sūtu*
de farine, un bo[cal de bière]

- 10 pour l'autel, un *sūtu* de farine, une coupe de bière à disposition (de la communauté); ils moulent (et)
broient.

Le matin (suivant) ils portent le mont Šidduwa (sous-ent. l'image), (et) le pain du pithos à la stèle,
rompent un pain *dannaš*.

- 12 (Ils immolent) un boeuf (et) une brebis au mont Šidduwa, une brebis au dieu de la Tempête, une brebis
à la déesse du Soleil, une brebis à Inara, un boeuf à Sebettu.

Deux *sūtu* de farine, un vase de bière légère de trois *sūtu*, une coupe de bière pour l'autel, un *parīsu*,
quatre *sūtu* de farine,

- 14 deux vases de bière, un vase de bière légère à disposition (de la communauté). L'image repose (en ce
lieu).

Le matin (suivant) ils préparent le mets *šijammi*, un demi *sūtu* de farine, un bocal de bière pour l'autel,
trois *sūtu* de farine, un vase de bière à disposition (de la communauté).

- 16 Ils prennent l'image, l'emportent dans son (de la divinité) temple, rompent un pain *dannaš*.
Ils ont porté les dieux à leurs stèles.

Dans quelques inventaires, on rappelle d'abord l'offrande journalière du pain (NINDA.KUR₄.RA UD^{MI})⁸ et la fête mensuelle (EZEN ITU)⁹, puis les fêtes à célébrer au cours de l'année (MU-ti mejani)¹⁰. Ces-ci, pour autant que l'on puisse en interpréter le nom, apparaissent le plus souvent liées à la nature et aux cycles agraires: fête de la terre, *takk/ggantipū* (KUB XXXVIII 12 I 20, IV 2); de la pluie, *ḫēuwaš*, ZUNNI (KBo II 1 IV 8; KUB XXXVIII 12 I 22); du silo de grain(?), *šēlūjaš* (KUB XXXVIII 12 I 20); des fruits, GURUN (KBo XII 56 I 6; XIII 241 Ro 7; KUB XXXVIII 12 IV 4; 19 Ro 8); de la récolte du raisin, *GIŠGEŠ-TIN tuḫšūwaš* (KUB XXXVIII 12 I 23).

2. Fêtes de printemps et fêtes d'automne

Mais deux fêtes surtout sont rappelées continuellement, celle de printemps et celle d'automne. Elles constituent les deux moments cruciaux de l'année culturelle, et étaient célébrées séparément pour chaque divinité, même lorsqu'elles étaient vénérées dans une même temple. Ainsi, dans KBo II 1 I 42 sqq., parmi les treize fêtes mentionnées, quatre sont des fêtes de printemps et quatre des fêtes d'automne, une pour chacune des quatre divinités concernées, tandis que les cinq autres concernent probablement toutes les divinités ou la principale¹¹. Nous trouvons encore la même chose dans le même texte, II 16 sqq., IV 7 sq., tandis qu'en KUB XXXVIII 6 et XXXVIII 10(+) passim, dans chaque section sont regroupées jusqu'à plus de vingt divinités, chacune desquelles¹² a ses fêtes de printemps et d'automne. Les deux fêtes ne sont pas réservées aux dieux de la Tempête, directement liés à la nature, mais elles s'adressent à plusieurs divinités, masculines et féminines, aux montagnes et aux sources divinisées¹³.

⁸ Les instructions pour ceux qui devaient préparer ce pain se trouvent en KUB XIII 4 I 14-17, v. E. Sturtevant - G. Bechtel, *Chrest.* 148 sq. Mais avec l'expression NINDA.KUR₄.RA UD^{MI} on désignait parfois non seulement des pains de qualité variable, mais aussi des boissons: v. KBo XIV 142 passim (duplicats in E. Laroche, *Cat.* n° 698).

Dans certains cas exceptionnels quelques divinités étaient privées d'une telle offrande: v. les passages cités dans Rost, I 170, et en autre KBo XIII 252 II 10, III 6; KUB XXXVIII 33 Ro 10.

⁹ Elle aussi obligatoire: cf. KUB XIII 4 I 39, v. E. Sturtevant - G. Bechtel, *Chrest.* 150. Quelques rares fois, elle n'était pas célébrée: cf. KUB XXXVIII 19 Ro 11 et 16, où manque également l'offrande du pain quotidien. Mais normalement il y en avait une chaque mois, donc douze par an: XII EZEN ITU^{KAM}, cf. KUB XXVII 68 I 1; IBoT II 106 I 9.

Une description d'une fête du mois, célébrée par le roi et la reine, évidemment à Ḫattuša, est contenue partiellement en KUB X 89 (2^{ème} jour) et KUB II 13 (dupl. KUB IX 20: 3^{ème} jour); pour d'autres textes, v. *Cat.* n° 591.

V. la plus modeste fête du mois du dieu de la Tempête de Zaḫaluqa, que l'on célébrait "quand le Soleil du Ciel [est] chaud" GIM-an-kan DUTU AN^E want[aiẓzi], c'est-à-dire, en plein jour: KUB XXVII 68 I 5. Dans KBo X 20 I 27, la fête du mois est insérée dans celle très solennelle de l'AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} (mais il n'est pas certain qu'elle ait lieu à Tawinija): cf. H.G. Güterbock, *JNES* 19 (1960) 81.

¹⁰ Sur cette expression cf. H.G. Güterbock, *RHA* 81 (1967) 142-145.

¹¹ Cf. Rost, I 171.

¹² *Kuedani-ja*, comme dans KBo XIX 128 II 13, III 3, 6.

¹³ Cf. pour tous KUB XXXVIII 2 = texte I in C.G. von Brandenstein, op. cit.

En Mésopotamie également, à Ur, durant la période dite de Ur III, il existait deux fêtes a k i t i, liées au cycle agraire, et qui tombaient l'une au "mois de la coupe du blé" i t i š e - g u r₁₀ - k u₅ (le 12^{ème}), et l'autre six mois après, c'est-à-dire au "mois des semailles" i t i š u - n u m u n - n a (sur les noms des mois, v. B. Landsberger, *JNES* 8 (1949) 262 sqq. et 274; sur les fêtes, pour Drehem et Lagash aussi, v. A. Falkenstein, *FFr* 151 sqq.). Selon les données offertes par R. Adams pour le territoire du bas Diyala (c'est-à-dire la région au nord, nord-est de Bagdad) en *Land behind Baghdad* (Chicago - London 1965) 16 tab. n° 5, aujourd'hui encore le blé est récolté dès le mois d'avril, et les semailles commencent juste six mois après, en Octobre. Pour A. Falkenstein, op. cit. 152, à la fête a k i t i du moment des semailles, qui serait la fête originelle, on ajouta celle pour la coupe du blé, en conséquence du déplacement du début de l'année de l'automne au printemps.

Et à l'époque néo-babylonienne, au moins à Uruk, les fêtes a k i t u sont deux, v. F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels*

3. Les saisons de l'année et le calendrier culturel

Printemps se dit *hamešša-*, avec le suffixe *-nt-*, *hamešhant*¹⁴, et peut être également exprimé par l'accodogramme *TEŠI*, c'est-à-dire en accadien *dīšu*¹⁵, "spring grass, spring pasture; spring (season)" selon *CAD*, D, 163; sumérogramme *Ú.EBUR*¹⁶. L'automne est *zena-*, *zenant*¹⁷.

Les fêtes de printemps, *hamešša(nt)-*, et d'automne, *zena(nt)-*, se trouvent reliées en KBo II 7 Vo 1 et 4, 12 et 16; XIII 231 passim (fragmentaire); XIV 21 III 67 sq.; KUB VII 24 I 6 et 11; XV 21 3, 14; XXII 27 I 32, IV 24; XXV 23 I 1 et 8, II 15 (*zeni* en lc.); XXV 26 III passim; XXV 30 I 10; XXXVIII 2 II et III passim; XXXVIII 32 Vo 21.

TEŠI et *zena(nt)-*: KBo II 1 I 42 sqq., II 16 sq., II 26, 42, III 3(!), 9, 17, 22 sq., 31, 39 sq., IV 7 sq.; II 7 Ro 6 et 9, Vo 28 et 33 (en lc.); II 13 Ro 3 et 8 (en lc.); KUB XII 3 passim; XVII 35 II 1 et 3, 34, III 20 et 22, IV 1 et 19 (en lc.); XVII 37 I 18; XXXVIII 6 et XXXVIII 10(+) passim; XXXVIII 19 Ro 12 sq.; XXXVIII 26 Ro 21 sq.; XXXVIII 28 Ro 10 (en lc.).

Ú.EBUR et *zena(nt)-*: KUB XII 4 IV 3 et 6 EZEN *zēnandaš* EZEN Ú.EBUR-*ja-kan*; XXVII 68 I 1 sq. II E[ZEN (.)] / I EZEN *zēn[i]* / I EZEN Ú.EBUR (cf. encore VII 24 IV 4 sq., fragmentaire?)¹⁸.

L'automne commençait au 8^{ème} mois de l'année (KUB XXXVIII 32 Ro 8 GIM-*an zēnaš kišari ANA MU*KAM-*ti ITU VIII*KAM . . .)¹⁹. Au douzième mois, au moins dans certaines localités, on célébrait la fête du bain de la divinité (KUB XVII 35 IV 3 [*mān ANA*]A MUKAM ITU XII KAM *tijazi nu ANA DU EZEN ŠE+NÁG-uwaš DÜ-zi*), qui dans le calendrier se situe entre la fête d'automne et celle de printemps (IV 1 et 19). Donc l'année ne commençait pas au printemps, mais durant la période hivernale²⁰, voir KBo III 4 II 48 sq. (A. Goetze, *AM*, 60) *nu-za EZEN MU*TI *apija ijanun* *mašhan-ma hameššanza kišat* . . . "et là, je célébrai la fête de l'année quand ce fut le printemps . . ."²¹. Elle était divisée en trois saisons: printemps, automne et

Accadiens 86 sq. Mais d'autre part le problème est beaucoup plus complexe, puisqu'il semble que l'*Enūma eliš* ait été récité non pas une fois par an, à l'occasion de la fête du Nouvel An, mais chaque mois (v. W.G. Lambert, *JSS* 13 [1968] 107) et un inédit du Musée de Bagdad, IM 4415 col. III sqq., que J. van Dijk m'a fait connaître, attribue une fête *akitu* à plusieurs divinités, dans le mois de *b á r a - z à - g a r*. Pour l'année hébraïque, avec deux fêtes saisonnières, v. la discussion avec bibliographie, de J.C. de Moor, *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Ba'lu* (AOAT 16, Kevelaer 1971) 58 sqq., où l'on affronte aussi le problème pour Ugarit (cf. 78 sqq.).

¹⁴ V.A. Goetze, *Language* 27 (1951) 469-72; sur la fonction du suffixe *-nt-*, E. Laroche, *BSL* 57 (1962) 35 sq.

¹⁵ B. Landsberger *apud* J. Friedrich, *HWb* 222; cf. Rost, II 184 sq.

¹⁶ Hh. XVII, l. 2 sqq.; cf. Rost, II 191. Le début de la fête de l'AN.TAĪ.ŠUMSAR est fixé pour "quand vient le printemps" *mašhan-ma Ú.EBUR-anza kišari*: KUB XXX 39 Ro 7.

¹⁷ V. A. Goetze, op. cit. 469, et E. Laroche, loc. cit.

¹⁸ Pour la corrélation printemps-automne, dans des contextes fragmentaires, parmi les nombreux morceaux, voir par exemple en KBo XIII 192 Ro passim; 197 passim; 234 Ro 14, Vo 13; 236 Ro 1; 249 passim; 250 II passim; 259 6 sq.; KUB XII 45 5; XIII 32 I 7; XVII 35 I 1-16; XVII 37 I 1-15, IV 8 sqq.; XXV 23 IV 15 et 17, 38, côté gauche a 1; XXXVIII 1 côté gauche (cf. Rost, I 182 et note 88); XXXVIII 27 Ro 13 sqq., Vo 10 sqq.; VBoT 26 9; VBoT 49 passim; ABoT 55 Vo 5 sq.

¹⁹ Rapporté par H. Ehelolf, *KIF* 1 (1930) 149, qui cite le texte, alors inédit, comme VAT 7700.

²⁰ Cf. par ex. H.A. Potratz, *Das Pferd in der Frühzeit* (Rostock 1938) 176.

²¹ Cf. A. Goetze, *Kleinasiens*² 165, et pour un morceau semblable H.G. Güterbock, *JCS* 10 (1956) 91, l. 41 sqq. Rappelons encore la fête du début de l'année, *MUKAM*aš *SAG.DU-aš*, célébrée par le dieu de la Tempête dans le fragment mythologique KUB XXXVI 97 III² 3 sqq.; v. H. Otten, *OLZ* 51 (1956) 101-105, où les dieux, en assemblée, assurent pour l'année qui commence, la vie du roi, de la reine, du ciel, de la terre et du blé. Le passage, probablement inséré dans la description de la fête de fin d'année, en donnait l'interprétation sur le plan mythologique. H. Otten, loc. cit., a déjà indiqué les dérivations possibles mésopotamiennes, et en effet, à l'origine, pour l'Anatolie, la fête du renouvellement, fonctionnant comme fin d'année, semble avoir été plutôt celle de printemps, qui présente des éléments plus archaïques. Cette fête, en liaison avec la fête d'automne, est reliée plus étroitement avec les cycles agraires; v. infra.

hiver²², puisque le terme EBUR, accadien *ebūru*, “harvest; crop; harvest time; summer” selon CAD, E, 16, en Anatolie n’indique pas une période de l’année, mais plutôt un moment de l’activité agricole qui peut coïncider avec l’automne: KBo XV 32 I 3 sq. *mān ḥamešḫi mān* EBUR-*i mān / gimmi* “si au printemps, si à la récolte, si / en hiver”²⁴, ou aussi avec une partie du printemps: KUB XXXII 123 III 14 . . . *mān [ḥa]mešḫi* EBUR *mān zeni* “si au printemps à la récolte, si en automne”²⁵. En effet le cycle agricole ne laisse pas de place pour une quatrième saison, comme le montrent les textes où l’on parle des fruits qui mûrissent au printemps (la “bonne saison” de Brandenstein), et raisins et pommes qui mûrissent en automne²⁶. Le haut-plateau anatolien est à environ 1.000 m. d’altitude, ce qui provoque quelque retard dans les périodes des récoltes, si bien qu’aujourd’hui, dans la province d’Ankara, on moissonne entre juillet et août²⁷. On remarquera aussi l’expression adressée plusieurs fois à l’aubépine (GIŠ^h*hatakišna-*) dans les rituels “Toi, ô aubépine, au printemps tu te vêts de blanc, à la récolte (EBUR) tu te vêts de rouge sang”²⁸. Puisque l’aubépine (et ceci serait vrai aussi si GIŠ^h*hatakišna-* indiquait par hasard une rose sauvage) fleurit tôt au printemps, tandis que les baies rouges sur le haut-plateau anatolien ne doivent pas apparaître avant la fin de septembre ou en octobre, dans ce cas l’époque de la récolte vient coïncider avec l’automne.

Donc EBUR, sur lequel étaient réglées certaines fêtes²⁹, bien qu’ayant un sens plutôt large, appartient à la terminologie agricole, qui, en effet, donne l’occasion de toute une série de fêtes comme l’EZEN *ḥarpaš* “fête de la récolte”, où *ḥarpa-* doit être dérivé de l’accadien *ḥarpū*: cette parole est en général utilisée en remplacement de *ebūru* dans les contrats paléo-assyriens où elle indique la date des paiements³⁰. Il est donc probable que l’hittite *ḥarpa-* équivaut à EBUR. Dans KBo II 8 I 14 on distingue une EZEN *ḥarpaš* d’une EZEN ŠE₁₂ *ḥarpija*, c’est-à-dire une “fête de la récolte” et une “fête d’hiver durant/pour la récolte” (elles sont respectivement décrites aux ll. 17-30 et 31 sqq.), dans KUB XXV 30 sont opposées ANA *zeni ḥamešḫi-ja* (Ro

²² Cf. KUB XXIV 1 II 3 sqq.: EZEN^U.A MU-*aš mēanaš / gimmantaš ḥamišḫandaš / zenandaš aulius* “les fêtes du cours de l’année: / les rites d’hiver, de printemps, / d’automne” (O.R. Gurney, *AAA* 27 [1940] 18).

La division en trois saisons a été démontrée par C.G. von Brandenstein, *Orientalia* 8 (1939) 68 sqq.; cf. A. Goetze, *Language* 27 (1951) 467 note 3, contre B. Landsberger, *JNES* 8 (1949) 293, qui propose quatre saisons, en opposition avec la tripartition de l’année en Mésopotamie.

²³ Cf. les instructions pour les prêtres, E. Sturtevant – G. Bechtel, *Chrest.* 154, II 65.

²⁴ La fin de la ligne 3 est rompue, mais je ne crois pas que l’on puisse intégrer [*zeni mān*] “[en automne, si]”, comme tente de le faire H.G. Güterbock, *RHA* 81 (1967) 141, même si, pour des raisons d’espace, on ne peut l’exclure totalement.

²⁵ Cf. A. Goetze, loc. cit., et encore infra, note 29.

²⁶ KUB XXVII 16 I 9-18, cf. X 27 I 14-27; v. C.G. von Brandenstein, loc. cit. Les textes sont tous situés à Kizzuwatna, qui correspond en partie à la Cilicie.

²⁷ *V. Köy Envanter Etüdlereine Göre: Ankara* (Konya 1967) 23 tab. 5.

²⁸ L’interprétation est de H. Otten, qui cite les passages en *Afo* 16 (1952-53) 69-71.

²⁹ Cf. KUB XII 2 I 3; XXV 26 II 8, 11; XXX 54 II 4. On notera que dans Bo 3136 Vo 3-7 la fête de la récolte et la fête de l’automne (EZEN EBUR EZEN *zenašš-a*) sont quatre fois reliées entre elles, où en conséquence EBUR vient coïncider avec la période de printemps. Le texte se trouve en V. Haas, *Nerik* 310 (mais en op. cit. 300, pour KUB XXVII 68 I 2, on lit plutôt: I EZEN *zēni* I EZEN *Ú.EBUR!*). H. Otten me donne encore une citation pour cette même relation: Bo 69/385 Vo 14.

³⁰ B. Landsberger, op. cit. 289 sq.; J. Lewy, *MVAeG* 33 17, note a; pour une citation assyrienne provenant de Boğazköy, v. H.G. Güterbock, *SBo* II 31, n° 240. Pour la dérivation hittite v. H. Otten, *Tot.* 140 sq. note 6. CAD, H 106, traduit *ḥarpū* “(early) harvest, summer”, suivant J. Lewy, loc. cit., en s’appuyant sur un rapport étymologique avec *ḥarpum* “précoce”, qui, note B. Landsberger, op. cit. 290, ne peut pourtant modifier le sens de période durant laquelle est amassée toute la récolte; c’est ainsi que cette parole peut indiquer le moment où les dettes doivent être payées.

Pour d’autres citations de EZEN *ḥarpaš*, v. IBoT II 103 IV 5 sqq.; IBoT II 131 Ro 11 sqq., où la fête est traitée (en Vo 15 *ḥarpi* semble devoir être interprété “tas”, d’après E. Laroche, *RHA* 53 (1951) 64; cela pourrait être la deuxième signification du mot); et encore dans les *omina*: KUB V 6 I 21; XVIII 63 I 11; XXII 14 I 3.

10) et ANA EZEN *ħarpija-ja-ššan* (Ro 13). La "fête de la charrue", EZEN URUDUŠU.KIN³¹, dans KBo II 1 I 44 et XIII 231 Ro² 6, où à la l. 4 on cite aussi I EZEN *zeni* I EZEN [*ħamešħaš*], est également liée à l'activité agricole. Le sens de cette fête est expliqué par l'expression utilisée dans KBo II 8 I 15 (la fête est traitée dans III 4 sqq.): EZEN URUDUŠU.KIN *tarnummani ħa[rpija]??* "fête pour la ré[colte]?", à l'abandon de la charrue"; cf. KUB XII 2 IV 5 nu GIM-an URUDUŠU.KIN GAL *tarnanzi* "et quand ils laissent la grande charrue", qui est le moment où l'on commence la célébration de la fête: il s'agit donc, en somme, de l'époque à laquelle se termine le travail des champs³².

Le début du printemps, et donc la période pour célébrer la fête, est marqué par les orages de la nouvelle saison, qui, après la fonte des neiges, portent en eux le réveil de la végétation³³. Voir KUB XVII 35 II 12 sq. GIM-an-ma TEŠI DÜ-ri *tethimman ištamaššanzi kued[ani] / kuedani-kan* UDKAM-ti "Quand vient le printemps (et) que l'on entend le tonnerre, quelque / jour se soit . . ."³⁴.

³¹ Proprement dit GIŠAPIN.ŠU.KIN, en accadien *ħarbu*; H. Otten, loc. cit., dérive le nom de la fête hittite *ħarpa* non pas de ce *ħarbu* justement, mais de *ħarpū*.

³² V. A. Goetze, *NBr* 67, et cf. au contraire la définition du 8^{ème} mois en Mésopotamie, donnée en KAV 218: "pelle et charrue sont portées dans les champs, on célèbre la fête *akītu* des semailles avec la charrue", v. B. Landsberger, op. cit. 274.

³³ Dans la région d'Ankara, les dernières gelées de printemps ont lieu à la fin du mois de mars et au début d'avril: v. *Köy Enventer* 22 tab. 4.

Au 38^{ème}(?) jour de la fête de l'AN.TAĪ.ŠUMSAR, la grande fête de printemps, était comprise la fête de la pluie: KBo X 20 IV 19, v. H.G. Güterbock, *JNES* 19 (1960) 84, cf. KUB XXX 73.

³⁴ Parfois dans le développement des fêtes, l'arrivée du printemps est indiquée simplement par l'expression "quand il tonne" GIM-an *tethai*: KUB XII 2 IV 3; XX 14 I 8; XXXVIII 32 IV 13 (dans les passages la controposition à *zena-* est très claire); *ħamešħa-* a côté de *tethai*: KBo II 7 Vo 4, 16 (cf. 33, en lc.); KUB XIII 32 I 7; XXV 23 I 8, 38, IV 8; TEŠI a côté de *tethai*: KBo II 7 Ro 9, 23 (en lc.); XVII 35 II 12; XXV 23 IV 51; VBoT 26 9.

Le tonnerre est ici introduit à un moment de renouvellement du cycle agricole, et il est donc positif, tandis qu'en soi il est terrifiant et redoutable: v. le matériel rassemblé par E. Neu, *Ein althethitisches Gewitterritual* (StBot 12; Wiesbaden 1970) 44-49. Il s'agit d'un des attributs du dieu de la Tempête, liés à l'activité météorologique, cf. par ex. KUB XXVIII 4 III 5 sqq. (duplicat 5 III 6 sqq.): *tethimmuš* "tonnerres", [*wan-tewantem*]uš "éclairs", *ħēus* "pluies", [*ħuwand*]uš "vents", à côté de *naħšaradduš* et *ueritemuš* "peurs" et "terreurs", qui au contraire en KUB XXXI 127(+) I 59 sqq. font partie du cortège du dieu du Soleil (= Δεῖμος et Φόβος, v. J. Friedrich, *Afo* 17 [1954-56] 148; cf. E. Laroche, *BSL* 52 [1956] 74). Cf. aussi *Ullikummi* III 8 sqq., selon H.G. Güterbock, *The Song of Ullikummi* 32 sqq., où se trouve aussi *ħaršiharšī-* "tempête", KUB VII 13 I 17 sqq., et KUB IV 4 Vo 6 sqq.: "Le tonnerre [. . .]. Dieux et hommes sont épouvantés", cité par E. Laroche, *RA* 58 (1964) 74 sq.

Il sera désormais opportun de distinguer entre les rituels (SISKUR), célébrés quand le tonnerre et la foudre provoquent la mort (KBo XVII 78), ou quelque autre effet négatif (aphasie de Muršili II: KUB XV 36(+)), et d'autres textes qui ont plutôt la structure de fêtes (EZEN). On ne peut pas nier que KBo XVII 74 (étudié par E. Neu, op. cit.) semble lié à des situations exceptionnelles: I 1 "[Quand le dieu de la Tempête ton]ne, (et le roi se trouve dans le palais)", I 28: "[Quand le dieu de la Tempête tonne, le roi descend de la voiture" (c'est-à-dire quand le roi est en mouvement); et semblablement KBo 75 et 77, dont le dernier prospecte toute une série de situations. Mais il est vraisemblable que dans de tels textes soient conservées les fêtes pour le tonnerre et que de toutes façons, à partir de rituels, conçus comme un ensemble d'opérations magiques aptes à se soustraire aux dangers du tonnerre et de la foudre, il y ait eu lieu, dans certains cas, presque en les instituant officiellement, une sorte d'évolution vers le genre des fêtes. On rappellera le colophon de VBoT 73(+): *mān* D[U] / KALAG.GA *tethēški[zzī]* "Quand le dieu [de la Tempête] / terriblement ton[ne]". Il s'agit d'un rituel, célébré justement à cette occasion par l'homme du dieu de la Tempête (LÚ D[U]), où est inséré le mythe de la lune qui tombe du ciel (ce que donne la raison de l'origine de la tempête: c'est en effet la chute de la lune qui provoque la réaction du tonnerre et des éclairs de la part du dieu de la Tempête, déconcerté et épouvanté; v. la liste complète des textes et la bibliographie en *Cat.* n^o 727). D'autre part le colophon de KUB XXXII 135 porte: DUB I^{KAM} EZEN EN.ZU EZEN *tethuwaš-a kuwapi anda imijattari* "1^{ère} tablette, où sont comprises ensemble, la fête de la lune et la fête du tonnerre"; donc ici aussi, comme dans le cas précédent, la lune et la tempête sont unies, mais il est spécifié, dans ce cas,

4. L'offrande de l'épeautre conservé dans le pithos

Parfois la fête de printemps et celle d'automne prennent simplement le nom de la cérémonie qui les caractérisent, c'est-à-dire l'ouverture d'un pithos contenant de l'épeautre, au printemps, et, en automne, la déposition de cet épeautre dans le pithos: EZEN *haršī hešūwaš / genuwaš* et EZEN *haršī šūhūwaš*³⁵. Ces rites sont toujours rappelés quand on parle des deux fêtes à moins que le texte ne soit rédigé d'une manière extrêmement synthétique³⁶. Une énonciation complète de telles fêtes se trouve dans KBo II 7 Ro 6 et 9: *mān . . . zēni DUG_{haršī} šūhūanzi*, GIM-an-ma TESH_ī DŪ-ri tet_{hai} DUG_{haršī} genuanzi "Quand . . . en automne ils gettent (l'épeautre) dans le pithos" et "Quand vient le printemps (et) qu'il tonne, ils ouvrent le pithos".

Le récipient DUG_{haršī}(*alli*)-, traduit conventionnellement par "pithos"³⁷, dans certains temples, était gardé dans une cella particulière (É.ŠĀ *haršijaš / haršijallijaš*)³⁸, et à chaque divinité en était attribué un, même lorsqu'elles étaient réunies dans un unique temple. Le céréale conservé dans le pithos était en général de l'épeautre (ZÍZ), et en quantité relativement limitée: I PA (= *parīsu*), ou aussi III BĀN⁴⁰. Mais dan KUB XXXVII

qu'il s'agit d'une fête. Il est bon de souligner que, tandis que le colophon parle d'une fête, qui avait donc une place fixe dans le calendrier cultuel, le paragraphe d'introduction semble encore une fois prospecter une mobilité étendue: "quand le roi sort du lieu des ablutions (É.DU₁₀.ŪS.A), et qu'il tonne (1 2 sq.)? Et pour d'autres éléments en commun avec KBo XVII 74, on considèrera qu'ici aussi le roi est présent, que la fête se déroule dans le temple (v. la liste des lieux sacrés en III 2 sqq.), et qu'enfin pour que la fête soit célébrée de manière exhaustive, l'homme du dieu de la Tempête devait y participer (I 4 sqq.), comme dans le rituel de la chute de la lune.

Une fête du tonnerre est contenue dans le fragment KUB XXXII 132; v. en outre KUB XIII 4 I 40, rappelée dans une liste de fêtes après celle de printemps, et KUB XXII 27 IV 25; XXXVIII 12 II 9 (cf. infra 20), 23, IV 3; Bo 3136 Vo 10 (v. V. Haas, *Nerik*, 310). KUB V 4 I 37 sq. fixe la fête dans le calendrier annuel, c'est-à-dire à la fin de l'hiver: DUTUŠ_ī kedani M[U]-ti IVA URU_{Hatti} ŠE₁₂ [ijazi] / nu-za EZEN_{MES} SAG. UŠ E[ZE]N MU^{TI} EZEN tet_{hešnaš} . . . ijazi "Sa Majesté en cette année [passera] l'hiver à Hatti / et [célébrera] les fêtes régulières: la fête de l'an, la fête du tonnerre, [. . .]" (cf. aussi les citations de la fête en II passim, et III 4). Les fêtes de l'année et du tonnerre sont encore associées en KUB V 3 IV 2; V 7 Ro 12, dans un contexte fragmentaire, rappelle aussi le DUG_{haršijalli}. Et aussi KUB XVIII 12 Ro 1 sqq.: ŠE₁₂-anzi-ma DUTUŠ_ī SALLUGAL URUKU.BABBAR-šī / ŠA DU URU_{Halap} EZEN tet_{hešnaš}-za apija DŪ-anzi EZEN MU^{TI}-za apija DŪ-anzi / . . . GIM-an-ma ŠA AN.TAĪ.ŠUM mehur tijazi . . . "Sa Majesté et la reine passeront l'hiver à Hattuša; / là ils célébreront la fête du tonnerre du dieu de la Tempête de Alep, là ils célébreront la fête de l'année / . . . Quand arrive le temps de l'A. (c'est-à-dire le printemps) . . .". Il semble donc dans ce cas que la fête du tonnerre soit célébrée à la fin de l'hiver (l'inversion de l'ordre des fêtes, en général c'est la fête de l'année qui précède, pourrait être fortuite).

À Ugarit au contraire, ce sont les coups de tonnerre de fin Septembre qui ont une influence sur l'année cultuelle, puisqu'ils indiquent le début des pluies automnales v. J.C. de Moor, *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Ba'lu* (AOAT 16; Kevelaer 1971) 108.

³⁵ Cf. par ex. KBo XIII 234 Vo 13; KUB XII 2 IV 2 sq.; XVII 35 II 9 et 13, IV 1 et 9; XXXVIII 32 I 6.

³⁶ Sur une fête en dehors de celles contenues dans les inventaires, cf. KUB XI 21 V 17 et XXVII 15 IV passim (et KBo XIV 142 III 9 sqq.).

³⁷ V. O.R. Gurney, *AAA* 27 (1940) 120-24 (cf. J. Friedrich, *HWb*, s. v.) qui énumère aussi d'autres rares emplois du DUG_{haršī}, come récipient à huile, miel, fruits et vin.

³⁸ Cf. KBo II 13 Ro 24 et KUB XXXVIII 32 Ro 3, où est spécifiée la construction de la cella, ainsi que celle du temple; en outre KUB X 11 IV 25; XX 14 I 2.

³⁹ Cf. KUB XXXVIII 23 I 11-13, ou KBo II 7 Ro 19 et KBo II 13 Ro 25 sq.; IBoT II 131 Ro 15 sq. Dans KUB XXV 23 IV 47 sqq., la statue et le pithos du dieu de la Tempête de la Pluie sont placés, par ordre de la Majesté, dans le temple d'un autre dieu de la Tempête.

⁴⁰ I PA dans KBo II 7 Ro 19; III BĀN dans KBo II 7 Vo 2, 11; II 13 Ro 26. Les IV PA de KBo II 1 IV 13 appartiennent à deux divinités et de même les XXV² PA de KBo II 1 II 3 concernent plusieurs divinités et temples (v. I. 7); et aussi dans la col. I 21.

Un BĀN, c'est-à-dire un *sūtu*, équivalait en Mésopotamie à 10 *qa*, et un *qa* variait de 0,84 litre à l'époque paléo-babylonienne à 1,84 litre à l'époque néo-assyrienne. Donc un BĀN correspondait à environ 10 litres.

32 Vo 22 on énumère I PA ZÍZ I PA še[pp]itaš, c'est-à-dire épeautre et orge, tandis que dans IBoT III 100(+) 2 on lit . . .] x *halkin mallanz*[i] . ils moulent le blé [. . .], qui évidemment était contenu dans le pithos⁴¹.

Donc le rite qui unissait la fête de printemps à celle d'automne consistait à verser (*šuhha-*) à la fin de la récolte, c'est-à-dire en automne, de l'épeautre (peut-être, à une époque archaïque, le céréale le plus répandu) dans un pithos, qu'on ouvrit (*heš(š)- kinu-*) au printemps. Avec l'épeautre, moulu et broyé (*malla-, harra-*), on préparait ensuite du pain (^NNINDA_{harši-} / NINDA.KUR₄.RA)⁴², qui était offert aux divinités fêtées, quand celles-ci étaient portées en procession en dehors du temple et placées à côté d'une stèle qui leur était dédiée.

Avec cette cérémonie, durant laquelle on transformait en pain le céréale de l'année précédente, le nouveau produit, à peine germé, était lié à l'ancien, unissant ainsi le cycle agricole d'une année à l'autre, et favorisant la croissance de la nouvelle récolte. Une invocation adressée en cette occasion au dieu de la Tempête de la Pluie, même s'il ne s'agit que d'un témoignage isolé, fournit une indication claire: KUB XXV 23 IV 57-59 DU EN-JA *hēū[n] / mekki ija nu-ua dankuin daganzipan / haššiqqanut*⁴³ *nu-ua* DU-aš NINDA.KUR₄.RA *māu* "Dieu de la Tempête, mon seigneur, fais (tomber) / beaucoup de pluie et rassasie / la terre noire. Que croisse le pain du dieu de la Tempête!" Et on fait ici allusion au pain formé avec l'épeautre conservé dans le pithos et déposé sur l'autel (*īstanana*), tandis que la communauté qui participe à la fête se nourrit d'un autre pain (l. 53 sqq.).

On peut également retrouver cette cérémonie du pithos dans la plus solennelle des fêtes de printemps, celle dite de l'AN.TAḤ.ŠUMSAR, qui se déroulait à Hattuša et dans les régions périphériques, pendant une

Le PA devait comprendre 6 BĀN, v. VI. Souček, *ArOr*27 (1959) 387 sq. Trois PA d'épeautre valaient un siècle (environ 8 grammes) d'argent: Lois § 183. À Alalah, niveau VII (environ XVII sc.) était valable l'équivalence: deux *parisu* d'épeautre – un vase de bière de très bonne qualité -- un siècle d'argent, v. D.J. Wiseman, *Alt.T.* 93 sq. n° 324b.

Il n'est pas invraisemblable que le contenu de ces pithoi ait été utilisé aussi à l'occasion d'autres fêtes, v. par ex. ABoT I passim, où le *haršijalli*, conservé dans sa cella, et approvisionné par le palais, ÉTIM GAL (I 9), est ouvert quand la reine célèbre la fête en l'honneur du dieu de la Tempête de l'*haršanna*, c'est-à-dire "dans le cours de l'année, en n'importe quelle saison" MUKAM_{ti meieni kuit imma kuit mehur} (I 3 sq.).

⁴¹ Selon KUB VII 24 I 5, on conserve aussi du vin: I PA ZÍZ I PA GEŠTIN DUG_{harši ŠĀ É} ḪUR.SAG_{Kuku-miša išhūwanzi} "un *parisu* d'épeautre, un *parisu* de vin, ils versent dans le pithos, à l'intérieur du temple du mont Kuku-miša"; cf. aussi KBo II 1 IV 13: IV PA ZÍZ II PA GEŠTIN DUG_{harši ŠĀ}. Du reste, dans certains cas, les pithoi étaient deux, un pour les céréales, et l'autre pour le vin: KUB XXI 17 II 12 sqq., v. infra p. 16.

Au contraire pour des passages comme KBo II 13 Ro 8: [GIM-an TEŠI DÙ-ri DUG_{harši geḫnuwanzi} III NINDA.KU₇ I DUG_{hanišaš KAŠ} DUG_{harši} "Quand vient le printemps et qu'ils ouvrent [le pithos], trois pains sucrés et un bocal de bière pour le pithos", ou bien KUB XXV 23 I 37: 1/2 BĀN ZID.DA I DUG_{hanišaš KAŠ} DUG_{harši šuhhauwaš} "un demi-*sūtu* de farine, un bocal de bière pour verser dans le pithos", on doit entendre que on faisait des offrandes de pain, de farine et de bière au pithos, à l'occasion de telles actions culturelles dont il était l'objet. On notera encore l'expression suivante en KUB XVII 35 II 10 sq. ANA DUTU MĒ-ja-kan DUG_{harši TA} NINDA.KUR₄.RA *šuhhanzi*[i. . .] pour le dieu du Soleil des eaux ils versent dans le pithos pour (avec?) le pain" et 14 sq. ŠĀ DUTU MĒ-kan DUG_{harši apēdani} UD_{KAM}ti IŠTU NINDA.KUR₄.RA *hēšjanzi* / III NINDA UPNI I DUG_{hanišaš KAŠ} DUG_{harši mallanz harranzi} "en ce jour ils ouvrent le pithos pour (avec?) le pain du dieu du Soleil des eaux; / trois pains d'un poing, un bocal de bière pour le pithos; ils moulent et broient (le contenu du pithos)"; cf. aussi KUB XVII 37 I 4 . . .] *harši-ja-kan IŠTU* NINDA.KUR₄.RA *ginuwanz*[i].

⁴² Dit expressément "pain du pithos" NINDA.KUR₄.RA (ḪILA) *haršijaš*: cf. KBo II 7 Ro 11, 26, Vo 7, 19; II 13 Ro 12 sq., 15; KUB XXXVIII 26 Ro 12, 18 etc.

⁴³ Noter que comme action de désalterer la terre on utilise une formation avec *nu-* de *haššik-* "se rassasier (de nourriture)" et non pas de *nink-* "se desalterer".

période d'environ 38 jours, et qui prévoyait l'ouverture des pithoi des dieux de la Tempête de Zippalanda et de Hatti, respectivement, au 6^{ème} et au 12^{ème} jour⁴⁴.

5. Le pithos comme élément fondamental du culte

Un tel rite constituait sans aucun doute l'élément premier du culte dû à chaque divinité, comme montrent aussi des passages de textes d'un autre genre; avec ce vœux, une reine, probablement Puduhepa, s'oblige envers la déesse Allani dans KUB XV 11 II:

- 6 . . . nu *hal-ki-iš iš-ši-ja-an-te-eš*
 [ma-a-a]n GAŠAN-JA GE₅-in KI-an la-a-ši *hal-ki-iš* SIG₅-ri
 8 [nu] A-NA DINGIRLIM DUG_{har-ši-ja-al-li} I-NA URUKÙ.BABBAR-ti
 Û I-NA URUHa-ak-miš iš-šu-wa-aš-ši DUG_{har-ši-ja-al-li-ma-wa-za-kán}
 10 ZI-za da-aš-ši DUG_{har-ši-ja-al-li-ma-ma-a-an} IŠ.TU É.GALLIM
še-e-šja-an-zi ma-a-an BE-LU ku-in-ki u-i-ja-an-zi
- 6 (puisque) . . . et le blé est "lié",
 [si] (toi), ma maîtresse, tu délies la terre noire (et) le blé sera bon,
 8 [alors] à (toi, ô) déesse, je verserai (dans) un pithos en Hattuša
 et en Hakkimš, et je me préoccuperai du pithos
 10 selon ma conscience, et c'est-à-dire, soit qu'ils ouvrent le pithos sur ordre du palais,
 soit qu'ils envoient quelque noble.

Et Hattušili III, dédiant une partie du patrimoine de son rival Armadatta à la déesse Ištar, après avoir dit qu'il avait construit pour elle des temples dans la ville d'Urukina, s'exprime ainsi en KUB XXI 17 II:

- nu-za-kán* DINGIRLUM ŠA URUMEŠ DUG_{har-ši-ja-al-li}
 12 *te-eš-šu-un hal-ki-ja-aš-ši* DUG_{har-ši-ja-al-li}
te-eš-šu-un ŠA GESTIN-ja-aš-ši DUG_{har-š[i]-[a-a]-li}
 14 *i-ja-nu-un nu-kán* ALAM EGIR-an [i-ja-nu]-un
- Et je plaçai la déesse dans les villes (avec) le pithos,
 12 et je plaçai pour elle un pithos pour le blé,
 et pour elle je préparai un pithos pour le vin,
 14 et j'(en) fis refaire la statue.

Plus loin, col. III, le culte de Ištar est établi de la manière suivante:

- 2 [A-NA D]IŠTA]R URUŠa-mu-ši
 [II? DUG_{har-ši-ja-al-li} te-eš-šu-un

⁴⁴ KBo X 20 I 36 sqq., II 14 sq. Et cf. KBo XIV 142 pour le DU URUHa_{lap}, et IBoT I 7(+)-IV 19.

Parmi les nombreux éléments fournis par d'autres cultures comparables ici, il faut noter particulièrement la fête finnoise de Kekri, qui tombait environ après la Saint-Michel (fin du mois de Septembre), et à l'occasion de laquelle, pour garantir l'année agricole suivante, on préparait un gros pain, qui était présenté seulement durant les grandes fêtes et qui, autrement, était conservé dans la grange. Au printemps seulement, on en donnait à ceux qui commençaient les travaux des champs, et ensuite au bétail qui sortait pour les premières pâtures; v. L. Honko, *Wb.Myth.* I 317.

- 4 [Š]A GEŠTIN ŠA I ŠA-A-TI *hal-ki-i[a-aš]*
nu-za-kán DĪŠTAR URUŠa-mu-ḥi
- 6 *ku-it URUḤa-at-tu-ši še-ir*
 URUḤa-at-tu-ša-aš *i-wa-ar*
- 8 ÉMEŠ DINGIRMEŠ *še-ir i-ja-nu-un*
nu ma-aḥ-ḥa-an MUKAM_{za} me-ḥur ti-ja[-z]i
- 10 *še-li-aš šu-un-nu-ma-an-zi*
nu-kán BI-IB-RU ŠA DLIŠ URUŠa-mu-ḥi
- 12 URUḤa-at-tu-ša-za *kat-ta ú-da-an-zi*
nu DUGḥar-ši-ja-al-li hé-e-ša-an-zi
- 14 *še-li-uš-ma šu-un-n[a-a]n[-zi]*
nu-kán DUGḥar-ši-ja-al-li
- 16 *hal-ki-ja-aš-ša šu-un-na-a[n-zi]*
 ŠA GEŠTIN-ja-kán *šu-un-n[a-an-zi]*
- 18 SISKUR-ma *ki-iš-ša-an [i-ja-an-zi]*

- 2 [Pour Išta]r à Šamuḥa
 je plaçai [deux? pi]thoi
- 4 pour le vin (et) pour un sūtu de blé;
 et puisque en haut en Ḥattuša
- 6 je fétai Ištar de Šamuḥa
 en haut dans les temples
- 8 selon (les rites de) Ḥattuša,
 ainsi, quand vient la saison de l'année
-
- 10 pour remplir les silos,
 alors ils porteront en bas de Ḥattuša
- 12 le rhyton de Ištar à Šamuḥa
 et ouvriront le pithos,
- 14 ensuite ils rempliront les silos,
 et le pithos:
- 16 rempliront (celui) du blé,
 et rempliront (celui) du vin;
- 18 puis [ils célébreront] le rituel suivant.

Dans ce texte pourtant on se réfère uniquement à la fête de l'automne, quand avec le blé on dispose également de vin nouveau, puisque ce n'est pas à la fête de printemps, évidemment, que l'on fait allusion à la l. 13. Mais l'analogie avec les inventaires ne laisse aucun doute sur l'usage du pithos, ici aussi nécessaire à l'accomplissement du culte que Ḥattušili semble avoir introduit à Urukina. Voyons aussi, toujours de Ḥattušili, un passage de l'autobiographie (A. Goetze, *Ḥatt.*, IV 71 sqq.), également à propos de la donation de la propriété de Armadatta à la déesse: "Cette propriété de Armadatta que je lui donnai, quelque localité de Armadatta (qu'elle comprit), partout (en) elle, ils rétablirent la stèle, et ils verseront dans le pithos". Pithos, stèle et statue sont encore rappelés l'un à côté de l'autre dans KUB IX:27 + VII 5 + VII 8 IV:

- nu-za ú-iz-zi DINGIR^{LUM} i-e-zi*
- 12 *nam-ma-aš-ši ma-a-an DUGḥar-ši-ja-al-li*
a-aš-šu na-an-za-an DUGḥar-ši-ja-al-li
- 14 *ti-it-ta-nu-zi ma-a-an Ú-UL-ma*
na-an-za NA^hhu-u-wa-ši ti-it-ta-nu-zi
- 16 *na-aš-ma-an-za ALAM-ma i-ja-zi*

- Il viendra pour vénérer la divinité;
 12 si pour elle un (nouveau) pithos est nécessaire,
 alors il l'installera (comme) un (nouveau) pithos,
 14 autrement
 il l'installera (comme) une stèle,
 16 ou bien le fera (faire comme) une statue.

Il s'agit d'un rituel⁴⁵, et celui qui agit est donc un particulier. Dans une fête pour la déesse *Ḫuwašša-na*, dont le culte est originaire de la région de Konya (KUB XXVII 59), il résulte que, au moins pour cette région, les particuliers aussi, riches et pauvres (*ḫappinanza* et *LUMASŠDA*), et non seulement le roi ou les serviteurs du temple, pouvaient célébrer leurs fêtes particulières de printemps et d'automne, pour se rendre propice l'année agricole⁴⁶.

6. La procession de printemps

La fête de printemps diffère également de celle d'automne par d'autres aspects⁴⁷, puisque, si parfois on ajoute l'annotation "la fête de printemps (est) ordonnée selon celle-là (sous-entendu la fête d'automne)" EZEN *ḫamešhaš-kan kedani* (scil. EZEN *zeni*) *ḫandanza*, ou vice versa⁴⁸, par cela on entend se référer uniquement au régime des offrandes.

La fête de printemps non seulement est plus solennelle, puisque souvent, les sacrifices et les offrandes sont plus importants, et la période au cours de laquelle elle se déroule, est plus étendue, mais, comme on l'a déjà indiqué, elle se distingue par le fait que le rite plus significatif, c'est-à-dire l'offrande des pains préparés avec l'épeautre conservé dans le pithos, a lieu "le premier jour" (UDKAM *MAḪRU*)⁴⁹, avec d'autres offrandes et un repas commun des participants, non pas à l'intérieur du temple, mais près d'une stèle dédiée au dieu dont on célèbre la fête, en plein air, où l'image est portée en procession. Que l'on se réfère à un texte comme KUB XXV 23 I 1-7 et 8-33, dont la première section contient des prescriptions succinctes pour la fête d'automne, tandis que celle de printemps apparaît plus ample et plus complexe, pour une durée de quatre jours. Cette dernière se déroule pendant trois jours dans KBo II 7 Ro 6-8, 9 sqq.; Ro 20-22, 23 sqq.; KUB XVII 35 II 9-11, 12 sqq., tandis qu'un seul jour est réservé à celle d'automne⁵⁰.

⁴⁵ C'est un rituel contre l'impuissance, v. la traduction complète de A. Goetze en *ANET* 349 sq. Cf. KUB XXX 50 V 14-17.

⁴⁶ Dans la première colonne, on parle rapidement du remplissage du pithos, et donc de la fête d'automne. Sur la problématique de la fête, v. H.G. Güterbock, *Oriens* 15 (1962) 345 sqq., en particulier 348 sq.

⁴⁷ Cf. du reste le passage suivant des instructions aux prêtres, KUB XIII 4 et duplicata, dans l'édition de E. Sturtevant — G. Bechtel, *Chrest.* 154 sq., II 59-62: *nu mān EZEN^{M[ES]} / EZEN-aš mēḫūni UL eššatteni nu EZEN ḫamešha[ndaš] / [I]NA zēni ijatteni EZEN zēnandaš-m[a] / ḫamešḫi eššatteni . . .* "et si vous ne célébrez pas les fêtes / dans le temps (fixé) pour les fêtes, et effectuez les fêtes [de] printemps / en automne, et fêtez la fête d'automne / au printemps . . .

⁴⁸ V. KUB XII 2 II 10; XVII 35 III 20; XXV 23 IV 16; XXXVIII 19 Ro 13, 23; cf. XII 3 *passim* où sont indiquées les offrandes pour la fête de printemps, puis on ajoute: "et (pour) la fête d'automne, la même chose" EZEN *zēni-ja QATAMMA-pat*.

En outre *katta(n) ḫamenk-* ne veut pas dire "fêter ensemble", comme le veut Rost, II 179, puisqu'il était impossible de célébrer contemporanément les fêtes de l'ouverture et de la fermeture du pithos; cf. KUB XXXVIII 32 Ro 6 sq.: II EZEN-šī DUG *ḫaršī šuḫhawaš ḫēšū[waš] katta ḫamankatta* "à lui (sous-ent. le dieu) sont attribuées deux fêtes: de la fermeture (et) de la ouverture du pithos", et en outre *ibid.* IV 21; KBo XIII 231 Vo 3; KUB XXXVIII 26 Ro 21, Vo 26. Ainsi du reste dans un texte d'un autre genre, KUB XXXII 133 I 5, où H. Kronasser, *Schw. C.* 58, traduit "festlegen", et E. von Schuler, *Kaskäer* 166, très fidèlement, "verbinden".

⁴⁹ Cf. KBo II 8 *passim*; XVII 75 IV 57.

⁵⁰ Deux jours pour le printemps, et un pour l'automne, dans KBo VII Vo 1-3, 4 sqq.(?); 12-15, 16 sqq.; II 13 Ro 3-7, 8 sqq.; KUB XXV 23 I 34-37, 38 sqq.; II *passim*; XXXVIII 32 IV *passim*.

Et nous devons certainement interpréter comme fête de printemps celles de la ville de Karaĥna, KUB XXV 32(+)⁵¹, comme cela résulte clairement de la fête décrite plus amplement dans II 19-54, où, après avoir fait des offrandes au pithos, conservé dans la cella du temple, on en extrait l'épeautre, qui, caché par un linge, est porté au moulin pour être broyé. Puis l'image de la divinité (le dieu du Soleil Ištanu) est transportée dans la forêt, devant une stèle à laquelle on fait des offrandes, jusqu'à ce que le pain préparé avec l'épeautre du pithos arrive, recouvert d'un linge; après avoir été enduit de gras, il est en partie offert directement au dieu, et en partie, réchauffé dans un four, déposé devant la stèle, tandis que le pain restant est distribué au roi et aux autres participants. Cette interprétation ne peut pas être mise en doute par le fait que les fêtes décrites successivement ne font plus mention du pithos, ni des fêtes d'automne correspondantes: les textes en effet sont généralement très synthétiques, et l'on peut reconstruire un déroulement même sommaire, seulement en combinant des données de diverses provenances. Ainsi en KUB XXV 23 I 38 la fête de printemps s'oppose simplement à la ration à verser dans le pithos (*DUG ħaršī šuĥhauwaš*, l. 36 sq.), mais la fête d'automne n'est pas directement mentionnée⁵²; et si dans KUB XVII 35 III 23-38 comme dans KUB XII 2 I 8-27, III passim, IV 8 sqq., seule la fête de printemps est enregistrée, cela peut facilement s'expliquer par la formulation très succincte des textes, d'autant plus que la fête d'automne est citée dans d'autres sections parallèles des mêmes textes⁵³, et naturellement il est inconcevable que le pithos, mentionné pour le printemps, n'ait pas été rempli à l'automne. Mais il y a un cas où la fête d'automne d'un dieu de la Tempête et celle d'une source divinisée sont célébrées ensemble, en une même occasion, tandis que les fêtes de printemps restent distinctes, KBo II 1 II 36: III EZEN I EZEN zenaš II EZEN TEŠÍ. Si donc, en général, l'attention principale est attirée sur la fête de printemps, c'est justement de ce système sommaire de registration que dépend le fait que dans KUB XVII 35 III 1-22 la fête de printemps est à peine citée (l. 20). Le texte renvoie pour plus détails à celle d'automne, qui, elle, est traitée, de manière ample (ll. 1-17). D'autre part, il existait aussi une fête d'automne qui se déroulait durant au moins trois jours: KUB XXXVIII 32 Ro 8 sqq. (celle de printemps se trouve dans une lacune), ce qui montre combien il est dangereux de généraliser et avec quelle précaution il faut interpréter les données.

Cette considération est valable aussi pour la procession de printemps: en KUB XXV 23 I 40 sq. on dit simplement que la statue de la divinité est prise pour être portée et placée devant la stèle, et c'est seulement à la l. 50 que l'on voit clairement que cette stèle se trouve en dehors du temple; cf. en outre KUB XVII 35 II 16 sq. et 27, III 2 et 16. Encore, dans KUB XXV 23 IV 4-10 et 38-46 (fragmentaires) il semble qu'il n'y ait pas de procession, et ainsi pour le dieu de la Tempête de la Pluie dans IV 47-59, mais, tout de suite après (côté gauche l sqq.) est prescrit le culte en plein air pour la même divinité⁵⁴.

Le rite fondamental pour les fêtes de printemps est constitué donc par une procession à la stèle, qui se termine par l'offrande, devant celle-ci, du pain préparé avec le contenu du pithos, et non pas par la procession en soi, laquelle peut avoir lieu dans des circonstances diverses, comme dans KUB XXV 25 (le nom de la fête se trouve dans une lacune, mais, comme le pain du pithos n'est pas mentionné, il ne s'agit vraisemblablement pas d'une fête de printemps) où la déesse du Soleil de Arinna et Zahpuna sont portées devant la stèle, et où, pour accueillir les deux divinités, on élève deux tentes; ou bien dans KUB XVII 35 IV 3-18 pour la fête du bain (*ŠExNÁG-uwaš*), qui tombe entre la fête d'automne et celle de printemps⁵⁵ (la procession est attestée également pour cette dernière, décrite précédemment)⁵⁶.

⁵¹ Traduites et transcrites par A.M. Dinçol et M. Darga, *Anatolica* 3 (1969-70) 99-118. Le caractère de la première fête (col. I) est difficilement déterminable à cause de certaines parties mutilées.

⁵² Cf. aussi KUB XXV 23 IV 49-50 et 51-59; VBoT 26 7 sq. et 9 sqq.

⁵³ Cf. KUB XXXVIII 16 et IBoT II 104(+), fragmentaire.

⁵⁴ V. aussi les passages suivants, où la fête d'automne, sans procession, est opposée à celle de printemps, avec procession: KBo II 7 Ro 6-8 et 9 sqq.; Vo passim; II 13 Ro 3-7 et 8 sqq.; KUB XXXVIII 26 passim; XXXVIII 32 Ro 1 sqq.; (où la fête d'automne est décrite avec une certaine précision, mais la procession est réservée à la seule fête de printemps: ll. 4-6); Vo 11 sq. et 13 sqq.; 22 sqq. et 25 sqq.

⁵⁵ On en ignore le sens; des ablutions de statues avaient lieu à l'occasion des fêtes de printemps et d'automne (mais pas exclusivement, cf. pour la fête *pul*, KUB XVII 35 I 17), c'est-à-dire quand, avant d'entreprendre

Naturellement il y a toute une série d'anomalies qui dérivent d'influences réciproques et d'adaptations à des situations particulières. Dans KUB XVII 35 I 1 sqq., très fragmentaire, mais qui se réfère vraisemblablement à la cérémonie d'ouverture du pithos, il semble qu'on doive lire que la statue, à l'occasion de la fête, était simplement déposée sur l'autel (*ištanana*), à l'intérieur du temple (ll. 5-7); de même dans KUB XVII 37 I 1-14⁵⁷. La fête de printemps, dans KBo II 7 Ro 23-30, qui se déroulait pendant trois jours, avait lieu dans le temple (*INA É.DINGIR^{LIM}*), et, ainsi, une des fêtes de Karahna, KUB XXV 32(+) IV 1-16, mais il s'agit ici du dieu de la Tempête de la maison: *DU ÉTIM!* D'autre part, une procession est attestée, une fois aussi, pour une fête d'automne: KUB XVII 35 III 1 sqq.⁵⁸, tandis que dans tous les autres textes qui concernent cette fête, on rappelle simplement (quand les sections sont suffisamment amples) l'autel du temple, devant lequel sont immolées les victimes⁵⁹.

Les fêtes saisonnières peuvent également être assimilées à d'autres fêtes⁶⁰. Dans KUB XXX 37 I 9 sqq. il y a corrélation entre la fête de printemps et celle d'hiver (*hamešhi* et *gēmī*); dans KUB XXXVIII 12 II 9 entre la fête du tonnerre (c'est-à-dire de printemps) et celle de la forêt (*GIS^{TIR}*)⁶¹. Dans KUB XII 2 IV 3 sq. la fête de printemps est clairement appelée fête de l'herbe *ippija*: *GIM-an tehjai nu-kan DUG^{haršijalli} hešanzi / nu-šši EZEN ippijaš ijanzi* "Quand il tonne, et qu'ils ouvrent le pithos, / ils célèbrent pour elle (sous-ent. la divinité) la fête de l'*ippija*". Du reste on se sert de cette herbe également, mais non exclusivement, dans d'autres fêtes de printemps comme dans KUB XVII 35 I 8, II 21, IV 28 (*ippijan marḥan*), ou dans KBo II 13 Ro 15 (*UTÚL^{marḥan} :ippija*)⁶².

7. La stèle

Il existait des stèles (*NA⁴huwaši* / *NA⁴ZI.KIN*)⁶³ à l'intérieur du temple aussi, et parfois elles étaient comprises dans les lieux saints canoniques, desquels elles se distinguent pourtant par le fait de recevoir une of-

les rites, le personnel devait se laver, et laver le temple. Il est évident que dans ce cas il s'agit simplement de purifications. La stèle aussi était lavée, et quelquefois ointe d'huile, cf. A. Goetze, *Kleinasiens*² 168 et note 5. Dans KUB XII 5, en particulier dans la colonne IV, est décrite l'ablution de Ištar de Taminga, au cours de la célébration d'un rituel, v. J. Danmanville, *RHA* 70 (1962) 51 sqq.

⁵⁶ Cf. en outre KBo II 8 III 14, pour la fête de la charrue *URUDUŠ^{SU}.KIN*. Naturellement il existe un grand nombre de fêtes à l'occasion desquelles on prévoyait la sortie de la statue ou des symboles religieux; cf. la fête du "transport sur le mont" *HUR.SAG-i pēdummaš*, KBo II 1 I 43 (à côté des fêtes de *zeni* et *TESI*), et les déplacements du bouclier, *KUS^{kurša}*, de la capitale aux villes de la région centrale hittite, à l'occasion de la fête de printemps de l'AN.TAJ.ŠUM^{SAR}; v. H.G. Güterbock, *Hethiterforschung* 62 sqq.

⁵⁷ Des autels, de toute façon, étaient déposés également à côté de la stèle, à l'air libre: cf. pour tous KBo II 13 Ro 16, Vo 7 et KUB XVII 35 IV 10.

⁵⁸ Cf. infra 27.

⁵⁹ Dans KBo XI 50, qui selon le colophon contient la "fête d'automne et de printemps de la ville de Zippalanda", en I 18, est citée une stèle du dieu (*šiunaš hūwaši-ja*), devant laquelle se déroulent des rites avec la participation du roi; mais les conditions générales du texte empêchent d'attribuer également le passage à la fête d'automne.

⁶⁰ V. XXV 26 III passim, où les fêtes de printemps et d'automne semblent avoir aussi un deuxième nom, par ex. l. 8 sq.: *ANA EZEN dašḥapuna* [(.)] / *zenandaš taknaš* [^DUTU-i (.)] (elle concernaient peut-être la divinité T/Zašḥapuna ou la ville Tašḥapuna: cf. IBoT II 69 I 10 . . . ^DKAJL URUTašḥapun[a . . .]).

⁶¹ Dans le même texte, une fête *zenandaš* est citée en I 21, pour une autre divinité.

⁶² Grâce au déterminatif *UTÚL* "vaisselle", on déduit que le verbe *marḥ-* signifie "bouillir" ou "cuire à l'étouffée". Cf. aussi l'usage d'une telle herbe dans une fête de printemps de Karahna, KUB XXV 32(+) I 3 et 29 sq. (A.M. Diñçol - M. Darga, op. cit. 100 sqq.); voir en outre *GIS^{ippija}* dans KUB II 13 II 21, fragmentaire, et dans un contexte difficile, KBo X 24 III 6.

⁶³ V. H.T. Bossert, *Belleten* 16 (1952) 495-545; M. Darga, *RHA* 84-85 (1969) 5-24.

frande trois fois majeures⁶⁴. De ces stèles doivent être bien distinctes celles qui constituaient l'image divine, comme cela résulte des inventaires cultuels; et s'il est possible de trouver trace d'une tendance à passer de représentations sous forme de stèle à des images figurées⁶⁵, cela ne peut pas être généralisé puisque, quelquefois, même pour remplacer les images des divinités majeures, on recourait à de nouveaux exemplaires de stèles, à l'occasion en métal précieux⁶⁶. Les stèles des dieux de la Tempête, des divinités féminines et des montagnes divinisées sont généralement remplacées par des représentations en ronde-bosse, respectivement de taureaux et d'images féminines et dans le dernier cas, de statuette fixées dans des massues, avec les symboles du soleil et de la lune⁶⁷.

D'autre part, même pour les stèles, on ne peut pas parler tout court d'aniconisme, puisque sur elles on pouvait inciser un relief; cf. KBo II 1 I 33: "une stèle: une mère et un nourrisson" I NA⁴ZI. KIN *anniš* :*titaī*<*m*>*meš*, qui est la vieille image, remplacée ensuite par "une statue de femme assise, d'argent, (de dimension) de un *šekan*, les yeux incrustés d'or: (c'est-à-dire) une mère (et) un nourrisson" I ALAM SAL¹ TUŠ-aš KÜ.BABBAR I *šekan* IGI¹LA GUŠ[KIN] GAR.RA / *anniš* :*titaī**meš* (l. 39 sq.).

8. La signification de la procession de l'image divine vers la stèle

Mais il existait des stèles en dehors du temple, en général dans la campagne⁶⁸, liées à une divinité, une pour chaque⁶⁹ et définie, donc, comme "stèle de la divinité X"; le rapport entre celle-ci et les images est éclairé par une série de textes.

⁶⁴ V. KBo XI 30 Ro 15 sqq.; KUB XXX 41 II 18 sqq.; IBoT I 2 III 1 sqq.; KUB XI 18(+) II 7 sqq., peut-être dans le temple du dieu Ziparwa (v. le duplicat KUB XX 42 II 3). Cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 1 (1966) 95 sq. Deux stèles accouplées ont été trouvées à l'intérieur d'un petit temple déjà aux niveaux du Bronze Ancien II, à Beycesultan, v. S. Lloyd - J. Mellaart, *Beycesultan* I (London 1962) 36 sqq.

⁶⁵ H.G. Güterbock, *Orientalia* 15 (1946) 489.

⁶⁶ Rost, I 166.

⁶⁷ Cf. les listes en Rost, II 204 sqq.

⁶⁸ Sur le mont Tapala: KUB XX 85(+) I 15 sqq.; près de la ville de Tippuwa, non loin de *Ḫattuša*: KUB X 18 I 3 sqq.; et aussi KBo XI 49 VI 11. Dans KUB XL 2 Ro 14 sqq. on peut lire: *INA ḪUR.SAG Ḫšhara-pat šer* [...] / *uetit* III NA⁴ *ḫūwaši išgarit* [...] / *DMūwanu* / *DMuwattalli Ū DGI[BIL* [...] "Sur le mont *Ḫšhara* il construit [...] / e[rigea] trois stèles [...] pour Muwanu, / Muwattalli et le dieu Fe[u...]", et à la l. 19 *ŠA DINGIRMES-ja-wa ALAM ḪLA-ŠUNU ija*[t...]" Et il fit (faire) les statues des dieux des [...] (v. A. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna* 60 sq.).

Durant la fête de l'ANTAH.ŠUMSAR, le roi rejoignait la stèle du dieu de la Tempête placée dans un édifice appelé *E¹arnu*, situé en dehors de la ville, dans un buisson de buis: KBo X 20 II 30 sq., v. H.G. Güterbock, *JNES* 19 (1960) 82 sqq.; les textes KUB XX 63(+) I 11-13 (duplicat XX 42 I 10-12) et XI 22 I 1 sqq. sont parallèles. Dans le *E¹arnu* de *Ḫattuša* le roi et la reine se lavaient et s'habillaient, v. S. Alp, *JCS* 1 (1947) 172 note 24; ces édifices qui étaient situés dans un buisson (cf. E. von Schuler, *Diens'anuv.* 45, *Bél Madgalti* II 18 sq.) étaient distincts de ceux qui étaient inclus dans la sphère urbaine (ibid. II 13), puisqu'ils devaient servir de refuge quand on célébrait des fêtes dans des localités lointaines des centres habités (parfois, au contraire, on construisait des tentes: GISZ.A.LAM.GAR).

La documentation archéologique offre peu de renseignements intéressants: la stèle de Karahöyük, trouvée sur la partie la plus haute de l'établissement, mais non incluse dans un édifice (v. T.-N. Özgüç, *Karahöyük Hafriyatı Raporu*, 1947 (Ankara 1949) 69 sqq., et à l'appendice de H.G. Güterbock à page 102 sq. (sur l'inscription v. aussi E. Laroche, *RHA* 52 [1950] 47-54); et les deux bases de stèle trouvées à Boghazköy: K. Bit-tel, *Boğazköy, Die Kleinfunde* (Leipzig 1937) 12 sq. et tab. 9. Cf. encore les quatre stèles urartéennes de Altuntepe, à la limite du centre habité, près d'un ensemble funéraire, v. T. Özgüç, *Altuntepe* II (Ankara 1969) 73 sq.

Des stèles, d'autres dimensions naturellement, étaient aussi élevées à l'air libre pour la célébration de rituels privés, cf. pour tous KBo XI 72 III 20.

⁶⁹ Cf. par ex. KBo II 13 Vo 2 sqq.

Pour la fête de printemps en l'honneur du mont Hjalwanna⁷⁰, KUB XXV 23 I 8-16, on moud l'épeautre du pithos. Puis l'image du mont divisée est portée sur le mont qu'elle représente dans la sphère du temple, pour être déposée devant une stèle située sous un peuplier; si par contre la région est libre du péril des ennemis, le terme de la procession était une stèle également sous un peuplier, mais placée sur la rive d'un fleuve⁷¹. Puisqu'on ignore la topographie de la région, le choix de cette deuxième alternative nous échappe; mais la relation entre la stèle et la montagne divisée et la volonté d'établir au printemps un rapport entre l'image divine et la stèle est claire:

8 GIM-an-ma ha-mi-š-ḫi DÙ-ri te-et-ḫa-i DUG_{ḫar-š}[i-ja-al-li gi-nu-wa-an-zi na-at]
LÚMEŠ URU_{ri-iš-ta ma-al-la-an-zi ḫar-ra-an-z[i]}

- 10 lu-kat-ti-ma LÚ.MEŠSANGA LÚ.MEŠGUDÚ BE-LUḪIA EL-LU-TI-]a x[]x x[
an-da a-ra-an-zi nu ḪUR.SAG_{ḫal-wa-an-na-an} ḪUR.SAG-i U[GU p]tén-zi
12 nu ma-a-an IŠ.TU LÚKÚR kat-ta ki-it-ta-ri n[a-a]n ḪUR.SAG-i p_{tén-zi} na-an [NA⁴ZIKIN ta-ni-nu-wa-an-zi]
NA⁴ZIKIN-ja GIŠ_{ḫa-a-ra-u-i kat-ta-an ar-ta-ri} III NINDA UP-NI p_{ar-š}-ja-an-zi
14 KAŠ-ja š-i-p-pa-an-zi ma-a-an IŠ.TU LÚKÚR Ú-UL kat-ta ki-it-ta
na-an NA⁴ZIKIN GIŠ_{ḫa-ra-u-i ka[t-t]a-an} ÍD-an-kán ta-pu-ša
16 ta-ni-nu-wa-an-zi . . .

- 8 Quand le printemps arrive (et) qu'il tonne, [ils ouvrent] le pi[thos, et]
les hommes de Urišta [le (scil. le contenu)] moulent (et) le broient.
10 Le matin (suivant) arrivent les prêtres, les "oints", les seigneurs et les nobles . . .
et ils portent sur le mont (l'image de) le mont Hjalwanna.
12 Et si (la région) est aux mains des ennemis, ils la portent sur le mont et la [déposent près de la stèle].
La stèle est sous un peuplier. Ils rompent trois pains d'un poing,
14 ils versent de la bière. S'il n'est pas aux mains des ennemis,
ils la déposent à la stèle sous le peuplier
16 à côté du fleuve . . .

Suivent les sacrifices, auxquels contribue également le gouverneur de la région EN KUR^{TI}.

Plus significatif encore est un passage concernant le mont Malimalya, KUB VII 24 Ro 1 sqq.⁷². Il n'y avait pas d'image de celui-ci, mais la Majesté, réorganisant les cultes de la région, le fait représenter anthropomorphiquement et le place dans le temple dédié à une autre montagne divisée; dans le même temps il est représenté sous forme de stèle et placé sur un pic rocheux près de la ville ou village de Tuḫniwara, qui vraisemblablement devait se trouver au pied du mont Malimalya:

- 1 ḪUR.SAG_{Ma-li-ma-li-ja-aš an-na-la-za} DINGIRMEŠ_{tar} Ú-UL e-eš-ta
2 DUTUŠI_{an} I_{Tu-ut-ḫa-li-ja-aš} ALAM LÚ AN.BAR I še-kán 1/2 še-kán-na

⁷⁰ La mention de l'EN KUR^{TI} "seigneur du pays" à l. 16, dont la présence dans les textes cultuels est attestée pour le territoire de Nerik (cf. V. Haas, *Nerik* 24, note 3) et le fait que la région soit exposée à des incursions ennemies, permettent de localiser avec certitude le mont Hjalwanna au nord, vers le territoire des Kaška. La section suivante (I 34-50) est dédiée, de plus, au dieu de la Tempête des champs de Urišta, dont le temple, probablement par mesure de sécurité contre les Kaška, avait été édifié justement à Ḫakmiš, la capitale de la Région Supérieure sous Ḫattušili III, avant que cette dernière ne soit transférée à Nerik. Le culte du dieu de la Tempête, pourtant, continuait à être assuré par les habitants de Urišta.

⁷¹ La source Hjalwanna est également attestée. Pour son culte v. KBo II 7 Vo 27, 31; II 13 Ro 24, 28, mais pour d'autres groupes de villes. D'autre part, E. Laroche, *RHA* 69 (1961) 81, rappelle qu'il existe un mot *ḫalwani-*, indiquant un récipient pour les liquides.

⁷² Dejà traduit par H.G. Güterbock, *Orientalia* 15 (1946) 491; cf. H.T. Bossert, *Belleten* 16 (1952) 519.

IGI^HIA GUŠKIN A-NA UR.MA^H AN.BAR-aš-kán ar-ta-ri ŠÀ É HUR.SAG^Kku-ku-mu-ša-an-kán
 4 pí-tén-zi NA⁴ZI.KIN-ja-an-kán I-NA URU^Ttu^h-ni-wa-ra pa-aš-šu-i še-er ti-ja-an-zi
 I PA ZÍZ I PA GESTIN DUG^hhar-ši ŠÀ É HUR.SAG^Kku-ku-mi-ša iš-šu-u-wa-an-zi

6 GIM-an zé-na-aš DÙ-ri DUG^hhar-ši-ja-li-kán iš-šu-u-wa-an-zi I UDU-kán BAL-an-zi

.....

11 GIM-an-ma ha-me-iš-ša-an-za DÙ-r[i DUG^hha]-r-ši-ja-[i-kán g][i-nu-wa-an-z]i
 ma-al-la-an-zi-at har[ra-an-zi] . . .

- 1 Mont Malimalija: à l'origine il n'existait pas d'image;
- 2 Sa Majesté Tut^halija I (a fait faire sous forme d')une statue masculine, en fer, de un šekan et demi; les yeux (sont) en or, (et) elle est debout sur un lion de fer. Ils la portent dans le temple du mont Kukumuša.
- 4 Et (comme) stèle ils le placent a Tu^hniwara sur un rocher. Ils versent un par^šu d'épeautre, un par^šu de vin dans le pithos (placé) dans le temple du mont Kukumuša.

6 Quand vient l'automne, ils versent dans le pithos, ils immolent une brebis,

.....

11 Quand vient le printemps, ils [ouvrent] le pithos, ils le (scil. le contenu) moulent (et) broient . . .

La fête de printemps est dans une lacune. Il ne fait aucun doute que cette fois, la statue devait être portée à la stèle pour les rites plusieurs fois rappelés. Cela vaut la peine de souligner l'expression NA⁴ZI.KIN-ja-an-kán . . . tijanzi, laquelle, NA⁴ZI.KIN étant neutre, ne peut pas être traduite autrement que "et (sous la forme de) stèle, ils le (sous-ent. la divinité) placent . . .". Ici on voit clairement que la stèle représente la divinité, et, de plus, elle est en contact étroit avec l'essence de celle-ci.

Considérons encore la fête de la Grande Source, KUB XVII 35 III 23-38:

I ALAM SAL TUŠ-za AN.BAR TÚL.GAL DUTUŠ^I DÙ-at ŠÀ É.DINGIR^{LIM} DU pí-tén-zi

- 24 ma-a-an A-NA TÚL.GAL EZEN [T]E-ŠI DÙ-an-zi ŠEXNÁG-<an>-zi LÚSANGA-z[a ŠEXNÁG-zi]
 DINGIR^{LUM} ŠEXNÁG-zi TÚL-kán ša-ra-a ša-an-ša-an-zi
- 26 LÚSANGA-kán DINGIR^{LUM} TA GIŠZAG.GAR.RA ME-i na-an-kán TA É[DINGIR^{LIM}]
 pa-ra-a ú-da-i nu DINGIR^{LUM} INA TÚL pí-e-da-i DINGIR^{LUM} [PA-NI NA⁴ZI.KIN]
- 28 ta-ni-nu-wa-an-zi nu-kán LÚSANGA I UDU A-NA TÚL.GAL BA[L-ti]
 ŠÀ TÚL-an-kán hu-kán-zi šu-up-pa ti-an-zi VI NINDA^{da}[n-na-aš]
- 30 I DUG^hhu-up-pár KAŠ INA GIŠZAG.GAR.RA NINDA.KUR₄.RA pár-ši-an-zi B[IB-RU-kán]
 šu-un-na-an-zi II BÁN ZÍD.DA IV DUG KAŠ aš-ša-nu-ma-aš KÚ-z[i NAG-zi]
- 32 GAL^HIA-kán aš-ša-nu-wa-an-zi SAL.MEŠ^hha-zi-qa-ra-za GURUN ú-d[an-zi]
 DINGIR^{LUM} GILIM-an-zi UKÙMEŠ^{na-za}GILIM-iz-zi GUD UDU pí-qa[an-zi]
- 34 GA.KIN.DÙ dam-ma-aš-ša-an-zi PA-NI DINGIR^{LIM} ti-an-zi UKÙ[MEŠ^{ni-ja pí-an-zi}]
 DINGIR^{LUM}-ma-aš-kán du-uš-kán-zi DINGIR^{LUM} INA É.DINGIR^{LIM} SAL.MEŠ^[ha-zi-qa-ra-za]
- 36 ar-ša pí-e-da-an-zi GIŠZAG.GAR.RA ta-ni-nu-wa-an-zi
 II NINDA^{UP-NI} pár-ši-an-zi KAŠ BAL-an-zi
- 38 [Š]U.NIGIN I UDU II BÁN ZÍD.DA V DUG KAŠ ANA EZEN TE-ŠI URU-aš [pí-eš-ki-iz-zi]

Une statue féminine, assise, en fer: la Grande Source; (l')a fait (faire) Sa Majesté. Ils (la) portent dans le temple du dieu de la Tempête.

-
- 24 Quand ils célèbrent la fête de printemps pour la Grande Source, ils lavent (le temple), le prêtre se [lave], on lave l'image, on nettoie la source.
- 26 Le prêtre prend l'image de l'autel et la porte au dehors du tem[ple], et porte l'image à la source. Ils déposent l'image
- 28 [devant la stèle] et le prêtre imm[ole] une brebis à la Grande Source; ils la découpent dans la source, déposent la chair crue, six pains *da[nnaš]*,
- 30 une coupe de bière sur l'autel, rompent du pain normal, remplissent le rh[yton]; deux *sūtu* de farine, quatre vases de bière à disposition (de la communauté); on mange, [on boit],
- 32 ils déposent les coupes. Les femmes *haziqara* por[tent] des fruits, couronnent l'image, les gens se couronnent; ils don[nent] des bœufs, des brebis,
- 34 pressent du fromage, déposent devant l'image, [et (en) donnent aux] gens, et ils entretiennent l'image (sous-ent. la divinité). Les [*haziqara*] emportent
- 36 l'image dans le temple, (la) déposent sur l'autel; ils rompent deux pains d'un poing, versent de la bière.
-
- 38 Total: une brebis, deux *sūtu* de farine, cinq vases de bière: pour la fête de printemps (les) donne la ville.

À l'occasion aussi de cette procession printanière, l'image est déposée à côté de la stèle qui s'élève près de la source divinisée, qu'elle représente; il s'agit donc d'une réintégration annuelle des forces de l'image divine, qui, à cet effet, est portée, pour ainsi dire, à l'endroit générateur du culte. Cette réintégration est liée au cycle agricole par l'offrande des restes de la récolte précédente, afin que la fécondité de la nouvelle saison soit assurée. Ce sont donc des cultes de divinités mineures, de localités secondaires, qui portent la lumière sur cette conception hittite des rapports entre images cultuelles et divinités, puisque ici, plus facilement et plus concrètement, sont déterminés les rapports entre les dieux et la région. Il est également possible de suivre le phénomène du passage d'une entité divine simplement sentie, à un moment où l'on éprouve la nécessité de la représenter par un symbole ou une image.

La crainte que les dieux abandonnent le pays est constante préoccupation dans l'expérience religieuse hittite, et pour conjurer un tel danger on récite des prières et on exécute des rituels; qu'on se rappelle le mythe fameux de Telepinu; le dieu de la végétation⁷³, même si le rituel dans lequel il est inséré n'a aucun caractère agraire⁷⁴. Par son retour Telepinu porte avec soi la renaissance de la vie. Il fallait de même restaurer les forces magiques des images, les reporter dans la ville, au centre du pays.

9. L'amusement sacré

Près de la stèle, à côté de laquelle la statue avait été déposée, une fois les offrandes faits, avait lieu un repas en commun. A cet effet une quantité de farine ou de pain et de bière était prescrite⁷⁵, définie "à

⁷³ V. H.G. Güterbock, *FFr.* 207-211.

⁷⁴ Idem, dans *Mythologies of the Ancient World*, ed. S.N. Kramer (New York 1961) 148 sq. Mon étude sur le rituel du dieu de la Tempête de Kuliwišna, qui appartient à la même sphère, apparaîtra prochainement.

⁷⁵ V. les quantités suivantes: XXX NINDA III DUG KAŠ "30 pains, 3 vases de bière": KUB XXV 23 I 45; II PA <ZID.DA> IV DUG KAŠ: KBo II 7 Ro 8, et a la I. 10 I BĀN ZID.DA I DUG *hūppar* KAŠ; II PA ZID.DA II DUG KA.DÙ: KBo II 13 Ro 17.

disposer (pour la communauté)”: *aššanumaš*, bien distinct des offrandes pour la divinités, dites “pour l'autel”: *ištanani*. Un tel repas avait lieu aussi à la fête d'automne, à l'intérieur du temple; après celui de printemps, par contre, était organisée une espèce d'amusement en honneur des divinités qui devaient être “réjouies”: *dušk*.⁷⁶

Il s'agissait d'une représentation à caractère agonistique, et la seule qui soit décrite avec quelque détail, KUB XVII 35 III 8-15, est connue depuis longtemps déjà: les hommes présents sont divisés en deux groupes numériquement égaux, les uns sont appelés hommes de Hatti, les autres Maša; les premiers disposent d'armes de bronze, les seconds de joncs. On mime une lutte et les hommes de Hatti vainquent. Ce passage a été révélé par H. Ehelolf, qui y vit une esquisse de représentation scénique, c'est-à-dire une première manifestation théâtrale.⁷⁷ Mais immédiatement A. Lesky se référant au matériel récolté par Mannhardt sur les cultes des champs, offrait une interprétation plus complexe⁷⁸: la lutte symbolisait le contraste entre les principes de la fécondité et ceux de l'aridité, en somme entre saisons des récoltes et hiver; et avec raison il mettait l'accent sur le résultat préétabli, comme cela arrive dans les jeux ou batailles rituelles de ce genre⁷⁹. Sur la même ligne se place Gaster, qui en reprend les implications⁸⁰, tandis que A. Goetze suggère que la représentation rituelle pourrait

⁷⁶ Pour *dušk*- avec -za J. Friedrich, *HWb* 229, donne “sich freuen, fröhlich sein”; cf. idem, *Staatsv., Huqq.* III 37 *nu-za ezatten ekutten duš[k]iškien* “et mangez, buvez et soyez joyeux”. Mais dans le genre de textes examiné ici, *dušk*- est utilisé sans -za, et pour cette raison, il signifie “réjouir, entretenir”. Cf. *dušk*- in KUB XVII 35 I 12, 33, II 26, III 8. Itératif *duškišk*- KBo II 13 Ro 18; KUB XXV 23 I 22,47(?), IV 1; XXXVIII 25 I² 24. *Dušgaratt*- “joie”: KUB XXXVIII 26 Ro 19 DINGIR^{LUM} *kilanzu dušgarattaš* [. . .]; KBo II 7 Vo 23: EZEN-ŠU *hazziwijaza duškarattaza tarrauwana[za]* “sa fête est pourvue d'un amusement et divertissement”; Vo 9 simplement *duškaratta[za tarrauwana]*; KUB XVII 36 9 comporte le nominatif *dušgaraz* [. . .]. A cet amusement sacré on a proposé d'attribuer le nom *hazziwi*- (A. Goetze, *Kleinasiens*² 163 note 5; O.R. Gurney, *AAA* 27 [1940] 68 note 1) qui semble vouloir plutôt signifier “cérémonie (religieuse)” (v. J. Friedrich, *Afo* 14 [1941-44] 349 note 17), comme le montre KUB XVII 21 III 15 sq., où se trouvent l'un à côté de l'autre EZEN^{II.A} et *hazziu* “fêtes” et “cérémonies”; ainsi dans KUB XXX 39 I 9 *hazziu* EZEN [NU.G]AL *kuiški* (duplicat KBo X 20 I 12 omet EZEN), et cf. encore KUB XXVII 66 II 14 et XXXII 133 I 9 sq.

En se basant sur les inventaires, on ne réussit pas à voir la différence entre les sections où est prévu le h. (par ex. KBo II 7 Vo 23 EZEN-ŠU *hazziwijaza duškarattaza tarrauwana* “sa fête est pourvue de h. (et) amusement”; cf. KBo II 8 IV 6), et celles qui en sont privées (KBo II 8 IV 21 *hazziwi* NU.GÁL “le h. il n'y a pas; cf. I 30, III 3 et peut-être KUB XXV 24 II 4.)

Parmi les LU.MES *hazziwitaššiš* (qui signifie “chargés du h.”) sont inclus les prêtres (LÚSANGA) et du personnel féminin comme la “mère du dieu” (SALAMA.DINGIRLIM): KUB XXXVIII 12 II 1-4 (à la 1. 2 également SAL.MES_k[a²]). Les fonctions des LÚ.MES *ha-az-zi-wi-ja-aš* / *ha-az-zi-ú-i-aš* ne sont pas mieux éclaircies: en KUB XX 19 III 1 sq. (cf. II. 8-12) on a LÚ DU SAL DU SAL *palwatallaš* / LÚMES ZITTI LU.MES_h *zuiiaš*; dans KBo II 8 III 10 et IV 19 ils portent du pain et de la bière (cf. KUB XI 26 IV 15 et XXV 8 II 10, fragmentaire). Ainsi les SAL.MES *hazziwijaz*: dans KBo II 8 I 19 SALAMA.DINGIRLIM SAL.MES_h *hazziwij* <aš>; dans IV 22 elles portent des fruits [GURJUN].

⁷⁷ In *Sitzungsber. d. Preuss. Ak. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl.* (1925) 267-72.

En réalité, ce combat a lieu pour la fête d'automne, voir infra 27.

⁷⁸ *Arch. f. Rel.-Wiss.* 25 (1925) 73-82; maintenant in A. Lesky, *Gesammelte Schriften* (Bern u. München 1966) 310-317. Du reste, H. Ehelolf, loc. cit., rappelait déjà à propos d'un autre texte les jeux rituels qui avaient lieu à l'occasion des fêtes de printemps, et de renouvellement en général; sur ceux-ci cf. M. Eliade, *Traité* § 122.

⁷⁹ La dernière phrase conclut: *nu ŠU.DIB.BU appanzi-n-an ANA DINGIRLIM hinkanzi* “et (les hommes de Hatti) font un prisonnier, qu'ils livrent à la divinité”. Dans celle-ci Lesky, par analogies comparatives, voit l'anéantissement des forces adverses, qui ici se réaliserait en un sacrifice humain. Il s'agit au contraire d'un acte symbolique, très certainement, ou tout au plus on doit entendre que l'homme capturé était mis au service de la divinité, peut-être pour un an; cf. H.M. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale für den hethitischen König* (StBoT 3; Wiesbaden 1967) 160 sqq, qui rapporte tout le passage.

⁸⁰ Th.H. Gaster, *Thespis*² (New York 1966) 38 et 267-69.

rappeler un événement historique, c'est-à-dire un des combats soutenus par les hittites durant l'invasion de l'Anatolie⁸¹.

Hélas peu de textes, étant tous ainsi succincts, offrent quelque autre détail:

a) KUB XXV 23 I 20 sqq.

20 . . . NINDA.KUR₄.RA *pár-ši-ja-an-zi BI-IB-RIT^{HL}A.kán šu-u-wa-an-zi*
a-da-an-zi a-ku-wa-an-zi GAL^{HL}A.kán šu-u-wa-an-zi PA-NI DINGIR^{LUM}
 22 GEŠPÚ *hu-ul-hu-li¹-ja ti-eš-kán-zi du-uš-ki-iš-kán-zi*

20 . . . ils rompent le pain, ils remplissent les rhyta,
 on mange, on boit, ils remplissent les brocs; devant la divinité
 22 ils entreprennent une lutte de force, ils amusent (la divinité).

Puis la statue est reportée dans la ville, dans le temple.

b) KUB XVII 35 II 24 sqq.

24 . . . SAL.MEŠ^š *ha-zi-qa-ra-za*
 GURUN *ú-da-i DINGIR^{LUM} GILIM-an-zi LÚSANGA-ja GILIM-an-zi*
 26 DINGIR^{LUM} *ma-aš-kán du-uš-kán-zi hu-ul-hu-li_x^{ja}⁸² ti-an-zi NA₄an ši-ja-an-zi*
 GIM-an-ma *ne-ku-zi . . .*

24 . . . les *haziqara*
 portent(!) des fruits, couronnent la divinité, et couronnent le prêtre;
 26 ils amusent la divinité, ils entreprennent une lutte, ils gettent des pierres.
 Quand vient la nuit . . .

Alors l'image est reportée dans la ville, dans le temple.

c) KUB XVII 36 2 sqq.

2 . . .] *ú-ten-zi*
 . . . DINGIR^{LUM} *GILIM-iz-zi] GILIM-iz-zi*
 4 *hu-ul-hu-li-ja ti-an-z*] *NA₄ ši-ja-an-zi*
 . . .] *tar-aḫ-hu-u-wa-aš ú-da-i*

⁸¹ De toute façon il faut rappeler que KUB XVII 35 comprend les fêtes pour les villes de Mutarašši, Šallunatašši, Šarwalašši et Teḫinašši. Parmi celles-ci Šallunatašši, s'il ne s'agit pas d'un homonyme, devrait être située, non pas dans la partie occidentale de l'Anatolie, où il faut situer les Maša, mais près du Taurus de Cilicie (v. supra 8).

⁸² J'interprète *hulhuli-* "bataille", cf. *hullai-* "combattre" et le denominatif *hulhulija-*. Le signe LIŠ ici soulève certaines difficultés, comme dans IV 34, où on peut également lire *hu-ul-hu-LIŠ-ja ti-an-zi*, tandis que l'on attendrait un *hulhulija-*, comme dans KUB XXV 23 I 22, même si le signe LI est écrit de manière déficiente. KUB XVII 35 semble avoir précisément cette particularité, comme le notait déjà F. Sommer, *HAB* 176 à propos de *wa-ar-šu-LIŠ* pour *wa-ar-šu-li* dans I 33, IV 32. Sommer cite encore *wa-aš-du-LIŠ* pour *wa-aš-du-li* et l'on peut ajouter KUB XXVII 70(+) II 20 (cf. J. Friedrich, *HWb* 61) *na-an-kán A-NA DUG^{bar} ši-ja-LIŠ ZIZ ME-i*. Il faut donc supposer un *li_x*.

2		...] ils portent
	ils couronnent la divinité ...	... ] couronne
4	... entrepren[ent [une lutte], gettent des pierres ⁸³	...] de la victoire (re) ² porte

De cette documentation très fragmentaire il résulte donc que les représentations avaient l'aspect de combats⁸⁴, dont le déroulement était réglé par des normes rituelles, ce qui semble donner raison à Lesky et Gaster. Il y a là pourtant quelque réserve à faire: d'abord des éléments complémentaires manquent, par ex. il est vrai qu'en KBo II 13 Ro 13 et 18 on orne l'autel de fruits, et avec ceux-ci on couronne statue et hommes (comme pour la même occasion dans KUB XVII 35 II 25, ici supra 26), mais il ne semble pas que de cette façon on ait distingué la partie victorieuse, et qui devrait représenter les forces positives de la nature. En outre une telle représentation avait lieu également au moins pour la fête *pu*, c'est-à-dire du tirage au sort(?), et celle du bain en KUB XVII 35 I 33⁸⁵, IV 13⁸⁶; et puisque, à côté de celles-ci, la fête de printemps (et d'automne) est régulièrement attestée, on ne peut pas penser à une transposition de cultes. Et précisément la lutte avec les *Maša*, même si c'est un cas isolé, a lieu durant la fête d'automne. Il est certes possible de trouver près d'autres cultures quelque manifestation que l'on puisse interpréter comme une lutte rituelle, tombant durant la période automnale⁸⁷. Nous sommes pourtant perplexes en rencontrant dans plusieurs fêtes de l'année, pour une même divinité, de telles représentations qui, si elles sont justement interprétées comme rites saisonniers, auraient du avoir un sens transparent pour ceux qui y participaient.

⁸³ Voir aussi la bataille simulée au cours de la fête *išwa*, KBo XV 52 (+) KUB XXXIV 116 V 3 sq:
 ... III? [LÚ]MÉŠ BALAG.DI PA-NI DINGIR^{LIM} ... trois (?) joueurs de BALAG.DI
 4 *me-na-ah-ḥa-an-da za-ah-ḥi-ja-aš i-wa-ar* 4 s'exhibent devant le dieu en bataille,
ḥi-in-ga-ni-iš-kán-zi nu IT-TI D¹ŠKUR et pour(?) le dieu
 6 *za-ah-ḥi-ja-an-da LÚMÉŠ BALAG.DI ku-wa-ja-ra-al-la* 6 ils combattent. Les joueurs de BALAG.DI chantent
za-ah-ḥi-ja-aš ŠIR^RU GIŠ^BBALAG.DI-ja les tegeurs(?) de la bataille et jouent
 8 *gal-gal-tu-u-ri w[a-a]t-ḥa-an-ni-ja-an-zi* 8 le GIŠ^BBALAG.DI et les tambours.
 (cf. E. Neu, *StBoT* 5 204). Mais ici le but est de reproduire, sur le plan magique, une bataille où il n'existe pas de périls pour le roi:
 12 ... nu LUGAL-i m[e-]na-ah-ḥa-an-da
ku-wa-ja-al-la ki-iš-ša-an me-mi-iš-ki-iz-zi
 14 LUGAL-uš-wa le-e na-ah-ti D¹ŠKUR-wa LÚMÉŠ LÚKÚR
 KUR.KURMÉŠ LÚKÚR tu-uk-pát A-NA LUGAL ŠA-PAL GIŠR^BMÉŠ
 16 zi-ik-ki-iz-zi
 12 ... et ainsi il dit
 devant le roi les dangers(?):
 14 "Toi, ô roi, ne crains pas! Le dieu de la Tempête placera sous (tes) pieds
 a toi, ô roi, les hommes hostiles,
 16 tous les pays hostiles."

⁸⁴ Cf. aussi KUB XXV 23 II 8 *zahhijanzi d[uškiškanzi]* "ils amusent en combattant."
 H.G. Güterbock, *Hethiterforschung* 72, rappelle, à ce propos, les représentations des jongleurs sur les reliefs de Alaca Höyük, et certaines scènes du vase de Bitik, dans lesquelles pourtant l'élément agonistique rituel manque. Il est peut-être plus opportun de rapprocher d'un autre genre de représentations exécutées toujours dans le cours de certaines fêtes, comme par ex. les danses: v. A. Goetze, *Language* 15 (1939) 116, à propos de *taruwai*. "danser".

⁸⁵ J'intègre EZEN *pu-la*-aš dans I 17, comme à la l. 18. La fête est également attestée, par ex. dans II 4 et KBo II 1 I 14, 44.

⁸⁶ Cf. supra 11.

⁸⁷ Th.H. Gaster, op. cit. 38.

IL CULTO DEL FOCOLARE
PRESSO GLI ITTITI

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IL CULTO DEL FOCOLARE PRESSO GLI ITTITI

di ALFONSO ARCHI

Anche per gli Ittiti il focolare (*hašša-*) costituisce uno degli elementi fondamentali della casa: in un rituale di purificazione, KUB VII 41 I 19-21¹, vengono enumerati, come parti essenziali di un edificio, il selciato (*daganzipa-*), il suo rivestimento in legno (? *huimpa-*), la stanza interna (É.ŠA = *tunna-kešsar*), il focolare (GUNNI = *hašša-*), i quattro angoli della casa (*halhaliu-mari-*), e la porta della corte (^ε*hilaš* KÁ^{BT.A}, variante: KÁ.GAL^{BT.A})². Qui la cosiddetta stanza interna corrisponde a quell'ambiente che costituisce il nucleo principale dell'abitazione, e nel quale in effetti si sono trovate abitualmente le tracce del focolare, in genere di forma circolare³. Ed ancora, nel mito della scomparsa del dio Telepinu, e nei numerosi miti paralleli, per esprimere la desolazione che investe l'ambiente familiare, e successivamente il benessere che ritorna, vengono ricordati, in due situazioni antitetiche, la finestra, la casa, il focolare (le cui braci prima vengono soffocate e poi tornano ad ardere), l'altare (*ištanana-*), l'ovile e la stalla.

E il focolare è un elemento essenziale anche del tempio, del quale, in un rituale di fondazione, KBo IV 1⁴, si nominano: le fondamenta (*šamana-*,

¹ Studiato da H. Otten, *ZA* 54 (1961), pp. 114-157. Esso corrisponde al nr. 446 di CTH (E. Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites*, Paris 1971).

² La corte, ^ε*hila-*, delimitata da un muro, era situata sulla parte anteriore dell'edificio, v. R. Naumann, *Architektur Kleinasien*², Tübingen 1971, p. 368 sgg.

³ Per altri elenchi degli elementi della casa v. KUB VII 13 I 1-21, e il rituale luvio KUB XXXV 54 (con duplicati) II 49 sgg., per cui v. E. Laroche, *DDL*, p. 153. Cf. KUB XLI 7 I 2 sgg.: ^ε*Kamrušepaš É-ir-šet [b]aššann-a park[u]nuškizzi utne-šet parkunuš/ikizzi* « La dea Kamrušepa purifica la sua casa e il focolare, purifica il suo paese ». Similmente KBo XIII 106 I 9 (dupl. KUB XXVII 82(+)) e KUB XVII 34 I 6.

⁴ CTH 413 (ai duplicati ivi citati aggiungi KBo XVIII 169). Traduzione di A. Goetze, *ANET*, p. 356 sg.

Ro 2), e in particolare i quattro angoli dell'edificio (*halhaltumari-*, Ro 19 sgg., Vo 5), quindi i quattro pilastri (*kurakki-*, Ro 24 sgg.), l'altare (ZAG.GAR.RA = *ištanana-*, Vo 1, 14 sgg.), il focolare, e infine la porta (^{GI}IG, insieme a tutto il complesso dell'ingresso, KÁ.GAL, Vo 23 e 27)⁵. Questo focolare, come è stato detto in altra occasione⁶, costituisce uno dei luoghi sacri del tempio, il cui elenco canonico si apre e si chiude appunto col focolare, e comprende il trono divinizzato, la finestra e il chiavistello della porta (il quale ha il compito di tenere all'esterno le forze magiche avverse)⁷. Ai luoghi sacri, e quindi per due volte al focolare, si fanno offerte e si compiono libagioni in relazione con i culti delle divinità maggiori, e cioè subito dopo le offerte in onore degli dèi del pantheon connesso con la festa che viene celebrata. Ciò dunque corrisponde alla norma osservata a Roma, e che si riscontra anche presso gli Iranici, come nota G. Dumézil, il quale cita Cicerone, *Nat. d.* 2, 27: « è con questa dea (Vesta)... che terminano tutte le preghiere e tutti i sacrifici »; essa invece « s'oppose exactement à la règle grecque qui veut au contraire que, dans les mêmes circonstances, la première divinité invoquée ou servie soit Hestia »⁸.

Ora, non solo il Focolare ittita non si è antropomorfizzato, similmente a Vesta per l'età arcaica, ma anche la stessa divinizzazione dell'oggetto è raramente percettibile. Così esso compare solo in alcune liste atipiche di divinità, qualche volta anche col determinativo divino (che del resto talvolta viene attribuito ad oggetti di culto e parti del tempio, come la finestra), in feste databili per lo più all'epoca di Ḫattušili III e Tuḫalija IV (XIII sec.) e che spesso presentano commistioni di culti di diverse tradizioni:

^DḪašamili[n ...], ^DḪalkin, DINGIR.LÚ^{MES}-eš GUNNI, ^DḪi-lašši[n] (KUB XX 99 III 2 sg.)⁹: i genii (lett., gli dèi virili) del focolare sono ricordati tra il Grano e lo spirito della corte, lo spazio a cielo aperto compreso all'interno dell'edificio.

⁵ Sotto ai singoli elementi viene deposto del materiale prezioso (all'altare e al focolare rispettivamente degli altari e dei focolari in miniatura, uno d'argento, uno d'oro, uno di lapislazzuli, etc.) in funzione della magia analogica: « sotto alle fondamenta, per farle (saldamente), hanno posto dell'oro; come l'oro è incorruttibile, e puro (e) forte ... ».

⁶ A. Archi, *SMEA* 1 (1966), pp. 89-92.

⁷ La serie si era già costituita durante l'Antico Regno, come mostra ora KBo XVII 74 (e duplicati), una festa che risale appunto a tale epoca: II 4-23, III 4-6, IV 38-40. Il testo è studiato da E. Neu, *StBoT* 12 (1970), p. 18 sgg.

Nel tempio poi erano usati anche dei focolari mobili, cf. R. Naumann, *op. cit.*, p. 185 sg., e fig. 238; W. Schirmer, *Die Bebauung am unteren Büyükkale*, Berlin 1969, p. 56, nr. 218 e 219.

⁸ G. Dumézil, *La religion romaine archaïque*, Paris 1966, p. 318.

⁹ *CTH* 636.2. Cf. IBoT II 74 9: ANA DINGIR^{MES} GUNNI [.

^D*Suwalianti*, ^D*Ki-ki-x*, *ḥašši*, ^{TOL}*Uirijatum* (nome di una fonte) (KUB XXV 18 III 3 sgg.)¹⁰.

^DUTU ^{URU}*Ar[inna ḥal]zjauwaš*, *ḥašši*, *šuppai É.ŠA-ni*, ^{ID}*Maraššanda* (KBo XI 43 VI 1 sgg.)¹¹: *ḥ*. è tra la dea Sole di Arinna, alla quale è attribuito l'epiteto « dell'invocazione », e la cella del tempio.

Questi passi riportano a un culto relativo all'ambito templare, nei suoi elementi architettonici, poiché anche il dio *Ḥašamili*, che ha la funzione di celare al nemico i movimenti dell'esercito ittita, sembra essere materializzato in un qualche oggetto atto a schermare la luce all'interno di un ambiente¹². Ma nel primo testo la successione Grano-Focolare pone come un nesso tra quest'ultimo e la fertilità, ciò che è poi chiaramente espresso in KUB XII 21 8 sg. (dpl. KBo XX 31 Ro 16 sg.)¹³, ove questa volta è il Fuoco che compare col determinativo divino:

LUGAL-uš ^DU-an ^DUTU-un ^D*Ḥalkin* ^D*Mijatan*[*zipan*] ^D*Pahhur-a šallanut* « Il re ha esaltato il dio della Tempesta, la dea Sole, il Grano, la Vegetazione, il Fuoco »¹⁴.

Si noti ancora l'elenco in un rituale luvio: ^D*Ijaššalašši*[*n*, ^DU ZERI *ueši*[*jaš(?)*], *ḥaššanittašš*[*aʔš*], dove pertanto i genii del focolare seguono al dio della Tempesta della campagna e dei prati (KUB XXV 37(+)) IV 14).

Invece IBoT II 19, 4 sg., avvicinando, come pare probabile, il focolare alle dee del destino, sembra stabilire una relazione tra il nucleo familiare e i genii che ne assicurano la continuità:

[DINGIR.LÚ]^{MES} *ŠA* ^DÉ.A, GUNNI, ^DG[*ulšeš*], [^DH]*iliaššin* « [i geni virili] di Ea, il Focolare, le Pa[rche], lo spirito della corte »¹⁵.

Similmente KBo XIX 128 VI 18 sg., dove il Focolare è incluso nel gruppo delle divinità degli Inferi:

DINGIR.MAḤ, ^D*Gulšaš*, GUNNI, ^DU.GUR, ^DU.GUR ^{URU}*Ḥājaša*,

¹⁰ CHT 618,1; altre offerte al focolare, tra i luoghi sacri, in III 18, 25, 29 etc.

¹¹ CTH 626,III.

¹² V. A. Goetze, « Language » 29 (1953), p. 269 sg.

¹³ CTH 438; v. H. Otten, OLZ 60 (1965), col. 546.

¹⁴ Il dupl. inverte: ^DUTU-an ^DIM-an.

H. Otten - M. Mayrhofer, OLZ 60 (1965), coll. 545-552, ripropongono l'equivalenza di ^D*Akni* con la divinità indiana *Agni*; *contra*: A. Kammenhuber, *Arier*, pp. 150-154. K. K. Riemschneider, *StBoT* 9 (1970), pp. 43-46, fa notare come l'espressione ^D*Akniš karapi* « A. divorerà », contenuta negli omina, sembra essere un calco dell'accadico ^D*Nergal ikkal*. Una conferma di questa identificazione con il dio della peste potrebbe venire da KUB XXVI 75 Ro 8 (guerre di Muršili I contro i Curriti), se si accetta l'interpretazione di O. Carruba, *OA* 9 (1970), p. 193, che legge ^D*Ak-ni-iš ta-ma-aš-t[a-at?* « A. incalzava/opprimeva ». Il verbo *damaš-* al medio-passivo ha infatti normalmente come soggetto « peste, malattia »: v. gli esempi citati da E. Neu, *StBoT* 5 (1968), p. 163, ma l'interpretazione proposta sembra assai incerta.

¹⁵ Integrazioni secondo A. Goetze, « Language » 29 (1953), p. 273.

^oEN.ZU, MUL-*i*, GE₆-*anza* « la Dea sublime, le Parche, il Focolare, Nergal, Nergal di Ĥajaša, la Luna, la Stella, la Notte »¹⁶.

Ed ancora in KBo XXII 206 13 si ha: « [bevono] il dio Tarauwa del focolare da seduti »]^oTarauwan GUNNI TUŠ-aš [akuwanzi]; (]x^oTarauwan GUNNI anche nella l. 17), e il dio Tarauwa è spesso connesso alle Gulšeš, cioè alle Parche¹⁷.

Al temibile mondo notturno si richiamano ancora:

]x išpantan, ^oMUL, ^oGUNNI [«]x, la Notte, la Stella, il Focolare [» (1270/v Vo 15)¹⁸.

^o]EN.ZU, ^oGUNNI, LÜ^{MEŠ} Kaniš ŠIR[^{RU} «] la Luna, il Focolare, gli uomini di Kaneš cantano [» (KBo XXI 69 I 10).

E ancora, in una festa per le divinità ctonie si ha:

^oIšpanzašepaš (lo spirito della notte), ^oĤaššaš, DINGIR.LÜ^{MEŠ}, ^oMalijaš (M. sembra essere una divinità tutelare) (KUB XX 24 III 2-26)¹⁹.

GE₆-*anzašepa*¹, GUNNI, ^oĤilaššiš, DINGIR.LÜ^{MEŠ}-aš ^oMalijaš (KBo XI 32 34 sg. e 39)²⁰.

Oscuro è KBo XV 34 II 4: ^oGUNNI, ^oWarrami, ove è difficile non porre in relazione quest'ultima divinità col verbo *war-* « bruciare »²¹.

Mentre sul focolare, che è disposto accanto all'altare come l'ara latina (*ħašša*, lat. *ara*, osco *aasai*, a.t. *essa*), abitualmente si pongono alcune parti della vittima, per manipolarle mediante la cottura²² (ma le offerte includono anche carni crude, e la combustione completa della vittima è attestata in ge-

¹⁶ La lista è riportata in H. Otten, *StBoT* 13 (1971), p. 46, insieme a quella corrispondente di KBo IV 13(+) VI 32 sgg.; dupl. KBo XIII 151 2 e IBoT III 15 I 6.

¹⁷ Come nota O. Carruba, *StBoT* 2 (1966), p. 30 nt. 48.

¹⁸ Citato da H. Otten, *op. cit.*, p. 45 nt. 90.

¹⁹ *CTH* 645,2.

²⁰ *CTH* 645,1. La prima divinità è scritta: GE₆-*za-an-še-pa*. Dupl. è KUB XLIII 30 III, ove GUNNI è da integrare alla l. 9; l'altro duplicato 10/g ha ^oĤa-a-aš-ša (citato da E. Neu - H. Otten, *IF* 77 [1972], p. 184).

²¹ In ambito palaico si veda KUB XLI 39 Vo 4: ANA ^oLAMA GUNNI 1-ŠU « una volta al dio Tutelare del(?) focolare ».

²² Il focolare come punto di riferimento nelle descrizioni di feste è spesso ricordato, cf. KUB X 21 I 22: *ta-aš-kan* (scil.: DUMU.É.GAL) LUGAL-*i menaħħanda ĥašši tapuša tiezi* « ed egli (scil.: il paggio) si dispone di fronte al re, accanto al focolare »; KUB II 5 I 33-36 (dupl. KUB XXV 1 III 4 sgg.) UGULA L^o.MEŠMUĤALDIM III TAPAL G^{is}keišdun ĥašši tapuša LUGAL-*i tūwaz parā epzi* [LU]GAL-*uš QATAM dāi* « il capo dei cuochi, accanto al focolare, porge al re da lontano un piedestallo a tre posti, il re (vi) (im)pone la mano »; KUB X 28 I 2-7 *ta-aš* G^{is}AB-*ja tapuša tijazzi ta GAL* L^o.MEŠMUĤAL// DIM ANA L^o.MEŠUR.BAR.RA *piran ĥuwāi nu-kan ĥaššan* I-ŠU *ħūjanzi n-at-kan parā pānzi* « egli (scil.: il re) si dispone accanto alla finestra, il capo dei cuochi corre innanzi agli uomini-lupo, (essi) corrono una volta al focolare, poi vanno via »; KUB XX 11 II 17 sg. (= VI 2-4): L^oŠILA.SU.DU₈A [L]Ū G^{is}BANŠUR ĥašši ANA G^{is}SUG.GID¹.DA

nere per i culti hurrici o hurritizzanti)²³, è particolarmente in questi culti ctoni che il *ḥašša-* sembra fungere da tramite con le divinità. In KBo XI 32, sopra ricordato, l'azione s'incentra su tre focolari diversi, uno per il dio Luna della notte, uno per le Parche, e uno per Malija dei genii virili; si veda il primo passo, 1-9:

- LUGAL-uš IGI-zi GUNNI *ti-ja-zi*
 2 ^DSIN.GE₆ UŠ-KI-EN *nu-kán* I SILÁ.GE₆
^DSIN.GE₆ BAL-an-ti ^LDUB.SAR *ḥal-za-a-i*
 4 ^DSIN-aš SILÁ.GE₆-kán GUNNI *pa-ra-a* [*a-n*]i-ja-an-zi
 MUN-an-zi GAL DUMU^{MES}.Ē.GAL XII ^{NINDA}*tu-uḫ-ra-i*
 6 LUGAL-i *ap-eš-ki-iz-zi ta pār-ši-ja-an-na-i*
 XXX ^{GIS}PISAN[?] *šu-un-ne-eš-ki-zi IZI-i zi-ik-ki-zi*
 8 [EG]JIR-ŠU ^{DUG}KU-KU-BI^{HI.A} *pa-ra-a šar-ni-kán-zi*
 GUNNI-an-kán *ḫu-u-i-ja-an-zi I-kán* ^{GIS}*te-pa-za IZI-i la-ḫu(-i)*

« Il re si pone al primo focolare, (2) si inchina al dio Luna della notte; si offre un capro nero al dio Luna della notte; lo scriba nomina (il nome della divinità). (4) Si prepara il capro nero del dio Luna fuori dal focolare; salano, il capo dei paggi prende per il re 12 pani *t.*, (6) e li spezza; riempie 30 panier[?], depone nel fuoco; (8) quindi sostituiscono le brocche, corrono al focolare, versa dell'olio dal *t.* nel fuoco »²⁴. Similmente, nel rituale in onore dei sovrani defunti, è nel focolare che si liba per l'anima del morto: « Quando

GEŠTIN QATAMMA *lahūanzi* « il coppiere (e) l'uomo della tavola, al focolare, così vino nel lungo condotto versano »; KBo XI 30 I 11-13: *n-ašta išqaruḫ marnuwandan ḥašši šer arḫa waḥnuzzi n-at* LUGAL-i *parā epzi* « poi agita sul focolare il vaso *i.* (ripieno di) *marnuwan*, e lo porge al re »; KUB XXIX 8 (un rituale hurrico) I 3 sgg.: *nu-za mān* EN SISKUR.SISKUR LÜ *šipanzakizzi nu IŠTU ŠA* ^DIM *kuiēš* GUNNI^{MES} *ḥarpānteš n-aš* EGIR GUNNI^{MES} *apāšila tiškizzi mān* EN SISKUR.SISKUR SAL-*ma nu ŠA* ^DIM *kuiēš* GUNNI^{HI.A} *n-aš* EGIR-an UL *tiēzzi* EGIR GUNNI^{HI.A} URUDUTUDI// TUM *ḥarkanzi ŠA* ^DḤepat-*ma kuiēš* GUNNI^{HI.A} *ḥarpānteš n-aš* EGIR-an *apāšila tiškizzi* « E se il mandante del rituale, un uomo, offre, allora egli, di persona, dalla parte di quei focolari che sono stati sistemati a parte per il dio della Tempesta, dietro ai focolari si dispone; se il mandante del rituale (è) una donna, allora essa non si dispone dietro a quei focolari che (sono) del dio della Tempesta: dietro ai focolari si tiene un pettorale, ed ella di persona si dispone dietro a quei focolari che sono stati sistemati a parte per Hepat » (cf. anche I 50-55).

²³ Cf. KUB XLI 48 III 10-15: *n-ašta* LUGAL-uš I GUD.MAḫ I AMAR I UDU ANA ^{PU} *ambašši šipanti nu* I AMAR I UDU-*ja PANI* ^DIM *warnuwanzi* GUD.MAḫ-*ma-kan ŠA* ^DIM ²*ḥilamni anda warnuwanzi* « Allora il re immola un toro, un vitello, una pecora al dio della Tempesta dell'*a.* Il vitello e la pecora (li) bruciano innanzi al(l'immagine del) dio della Tempesta, mentre bruciano il toro nell'ingresso (del tempio) del dio della Tempesta ».

²⁴ Cf. ancora IBoT III 1 (CTH 609,1), festa che si svolge nel Mausoleo, ²*ḥešta-*:

[libano?'] (al)l'anima del defunto, da questa parte, accanto al focolare, sta [un ...], e da quella parte sta un coppiere. Essi tengono brocche di vino, e quando [libano] (al)l'anima del defunto, il coppiere liba da questa e da quella parte, nel focolare »²⁵.

Per la verità il Focolare talvolta assolve alle stesse funzioni anche in rapporto con le altre divinità, così nel rituale KUB IX 28 si enumerano sette focolari, evidentemente mobili, per sette diversi gruppi di divinità: *namma INA VII GUNNI INA I GUNNI nepiš tēkann-a INA II GUNNI* ^UISKUR-*ni* ^UUTU-*i-ja INA III GUNNI* ^NNIN.É.GAL ^DInaraš ... « Inoltre in sette focolari: nel 1° focolare, a Cielo e Terra, nel 2° focolare, al dio della Tempesta e alla dea Sole, nel 3° focolare a NIN.É.GAL, Inara, etc. » (II 25-29)²⁶. Non chiare poi, per lo stato lacunoso del testo, sono le implicazioni di questo passo dall'undecima tavoletta della festa *išuwā*, KUB XXX 40 II 6 sgg.²⁷:

6 *nam-ma-aš-ša-an ŠA GUNNI A-NA IV ḫal-ḫal-tu-ma-ri-ja-aš*
še-er ku-e-da-ni-ja A-NA I ḫal-ḫal-tu-ma-ri
 8 I NINDA.KUR₄.RA IM-ZA BABBAR 1/2 UP-NI *ti-an-zi*

(26) ... *ta-aš É.ŠA-na paizzi LUGAL-uš ANA DINGIR^{UM} USKEN ANA* ^{DUG}KA.DÜ GI-*an* DIB-*zi* (28) LUGAL-uš GUNNI-*i* GAM-*an* *tijazi* UGULA ^UMUḪALDIM *ḫarnēššar* *peškizzi* LUGAL-uš GUNNI-*i* (30) III-ŠU *peššezi* LÜ ^Uḫešši *šuppai* ^USANGA-*i* *ḫarnēššar* *peškizzi* (32) ^USANGA GUNNI-*i* III-ŠU *peššezi* « (26) ... Ed egli (scil.: il re) va nella cella; il re s'inchina alla divinità, al vaso di birra normale prende la canna per bere. (28) Il re si dispone presso il focolare, il capo dei cuochi dà del ḫ., il re per tre volte getta (30) nel focolare. Un addetto del Mausoleo dà del ḫ. al sacerdote puro, (32) il sacerdote getta per tre volte nel focolare ». Così anche in 39 sgg.; quindi, dopo questa cerimonia innanzi al simulacro della divinità (Lelwani), che s'incentra nel focolare, il re esce dalla cella e inizia le offerte in onore degli dèi.

²⁵ KUB XXXIV 66 + XXXIX 7, dupl. KUB XXXIX 8, III 55-60: v. H. Otten, *HT*, p. 44 sg. Per altri passi v. *ibid.*, p. 153, s.v. *Herd*. Si aggiunga KBo XVII 40 IV 9-12 (dupl. KBo XVII 15 Ro? 14 sgg.), da una celebrazione che ha luogo nel Mausoleo, dove il focolare è messo in connessione con la divinità degli Inferi Nergal: UGULA ^UMESMUḪALDIM *ḫaššās katta kēt arta* VI *ḫarnaišar ḫarzi* ^Uḫeštā *ḫaššās katta* *edi* *paršanān ḫarzi* VI *ḫarnaišar ḫarzi* [w]ātar ^{DUG}teššummi-*ja lāḫuan andan tuḫḫuišar* *išbijan [(ki)]tta n-aš-šan ḫašši PANI* ^UU.GUR *kiitta* « Il capo dei cuochi si dispone accanto al focolare da questa parte: regge 6 ḫ. Un addetto del Mausoleo è chinato dall'altra parte del focolare, regge 6 ḫ.; versato nella brocca dell'acqua, dentro vi è posto (dei pezzi d')incenso legati. Ed essa è posta al focolare innanzi a Nergal » (^Uḫeštā-, ^{DUG}teššummi- e *tuḫḫuišar* ancora in Bo 2866 III? 12-14, *apud* H. Otten, *StBoT* 13 [1971], p. 27 nt. 28).

²⁶ Cf. ancora KUB XXVII 69 (festa del mese) II 6-8: *n-asta šarḫanan ḫašši-kan anda lāḫuwāi* « poi versa dentro al focolare del š. »; III 8-10: ^UMUḪALDIM DUMU.É.GAL *zalḫajaz* GUSKIN GESTIN *ḫašši tapušza šipanti* « un cuoco ed un paggio libano accanto al focolare vino dal z. d'oro ». E per l'ambito palaico v. KUB II 4 III 9, 18, e dupl., *CTH* 750.

²⁷ *CTH* 628.

- A-NA NINDA.KUR₄.RA-ma-aš-ša-an še-er I UP-NU BA.BA.ZA
 10 ^{GIS}MA I UP-NU ^{GIS}ZÉ-ER-TUM iš-ḫu-u-wa-an-zi
 ...
 14 na-at-ša-an A-NA GUNNI A-NA IV AŠ-RI
 QA-TAM-MA ti-an-zi nu ^{LO}SANGA NINDA.KUR₄.RA^{UT.A}
 16 ŠA IV ḫal-ḫal-tu-ma-ri-ja-aš A-NA GUNNI pār-ši[-ja]
 na-an-kán ḫa-aš-ši-i pa-ra-a A-NA GUN[NI]

« (6) Poi, sopra ai quattro angoli del focolare, a ciascun angolo, (8) dispongono un pane bianco agro di mezzo pugno; sopra al pane versano un pugno di pasta (10) di fichi, un pugno di olive, ... (14) e ciò dispongono al focolare in tal modo nei quattro posti. Allora il sacerdote spezza al focolare i pani dei (scil.: disposti ai) quattro angoli, e li(!) [depone] oltre al focolare, al focolare »²⁸.

Se i legami con il mondo sotterraneo non sono chiaramente definibili, comunque non sono esclusivi: il focolare è in stretta relazione anche con i vivi, ed in particolare è oggetto di culto all'interno della famiglia. Va subito detto che esso, come ancora oggi, era sinonimo di gruppo familiare. Nel § 24 delle Leggi si dice: « Se un servo, oppure una serva, fugge, colui, presso il cui focolare (*ḫašši*) il suo padrone lo trova, versa come salario per un uomo [due mine e mezzo (?)] d'argento, come salario per una donna versa [50 (?)] sicli d'argento ». Pertanto si prescrive a chi ha utilizzato presso la propria casa un fuggiasco di condizione servile, di pagare al legittimo proprietario, qualora questi riesca ad identificare il servo, l'equivalente che sarebbe stato dovuto ad un salariato²⁹. E certamente questo senso metaforico doveva essere largamente diffuso in tutta l'area orientale, come mostra ad esempio la seguente espressione da una lettera paleo-babilonese, CT VI 27b 16: *šibit rēdim ištēn ālik idija ša kinūnšu belū* « the fief of the soldier, one of my retainers, whose brazier is extinguished » (i. e., who is without progeny)³⁰. Si tengano presenti le raccomandazioni di Ḫattušili I, il fondatore del regno ittita, al suo successore e a tutta la corte perché restino uniti ed eliminino i contrasti interni, KBo III 27 Ro:

- 22 ma-a-an ud-da-a-a[r-me-et p]a-aḫ-š[a-nu-ut-te-ni n]u-kán
 ud-ni-im-me-et x[-]ut-te-ni [ḫ]a-aš-ši[-i]

²⁸ Per quanto possa sorprendere che accanto a GUNNI compaia immediatamente *ḫašša*, non sarà possibile dubitare che ḫ. sia la lettura fonetica dell'ideogramma, come fa notare F. Sommer, *OLZ* 42 (1939), col. 686. Cf. ancora KUB XX 59 IV 8-9.

²⁹ Cf. J. Friedrich, *HG*, p. 24. Sull'ammontare dei salari v. H. G. Güterbock, *JCS* 15 (1961), p. 67 sg.

³⁰ Citato da *CAD*, K, p. 394 sg. s.v. *kinūnu*. Per altri passi v. *CAD*, B, p. 191 s.v. *belū*.

- 24 [p]a-aḫ-ḫu-ur pa-ra-iš-[te-ni n]a-at-ta-it u[d-da-]a-ar-me-e[t]
 šar-ra-at-tu-ma m[a-a-an-]ša-an ḫa-aš-ši-i p[a-aḫ-ḫ]u-ur
 26 [n]a-at-ta pa-ra-iš-te-ni ta ú-iz-zi^{URU}[Ḫa-]at[-tu-ša-an]
 MUŠ-aš ḫu-la-a-li-az-zi

« (22) Quando osserve[rete le mie] parole, allora il mio paese [protege]rete; [quando?] nel focolare (24) il fuoco alimenterete, le mie parole non violerete; quando nel focolare il fuoco (26) non alimenterete, allora avverrà che la serpe avvolgerà Ḫat[*tuša*] ».

Poiché però dei culti privati in pratica non si ha alcuna documentazione, occorrerà qui limitarsi inevitabilmente al solo focolare del sovrano, del quale poi tutto si ignora nell'ambito della vita quotidiana. In un rituale per la fondazione di un palazzo, KUB XXIX 1-3³¹, nella prima e più ampia parte, è il Trono divinizzato, uno dei simboli del potere, che interviene, fornendo al re il materiale per la costruzione, e ottenendo per lui dalle Parche « anni senza numero »; ed è in questa occasione che si ha una prima benedizione per la stirpe regale³². La seconda parte riguarda l'inaugurazione del palazzo; il rituale si svolge intorno al focolare, e coinvolge tutta la famiglia reale, che prostrata, ottiene da esso le garanzie della propria continuità: « Quando i lavatori del vestibolo installano un focolare nuovo nel nuovo edificio, allora dicono le seguenti parole: 'Gli dèi hanno installato il focolare, lo hanno ornato(?) con pietre preziose, e lo hanno rifinito(?) col ferro.' Allora gli dèi siedono, e siedono i signori della casa: il re e la regina, le spose, la figliolanza, e dondolano come capre³³.

Le ragazze della casa si siedono, è disposto il *tubhana*, sotto a loro è disposto il *šahuwan*, ed è disposto del tritello. Il Focolare dice: 'Quello a me sta ben]e.'

Si siedono i giovani (? , *pappanikneš*), e come aquile [.Jano. Il focolare dice: ['Quello a me sta ben]e.'

Il re [] sedu[ti]].

Ed essi s'inginocchiano al Focolare, e 'figli maschi e femmine, nipoti e pronipoti si moltiplichino!' Il Focolare dice: 'Quello a me sta bene.' » (III 37-IV 3).

A questo punto modeste offerte vengono collocate dentro al focolare (*ḫašši anda ḫandaiitari*), e seguono i riti della magia analogica, ove è da ricordare questa bella espressione: « Dispongono un tralcio di vite (e dicono):

³¹ CTH 414, ove è la bibliografia. Il rituale è stato trascritto e tradotto da B. Schwartz, « *Orientalia* » 16 (1946), p. 23 sgg.; la prima parte è tradotta da A. Goetze, *ANET*, p. 357 sgg.

³² V. A. Archi, *op. cit.* in nt. 6, pp. 108-112, ove è anche il passo qui sotto riportato.

³³ Cf. A. Goetze, *JCS* 16 (1962), p. 29.

‘Come la vite affonda le radici e innalza i tralci, il re e la regina affondino le radici, affondino i tralci (nel futuro).’ » Anche gli oggetti utilizzati in queste operazioni magiche vengono deposti, perché siano consumati dal fuoco, al focolare, al quale poi, e con ciò si conclude il rituale, s’immolano ovini e si offre pane e vino.

Se la prima parte del rituale, quella ove compare il trono, s’impronta alla mitologia dei Hatti, la popolazione che precedette gli Ittiti in Anatolia, non è però del tutto escluso che il culto del focolare, nella seconda, non possa invece rispecchiare concezioni originarie ittite. Tra le due sezioni vi è una cesura netta, e la seconda parrebbe quasi una successiva apposizione, per quanto alcune caratteristiche della lingua datino anch’essa ad un’epoca che può risalire allo stesso Regno Antico, al quale inequivocabilmente è da attribuire la prima parte. Certo è però che questo culto non può essere unicamente di origine indoeuropea, se è vero che il nome hattico del focolare è *kuz(z)ani(/a)šu*, termine incluso in alcune liste di divinità, preceduto dal determinativo divino. Il fatto che esso si trovi ancora in una descrizione di festa, la cui ultima redazione non può che essere tarda, KBo IV 13(+) VI 32 sg.: ^D*Gulšuš*, DINGIR.MAḪ^{MES}-*uš*, ^D*Kuzanašu*, ^DU.GUR, sarebbe di particolare significato, testimoniando una corrispondenza tra un culto hattico ed uno ittita³⁴. L’importanza del focolare per i Hatti è confermata anche da un rituale per la fondazione di un edificio, tuttora inedito, che presenta una redazione bilingue hattico-ittita, dove in una sezione mitica, la dea Kamrušepa utilizza, soffiandovi sopra, un focolare di ferro, *ḫapalkijan tete-kuzzan*, che corrisponde all’itt. AN.BAR-*aš* GUNNI³⁵.

In un rituale ittita, KBo XVII 105³⁶, che non presenta tratti arcaizzanti, ma è certo di epoca tarda, è ancora il focolare, deposto, si noti, dagli dèi, che garantisce, rivolgendosi al Dio tutelare dello scudo (una delle ipostasi più importanti del Dio tutelare) e all’Eptade, la salute e la continuità della famiglia reale. Il focolare, attorno al quale la notte si radunano gli dèi, come di giorno i mortali, funge da tramite tra questi e il mondo divino:

II [LUGAL-*wa-kán* SAL.LU]GAL-*ri A[-NA DUMU]*^{MES}.LUGAL *an-da*
aš-šu-li ne-eš-[ḫ]u-ut
 14 [A-NA ^L]U^{MES}MUŠEN.DŪ-*ja-kán a[n-da] aš-šu-li ni-iš-ḫu-ut*

³⁴ È stato il raffronto tra questa lista e quella di KBo XIX 128 VI 18, sopra cit. a p. 79 sg., che ha permesso a H. Otten, *StBoT* 13 (1971), p. 45 sg., di rettificare l’eguaglianza proposta da E. Laroche, *RA* 45 (1951), p. 188, e *RHA* 79 (1966), p. 169, tra ^D*Kuzanišu* e ^DIZI, il fuoco divinizzato: infatti ora in KUB II 6 I 5 si dovrà integrare [GUN]NI e non [PI]ZI, come pure era legittimo fare quando scriveva il Laroche.

³⁵ Cit. da E. Laroche, *RHA* 79 (1966), p. 169.

³⁶ *CTH* 433,3. Purtroppo, per la condizione del testo, è impossibile intendere lo scopo di questo rituale.

- tu-ga ḥa-a-aš-ša-an ma-aḥ-ḥa-an [UD-a]z DUMU.LŪ.ULŪ^{LU} an-da
 ḥu-u-la-li-iš-ki-iz-z[i]
 16 iš-pa-an-da-az-ma-at(-ta) an-da DINGIR^{MES}-eš ḥu-u-la-a-le-eš-kán-zi
 nu-ut-ta ma-a-an DINGIR^{MES} ki-iš-ša-an pu-nu-uš-ša-an-zi ki-i-wa
 18 ku-it i-e-eš-sir ^DKAL ^{KUS}kur-ša-aš-wa ^DVII.VII^{BI}-ja mu-ki-iš-ki-ir
 na-aš-ta zi-ig-ga ḥa-aš-ša-a-aš A-NA ^DKAL ^{KUS}kur-ša-aš ^DVII.VII^{BI}
 20 Ū A-NA DINGIR^{MES} ḥu-u-ma-an-da-a-aš pa-ra-a an-da a-aš-šu me-mi-iš-ki
 LUGAL-wa-kán SAL.LUGAL-ri A-NA DUMU^{MES}.LUGAL an-da
 aš-šu-ú-li ne-e-ja-an-te-eš
 22 e-eš-ten nu-wa-aš-ma-aš TI-tar in-na-a-ra-u-wa-tar pi-iš-ki-ten
 nu-wa tu-uk ḥa-aš-ša-a-an uk-tu-u-ri-pát LUGAL-wa-aš SAL.LUGAL-aš
 DUMU^{MES}.LUGAL
 24 ḥa-aš-še-eš ḥa-a-an-za-aš-še-eš an-da ḥu-u-la-li-iš-kán-du KASKAL-an-
 na-wa-aš-ma-aš
 pi-iš-ki-ten A-NA ^{LU.MES}MUSEN.DŪ-wa KASKAL-an pi-iš-kat-ten

« Volgiti con benevolenza [al re, alla re]gina, [ai prin]cipi, (14) volgiti con benevolenza [all']augure³⁷. Come te, o Focolare, [di giorno] (ti) circonda il mortale, (16) di notte ti circondano gli dèi. E se a te gli dèi chiederanno: (18) 'Perché fecero ciò, e supplicarono il Dio tutelare dello scudo e l'Eptade?', allora tu, o Focolare, riferisci al Dio tutelare dello scudo, all'Eptade, (20) e a tutti gli dèi, il bene: 'Al re, alla regina, ai principi siate rivolti con benevolenza, (22) e donate loro vita e salute!' E te, o Focolare, eternamente circondino³⁸ i principi, (24) i nipoti, i pronipoti del re (e) della regina! Aprite loro la strada! All'augure aprite la strada! »

Se queste benedizioni per la vita e la prosperità sono assai frequenti nei rituali ittiti, è significativo che qui non ci si rivolga direttamente alle divinità, ma si preghi invece il focolare perché interceda presso di esse. La famiglia reale è raffigurata come una qualsiasi altra famiglia, stretta intorno al focolare: la continuità dell'uno equivale alla continuità dell'altra. È un'immagine che riporta alla vita di tutti i giorni, e infatti il focolare del Palazzo³⁹ non ha dato origine ad una mitologia, e cioè non si sono creati, a quanto pare, i presup-

³⁷ Per l'augure, attore in un rituale, cf. KUB XXXVI 83 Ro 9 (CTH 433,2), che elenca: ^{LU.MES}AZU ^{LU.MES}MUSEN.D[Ū ^S]AL.MESŠU.GI SAL.ENSI.

³⁸ Per *anda ḥulaliya* in un contesto simile, v. il rituale di Malli, studiato da L. Jakob-Rost, *Das Ritual der Malli aus Arzawa*, Heidelberg 1972, III 44 sg., che intendo: « Mantenetelo (scil.: il mandante del rituale) in vita, e lui tengano circondato i figli, i nipoti, i pronipoti tutti ».

³⁹ V. ancora KUB II 1 II 35 sg.: [pa]ḥḥunaš ḥašša[š ^{LU}]x?-ḥurlaš Labarnaš ^{PLAMA-i} « al dio tutelare del fuoco del focolare ... del Labarna ».

posti per un eventuale passaggio del culto reale ad un culto della comunità, quale è stato ipotizzato invece per la Grecia arcaica⁴⁰.

Ed è anche incerto se vi fosse un fuoco eterno. In realtà la parola *ukturi*, che come aggettivo significa « fermo, eterno », come sostantivo indica il rogo su cui venivano cremati i cadaveri, e, più in generale, un luogo di purificazione ove ardeva il fuoco, non inestinguibile però, poiché nei rituali per il sovrano defunto, prima di raccogliere le ossa, esso vi era spento « con dieci brocche di birra, dieci di vino » e dieci di altra bevanda⁴¹.

Il focolare dunque, che è il tramite tra gli Inferi e il mondo dei vivi, costituisce il simbolo dell'unità familiare e ne garantisce la continuità nel tempo.

⁴⁰ V. il memorabile saggio di L. Gernet: "Sur le symbolisme politique: le Foyer commun", ora in: L. Gernet, *Anthropologie de la Grèce antique*, Paris 1968, pp. 382-402, che riporta la bibliografia essenziale. La decifrazione della Lineare B non sembra però portare nuovi elementi a favore: per *e-ka-ra, ἑσχάρα*, v. St. Hiller, « Eirene » 9 (1971), p. 76 sg. (indicazione fornitami da A. Sacconi).

⁴¹ KUB XXX 15 + XXXIX 19 Ro 1 sg., v. H. Otten, *HT*, p. 66. Sull'*ukturi* v. Id., *op. cit.*, p. 141, ove sono riportati i passi più significativi.

Per il fuoco nei templi v. KUB XIII 4 III 45 sgg. (prescrizioni per i sacerdoti, in E. Sturtevant, *Chrestomathy*, p. 158 sgg.): « Se poi in un tempio (c'è) una festa, allora sorvegliate accuratamente il fuoco. Quando si fa notte, il fuoco che rimane nel focolare spengnetelo bene con acqua ». Il controllo del fuoco durante la notte era uno dei compiti principali delle guardie, come bene si può comprendere, considerando che le città erano costruite con materiale facilmente infiammabile, v. K. Bittel, *Hattusha*, New York 1970, p. 60, che riporta il passo relativo delle istruzioni per il *HAZANNU*.

DIVINITÀ TUTELARI
E *SONDERGÖTTER* ITTITI

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DIVINITA' TUTELARI E SONDERGÖTTER ITTITI

di ALFONSO ARCHI

Tra le divinità ittite è al dio della Tempesta che viene attribuito il maggior numero di epiteti, precisandone così le funzioni in relazione alla natura ed ai fenomeni atmosferici; fra questi si ricordino: « della nube » *alpaš*, « della pioggia » *ḫeuwaš*, « del cielo » *nepišaš*, « del fulmine », *piḫaššašši*, « del tuono » *tetḫešnaš*, « della rugiada » *waršaš*, « della campagna » *gimraš*, « della foresta » TIR, « della crescita » *mijannaš*. Ed essendo la maggiore divinità del pantheon, egli manifesta il suo potere anche nella sfera politica e nella vita privata, e pertanto viene definito: « della persona » *ḫaršannaš*, « della casa » É^{TIM}, « dell'esercito » KARAS, « del mercato » KI.LAM, « signore del soccorso » BEL RIZZUTI¹. Per altre espressioni ed aspetti della realtà soccorrono altre divinità, particolarizzate da epiteti specifici, cosicché per la guerra vi è un'Ištar « dell'esercito » KARAS, « della campagna (militare) » LİL, « della battaglia » *zahḫijaš*. Fra le divinità principali figura il « genio tutelare », rappresentato abitualmente dall'ideogramma LAMA, corrispondente all'ittita Inara, alla cui cerchia appartengono Karši, Ḫabantali, Zitharija (divinità protettrice della città di Zithara)². LAMA è in genere determinato da nomi di località: « di Ḫatti », « della città di Karaḫna » ..., ma assai diffuso è anche il culto di LAMA « della campagna » LİL, e di LAMA « dello scudo » ^{KUS}*kuršaš*, epiteto che ben si addice ad una divinità tutelare, tanto che LAMA è talvolta simboleggiato proprio da uno scudo³.

¹ V. le citazioni in E. Laroche, *Recherches* (= RHA 46 [1946-47], p. 109 sgg.

² Ho approfondito lo studio di LAMA in un lavoro in stampa, ove sono raccolti anche gli epiteti delle altre divinità, i riferimenti ai quali sono limitati in questo studio al minimo necessario.

³ V. H. Otten, *FFr*, pp. 351-359.

Altri epiteti di LAMA non sono frequenti, se si eccettui una lista che include ben « 112 nomi di LAMA » e « 60 nomi di Ala », sua paredra (KUB II 1 III 25, V 4). Questi « nomi », veri e propri epiteti, comprendono e definiscono le condizioni e le situazioni dell'esistenza, i valori che in questa vengono apprezzati, le manifestazioni della natura, e infine delimitano con alcuni riferimenti geografici (LAMA del monte ...) il territorio su cui domina il sovrano. Essi si presentano per lo più come sostantivi al genitivo; numerosi tra quelli che esprimono qualità ed azioni momentanee sono gli astratti in *-atar* (*appatar*, *āšatar*, *ḫuēšwatar*, *išḫaššarwatar*, etc.), e i sostantivi in *-war* (*arnummar*, *ḫalziyawwar*, *ḫūijawwar*, *kariyawwar*, etc.). Talvolta si hanno poi aggettivi in *-ašši-*, l'elemento luvio che serve ad esprimere la relazione in sostituzione del genitivo: così a *ḫandattaš* « della decisione », forma ittita di genitivo, corrisponde nel dpl. *ḫandattaššiš*, aggettivo di formazione luvia che mantiene lo stesso significato⁴. Questi aggettivi luvii in genere sono al nominativo, e non sempre concordano, erroneamente, con il sostantivo con cui sono in relazione; tra gli altri si ricordino: *annarumḫitaššiš*, *lamarḫandattaššiš*, *lapanaššiš*, *piḫaddaššiš*, *salubattaššiš*, *tarraššiš*, *tarpattaššiš*, *walipataššiš*.

Lo schema che viene regolarmente seguito è del tipo: « al LAMA dell'esercito del Labarna » (KUB II 1 II 23), ma la posizione dei singoli elementi può variare, e il genitivo *ŠA Labarna/Labarnaš* (Labarna è un titolo del sovrano, nell'esercizio delle sue funzioni di governo) è talvolta sostituito da KI.MIN « come detto », mentre nella sezione riguardante Ala normalmente è tralasciato, ma è da considerarsi come sottinteso; esso è retto dal complesso precedente, e dunque, nell'esempio citato, « dell'esercito » si riferisce a LAMA: invocato è quel particolare genio del sovrano che protegge l'esercito⁵. In realtà vi sono dei complessi che potrebbero permettere una analisi diversa, come:

« al LAMA — della vita (*ḫuēšwannaš*) del Labarna »

(lo stesso può valere per: « della salute » *āššulaš*, « della floridezza »

⁴ Nell'italiano di oggi si potrebbe arrischiare un LAMA « decisionale ».

⁵ E. Forrer, *KIF I* (1927-30), p. 275 sg., intende invece: « Hier wird allen Schutzgöttern geopfert, und in langer Reihe werden die Schutzgötter *der Eigenschaften und Attribute des Labarnas (Grosskönigs)* aufgezählt [corsivo mio], und zwar der Schutzgott der Berufung (II 20: *pa-ra-a ḫa-an-da-an-da-an-na-aš*) ... des Lebens ... des Labarnas. Es ist sicher die Berufung, das Leben, die Oberhoheit, das Heer und die Schlacht des Labarnas, *nicht des Schutzgottes* [corsivo mio] ».

Similmente A. Goetze, *KIF I* (1927-30), p. 406 sg., interpreta l'elemento *ŠA Labarna* come « Genitivus subjectivus », vale a dire che Labarna sarebbe il soggetto logico dell'azione: « Dasselbe trifft zu bei den medial-passiven Infinitiven (*parā ḫandandannaš* ...); dort würde es heißen "der L. wurde begnadet" ... ».

Anche H. G. Güterbock, *SBo II*, p. 8 sg., è dello stesso avviso.

minummaš, « dell'eroismo » *tarḫuilannaš*, etc., delle sezioni 1 e 2, oltre che per tutti gli elementi delle sezioni 3 e 4, riguardanti le parti del corpo e la guerra) ⁶. Altre frasi occorre invece interpretarle senz'altro con una diversa segmentazione:

« al LAMA del correre innanzi (nel campo di battaglia) (*piran ḫūijauwaš*)
— del Labarna »

(così ancora « del prendere per mano » *ŠU-an appannaš*, « dell'esaudire il desiderio » *ZI-aš arnummaš*, « della giustizia divina » *parā ḫandandannaš*, « del fortificare » *innarauwabḫūwaš*). Non lasciano dubbi i casi in cui LAMA è legato ad un nome geografico (sezione 6):

« al LAMA del monte Iškiša — del Labarna »

E così quelli inclusi nella sezione 5, riguardanti LAMA in rapporto con la natura.

Tavolta ad orientare è l'uso abituale dell'epiteto, in relazione con altre divinità: accanto al LAMA « dell'esercito » *tuzzijaš*, vi è anche il dio della Tempesta dell'esercito, al LAMA « della battaglia » *zahḫijaš*, un'Ištar della battaglia; il LAMA « della lancia » ^{GIŠ}SUKUR ha poi una fisionomia definita da altre fonti. Naturalmente il genio dell'esercito qui invocato è quello che protegge l'esercito del re, ed è anzi precisato che il LAMA « della vita » è a tutela della vita del Labarna, come quello « del prendere per mano » deve appunto sorreggere il sovrano ⁷. Sarebbe comunque ingenuo farsi limitare da una stretta aderenza ai legami sintattici: alla base sta una concezione che frantuma la realtà e vede entità presiedere ad atti e a virtù dell'uomo, veri e propri *indigitamenta*, e forze manifestarsi nei singoli aspetti della natura. Ciò è tipico della cultura luvia, che può poi esprimere questa miriade di genii mediante l'uso del suffisso *-ašši-*: *Ḫilašši* genio della corte, *Taparrijašši* genio del governare, *Ulilijašši* genio dei campi, *Wašdulašši* genio della colpa ⁸, e per le parti del corpo: *Ištanzašši*, dell'anima, *Šakuwašša*, degli occhi, *Ḫantašša*, della fronte, *Ištamašša*, degli orecchi, *Kiššarašša*, della mano, *Ḫinuwašša*, delle ginocchia ⁹. La forte influenza luvia sulla lista dei LAMA è resa evidente oltre che dagli epiteti in *-ašši-* sopra ricordati, anche dalle parole con segno di glossa, notazione che pur richiama ad elementi luvii.

Occorreva ripensare in ittita questa realtà numerica, e rovesciando il

⁶ V. *infra*, p. 95 sgg.

⁷ In questo senso è pertinente il rilievo di Goetze, come l'ultima parte della formulazione di Forrer, citati in nt. 5; cf. nt. 13.

⁸ V. per questi ed altri, E. Laroche, *Recherches*, pp. 68-71, ove sono raccolti i nomi formati col suffisso *-mmi-* del participio luvio.

⁹ V. i passi raccolti da H. Otten, *JCS* IV (1950), p. 124 sg., in particolare Bo 2372 III 26 sgg.

pluralismo, si è fatto ricorso, come a elemento unificatore, ad un'entità divina, LAMA, che viene precisata di volta in volta da un epiteto (« dello scudo » ^{KUS}*kuršaš...*); ciò dunque ha dato la possibilità di definire qui queste forze sotto forma di epiteti. Di per sé LAMA mantiene in ittitita il significato di divinità tutelare ¹⁰, ma nel senso più ampio ¹¹. Viene dunque confermato quanto suggeriva Sommer, essere cioè Inara/LAMA non una divinità con diverse ipostasi, ma piuttosto equivalente al *genius* latino (nell'accezione tarda e meno limitante), e pertanto da identificare non in un'unica entità, bensì in una pluralità di realizzazioni ¹². E' questa però una tesi probabilmente estrema, giustificata proprio dalla lista KUB II 1, che è tarda e non ha valore probante per l'età precedente ¹³. Una tale proliferazione di genii è sicuramente un'innovazione per la religione ittitita, che pure fin dall'epoca arcaica, in parte derivandoli dal culto hattico, conosce oggetti ed elementi divinizzati come il focolare, *Ḫašša*, il trono, *Ḫalmašuitta*, il grano, *Ḫalki*, e una serie di genii, caratterizzati dal formante *-šepa* ¹⁴: *Ašgašepa* « genio della porta » (si ricordi ^{GUS}*KĀ.GAL-aš* ^D*Šalawaneš* « Š. del portone »), *Ḫilanzašepa* « genio della corte », *Mijatanzipa* « genio della crescita », *Daganzipa* « genio della terra » (in *-ant-* è da ricordare *Wešurijanža* « il genio che opprime, strangola »). KUB II 1 contiene una festa, nel corso della quale vengono enumerati « i nomi » di LAMA e Ala, sicuramente istituita al tempo di *Tuḫalija IV*, uno degli ultimi sovrani dell'Impero (la « maestà *Tuḫalija* » è ricordata in III 25 e V 4), e alla stessa epoca vanno datati gli altri testi, duplicati e paralleli. E del resto una parte degli stessi epiteti ha un suono sospetto, sembrano cioè essere stati coniati deliberatamente per l'occasione. Se alcuni tra essi, come « della campagna » *gimraš/LİL*, sono sicuramente autentici, essendo ben testimoniato e l'epiteto e il nesso tra LAMA e la natura, altri sono stati semplicemente creati prendendo come base le virtù e le qualità spesso invocate a favore del re e della famiglia reale (« salute » *āššul*, « vita » *ḫuešwatar*, « floridezza » *minummar*, « eroismo » *tarḫuilatar*, « vista degli occhi » *IGI* ^{BI.A} *uškijauwar*, « avvenire » *EGIR.UD* ...) ¹⁵ o azioni e manife-

¹⁰ Così, nonostante il parere contrario di A. Goetze, *JCS* 18 (1964), p. 91.

¹¹ È forse pertinente citare ^D*LAMA-aš* di KUB XLIII 7 II 7, che sembra tradurre l'accadico *ilu*, qui col significato di genio tutelare: *CAD*, I-J, p. 99 sg.: v. K. K. Riemschneider, *StBoT* 9 (1970), p. 54. In *Bo* 2372 III 32 (= H. Otten, *loc. cit.* in nt. 9), un testo luvizzante, è ricordato ^D*I-na-ra-aš-mi-iš* « il nostro(?/mio?) genio ».

¹² F. Sommer, *AU*, p. 21 sg. nt. 2.

¹³ In questo testo LAMA è talmente evanescente, che un complesso come: « LAMA della salute del Labarna », potrebbe essere tradotto con *Salus Augusta*, e così per altre virtù parallele a quelle imperiali romane.

¹⁴ V. E. Laroche, *Recherches*, p. 67 sg.

¹⁵ Vedile elencate in A. Kammenhuber, *MSS* 3 (1958), pp. 27 sgg.; esse costituiscono anche parte degli elementi del sistema di divinazione KIN: v. A. Archi, *OA* 13 (1974), p. 134 sgg.

stazioni divine (« il prender per mano » ŠU-an *appatar*, « il correre innanzi » *piran hūijauwar*, « la giustizia divina » *parā ḥandantar* ...) ¹⁶. E con un procedimento che ricorda quello romano della formula *siue deus siue dea*, teso ad escludere errori e limitazioni, gli stessi epiteti vengono ripetuti per Ala, paredra di LAMA, figura in genere assai evanescente. Si tratta dunque di una lista del genere di quella degli *indigitamenta* romani ¹⁷, opera tarda di qualche liturgista, avente come mira la completezza, ma artificiosa e forzata, rispondente solo in parte all'esperienza religiosa.

* * *

Accanto a LAMA (e Ala) di città, monti e fiumi (v. soprattutto KUB II 1 II 42-51, III 34-41), alcuni dei quali, come il LAMA della città di Karaḥna, sono noti anche da altre fonti, figura una lista di montagne (verosimilmente a partire da V 6) « che il re percorre a caccia e in guerra » (VI 1 sgg., cfr. KBo XII 59); a queste sono associati i fiumi (HUR.SAG^{ME3} *ḥūmanteš* ID^{ME} *ḥūmanteš* « tutti i monti, tutti i fiumi »), ed insieme vengono suddivisi secondo le regioni che costituiscono l'impero ¹⁸. Così ai LAMA si aggiungono tutti i genii della natura, di tutte le parti del regno, con i quali il sovrano è in relazione mediante due attività a lui proprie: la guerra e la caccia. Montagne e fiumi sono oggetto di particolare venerazione nell'Anatolia ittita, e non solo da parte delle comunità rurali: le liste conservate nella capitale, che intendono includere tutte le divinità di un distretto, ricordano prima una divinità maschile (in genere il dio della Tempesta), poi una seconda, non necessariamente femminile, e aggiunti eventualmente altri dèi, concludono con la formula: « dèi e dee, monti e fiumi della città... ».

Ma esiste una relazione particolare tra regalità e montagne ¹⁹, e certo non limitatamente all'epoca di Tuḥalija IV, la cui immagine nel mausoleo di Yazilikaya, che lo raffigura stante su due montagne, sembra la realizzazione plastica dei testi qui presentati (« le montagne che Tuḥalija, il re, percorre... »). Questa concezione risale fino all'Antico Regno, come mostra il rituale arcaico KUB XXIX 1, che conserva tracce di credenze ḫattiche; in II 23-30 si dice:

« Avanza grande stella (scil. il sole). Le montagne restino al loro posto.

¹⁶ I riferimenti a testi storici e letterari sotto ciascun epiteto nelle singole sezioni.

¹⁷ Su questi v. da ultimo G. Dumézil, *La religion romaine archaïque*, Paris 1966, pp. 46-59.

¹⁸ V. *infra*, p. 103 sgg. e p. 115 sgg.

¹⁹ Quanto è qui di seguito detto sui rituali arcaici è stato già accennato da H. Otten, *ZA* 58 (1967), p. 238. Si ricordi anche che tre nomi regali, e cioè Ammuna, Arnuwanda e Tuḥalija, derivano da nomi di monti, e per questo legame naturalistico si tenga presente un altro nome: Suppiluliuma « stagno puro ».

Monte Pentaja, stai al tuo posto, non innalzare la grande (stella)! Monte H̄arga, stai al tuo posto, monte Tutḥalija, stai al tuo posto, non innalza la(!) grande (stella) ... il re va alla montagna per innalzare il grande Sole ... »²⁰.

Da cui sembra risultare che il sovrano si sostituisce alle montagne nel sostenere il sole. E in un altro rituale arcaico, KBo XVII 1, il celebrante, per invocare salute ed ogni bene alla famiglia reale, va alla montagna, incontro al Sole (*ta* H̄UR.SAG-*a* ^DUTU-*i menahḥanda paimi*: II 54), e là pronuncia la sua invocazione al Sole e al dio della Tempesta²¹.

Invocazioni ai monti hanno luogo anche durante la festa del mese, che per alcune inserzioni in lingua ḥattica devono risalire ad uno schema arcaico. KBo XVII 88 (+KBo XX 67) III 14 sgg. ne è un esempio²²:

- 14 *nam-ma ta-ma-iš ḥi-in-kat-ta* ^{LU}ALAM.KA^xUD [*me-ma-i*]
a-wa ^{HUR.SAG}*Pu-uš-ku-ru-nu-w[a]* *kar-ap-pi-ja x[i-ga]*
 16 EGIR-*pa* ^{LU}*a-ra-aš-ta-aš pīd-da-a-i nu* ^{LU}*a-ra[-aš-te-eš]*
ša-am-ni-ja-an-ta-ru ta-az da-a-i ta[-aš-kán pa-iz-zi]

« Successivamente un altro (comandante dell'esercito: EN ERĪN^{MEŠ}) s'inchina, un adoratore di statue [dice:] 'Orsù, monte Puškurunuwa, levati! Affrettati indietro dai tuoi compagni, e [i tuoi] compagni devono essere collocati (con te).' (Il comandante dell'esercito lo) prende, e [egli se ne va] ».

Non sarà azzardato pensare che le montagne fossero raffigurate in metallo o altro materiale prezioso (ciò che è attestato da altre fonti), e che ciascun « comandante dell'esercito » prendesse quella a cui era rivolta l'invocazione pronunciata dal recitante, e la disponesse accanto alle altre già nominate. Queste formule si ripetono più volte, ma con alcune varianti (fanno difficoltà però certe forme grammaticali sicuramente non esatte), e includono sovente augurii per il sovrano, del genere: « sia gioia » *dušgaraz-pat eštu*. Il nesso tra montagne e coppia regale è reso più esplicito dall'espressione: « al trono di ferro della loro maestà (e) della Tawananna devono essere collocate (scil. le montagne) » ^DUTU-*šummaš* ^{SAL}*Tawann[annaš]* AN.BAR-*aš* ^{GIŠ}DAG-*ti* [*š*]*amnijantaru*, KBo XXII 201 IV 10-12²³, sostituita in genere da:

²⁰ Cf. A. Goetze, *ANET*, p. 357 sg.

²¹ V. H. Otten - Vl. Souček, *StBoT* 8 (1969), p. 28 sg.

²² Il passo è già citato da E. Neu, *StBoT* 5 (1968), p. 151. Le invocazioni sono in KUB X 89 I 1-15 (ivi anche alcune divinità, ad es. Telepinu), KUB II 10 V, e nei testi elencati da E. Laroche, *CTH*, nr. 591,4.

²³ Citato da E. Neu, *loc. cit.*

Certo, invocazioni alle montagne non sono comunque rare anche in altri ambienti,

majjantan ^DUTU-šummin ^{SAL}Tawanannan AN.BAR-aš ^{GIS}DAG-ti *paiddu-wa*.

ELENCO DEGLI EPITETI DI LAMA E ALA
SECONDO KUB II 1 (E TESTI PARALLELI)

1) *Situazioni momentanee o particolari*

ŠU-an appannaš « del prendere per mano (scil. del soccorso) »

KUB II 1 II 26 (dpl. KUB XLIV 16 IV⁷ 5)

(cf. KBo VI 29 II 40 = Goetze, *Hatt.*, p. 50: [*nu-mu* ^DISTAR ^{URU}Šamuh]a GAŠAN-JA *ŠU-an ēpta* « [Ištar di Samuh]a, mia Signora, [mi] prese per mano »; KBo V 8 III 41 sgg. = Goetze, *AM*, p. 160: *nu-mu* ^DU NIR.GÁL *kuit* EN-JA *ŠU-an ḥarzi* ... [^{L0}KÜR *tarabḥun*] « e poiché il dio della Tempesta potente, mio Signore, mi tiene per mano ... [vinsi il nemico] »)

[*ŠU-an(?) šar]ā appannaš* « dell'alzare [la mano(?)] (gesto di culto, di presentazione) »

KUB II 1 IV 12: Ala (dpl. KUB XLIV 16 V⁷ 12)

(cf. KBo III 4 I 22 = Goetze, *AM*, p. 20: *nu* ANA ^DUTU ^{URU}Arinna GAŠAN-JA *ŠU-an šarā ēppun* « e alla dea Sole di Arinna, mia Signora, alzai la mano »; ugualmente in KBo VI 29 II 9 sg. = Goetze, *Hatt.*, p. 48)

apparannaš « dell'avvenire »

KUB II 1 IV 20: *ḫ* EGIR-*parannaš*: Ala (dpl. KUB XLIV 16 V⁷ 17)

arauwaš « del levarsi(?) »

KUB II 1 II 42 (dpl. KBo II 38 dest. 6)

ZI-aš arnummaš « dell'esaudire il desiderio »

KUB II 1 II 28 (dpl. KUB XLIV 16 IV⁷ 7)

(cf. KUB VII 60 III 13 sgg.: *nu-mu* ^DU EN-JA *ZI-a[š] ijadu nu-wa-mu-kan* *ZI-aš arnud[du]* « e per me il dio della Tempesta, mio Signore, compia (quanto è nel)l'animo, e mi faccia pervenire (a quanto è nel)l'animo », cf. Sommer, *AU*, p. 31 sg.)

maninkuwan ar-nu^{1?}-ma-aš « del condurre vicino, del comporre(?) »

KUB II 1 II 50

EGIR-*pa ašannaš* « dell'opposizione »

KUB II 1 II 44 (dpl. KBo II 38 dest. 7)

šarā ḥalzijauwaš « del chiamare su, del convocare(?) »

KUB II 1 IV 9: Ala (dpl. KUB XLIV 16⁷ 11; prll. KUB XL 108 V 4)

si veda il rituale di Kizzuwatna KUB XV 34 (con duplicati) III 48 sgg.: « Nella città di Tauriša, su una roccia, traggono (gli dèi) dai monti. E chiama i monti per nome e dice: "Voi monti tutti, LAMA dei monti, divinità maschili dei monti, mangiate e bevete, fate piani i monti innanzi agli dèi, siate rivolti nel bene al re e alla regina!" ».

]x *ħalzijauwaš* « del chiamare... »

KUB II 1 IV 10: Ala

ħandattaš « della decisione »

KUB II 1 II 45 (dpl. KBo II 38 dest. 8: *:ħandattaššiš*)

ħantejaššaššiš « del particolare(?) »

KUB II 1 II 47

(cf. DINGIR^{MES} *ħantijaššaš*: KUB IX 21 10 = ABoT 3 3)

piran ħūijauwaš « del correre innanzi (nel campo di battaglia) »

KUB II 1 II 25 (dpl. KUB XLIV 16 IV[?] 4)

KUB II 1 IV 27: Ala (dpl. Bo 6113 5)

(cf. KBo XII 59 I 11 sg.: ^D*Zaħpunai* [Tutħ]alijaš LUGAL-waš *piran tianti* « a Zaħpuna del re Tutħalija, che precorre »; *piran ħūwāi* « correre innanzi » è l'espressione usuale con cui si indica l'intervento diretto degli dèi sul campo di battaglia: *nu-mu* ^{UTU} ^{URU}*Arinna* [GAŠAN-JA] ^{PU} NIR.GÁL EN-JA ^D*Mezzullaš* DINGIR^{MES} *ħūmanteš piran ħuiēr* « la dea Sole di Arinna, [mia Signora], il dio della Tempesta potente, mio Signore, Mezzulla, tutti gli dèi mi corsero innanzi » KBo III 4 I 38 sg. = Goetze, *AM*, p. 22, e v. *ibid.*, p. 287 s.v., altre citazioni)

innarauwaħħūwaš « del fortificare »

KUB II 1 II 17 (prll. KBo XI 40 II 7)

-]nu-un *karijauwaš* « dell'accondiscendere(?) ... »

KUB II 1 IV 28: Ala (dpl. Bo 6113 6:] *karijandaš*)

:*kulanaš* « del completamento(?), dell'adempimento(?) »

KBo II 38 dest. 4 (cf. *apud* KUB II 1 II 40, nt. 40)

(questo sembra essere il senso della parola: « o dio della tempesta ... (quel)l'uomo hai onorato (*kaništa*), lo hai esaudito (*nu-war-an .kulānitta*) » KUB VI 45 III 52 = 46 IV 21; KBo II 7 Vo 22: UD^{KAM} *.kulānittar* « il giorno (ha il suo) completamento ». e per *:kulana-* v. KBo XIII 76 Vo 3, 7, 10, 16)

^{KUB}*kuršan* [š]u²-u-wa-wa-an-za « che [sp]inge(?) lo scudo »

KUB II 1 II 32 (dpl. KUB XLIV 16 IV[?] 11)

cf. KUB II 1 IV 22: ^{KU}7⁶*kurš*[(aš)]: Ala (dpl. KUB XLIV 16 V[?] 19)

lamarħandattaššiš « della decisione immediata »

KUB II 1 III 46: Ala (dpl. KUB XLIV 16 V[?] 1)

KUB II 1 II 40 sg.: [PLA]MA *tepauwaš pēdaš lamarħandatteš ŠA Labarna*

mēħunaš « dell'ora (del destino) »

KUB II 1 II 38 (dpl. KUB XLIV 16 IV[?] 18)

nuntaraš « della rapidità »

KUB II 1 II 49 (dpl. KBo II 38 dest. 11)

paḥḥunaš ḥaššaš ^{LU}[p]a²-ḥu-ru-la-aš « del custode(?) del fuoco del focolare »

KUB II 1 II 35 (dpl. KUB XLIV 16 IV² 14; KBo II 38 dest. 1)

šakijabhūwaš « del dare un presagio »

KUB II 1 II 29 (dpl. KUB XLIV 16 IV² 8)

šarlattaš « dell'esaltazione »

KUB II 1 III 12 (prll. KBo XII 60 6: *šarladaššiš*)

KUB II 1 IV 2: Ala (*šarlattaššiš*; dpl. KUB XLIV 16 V² 6)

(cf. NINDA.KUR₄.RA *šarladaššiš* « pane comune š. »: KUB XVII 12 III 24; *šarlaimi-* « sublime », è frequente epitetico di LAMA e una volta di Istar: v. E. Laroche, *FFr*, p. 293)

NÍ.TE^{HI.A}-uš uškijauwaš « del vedere le persone »; dpl. « la vista della persona »

KUB II 1 II 36 sg. (dpl. KUB XLIV 16 IV² 16: *NÍ.TE-u[š]*; KBo II 38 dest. 2: *NÍ.TE-aš u.*)

(cf. tra le « virtù » invocate « la vista degli occhi » *IGI^{HI.A}-aš uškijauwar*, cf. KBo XV 25 Ro 11 e 24; e tra gli elementi che compongono il sistema di divinazione KIN: *IGI^{HI.A}-waš uwatar*: A. Archi, *OA* 13 [1974], p. 136 s. v.).

warwantalijaš « di colui che genera(?) »

KUB II 1 III 43: Ala

(si tenga presente ^D*Warwalija*, in contesto luvio: KBo IV 11 Vo 59)

ŠA UD.SIG₅ « del giorno favorevole »

KUB II 1 III 19

KUB II 1 IV 39: Ala ([^DAl]aš *ŠA PUD.SIG₅*) (dpl. Bo 6113 14: *UD^{KAM}-aš*) (*UD.SIG₅* compare sovente col determinativo divino, o comunque in funzione di divinità: v. E. Laroche, *Recherches*, p. 106)

ŠA^{LU}MUTTI « dello sposo »

KUB II 1 II 34 (dpl. KUB XLIV 16 IV² 13)

2) *Qualità*

annarauwaš « dell'essere virile, della virilità »

KUB II 1 II 33 (dpl. KUB XLIV 16 IV² 12)

(genitivo del sostantivo verbale **annarauwar*, per cui cf. *innarauwar*: A. Kammenhuber, *MSS* 3 (1958), p. 41. Si noti che qui segue « il LAMA dello sposo »)

annarumāḫitaššiš « della forza virile »

KUB II 1 III 47: Ala (dpl. KUB XLIV 16 V² 2)

āššulaš « della salute »

KUB II 1 III 33: Ala

parā ḥandandannaš « della giustizia divina »

KUB II 1 II 20 (prll. KBo XI 40 II 13)

KUB II 1 IV 7: Ala (*parā ḥantantannaš*; dpl. KUB XLIV 16 V⁷ 10; prll. KUB XL 108 V 2: *parā ḥandanda[nnaš]*)

(cf. ^{PU}*ḥandandannaš*: KUB XX 60(+) 6; *parā ḥandandātār* è la manifestazione del divino: v. Goetze, *Hatt.*, p. 52 sgg.; Id., *Kleinasien*², p. 146 e nt. 3)

ḥantanza « giusto »

KUB II 1 IV 14: Ala (dpl. KUB XLIV 16 V⁷ 13)

(in KUB VI 45 III 58 = 46 IV 27 ^{PU}*piḥaššašši* è detto: *parā ḥandanza* DINGIR^{LIM})

ḥuešwannaš « della vita »

KUB II 1 III 28: Ala

KUB II 1 II 21: TI-*aš* (prll. KBo XI 40 II 15: TI-*annaš*)

(attribuito anche al dio della Tempesta in contesto hurrico: KBo VII 27 2; KBo XIV 142 I 2: TI-*bi*, genit. hurr.)

išḥašarwannaš « della gentilezza »

KUB II 1 II 46: *i[š-ḥa]-šar-wa-a[n-na-a]š* (dpl. KBo II 38 dest. 9:

iš-ḥa-šar-wa-na-aš)

minummaš « della floridezza »

KUB II 1 III 32: Ala

muwaddalahidaš « della forza »

KUB II 1 III 14

(*muwattalli*/NIR.GÁL è epiteto frequente del dio della Tempesta, ma *muwattalli* è anche epiteto di ^{GIS}TUKUL^{HI.A}: « armi vigorose », v. KUB XV 4 5; KUB XV 9 II 2; KUB XLI 22 III 8, ed è significativo che qui alla linea precedente sia ricordato il ^{GIS}TUKUL-*aš* ^{PLAMA})

takšannaš « della conciliazione »

KUB II 1 II 52

(cf. ^{PU}*takšannaš* ^{URU}*Arḫita*: KUB XXVI 39 IV 32)

tarḫuilannaš « dell'eroismo »

KUB II 1 II 22 (dpl. KUB XLIV 16 IV⁷ 1: UR.S[AG; prll. KBo

XI 40 II 17: *tarḫuilannaš*)

wallijannaš « della gloria »

KUB II 1 IV 1: Ala (dpl. KUB XLIV 16 V⁷ 5)

(UR.SAG: v. *supra sub tarḫuilannaš*)

(TI-*annaš*: v. *supra sub ḥuešwannaš*)

[*d*]a-[*aš-š*]a-u-w[*a-aš*(?) Z]I-aš « dell'animo [fo]rte(?) »

KUB II 1 IV 40: Ala (dpl. Bo 6113 15:]ZI-aš)

3) *La persona*

paltanaš « della spalla »

KUB II 1 II 18: ^{uzv}ZAG.UDU-aš (prll. KBo XI 40 II 9: *paltanaš*)
KUB II 1 III 7 e 8: ZAG-i[š] ^{uzv}ZAG.U[DU-aš, GÜB-[l]aš ^{uzv}ZAG.
UDU[-aš « della spalla destra, della spalla sinistra »

NÍ.TE-aš « della persona »

KUB II 1 III 6

(epiteto frequente di diverse divinità, anche semplicemente: DINGIR^{LUM}
NÍ.TE-aš « divinità/genio della persona »)

ŠA ^{PUTU}SI « della maestà »

KUB II 1 III 23: « della maestà Tuthalija, gran re, eroe »

(^{uzv}ZAG.UDU-aš: v. *supra sub paltanaš*)

4) *La guerra*

(cf. *piran hūijauwaš sub 1*)

(cf. ^{KUS}*kursan x-u-wa-an-za sub 1*)

tuzzijaš « dell'esercito »

KUB II 1 II 23 (*tuzzijaš*; dpl. KUB XLIV 16 IV[?] 2: KARA[Š; prll.

KBo XI 40 II 19: *tuzzijaš*)

KUB II 1 III 35: Ala (KARAS)

(l'epiteto è spesso attribuito anche al dio della Tempesta: KBo XV 36 III
3, 6; KUB IV 1 III 8 sg.; KUB XXV 32(+) I 10(!?), etc. Cf. anche
KUB XIV 13 + XXXII 124 I 11: ^{PLAMA} KARAS ŠA ABI ^{PUTU}SI INA
^{URU}*Maraššantiija kuiš* « il dio Tutelare dell'accampamento del padre della
maestà, che è in Maraššanta »)

:*walipattaššiš* « dell'aggiramento(?) »

KUB II 1 II 19 (prll. KBo XI 40 II 11: senza segno di glossa)

KUB II 1 III 45: Ala (senza segno di glossa)

zahhijaš « della battaglia »

KUB II 1 II 24 (dpl. KUB XLIV 16 IV[?] 3; prll. KBo XI 40 II 21)

(epiteto anche di Ištar: cf. KUB XV 20 III 4)

(cf. ANŠE.KUR.RA *sub 5*)

ŠA ^{GIS}BAN « dell'arco »

KUB II 1 IV 3: Ala

(cf. ^{PNupatik} ^{GIS}BAN-ti GI-ri išpanti « Nupatik dell(?)'arco, frecce, faretra »:

v. KUB XXVII 1 III 42, dpl. KUB XXVII 6 I 11; e ancora: [^PIjarri]š?
EN ^{GIS}BAN « [Ijarri?] signore dell'arco »: cf. E. Weidner, PD, p. 50 l. 19)

(KARAŠ: v. *supra sub tuzzijaš*)

^{KUS}MÁ.URU.URU₆ « della faretra »

KUB II 1 IV 4: Ala (dpl. KUB XLIV 16 V⁷ 7: ^{GIS}MÁ.URU.URU₆)
(l'epiteto è per LAMA in KUB XXV 32(+) I 9; KUB XXXIV 93 Ro 12

^{GIS}ŠUKUR « della lancia »

KUB II 1 II 14

(cf. ancora 634/b 14: H. Otten, « Anatolia » 4 [1959], p. 30. Secondo IBoT I 36 I 22 sg., al ^PLAMA ^{GIS}ŠUKUR era dedicato un luogo di culto presso l'ingresso dei complessi residenziali del sovrano: *māḫḫann(a)-kan GAL MEŠEDI UGULA 10 MEŠEDI-ja šarā uwanzi nu GAL MEŠEDI kuit* ^{GIS}PA *ḫarzi n-aš māḫḫan ANA* ^PLAMA ^{GIS}ŠUKUR *UŠGEN* « come il capo delle guardie e il comandante delle dieci guardie giungono su (scil. al palazzo), poiché il capo delle guardie tiene un'asta, come egli si inchina al dio Tutelare della lancia... ». Questa ipostasi di LAMA poteva essere rappresentata da una lancia, alla quale si facevano offerte, così in KBo IV 9 V 14, durante la festa dell'AN.TAḪ.SUM^{SAR}: *GAL DUMU^{MEŠ}.É.GAL-ma-an ANA* ^{GIS}ŠUKUR ^PLAMA *paršija* « il capo dei paggi lo (scil. il pane) spezza alla lancia del dio Tutelare » (prll. è KBo XIV 35 I 7 sg.))

^{GIS}TUKUL-aš « dell'arme »

KUB II 1 III 13

5) *La natura*

ḫuitnaš « del regno animale »

KUB II 1 II 16 (prll. KBo XI 40 II 5: *ḫuitnaš*)

KUB II 1 III 30: Ala (MÁŠ.ANSE)

GURUN-aš ijatnaš « dell'abbondanza di frutta »

KUB II 1 IV 38: Ala (dpl. Bo 6113 13: A.ŠA-lanza *ijatnaza* « campagna fiorenta »)

gimmaraš waḫnuwandaš « della campagna che viene mutata »

KUB II 1 III 42: Ala

gimraš « della campagna »

KUB II 1 III 31: Ala

cf. KUB II 1 I 41: (-)u]š-ša-la-am-mi-eš-še *gi-im-ra-aš*, sempre riferito a Ala (è epiteto frequente anche del dio della Tempesta, di Ištar, e dello stesso LAMA, per cui v. KUB XX 48 + 85 VI 7; KUB XXVII 1 I 65; VBoT 58 I 27 sg.: ... ^PLAMA-an ... [U]L-war-aš *gimraš* DUMU-aš « ... LAMA ...

Non è figlio dei campi? ». V. inoltre DINGIR^{MES} *Imrašši*: E. Laroche, *Recherches*, p. 82)

lapanaššiš « dell'alpeggio »

KUB II 1 IV 16: Ala (dpl. KUB XLIV 16 V² 15: -n]a-aš-ši-eš)

nepišaš « del cielo »

KUB II 1 I 43

KUB II 1 III 29: Ala (ŠA ŠAMĒ)

(è epiteto assai frequente del dio della Tempesta, e anche del dio Sole)

šuppijantaš hūmantaš « di tutte le fonti(?) »

KUB II 1 IV 34 sg.: Ala (dpl. Bo 6113 11: [šupp]ieššanaš(?))

takkuwiaš « dell'oscurità(?) »

KUB II 1 III 5

du-wa-du-na¹(-aš) *hūmantaš* « di tutte le doline(?) »

KUB II 1 IV 33: Ala (dpl. Bo 6113 10: [duwad]una[š]²)

ulilijaš « della vegetazione »

KUB II 1 II 43

(cf. ^p*Ulilijašši*: E. Laroche, *Recherches*, p. 70)

(A.ŠA-lanza *ijatnaza*: v. *supra sub* GURUN-aš *ijatnaš*)

ANSE.KUR.RA^{MES} « dei cavalli »

KUB II 1 II 13

(cf. KUB XXV 30 I 4: [EZE]N DINGIR^{LUM} ANSE.KUR.RA^{MES} « [fes]ta della divinità dei cavalli », culto della dea *Īuwaššanna* di *Īhubešna*, luvizzante)

ĪUR.SAG^{MES}-aš *hūma(n)taš* « di tutti i monti »

KUB II 1 IV 31: Ala

ĪD^{MES}-aš *hūmantaš* « di tutti i fiumi »

KUB II 1 IV 32: Ala (dpl. Bo 6113 7)

(MÁŠ.ANŠE: v. *supra sub* *huitnaš*)

-]x-ta-aš TŪL-i « alla fonte ... »

KUB II 1 II 10

(ŠA ŠAMĒ: v. *supra sub* *nepišaš*)

6) Località

^b*hūwapaš* « dell'edificio *h*. »

KUB II 1 III 20

Labarnaš parnaš « della casa del Labarna »

KUB II 1 III 21

pēdaš « del luogo »

KUB II 1 III 4

(per *tepauwaš pēdaš* v. *lamarḫandattaššiš* sub 1)

ŠA É.LUGAL(?) ŠA 'Tutḫaliya « della casa del [e(?)] di Tutḫaliya »

KUB II 1 V 2 sg.: Ala (dpl. Bo 6113 16]x LUGAL-*waš parnaš*)

KUR-*eaš ḫūmandaš* « di tutte le regioni »

KUB II 1 III 3

7) *Termini di significato ignoto*

aššattaššiš

KUB II 1 III 44: Ala

(cf. E. Laroche, *DLL*, p. 33, per rimandi e epiteti divini in licio)

aštaš waštaš

KUB II 1 II 30 (dpl. KUB XLIV 16 IV² 9)

KUB II 1 III 49: Ala (dpl. KUB XLIV 16 V² 4)

ḫallaššaš

KUB II 1 II 27 (dpl. KUB XLIV 16 IV² 6)

(notare che KBo XI 40 I 22 (dpl. KUB XL 108 II 5) riporta *ḫallaššaš*
^PLAMA-ri corrispondentemente a KUB II 1 I 51, che ha ^PLAMA ^{URU}ḫallatta)

[*ḫaladdaššiš*]

KUB II 1 III 10

(così secondo E. Laroche, *DLL*, p. 38)

išmaššuwalaš

KUB II 1 II 51

(*kurraš*: v. *infra* sub *tarraššiš*)

lapattaliyaš

KUB II 1 II 41

(:*paraš*: v. *infra* sub *tarraššiš*)

piḫaddaššiš

KUB II 1 III 10 (prll. KBo XII 60 4)

(cf. *piḫammi*, *piḫaššašši*, che viene fatto corrispondere a ḫi.ḫi-(š)*ašši* « del lampo », epiteti del dio della Tempesta; inoltre NINDA.KUR₄.RA *piḫaddaššiš* « pane normale p. »: KUB XVII 12 III 24)

šalubattaššiš

KUB II 1 II 49

tarraššiš

KUB II 1 III 16 (*kurraš* t.)

KUB II 1 III 18 (:*paraš* t.)

tarpaš

KUB II 1 III 2 (*annara*]š(?) *t.*)

tarpattaššiš

KUB II 1 II 48 (dpl. KBo II 38 dest. 10: :*tarpattaš*)

(^o*Tarpattašši/a* è il nome di un demone: cf. KUB XXVII 67(+) I 42, III 45, 50, IV 13, 30; KBo XIII 109 III 4)

(*waštaš*: v. *supra sub aštaš*)

8) *Nomi parzialmente conservati (solo i meglio conservati)*

(-)]*x-ab-ḫu-w[a-*

KUB II 1 IV 25: Ala (dpl. Bo 6113 4:]*x-iš*)

x-ku-uš-nu-wa-an-ti-iš

KUB II 1 IV 36: Ala (dpl. Bo 6113 12: -]*nuwanteš*)

(-)]*x-ku-ti{-ja}-ja-at-ḫi-ta-aš-ši-iš*

KUB II 1 III 48: Ala (dpl. KUB XLIV 16 V^o 3)

] *na-an-ta-aš*

KUB II 1 I 31

(-)]*x-nu-u-x-na-ši-iš*

KUB II 1 IV 15: Ala (dpl. KUB XLIV 16 V^o 14: -]*n]a-aš*)

(-)]*x-x-x-ra-aš-ši-iš*

KUB II 1 IV 18: Ala (dpl. KUB XLIV 16 V^o 16)

x-DA

KUB II 1 IV 6: Ala

9) *Nomi geografici*²⁴

a) *Monti*

Amana: KUB XL 101 Vo 8

Arnuwanda: KUB XL 101 Vo 7

Ḫaḫḫarwa: KUB XL 101 Ro 13

Ḫulla: KUB XL 101 Ro 5

Iškiša: KUB II 1 II 15, prll. KBo XI 40 II 3 (LAMA)

Kammaliya: KBo XI 40 V 3, dpl. KUB XL 101 Ro 8

Kaššū: KBo XI 40 V 15, dpl. KUB XL 101 Vo 6

Kitauwanta: KUB II 1 III 9, prll. KBo XII 60 2 (*Kidauwanda*) (LAMA)

²⁴ Sono qui elencati tutti i nomi geografici ricordati nei testi. Qualora si abbia un LAMA o un'Ala di una certa località, lo si annota tra parentesi.

Puškurunuwa: KUB XL 101 Ro 11
Šaluwanda: KUB II 1 I 45 (LAMA), III 38 (Ala); KBo XII 59 I 2
 (Šaluwanta)
Šarešša: KUB XL 101 Vo 2
Šarpa: KUB II 1 I 46 (LAMA), III 37 e IV 37, dpl. Bo 6113 13 (Ala);
 KUB XL 101 Ro 14
Šunnara: KUB II 1 I 50, prll. KBo XI 40 I 15 (LAMA)
Dāḥa: KUB XL 101 Ro 9
Daḥalmuna: KUB XL 101 Vo 9
Daggurqa: KUB XL 101 Ro 12
Tuḥalija: KUB II 1 II 38, dpl. KBo II 38 dest. 3 (LAMA); KUB XL
 101 Ro 6
Zalijanū: KUB XL 101 Vo 1

b) *Fiumi*

Ḥarinumma: KBo XII 59 IV 4
Ḥatenzuwa: KBo XI 40 V 13, prll. KUB XL 101 Vo 4 (*Ḥatinzuwa*); KBo
 XII 59 I 4 (*Ḥalenzuwa*)
Kella: KBo XI 40 I 200, dpl. KUB XL 108 II 3 (LAMA); KBo XII 59 I 5
Kummara: KUB II 1 I 50, prll. KBo XI 40 I 18 (LAMA); KBo XII 59 I 5
 (*Kumra*)
Gurmalija: KBo XI 40 VI 9
Māla: KBo XI 40 VI 7
Mamranta: KUB II 1 VI 9, prll. KBo XI 40 VI 8 (*Mammaranda*)
Marašanda: KUB XL 101 Vo 3
Šalmaku: KBo XII 59 I 7
Šibirija: KUB II 1 I 51 (LAMA); KBo XII 59 I 8

c) *Città*

Alanuma: KUB II 1 I 45 (LAMA)
Anza: KBo XI 40 I 26, dpl. KUB XL 108 II 9 (LAMA)
A²-at-tar-ma: KUB II 1 III 36 (Ala)
Ḥallatta: KUB II 1 I 51 (LAMA)
Ḥarana: KUB II 1 I 48, prll. KBo XI 40 I 9 (LAMA); KUB II 1 III 41 (Ala)
Ḥatti: KUB II 1 III 34 (Ala)
Garahana: KUB II 1 I 43 (LAMA)
Šarišša: KUB II 1 I 49, prll. KBo XI 40 I 12 (LAMA)
Šulupašša: KUB II 1 I 47, prll. KBo XI 40 I 4 (LAMA); KUB II 1 III 40
 (Ala)
Tuttu: KUB II 1 I 47, prll. KBo XI 40 I 7 (LAMA); KUB II 1 III 39 (Ala)

d) *Regioni*

KUR ^{URU} *Arzauwa*: KBo XI 40 VI 15, dpl. KUB XL 107 Vo 28

- KUR ^{URU}Hatti: KUB II 1 VI 1, 4; KBo XI 40 VI 27
 KUR ^{URU}Hurri: KBo XI 40 VI 11, dpl. KUB XL 107 Vo 25
 KUR ^{URU}Gašga: KBo XI 40 VI 24
 KUR ^{URU}Luqqā: KBo XI 40 VI 21
 KUR ^{URU}Māša: KBo XI 40 VI 18
 KUR UGU^{TI}: KUB II 1 VI 7, prll. KBo XI 40 VI 5 (KUR ^{URU}UGU^{TI}),
 dpl. KUB XL 107 Vo 20 (KUR ^{URU}ILITI)

e) *Nomi parzialmente conservati*

- (-)]x-na-ḫu-[r]a²-kar¹²-an-ta-aš: KUB XL 101 Vo 11
 (-)]x-ar-i-šū-wa-an-da-aš: KUB XL 101 Vo 13
 (-)]x-li¹-ja-aš: KUB XL 101 Vo 14

I TESTI

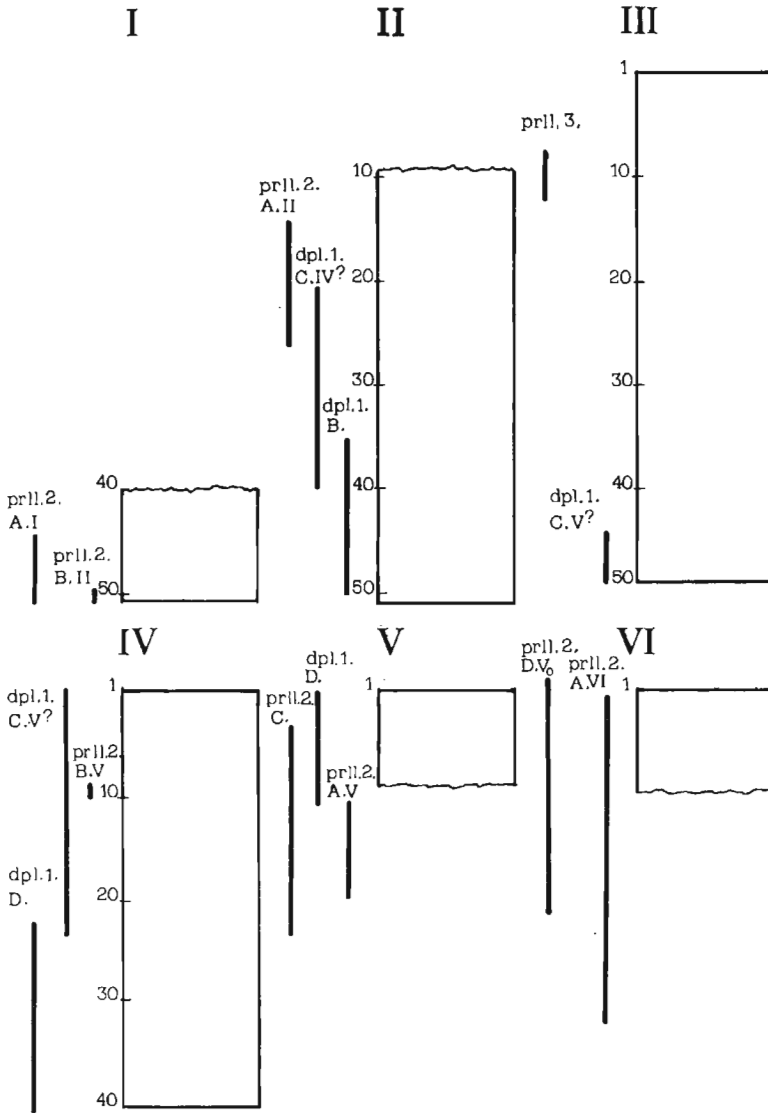
I manoscritti a disposizione, seguendo l'ordinamento di E. Laroche, CTH nr. 682 (vedi anche qui le tavole I e II), sono:

1. A. KUB II 1
 B. KBo II 38: col. dest. dpl. di A. II 35-50
 C. KUB XLIV 16: IV² dpl. di A. II 22-41; V² dpl. di A. III 46-IV 23
 D. Bo 6113: dpl. di A. IV 22-V 8²⁵
2. A. KBo XI 40: I prll. a 1. A. I 47 sgg.
 II prll. a 1. A. II 15-24
 V prll. a 1. A. V nella parte in lacuna
 VI 1-8 prll. a 1. A. VI
 B. KUB XL 108: II dpl. di 2. A. I 19-26; V prll. a 1. A. IV 7-10
 C. KUB XL 101: Ro 1-3 prll. a 1. A. V 3 sgg.
 Ro e Vo dpl. di 2. A. V
 D. KUB XL 107 + IBoT II 18: Vo 17 sgg. dpl. di 2. A. VI 2-18
3. KBo XII 60: prll. di 1. A. III 8-12
4. KBo XII 59: analogo a 1. e 2.

KUB II 1

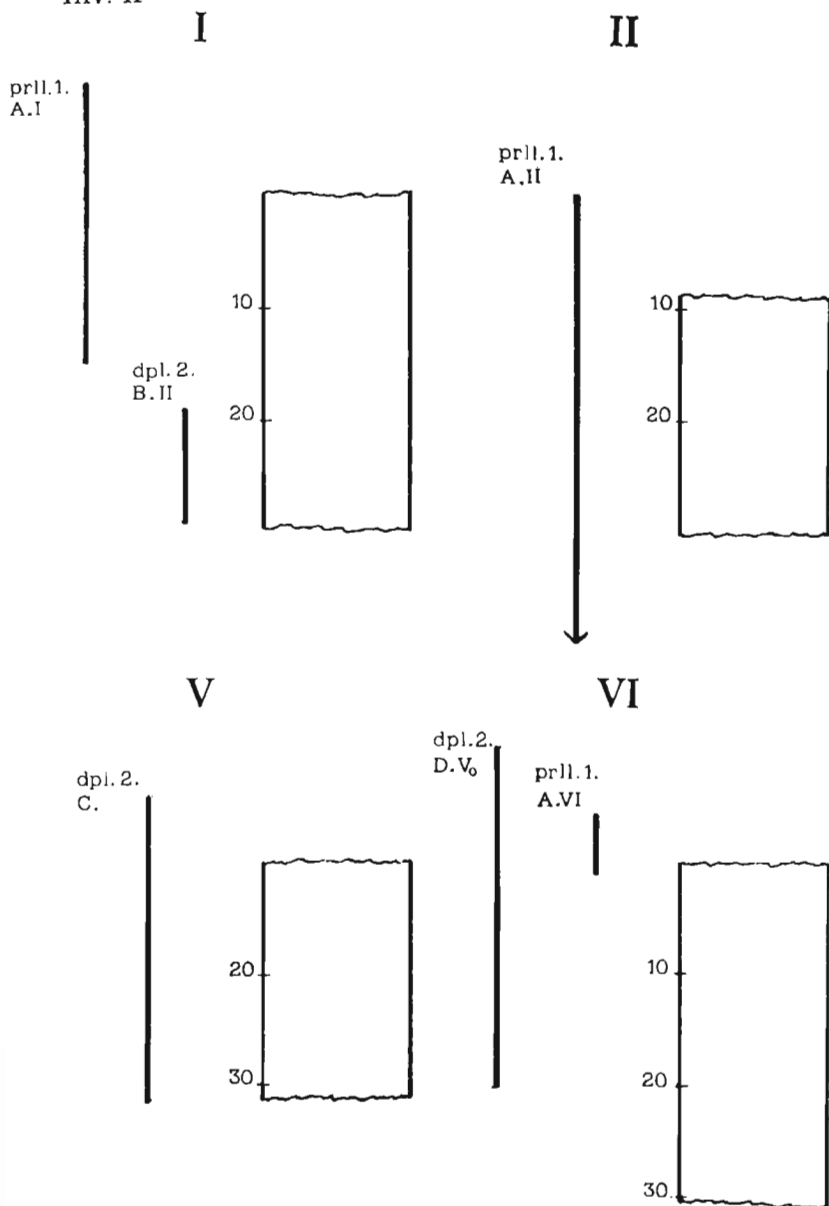
I (mancano c. 39 ll.)
 40]²A-la-aš x[
u]š-ša-la-am-mi-eš-še gi-im-ra-aš

²⁵ Questo testo (argilla rossa, scrittura minuta), messomi gentilmente a disposizione da H. Klengel, non appartiene alla stessa tavola di KUB XLIV (Bo 559), che presenta una scrittura con segni di dimensione maggiore. Forse esso potrebbe far parte dello stesso manoscritto di KBo II 38 (Bo 45), che però non ho potuto controllare neppure su fotografia.



KUB II 1

TAV. II



KB. XI 40

- 42 II GU[D G]AL A-NA ŠUM^{HI.A} ^DLAMA *ḥu-u-ma-an-da-aš*
ne-pi-ša-aš ^DLAMA ^{URU}*Ga-ra-ḥa-na-aš-ša*
- 44 ^DLAMA-ri ^DKar-ši ^DḤa-ba-an-ta-li-ja
^{URU}*A-la-nu-ma-aš* ^DLAMA ^{HUR.SAG}*Ša-lu-wa-an-da-aš*
- 46 ^DLAMA-ri ^{HUR.SAG}*Ša-ar-pa-aš* ^DLAMA-ri
^DLAMA ^{URU}*Šu-lu-pa-aš-ša* ^{URU}*Tu-ut-tu-wa-aš*
- 48 ^DLAMA-ri ^DLAMA ^{URU}*Ḥa-ra-na*
^DLAMA ^{URU}*Ša-ri-iš-ša*
- 50 ^DLAMA ^{HUR.SAG}*Šu-un-na-ra* ^DLAMA ^{ID}*Ku-um-ma-ra* ²⁶
^DLAMA ^{ID}*Ši-ḥi-ri-ja* ^DLAMA ^{URU}*Ḥal-la-at-ta*

II (mancano c. 8 ll.)

- t]a
- 10]x-ta-aš TŪL-i
- [ŠA La-ba-a]r-na
- 12 [^DLAM]A¹-aš
 [ŠA La-ba-ar-na ^DLA]MA ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MES}
- 14 [ŠA La-ba-ar-na] ^DLAMA ^{GIS}ŠUKUR
 [ŠA La-ba-ar-na ^U]UR.SAG IŠ-ki-ša-aš ²⁷ ^DLAMA-ri
- 16 [ŠA La-ba-ar-na (ḥ)]u-it-na-aš ²⁸ ^DLAMA-aš
 [ŠA La-ba-ar-na (in-n)]a-ra-u-wa-aḥ-ḥu-u-wa-aš ^DLAMA-aš
- 18 [ŠA La-ba-ar-na] ^{UZU}ZAG.UDU-aš ²⁹ ^DLAMA-ri
 [ŠA La-ba-ar-na] :wa-li-pa-at-ta-aš-ši-iš ³⁰ ^DLAMA-aš
- 20 [ŠA La-ba-ar-n]a pa-ra-a ḥa-an-da-an-da-an-na-aš ^DLAMA
 [ŠA La-ba-ar-n]a TI-aš ³¹ ^DLAMA-ri
- 22 [ŠA La-ba-ar-n]a tar-ḥu-i-la-an-na-aš ³² ^DLAMA-ri
 [ŠA La-ba-ar-n]a tu-zi-ja-aš ³³ ^DLAMA-ri

²⁶ Tutti i toponimi conservati nel prll. KBo XI 40 I (che corrispondono qui a quelli delle ll. 47-50) sono al genitivo (-aš), in quanto precedono il reggente (^DLAMA-ri); in I 19-26, dopo [^{ID}Kummar]aš, seguono ^{ID}Kellaš ^DL., ḥallaššaš ^DL., ^{URU}Tidandaš ^DL., ^{URU}Anzaš ^DL., nomi questi conservati anche nel dpl. KUB XL 108 II 2-9.

Notare come a ^{URU}Ḥallatta di KUB II 1 I 51, corrisponda nei prll. ḥallaššaš, che invece si incontra in KUB II 1 II 27.

I fiumi Kumra, Kella e Šehirija sono attestati anche in KBo XII 59 I 5-8 (v. *infra*, p. 117 sg.).

²⁷ KBo XI 40 II 3: ^{HUR.SAG}I[š¹].

²⁸ *Ibid.* 5: ḥu-u-it-na-aš.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 9: pal-ta-na-aš.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 11: senza segno di glossa.

³¹ *Ibid.* 15: TI-an-na-aš.

³² Così anche *ibid.* 17; dupl. KUB XLIV 16 IV[?] 1: UR.S[AG].

³³ KUB XLIV 16 IV[?] 2: ^DLAMA KARA[Š; KBo XI 40 II 19: tu-uz-zi-ja-aš.

- 24 [ŠA *La-ba-ar*]-na za-ab-bi-ja-aš ^{PLAMA-ri} ³⁴
 [ŠA *La-ba-ar*]-na pi-ra-an hu-u-i-ja-u-wa-aš ^{PLAMA-ri} ³⁵
 26 [ŠA *La-ba*]-ar-na ŠU-an ap-pa-an-na-aš ^{PLAMA-ri}
 [ŠA *La-ba*]-ar-na ha-la-aš-ša-aš ^{PLAMA-ri}
 28 [ŠA *La-b*]-a-ar-na ZI-aš ar-nu-um-ma-aš ^{PLAMA-ri}
 [ŠA *La-b*]-a-ar-na ša-ki-ja-ab-hu-u-wa-aš ^{PLAMA-ri}
 30 [ŠA *La*]-ba-ar-na aš-ta-aš wa-aš-ta-aš
 []-na-an-ta-aš *La-ba-ar-na-aš* ^{PLAMA-i} ³⁶
 32 [(^{KUS}kur)]-ša-an [š]u²-u-wa-an-za *La-ba-ar-na-aš* ^{PL[AMA-ri]}
 [(an-n)]a-ra-u[(-wa)-aš] *La-ba-ar-na-aš* ^{PLAMA-ri}
 34 [(ŠA ^L)]^UMU-UT-TI *La-ba-ar-na-aš* ^{PLA[MA]-r[i]}
 [(pa)]-ab-hu-na-aš ha-aš-ša-a[š (^{LÜ}p)]a²-hu-ru-la-aš
 36 *La-ba-ar-na-aš* ^{PLAMA-i} NÍ.TE^{H1.A}-uš ³⁸
 uš-ki-ja-u-wa-aš ^{PLAMA-i} ŠA *La-ba-ar-na*
 38 ^{PLAMA} ŠA ^{HUR.SAG}Tu-ut-ha-li-ja ³⁹
 [(m)]e-hu-na-aš ^{PLAMA-aš} ŠA *La-ba-ar-na*
 40 [^{PLA}MA] te-pa-ú-wa-aš pi-e(-da)-aš la-mar-ha-an-da-at-ti-eš ⁴⁰
 ŠA *La-ba-ar-na la-pa-at-ta-li-ja-aš* ^{PLAMA-ri} ⁴¹
 42 ŠA [*L*]a-ba-ar-na a-ra-u-wa-aš ^{PLAMA-i} ⁴²
 ŠA [*La*]-ba-ar-na ú-li-li-ja-aš ^{PLAMA-i}
 44 ŠA [*a-b*]a-ar-na EGIR-pa a-ša-an-na(-aš) ^{PLAMA-i} ⁴³
 ŠA [*a-ba-a*]r-na ha-an-da-at-ta-as ^{PLAMA-i} ⁴⁴
 46 ŠA *La-b*[a-ar]-na i[(š-ha)]-š[ar]-wa-a[n-na-aš] ^{PLAMA-i} ⁴⁵
 ŠA *La-ba*[-ar]-na ha-an-te-ja-aš-ša-aš-ši-iš ^{PLAMA-i}
 48 ŠA *La-ba-a*[r]-na tar-pa-at-ta-aš-ši-iš ^{PLAMA-i} ⁴⁶ KI.MIN
 ša-lu-ba-at-t[a-aš-ši-iš] ^{PLAMA-i} KI.MIN nu-un-ta-ra-aš ^{PLAMA-i} ⁴⁷
 50 ŠA *La-ba-a*[r-n]a ma-ni-in-ku-wa-an ar-nu¹²-ma-aš ^{PLAMA[-i]}
 ŠA *La-ba-a*[r-n]a iš-ma-aš-šu-wa-la-aš ^{PLAMA-i}

³⁴ KUB XLIV 16 IV? 3: ^{PLAMA-i}.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 4: hu-u-ja-u-wa-a[š].

³⁶ *Ibid.* 10: ŠA *La-ba-a*[r-na].

³⁷ *Ibid.* 15: ŠA *La-b*[a-ar-na]; dpl. KBo II 38 dest. 1: KI.MIN, poi linea di divisione del paragrafo.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 2: NÍ.TE-aš; KUB XLIV 16 IV? 16: NÍ.TE-u[š].

³⁹ KBo II 38 dest. 3: ^{HUR}SAG¹Tu¹-ut-ha-li-ja-aš *La-b*[a-ar-na-aš].

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 4: :ku²-la-na-aš KI.MIN ^{PLA}[MA-aš], al posto delle ll. 39-40.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 5: *La-ba-ar-na-aš* ^{PLAMA-aš}.

⁴² *Ibid.* 6: a-ra[-u]-wa-aš KI.MIN ^{PLAMA-aš}.

⁴³ Così *ibid.* 7: EGIR-pa a-ša-an-na-aš KI.MI[N].

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 8: :ha-an-da-at-ta-aš-ši-i[š].

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 9: iš-ha-šar-wa-na-aš KI.M[IN].

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 10: :tar-pa-at-ta-aš KI.M[IN].

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 11: [nu-u]n-tar-aš KI.MIN ^{PLAMA-aš}.

52 ŠA *La-ba-a[r-n]a ták-ša-an-na-aš* ^PLAMA-i
 ŠA *La-ba-ar-na*

- III 1 ^PL]AMA-i ŠA *La[-ba]-ar-na-aš*
 2 [*an-na-ra-a*]š(?) *tar-pa-aš* ^PLAMA[-i]
 [*ŠA La-ba-a*]r-na *KUR-e-aš hu-u[-m]a-an-da-aš* ^PLAMA-i
 4 [*ŠA L]a-ba-ar-na pí-e-da[-a]š* ^PLAMA-i
 ŠA *La-ba-ar-na ta-ak-ku-wi-aš* ^PLA[MA-]i
 6 ŠA *La-ba-ar-na NÍ.TE-aš* ^PLAMA-i
 ŠA *La-ba-ar-na ZAG-i[š]* ^{UZU}ZAG.U[DU-aš] ^PLAMA-i
 8 ŠA *La-ba-ar-na GÜB[-la]-aš* ^{UZU}ZAG.UDU[-aš] (^PLAMA-i)
 ŠA *La-ba-ar-na* ^{HU(R.S)}AGKi-i-ta-u-wa-a[n-ta-aš] ⁴⁸ ^PLAMA-i
 10 ŠA *La-ba-ar-na* [(*pi*)]-*ha{-la/ad¹⁷}-ad-da-aš-š[(i-iš)]* ⁴⁹
^PLAMA-i ŠA *La-b[a]-ar-na*
 12 *šar-la[-a]i-t[a]-a[š]* ⁵⁰ ^PLAMA-i
 ŠA *L[a-ba-a]r-na* ^{GIS}TUKUL-aš ^PLAMA-i
 14 ŠA *La[-b]a-a[r]-na mu-wa-ad-da-la-ḫi-da-aš*
^PLAMA-i ŠA *La-ba-ar-na*
 16 *kur-ra-aš tar-ra-aš-ši-iš* ^PLAMA-i
 ŠA *La-ba-ar-na*
 18 *pa-ra-aš tar-ra-aš-ši-iš* ^PLAMA-i
 ŠA *La-ba-ar-na* ŠA UD.SIG₅-ja ^PLAMA-i
 20 ŠA *La-ba-ar-na* ^E*hu-u-wa-ap-ra-aš* ^PLAMA-i
 ŠA *La-ba-ar-na La-ba-ar-na-aš pár-na-aš*
 22 ^PLAMA-ri ŠA *La-ba-ar-na*
^PLAMA ŠA ^PUTU^{SI} ^T*u-ut-ḫa-li-ja*
 24 LUGAL.GAL UR.SAG
 ŠUNIGIN 1 ME 12 ŠUM^{BI.A} ^PLAMA I ^{GIS}BANŠUR
-
- 26 I GUD.ÁB *gi-im-ma-ra-aš* III MÁŠ.GAL
^PA-a-la-aš ŠUM^{BI.A}-aš *hu-u-ma-an-da-aš*
 28 ^PA-a-la-aš *hu-e-eš-wa-an-na-aš*
^PA-a-la-aš ŠA ŠA-ME-E
 30 ^PA-a-la-aš ŠA MÁŠ.ANŠE
^PA-a-la-aš *gi-im¹-ra-aš*
 32 ^PA-a-la-aš *mi-nu-um-ma-aš*
^PA-a-la-aš *a-aš-šu-la-aš*

⁴⁸ Prll. KBo XII 60 2: ^{HUR.SAG}Ki-da-u-wa-an-da-aš.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 4: *pi-ḫa-ad-da-aš-ši-iš*; E. Laroche, *DLL*, p. 38, leggeva: *ḫa-la-ad-[d]a-as-š[(i-iš)]*.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 6: *šar-la-da-aš-ši-iš*.

- 34 ^DA-a-la-aš URU₆Ha-at-ti
^DA-a-la-aš KARAS
- 36 ^DA-a[-l]a-a[š] URU₆A²-at-tar-ma⁵¹
^DA-a[-l]a-aš [ŠA^HUR.S[AG]]Ša-ar-p[a]⁵²
- 38 ^DA-a-la-aš ŠA^{HUR.SAG}Ša-l[u]-w[a-an-da]
^DA-a-la-aš URU₆T[u-u]t-tu
- 40 ^DA-a-la-aš URU₆Šu[-l]u-pa-aš-ša
^DA-a-la-aš URU₆Ha-ra-na
- 42 ^DA-a-la-aš gi-im-ma-ra-aš wa-ab-nu-w[a-a]n-da-aš
^DA-a-la-aš wa-ar-wa-an-ta-li-ja-aš
- 44 ^DA-a-la-aš aš-ša-at-ta-aš-ši-iš
^DA-a-la-aš wa-lj-pa-at-ta-aš-ši-iš
- 46 ^DA-a-la-aš la-mar-ḥa-an-da-at-ta-aš[(-ši-iš)]
^DA-a-la[-aš a]n-n[a-r]u-ma-ḥi-ta-aš-ši-i[(-š)]
- 48 ^DA-a-la[-aš (-)]x-ku-ti{-ja}-ja-at[(-ḥi-ta-aš-ši-iš)]⁵³
^DA-a-la-aš [aš-t]a-aš wa-as-ta[(-aš)]

- IV 1 ^DA-a-la-aš wa-al-li-j[a-a](n-na-aš)]
 2 ^DA-a-la-aš šar-la-at-ta-aš-š[(i-iš)]
^DA-a-la-aš ŠA^{GISBAN} ^DA-a-l[(a-aš)]
- 4 ŠA^{KUS}MÁ.URU.URU₆⁵⁴ ^DA-a-la-aš x[
 ŠA La-ba-ar-na
- 6 ^DA-a-l[a-aš]x-DA ŠA La-ba-ar-na⁵⁵
 [(^DA-a-la-aš pa-r)]a-a ḥa-an-ta-an-ta-an-na-aš⁵⁶
- 8 [ŠA La-ba-ar-na] ^DA-a-la-aš
 [(ša-ra-a ḥal-zi-j)]a-u-wa-aš ŠA La-ba-ar-na
- 10 [^DA-a-la-aš]x ḥal-zi-ja-u-wa[(-aš)]⁵⁷
 [ŠA La-ba-a]r-n[a] ^DA-a-la-aš
- 12 [ŠU-an(?)]ša-r]a-a ap-pa-an-na-aš
 [La-ba-a]r-na-aš⁵⁸

⁵¹ È attestata una città Attarimma, ma nel paese Lukka: J. Garstang - O. R. Gurney, *Geography*, p. 77.

⁵² Le località qui ricordate fino alla l. 41 compaiono anche *supra* I 45-48, in connessione con LAMA.

⁵³ Dpl. KUB XLIV 16 V² 3 ha: -]ti-ja-at-ḥi-ta-aš-ši-iš.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 7: ^{GISBAN}MÁ.URU.URU₆

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 9: K]I.MIN.

⁵⁶ Pril. KUB XL 108 V 2 (secondo cui è qui integrato il testo): ḥa-an-da-an-da-a[n-.

⁵⁷ KUB XLIV 16 IV² 11 ha solo un predicato formato con ḥal-zāi-: ḥal-z]i-ja-u-wa-aš KI.MIN.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 12: KI.MIN.

- 14 [^DA-a-la-aš ḥ]a-an-ta-an-za
 [^DA-a-la-aš (-)]x-nu-u-x-na-ši-i[š] ⁵⁹
- 16 [^DA-a-la-aš] la[-pa-n]a-aš-ši-i[š] ⁶⁰
 [ŠA L]a[-ba-a]r-na ⁶¹
- 18 [^DA-a-la-aš (-)]x-x-x-ra-aš-ši-i[š] (^š)
 [ŠA La-ba-ar-n]a ⁶¹
- 20 [^DA-a-la-aš (x EGIR-pa-r)]a-an-na[(-aš)]
 [^DA-a-la-aš]x-an-na-aš
- 22 [^DA-a-la-aš] ^{KU}škur-š[(-aš)] ⁶²
 [^DA-a-la-aš]-w]a²-an[-
- 24 [^DA-a-la-aš]]-an-t[a-
 [^DA-a-la-aš (-)]x-ab-ḥu-w[a- ⁶³
- 26 [^DA-a-la-aš]-j]a-aš
 [^DA-a-la-aš pi-ra-a]n ḥu-u-i-ja-u-wa-aš
- 28 [^DA-a-la-aš]]-nu-un ka-ri-ja-u-wa-aš ⁶⁴
 [^DA-a-la-aš]-]x
- 30 [^DA-a-la]-a-aš x[-]x
 [^DA-a-l]a-aš ḤUR.SAG^{MES}-aš ḥu-u-ma(-an)-ta-aš
- 32 [^DA-a-l]a-aš ID^{MES}-aš ḥu-u-ma-an-ta-aš
 [^DA-a-l]a-aš du-wa-du-na^{1?}(-aš) ḥu-ma-an-ta-aš ⁶⁵
- 34 [^DA-a-la-aš] šu-up-pi-ja-an-t[a-aš] ⁶⁶
 [ḥ]u-u-ma-an-ta-aš ^DA-a-la-aš
- 36 x-ku-uš-nu-wa-an-ti-iš ⁶⁷
 [^DA]-a-la-aš ŠA ^{HUR.SAG}Ša-ar-p[a] ⁶⁸
- 38 [^DA-a-l]a-aš GURUN-aš i-ja-at-na-aš ⁶⁸

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 14: -n]a-aš.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 15: -n]a-aš-ši-eš. Cf. E. Laroche, *DLL*, p. 62.

⁶¹ Manca in dpl.

⁶² *Ibid.* 19:]-š-a-aš.

⁶³ Bo 6113 4:]x-iš.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 6:] ka-ri-ja-an-da-aš.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 6: alla fine della riga c'è spazio solo per integrare quanto sta qui nella l. 29 o 30, quindi:

- 7 [^DA-a-la-aš ḤUR.SAG^{MES}-aš ^DA-a-la-aš ID^{MES}-aš ^DA-a-la-aš
 ḥu-u-m]a-an-da-aš ^DA-a-la-aš
] ḥ[^DA-a-la-aš]a-an-d[a]-aš ^DA-a-la-aš
 9 [du-wa-d]u²-na[-aš?] ^DA-a-la-aš

Per la lettura *du-wa-du-na^{1?}(-aš)* v. E. I. Gordon, *JCS* 21 (1967), p. 82.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 11: [šu-up-p]i²-eš-š-a-na-aš(?).

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 12: [x-ku-uš]-nu-wa-an-te-eš.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 13: [ŠA ^{HUR.SA}Šar-pa A.ŠA-la-an-za i-ja-at-na-za.

- $[^{\text{D}}A-a-l]a-aš \text{ } \text{ŠA} \text{ } ^{\text{P}}\text{UD} \text{ } \text{SIG}_5^{69}$
 40 $[^{\text{D}}A-a-la-aš] \text{ } x-ša^2-u-w[a-aš(?) \text{ } Z]I-aš^{70}$
-
- V 1 $^{\text{D}}A-a-la-a[š \text{ } \text{ŠA} \text{ } ^1\text{Tu-ut-}h_a]-li-ja^{71}$
 2 $\text{ŠA} \text{ } \acute{E} \text{ } L[\text{UGAL}(?) \text{ } ^{\text{D}}A-a-la-aš(?)]$
 $\text{ŠA} \text{ } ^1\text{Tu-ut-}h[a-li-ja]$
 4 $\text{ŠU.NIGÍN} \text{ } \text{ŠU-ŠI} \text{ } [ŠUM^{\text{BIA}}]$
 $I \text{ } ^{\text{GIS}}\text{BANSUR} \text{ } A[\text{D.KID}(?)]$
-
- 6 $I \text{ } \text{AMAR} \text{ } \text{GUD.MAH} \text{ } [$
 $h_u-u-ma-an[-da-aš$
 8 $x[$
- VI 1 $\text{ŠA} \text{ } \text{KUR} \text{ } ^{\text{URU}}\text{H}at-ti \text{ } \text{HUR.SAG}^{\text{BIA}} \text{ } h_u-u-ma-an-ta-aš$
 2 $\text{KUR-e-aš} \text{ } h_u-u-ma-an-ta-aš \text{ } ^{\text{P}}\text{UTU}^{\text{SI}}$
 $^1\text{Tu-ut-}h_a-li-ja-aš \text{ } ku-e-eš \text{ } la-a_h-ji-ja-iš-ki-iz-zi$
 4 $\text{HUR.SAG} \text{ } h_u-u-ma-an-ta-aš \text{ } \text{ŠA} \text{ } \text{KUR} \text{ } ^{\text{URU}}\text{H}at-ti$
 $^{\text{P}}\text{UTU}^{\text{SI}} \text{ } ^1\text{Tu-ut-}h_a-li-ja-aš \text{ } \text{LUGAL.GAL}$
 6 $ku-e-eš \text{ } š_i-ja-tal-li-iš-ki-iz-zi$
 $\text{HUR.SAG}^{\text{BIA}} \text{ } h_u-u-ma-an-te-eš \text{ } \text{ŠA} \text{ } \text{KUR} \text{ } \text{UGU}^{\text{TI}}$
 8 $^{\text{P}}\text{UTU}^{\text{SI}} \text{ } ku-e-eš \text{ } š_i-ja-tal-li-iš-ki-iz-zi$
 $^1\text{Ma-am-ra-an-ta-aš}$

All'inizio di quanto resta della col. I (mancano c. 4/5) compare un $^{\text{D}}Alaš$ in contesto frammentario, quindi si offrono « due bovi grandi ai nomi di tutti gli dèi Tutelari » (l. 42), la cui serie è aperta dal « LAMA del cielo », ipostasi creata qui appositamente, a somiglianza delle altre liste divine, ove la prima divinità maschile è il dio della Tempesta del cielo. Segue il LAMA della città di Karaḫna, il cui culto era assai diffuso, e poi due *nomi propri* di divinità tutelari: Karši e Ḫabantali (esse, insieme a Zitharija, costituivano

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 14: $\text{UD}^{\text{KAM}}aš$.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 15:] $ZI-as$.

⁷¹ Da qui in poi Bo 6113 presenta qualche variante di maggiore consistenza:

- 16 $]x \text{ } \text{LUGAL-wa-aš} \text{ } p\acute{a}r-na-aš \text{ } ^{\text{D}}A-a[-la-aš]$
 $] \text{ } \text{LUGAL-aš} \text{ } ^{\text{D}}A-a-la-aš$
 $]x \text{ } ^{\text{D}}A-a-la-aš \text{ } ^{\text{UZU}}\text{NIG}[\text{.GIG}$
 $] \text{ } ti-an-zi$
-
- $^{\text{B}}]I^{\text{A}} \text{ } \text{ŠA} \text{ } \text{HUR.SAG}^{\text{BIA}} \text{ } [$
 $š_i-p]a-an-ti \text{ } [$
 $^1\text{Tu-ut-}h[a-li-ja-aš \text{ } [$
 $]aš \text{ } [$

una nota triade), infine ha inizio la serie delle divinità tutelari di città, monti e fiumi. I toponimi ricordati sono in parte *hapax*, comunque il monte Šarpa è da situare nel Tauro cilicio, e il fiume Šiḫiriḫa verso Arzawa, mentre Sulu-pašša, Ḫarana, Šarišša sono nel nord-est, verso i Kaška.

Tale elenco si conclude all'inizio della col. II (mancano c. 9 ll.), che ancora alla l. 10 presenta un nome di fonte, parzialmente in lacuna. Nelle restanti 43 ll., e nelle prime 25 ll. della col. III sono conservati gli epiteti di LAMA che riguardano tutele e funzioni particolari. Si noti che in II 38 compare ancora la LAMA di una montagna, Tuḫalija, qui inclusa perché traendo il sovrano da essa il proprio nome, egli si trovava in stretta relazione con il monte. L'elenco si conclude così: « Al LAMA del Labarna della Maestà Tuḫalija, gran re, eroe; in totale 112 nomi di LAMA, (a ciascuno) una tavola (d'offerta) » (III 22-25).

Sempre nella col. III, alla l. 26, hanno inizio gli epiteti di Ala: « Una vacca della prateria, tre caproni, a tutti i nomi di Ala: Ala della vita... ». L'elenco continua nella col. IV, per concludersi alla l. 5 della col. V: « Totale 60 [nomi (di Ala)], (a ciascuno) una tavola (d'offerta) di vi[mini(?)] ». In III 36-41 Ala è divinità tutelare di alcune località, già ricordate per LAMA (ma Ala di Ḫatti in III 34; e Ala del monte Šarpa, III 37, è ripetuto anche in IV 37).

In V 6 sg. inizia poi un nuovo ciclo di offerte: « Un torello a tutti [... », ma il testo si interrompe immediatamente: verosimilmente iniziava qui un elenco di montagne, corrispondente a KBo X 40 V, dpl. KUB XL 101 (v. *infra* p. 115). Resta infine la prima parte della col. VI: « A tutte le montagne del paese di Ḫatti, di tutte le regioni, sulle quali la Maestà Tuḫalija conduce le campagne militari, a tutte le montagne del paese di Ḫatti, che la Maestà Tuḫalija, gran re, percorre a caccia: tutte le montagne della Regione Superiore, che la Maestà percorre a caccia ... ». Inizia qui un elenco di fiumi, dei quali è conservato un solo nome, Mammara, ma che si può completare con l'aiuto del prill. KBo XI 40 VI, che alle ll. 7-9 ricorda il Mala (l'Eufrate), il Mammara e il Gurmaliḫa, evidentemente i fiumi principali della Regione Superiore, e dunque anche i fiumi, accanto ai monti, concorrono a definire questa geografia religiosa. Così si continua infatti in KBo XI 40 VI 10 sgg.: « tutte le montagne, tutti [i fiumi] del paese di Ḫurri, che [la Maestà] percorre a caccia ». E per completare questo panorama dell'impero ittita, si passa alla regione di Arzawa, dei Maša, dei Luqqa, dei Kaška, per tornare infine a Ḫatti.

Duplicati sono KBo II 38 (una sola colonna è conservata) e KUB XLIV 16 IV³ e V⁷. Le coll. I e II riportano una descrizione di festa: il re si veste ed esce dal *ḫalentuwa*; in II 11: LUGAL-uš INA É *L[AMA il re nel tempio di L[AMA ...; sono presenti i ¹⁰MESUR.BAR.RA.

KBo XI 40

La col. I è prll. a KUB II 1, vale a dire che sono menzionate le stesse ipostasi di LAMA (per le varianti v. note 27-32), elencando però per ciascuna le offerte culturali; così ad es. alle ll. 19-20 (integrazioni secondo il dpl. KUB XL 108 II 2-3) si ha: [(I ^{NINDA}tū)]*ḫurai* (I) ^{UZU}*dahašti* UDU ZAG-nan [I ^{DUG}t]*alaimiš* KAŠ ^{1D}*Kellaš* ^PLAMA(-i) « [(un pane)] t., una gamba(?) destra di pecora, [un vaso] t. di birra per il LAMA del fiume Kella ». Ugualmente per la col. II, prll. a KUB II 1 II 15-24.

La III e IV col. mancano, mentre la V, di cui KUB XL 101 Ro e Vo è dpl., presenta, sempre con lo stesso schema delle offerte, una lista di montagne che dovrebbe corrispondere alla parte in lacuna di KUB II 1 V. La riprova ne è che KUB XL 101 Ro 1 sg. ha: ... ^P*Ālaš* [ŠA 'T]*utḫalija* I ^{GIS}BANŠUR, che corrisponde a KUB II 1 V 3-5, e prosegue, l. 3: ... *ḪUR.SAG*^{MES} *dapiaš* ... « ... a tutte le montagne ... », elencando i monti *Ḫulla*, *Tutḫalija*, *Kammalija*, *Dāḫa*, *Puškurunuwa*, *Daggurqa*, *Ḫaḫḫarwa*, *Šarpa*, *Zalijanū*, *Šarešša*, i fiumi *Maraššanda* e *Ḫatenzuwa* (KUB XL 101 Vo 4, cf. KBo XI 40 V 13: [*ḫat*] *inzuwa aldanni*, *īD-i* in KBo XII 59 I 4), di nuovo i monti *Kaššu*, *Arnuwanda*, *Amana*, *Daḫalmuna*, e infine tre toponimi in parte frammentari. Tutti questi nomi, ad eccezione dell'Amo, sono da situare nell'area centrale dell'Anatolia.

La col. VI è prll. a KUB II 1 VI, e la parte iniziale può essere ricostruita parzialmente attraverso il dpl. KUB XL 107(+) Vo, in realtà non ben conservato. Il colofone non è completo:

[DUB] I²/II².KAM Ū-UL QAT-I
I-NA] É ^PLAMA *gi-im-ma-an-d[a-ri-*
[A-NA] *GIŠ.ḪUR-kán ḫa-an-d[a-an]*

« Prima²/seconda² [tavoletta], non completo. [Quando...(?) nel] tempio di LAMA sver[na]. Conforme [all']originale su legno ».

KUB XL 108

Col. I: descrizione di festa (restano poche righe). Col. II duplica KBo XI 40 I. Col. III e IV non sono conservate. Col. V è prll. a KUB II 1 IV 7-10: offerte a ipostasi di Ala. Nella col. VI è solo la parte finale delle prime due righe.

KUB XL 101

Ro e Vo sono dupl. di KBo XI 40 V (v. *supra*); per Ro 1-2 cf. KUB II 1 V 3-5.

KUB XL 107 + IBoT II 18

L'inizio della col. I, assai frammentario, ricorda i monti di *Ḫatti*:

ḪUR.S]AG^{BLA} / Š]A KUR^{URU} Ḫatti (in lacuna forse i fiumi, etc.), e a tutti si deve una tavola d'offerta: I^{GIS}BANŠUR (ll. 1-3). Nel paragrafo successivo si elencano le offerte « per i nomi di tutti i LAMA », « per i nomi di tutte le Ala »: AN]A ŠUM^{BLA} ḪAMA ḫūmandaš, ANA ŠUM^{BLA} ḪALAš ḫūmandaš (ll. 4-5). Le ipostasi non vengono però nominate; segue invece una celebrazione culturale del tipo EZEN (alla l. 27 offerte a Karzi e Ḫabantali). Della col. II restano solo gli inizi di alcune righe. Il Vo (= col. VI ?) duplica KBo XI 40 VI, di cui conserva anche la parte iniziale, là in lacuna.

KBo XII 60

È prll. a KUB II 1 III: offerte a ipostasi di LAMA.

KBo XII 59

Sempre da datare a Tutḫalija IV, si differenzia in parte dagli altri testi. Nella col. I è una lista di monti e fiumi che, come in KUB II 1 VI e KBo XI 40 VI, « il re percorre a caccia », e ai quali si fanno offerte, però secondo moduli differenti. I nomi corrispondono praticamente a quelli di KUB II 1 I 45-51. Alla l. 8 compare ḪAZ.BA.A.A, sulle cui connessioni con LAMA è da vedere H.M. Kümmel, *StBoT* 3, p. 87; alla l. 11 sg. è ricordata la dea Zaḫpuna (v. anche IV 11; è la sposa del monte Zalijanu), attribuendole l'epiteto di colei « che marcia innanzi, che precorre »; essa viene dunque qui inclusa tra le divinità tutelari: si ricordi l'epiteto « del correre innanzi, del soccorrere » *piran ḫūijauwaš*, dato a LAMA e Ala.

Nella col. IV (pochi inizi di riga restano della col. III) col richiamo « a tutte le acque » si amplia il rapporto tra sovrano e natura, che si fa più diretto: il re non solo percorre monti e valli, a caccia e in guerra, ma si occupa di questi, li « pianta fitti di cedri ». Alla l. 14 è ricordato il dio tutelare Zitharija.

I

- 2 [MÁŠ.GAL]-aš I-an Ša-lu-wa-an-ta ḪUR.SAG-i 'T[u-ut-ḫa-li-ja-aš]
[LUGAL-u]š ku-in ši-ja-tal-li-iš-ki-iz-zi ḫu-ur[-ni-iš-ki-iz-zi]
- 4 [MÁŠ.G]AL-aš I-an Ḫa-le-en-žu-wa ḪD-i 'Tu-ut-ḫa-li[-ja-aš]
[ku-i]n la-aḫ-ḫi-iš-ki-iz-zi Ku-um-ra ḪD-i Ki-e[l-la ḪD-i]
- 6 ['T]u-ut-ḫa-li-ja-aš LUGAL-uš ku-i-e-eš ši-ja-tal-li[-iš-k]i-iz-zi
[ḫ]u-u-wa-ar-ni-iš-ki-iz-zi Šal-ma-ku ḪD-i
- 8 [Ḫ]GAZ.BA.A.A-aš a-aš-ši-ja-an-ti Še-ḫi-ri-ja ḪD-i
['T]u-ut-ḫa-li-ja-aš a-aš-ši-ja-an-ti
- 10 XIV MÁŠ.GAL
- [] uzUNÍG.GIG-ši NINDA tu-ḫu-u-ra-i ḪZa-aḫ-pu-na-i
- 12 ['T]u-ut-ḫa-li-ja-aš LUGAL-wa-aš pi-ra-an ti-an-ti

- 2 [Dei capr]oni, uno al monte Šaluwanta, che T[utḫalija],
[il r]e, percorre a caccia, (dove) va a ca[ccia].
- 4 [Dei capro]ni, uno al fiume Ḫalenzuwa, [ch]e Tutḫali[ja]
percorre a caccia; al fiume Kumra, [al fiume] Ke[lla],
6 che Tutḫalija, il re, percorre a caccia, (dove)
va a caccia; al fiume Šalmaku,
8 prediletto della dea GAZ.BA.A.A; al fiume Šehirija,
prediletto di Tutḫalija.
- 10 _____ 14 caproni
[] fegato, pane *t.* a Zaḫpuna
- 12 che marcia innanzi, di [Tutḫ]alija, il re.
-
- IV 2 ... An-zi-ja TÚL-i ¹Tu-ut-ḫa-li-ja-aš LUG[AL-wa-aš]
[ḫu-u-ma-a]n-ta-aš ú-ḫe-te-na-aš
- 4 [^{NIN}]^{DA}tu-ḫu-ra-i-ja Ḫa-ri-nu-um-ma ḪUR.SAG-i
[¹Tu-ut-ḫ]a-li-ja-aš LUGAL-uš ku-in ^{GIS}ERIN [w]a-ar-ḫu-wa-nu-ut
- 2 ... alla fonte Anzija di Tutḫalija, il re,
[a tut]te le acque.
- 4 [un p]ane *t.* al monte Ḫarinumma ⁷²
che [Tutḫ]alija, il re, infoltisce di cedri.
-

⁷² Per Ḫarinumma si tenga presente la città di Ḫarinima, ricordata accanto a Waššanza e Wijanawanda in KUB XXVI 43 I 15.

I) $G^{15}GU.ZA$ e $G^{15}kišhi$ (idgr. $G^{15}ŠÚ.A$)

Nei testi ittiti ricorrono tre termini per indicare il trono: $G^{15}GU.ZA$, di cui ancora non è stata identificata la lettura, $G^{15}kišhi/kešhi$ (idgr. $G^{15}ŠÚ.A$)¹ e $G^{15}halmašuiš$ (idgr. $G^{15}DAG$)².

Per quanto $G^{15}kišhi$ (idgr. $G^{15}ŠÚ.A$) sia molto più usato ed abbia un significato più generico, tuttavia i punti di coincidenza con $G^{15}GU.ZA$ sono sostanziali³. Ambedue le parole sono usate per indicare il 'trono della regalità', il simbolo del potere del sovrano.

*KB₀ III 3 II 11 sgg.*⁴ *nu-kán A-NA 1DU-PU ŠEŠ-ŠU ŠA MAŠ-ŠU A-NA G¹⁵GU.ZA LUGAL-UT-TI É-ŠU Û KUR-ŠU li-e ku-iš-ki ha-an-na-a-i*

¹ V. per tutti FRIEDRICH, « RHA » 47, 1947, p. 15 sg., ove si abbandona l'ipotesi di due letture per $G^{15}ŠÚ.A$ (in alcuni casi il complemento fonetico per il dat. è *-ki, -kitti*), e si pone $G^{15}kišhi$ come variante. Per l'uso di $G^{15}kišhi$ nel hurrico ed il passaggio in ittito v. FRIEDRICH, « AfO » 14, 1944, p. 329 sgg.; URUDUŠÚ.A in XXXIII 66 I 15?

² V. EHELOLF, « ZA » NF 2, 1925, p. 312 sg.

³ Il FRIEDRICH in *Staatsv.* II p. 25 sgg., dopo un primo spoglio dei testi, nota che $G^{15}ŠÚ.A$ in ittito, oltre ad avere il significato di 'sedia' (Stuhl) come il corrispondente vocabolo acc. *LITTU* ('Schemel') ha anche quello di 'trono', mentre $G^{15}GU.ZA$ in ittito sembra essere usato solo per 'trono del re' a differenza dell'acc. *KUSSÛ* 'sedia'. Ma la pubblicazione di nuovi rituali (v. *infra* p. 80 sgg.), attesta anche per $G^{15}GU.ZA$ il significato di 'seggio'. Il SOMMER (*HAB* p. 115) ha posto in evidenza che i testi più antichi mostrano come ideogramma per 'trono' solo $G^{15}ŠÚ.A$; per $G^{15}GU.ZA$ nel medio regno cfr. 2 *BoTU* 23 A II 16 (*KB₀ III 1 + 68*, editto di Telepinuš) e 2 *BoTU* 26 2 (XI 3, Cat. 22): un frammento ove è ricordato Alluwamnaš.

⁴ Cat. 44.

I POTERI DELLA DEA
IŠTAR ҲURRITA-ITTITA

Oriens Antiquus 16 (1977),
297-311

I POTERI DELLA DEA IŠTAR 𒌷URRITA-ITTITA

Alfonso ARCHI - Roma

Della cultura mesopotamica gli Ittiti ebbero una conoscenza diretta – basata su una documentazione accadica (ed anche sumerica) proveniente verosimilmente, più che da Babilonia, dalle regioni occidentali che ne sentirono fortemente l'influenza – ed una conoscenza mediata, attraverso i 𒌷urriti, che ne rielaborarono non pochi aspetti⁽¹⁾. Certo, il tramite “libresco” non raramente sembra risultare meno efficace di un'osmosi realizzatasi tra popolazioni vicine. È questo il caso del culto della dea Ištar (hurr. Šaušga), propagatosi in Anatolia attraverso i 𒌷urriti stanziati nella regione di Kizzuwatna⁽²⁾.

Di una preghiera in onore di Ištar ci sono conservati due esemplari, dei quali uno, in accadico, è probabilmente un semplice esercizio scribale, mentre l'altro è una traduzione in ittita, piuttosto infedele⁽³⁾. La qualità stessa dei due esemplari, e il carattere della composizione, costruita su moduli che gli Ittiti non fecero mai loro (si tratta dell'enumerazione di esaltanti prerogative ed attributi, le cui implicazioni risultano talvolta difficilmente intellegibili a chi è estraneo alla tradizione mesopotamica), mostrano come questa preghiera dovette contribuire in maniera limitata alla definizione teologica di Ištar, e quindi alle credenze ed ai culti a lei legati.

(1) La documentazione accadica e sumerica di Bogazköy è elencata, con bibl., in: E. La Roche, *CTH*, nn. 299-309: vocabolari; 310-316: traduzioni in ittita (talvolta con testo in lingua originale) di inni, e composizioni epiche o sapienziali; 341, 347 ...: miti; 531-560: *omina*; 792-796: inni (su cui v. ora J. S. Cooper, *ZA*, 61 [1971], pp. 1-22; 62 [1972], pp. 62-81); 800-819: prevalentemente rituali. Sui 𒌷urriti come tramite della cultura mesopotamica, v. ora: A. Kammenhuber, *Orakelpraxis, Träume und Vorzeichenschau bei den Hethitern* (Texte der Hethiter, 7), Heidelberg 1976, in particolare le pp. 59-65 (con bibl.).

(2) Per Ištar in Anatolia al tempo dei mercanti assiri, v. H. Hirsch, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 17-20. Sulla diffusione del culto di Ištar di Šamuha, v. ora: R. Lebrun, *Samuha, foyer religieux de l'Empire hittite*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1976.

(3) Il testo in accadico è *KUB XXXVII 36 (+) 37*; quello in ittita è *KUB XXXI 141*. Esiste poi una copia neo-babilonese nella serie š u–ī l–l a: *STC II*, pls. LXXV sgg. = E. Ebeling, *AGH*, pp. 130-137. La preghiera è stata studiata da ultimo da E. Reiner - H. G. Güterbock: *JCS*, 21 (1967), pp. 255-266, che così giudicano l'esemplare in accadico: “the tablet seems to be a pupil's exercise as the many mistakes and the disregard of verse division indicate” (p. 256b). Inoltre: “the Akkadian-text from which (the) Hi(ttite text) was translated, however, was not the accidentally preserved *KUB XXXVII 36 (+) 37*, but rather a better copy in which the verses were separated correctly ... the Hittite renderings, which often reveal a rather sketchy understanding of the Akkadian text, are frequently no more than the Hittite 'Assyriologist's' approximations” (p. 265a).

Maggior diffusione di questo genere di letteratura dotta dovevano invece avere concezioni trasmesse mediante rituali, i quali, se fissati in versioni scritte, certo erano perlopiù noti anche sulla base di tradizioni orali, e si rivolgevano ad un vasto pubblico utilizzando almeno in parte il patrimonio della cultura popolare. Ciò vale per i rituali di Kizzuwatna, la cui conoscenza nell'area propriamente ittita fu promossa anche da alcuni membri della stessa casa reale. Uno di questi testi, *KUB XV 35 + KBo II 9* (*CTH 716*), conserva i riti atti a persuadere Ištar di Ninive a insediarsi nel paese di Ḫatti. Se alcuni termini e certe procedure mostrano come il rituale sia un prodotto della cultura hurritizzante di Kizzuwatna, esso però fu rielaborato almeno in parte a Ḫattuša, poiché è appunto nel paese ittita che la dea viene invitata. Altri due testi hurritizzanti per Ištar di Ninive, la festa del mese *KUB XXXVII 16* (parallelo è *KUB X 27*: *CTH 714*), e la festa d'inverno *KUB X 63* (*CTH 715*)⁽⁴⁾, confermano come il culto di questa divinità sia stato in effetti introdotto tramite i Hurriti, ciò che certo non può stupire, se si consideri la venerazione in cui essa era tenuta ad esempio alla corte di Mitanni⁽⁵⁾.

All'inizio dunque del rituale per "attirare" (*ḫuittiya*-/SUD) Ištar⁽⁶⁾, dopo alcune offerte, si evoca la dea da tutte le regioni, cominciando da Ninive, Rimuši, Dunta, Mitanni⁽⁷⁾. Segue poi l'invocazione qui sotto riportata, che doveva concludersi nella col. II (totalmente mancante insieme alla col. III), mentre nella col. IV sono indicati i riti e le offerte che doveva compiere il celebrante, vale a dire il "veggente", LU ḪAL⁽⁸⁾.

(4) I due testi sono stati studiati da M. Vieyra: *RA*, 51 (1957), pp. 85-94. L'etichetta *KUB XXX 76* ha: TUP-PA^{IIA} EZEN^{IIA} (2) ŠA^D GAŠAN URU^{URU} Ni-i-nu-wa "tavolette delle feste (2) della Signora di Ninive". V. Haas - G. Wilhelm, *AOATS* 3, p. 11, citano un altro rituale per evocare Ištar di Ninive, con ampie parti in hurrita: 284/n, dpl.: 177/n e *KUB XXXVII 37*. Un frammento di un rituale per "attirare" Ištar di Ninive, composto per la regina Taduḫepa, è *KUB XLV 43*. In un rituale, di origine hurrita, per le divinità infernali, in un passo mitologico, dopo Kumarpi viene introdotta Ištar, che giungendo da Ninive riporta il bene nella famiglia per la quale il rituale viene celebrato. *KBo X 45 II 44* sgg. (dupl. *KUB XLI 8 II 8* sgg.): "Ištar (machte sich) eilig (auf), und von Ninive vor dem Falken zog sie einher. In die Rechte nahm sie Wasser, in die Linke aber nahm sie die Worte. Rechts träufelt sie Wasser aus, (nach) links aber spricht sie die Worte: 'Ins Haus möge das Gute eintreten! Das Böse möge es (mit den) Augen suchen und es hinauswerfen ...'" (trad. di H. Otten, *ZA*, 54 [1961], p. 125).

(5) Tušratta inviò ad Amenophis III l'immagine di Ištar di Ninive, come già aveva fatto il padre Šuttarna II; v. *EA* 23. Ištar di Ninive è la dea che ha il ruolo più importante in due composizioni hurrite, note in traduzioni ittite più o meno rielaborate, vale a dire il "romanzo" di Appu e il Mito di Ḫedammu, v. J. Siegelová, *Appu* (*StBoT* 14), Wiesbaden 1971, s. indice.

(6) Il colophon, IV 50 sg., ha: D^D IŠTAR URU^{URU} N]e-nu-wa (51) Q]A-TI.

(7) Per la sezione geografica, I 23-39, restaurata mediante il parallelo *KBo II 36* Ro, v. H. Th. Bossert, *Asia*, pp. 34-39, ove sono raccolti anche i passi analoghi.

(8) Le prime 26 righe sono pubblicate come *KUB XV 35*. La numerazione tra parentesi che qui si dà, è quella del testo ricostruito attraverso i due frammenti; l'altra invece si riferisce all'edizione del solo *KBo II 9*. Il passo considerato è stato studiato da F. Sommer, *ZA*, 33 (1921), pp. 85-102. Ma già pochi anni dopo, grazie ai rapidi progressi compiuti nella decifrazione della lingua ittita, J. Friedrich, *AO*, 25/2 (1925), p. 21 sg., era in grado di offrire una traduzione nettamente migliorata.

- I (45) *na-aš-ta ki-iz-za IŠ-TU KUR.KUR^{Ĥ1.A} ar-ħa e-ħu na-aš-t[a²]*
 20 *ŠA LUGAL SAL.LUGAL DUMU^{MEŠ}.LUGAL TI-tar ħa-ad-du-
 la-tar in-na-ra-u-wa-t[ar]*
- (47) *MU^{Ĥ1.A}.GÍD.DA nu-ú-un :tu-um-ma-an-ti-ya-an tar-ħu-i-
 la-tar*
- 22 *A-NA KUR ^{URU}Ĥat-ti-kán an-da ħal-ki-uš ^{GÍŠ}GĚŠTIN¹-aš
 GUD-aš UDU-aš*
- (49) *DUMU.NAM. <LÚ.> ULÚ^{LU} -aš mi-ya-tar šal-ħi-it-ti-in ma-an-
 ni-it-ti-en*
- 24 *an-na-re-en-na ú-da*
-
- (51) *na-aš-ta A-NA LÚ^{MEŠ} ar-ħa ^{LÚ}NÍTA-tar^a) tar-ħu-i-la-tar*
 26 *ħa-ad-du-la-tar ma-a-al-la ^{GÍŠ}TUKUL^{Ĥ1.A} ^{GÍŠ}BAN^{Ĥ1.A} ^{GÍŠ}KAK.
 Ú.TAG.GA^{Ĥ1.A}*
- (53) *GÍR da-a na-at I-NA ^{URU}Ĥat-ti ú-da a-pé-da-aš-ma-kán
 ŠU-i*
- 28 *ŠA SAL^{TI} ^{GÍŠ}ħu-u-la-li ^{GÍŠ}ħu-i-ša-an-na da-a-i*
- (55) *nu-uš SAL-ni-li ú-e-eš-ši-ya nu-uš-ma-aš-kán ^{TÚG}ku-re-
 eš-šar ša-a-i*
- 30 *nu-uš-ma-aš-kán tu-e-el aš-šu-ul ar-ħa da-a*
-
- (57) *IA1-NA SAL^{MEŠ} -ma-kán ar-ħa an-ni-ya-tar a-ši-ya-tar*
 32 *mu-u-uš-ni-en da-a na-at-kán A-NA KUR ^{URU}Ĥat-ti iš-tar-
 na ú-da*
- (59) *nu-za LUGAL SAL.LUGAL DUMU^{MEŠ}.LUGAL DUMU.DUMU^{MEŠ}.
 LUGAL EGIR-an^b) aš-šu-li TI-an-ni*
- 34 *ħa-ad-du-la-an-ni in-na-ra-u-wa-an-ni MU^{Ĥ1.A}.GÍD.DA EGIR.
 UD^{MI} kap-pu-u-wa-i*
- (61) *na-at lu-lu-wa-a-i ħa-ap-pí-na-ab-ħi-ya-at nu-ut-ta KUR
^{URU}Ĥat-ti*
- 36 *ku-ú-ša-da-aš ħa-šu-um-ma-ra-aš-ša pár-ku-i KUR-e e-eš-
 du*
-
- (63) *nu-ut-ta ka-a-aš-ma KUR ^{URU}Ĥat-ti EGIR-pa dam-me-eš-
 ħa-an ma-ni-ya-ab-ħu-un*
- 38 *zi-ik ^DIŠTAR ^{URU}Ne-nu-wa GAŠAN-NI Ú-UL ša-ak-ti*
- (65) *KUR ^{URU}Ĥat-ti dam-me-eš-ħa-an ki-iz-za-ma-at ag-ga-an-
 na-az*

a) oppure: LÚ-na¹-tar

b) segue un segno probabilmente in rasura

- (45) Vieni via da questi paesi e porta
 20 del re, della regina, dei principi la vita, la salute, il vigore,
 (47) gli anni lunghi, *l'ascolto, l'esaudimento*, la forza;
 22 dentro al paese di Ḫatti: il grano, le viti, i buoi, le pecore,
 (49) la prosperità del genere umano, *la crescita, la floridezza*
 24 e la robustezza.
-
- (51) Agli uomini (di quei paesi) prendi via la mascolinità, la forza,
 26 la salute e la pienezza⁽⁹⁾, le mazze, gli archi, le frecce,
 (53) le spade (sg.!) e portale in Ḫatti; a loro poni in mano
 28 la conocchia e il fuso delle donne,
 (55) vestili da donna, imponi loro il velo,
 30 e privati del tuo favore!
-
- (57) Alle donne (di quei paesi) prendi via la maternità, l'amore,
 32 *la fertilità*, e portali in mezzo al paese di Ḫatti;
 (59) provvedi il re, la regina, i principi, i nipoti del re nel favore, nella vita,
 34 nella salute, nel vigore, negli anni lunghi, nell'avvenire;
 (61) accrescili, falli prosperare; e per te il paese di Ḫatti
 36 sia un paese puro dove ci si sposa e si genera!
-
- (63) Ecco, ora ti ho riconsegnato il paese di Ḫatti oppresso;
 38 tu Ištar di Ninive, nostra signora, non sai
 (65) (come) il paese di Ḫatti (è) oppresso? Da questa moria esso ...

La formulazione dell'invocazione non differisce da quelle che si incontrano comunemente nei rituali della tradizione ittita-luvia, e che sono usuali anche nei rituali kizzuwatnei (termini come *nū-*, *tummantiya-*, *šalhitti-*, *mannitti-*, *annari-*, ll. 47, 49-50, sono appunto luvii): la divinità è invitata a concedere alla famiglia reale la salute e la continuità, e al paese di Ḫatti ogni prosperità⁽¹⁰⁾. Ma oltre a ciò, qui si richiede a Ištar di porre in atto un suo privilegio, ben noto alla tradizione mesopotamica, e che così già veniva definito in un inno di Enḫeduanna, la figlia di Sargon di Akkad: "To turn a man into a woman and a woman into a man are yours, Inanna"⁽¹¹⁾. L'espressione è ripresa in un noto verso del Mito di Erra: "Fanno sollevare

(9) Così, con H. G. Güterbock, *JCS*, 6 (1952), p. 36, nt. f.

(10) V. A. Kammenhuber, *MSS*, 3 (1958), pp. 27-43; V. Haas - G. Wilhelm, *AOATS* 3, pp. 22-33.

(11) Inno i n-n i n š à-g u r₄-r a, l. 120, v. Å. Sjöberg, *ZA*, 65 (1976), p. 190 sg.: [n i t a] m u n u s-r a m u n u s n i t a-r a k u₄-k u₄-d è ^di n a n n a z a-k a m (esempl. E), z i-k a-r a-a m a-n a s i-n i¹-i š₇-t i m s i-n i¹-i š₇ a-n a z i-k a¹-r i-i m t u-r u-u m k u-u m-m a e š t a r.

nell'Eanna eunuchi (e) prostituti, ai quali Ištar, per infondere alla gente religioso timore, mutò la mascolinità in fem[minilità]”⁽¹²⁾. Per gli Ittiti, Ištar provocherà questo mutamento servendosi dei mezzi che la loro stessa cultura suggeriva, e cioè mediante la sostituzione degli oggetti tipicamente maschili (le armi) con quelli femminili (qui la conocchia e il fuso). Lo stesso procedimento simbolico è infatti adottato in un rituale celebrato in occasione del giuramento dell'esercito, dove il mutamento

(12) L. Cagni, *Erra*, p. 110 sg.: IV 55-56. Già F. Sommer, art. cit., p. 100 sg., citava come passo parallelo *ASKT*, p. 130, Vo 47-54 (cf. A. Schollmeyer, *MVAG* 13, 4 [1908], p. 223) in questa traduzione di Zimmer:

“Den Mann [verwandle ich] in ein Weib,
Das Weib [verwandle ich] in einen Mann;
Die den Mann als Weib ausst[attet, bin ich],
Die das Weib als Mann ausst[attet, bin ich]”.

L'interpretazione del primo distico è condivisa da W. von Soden, *AHW*, p. 1047b. Meno convincente sembra l'interpretazione di A. Falkenstein, *SAHG*, p. 231: “(47/48) Den Mann [lasse ich] zur Frau [gehen], (49/50) die Frau [lasse ich] zum Mann [gehen], (51/52) den Mann [lasse ich] für die Frau sich schmü[cken], (53/54) die Frau [lasse ich] für den Mann sich schmü[chen]”. Il testo si presenta così:

47 m u - t i n n u n u s - m u - t i n - a - š è m u - n i - k [u₄ - k u₄]
48 z i - k a - r i s i n - n i š - t u m [
49 ^{nu} n u n u s m u - t i n - a - š è m u - n i - k [u₄ - k u₄]
50 s i n - n i š - t u m a n a z i - < k a - > r i [
51 m u - t i n ^{nu} n u n u s - a - š è š e - e r - k [a - a n - d u₁₁ / d i m è n]
52 š á z i - k a - r i a n a s i n - n i š - t u m [
53 ^{nu} n u n u s m u - t i n - a - š è š e - e r - k a [- a n - d u₁₁ / d i m è n]
54 s i n - n i š - t u m a n a z i - k a - r i [
55

Å. Sjöberg, art. cit., pp. 223-226, richiama ancora i paralleli K 9955+ Ro 19 (*RA*, 26 [1929], p. 22): -p]at zik-ri ana sin-niš u sin-niš-tú ana zik-r[i], e *SRT* 36, l. 21 (cf. G. R. Castellino, *RSO*, 32 [1957], p. 16): n i t a m u n u s - a n i t a - a - b i k u₄ - k u₄ š u - b a l b a - a - a k. Poiché però questo testo prosegue così: “the young women (like) the young men dress their right side, the young men (like) the young women dress their left side”, Sjöberg, che cita altri due passi paralleli (inno di Isin nr. 6: W. Ph. Römer, *SKIZ*, p. 130, l. 55 sgg.; *UM* 29-16-229 II 4 sgg.), giunge alla conclusione che: “the passages cited above do not point, in my opinion, to a changing of sexes; when referring to the Inanna-Ištar cult the passages refer only to the changing of roles of women and men in the cult ceremonies. š u - b a l a k ... do not refer to the changing of sexes but to the changing of the roles of the male and female participants”. Ora, questo scambio di ruoli tra i partecipanti ai riti di Ištar sarà stato certamente un tratto caratteristico di quel culto. Ma in tal modo veniva realizzato, anche se solo sul piano simbolico (le vesti!), quel terribile potere effettivamente attribuito alla dea. E ciò stanno appunto ad indicare anche coloro che nel mitico corteo di Inanna sfilano vestiti in tal modo: “their right side they dress with men's clothing ... their left side they cover with women's clothing” (inno di Isin nr. 6). Se così non fosse, perché il culto di Ištar dovrebbe prevedere tali trasformazioni? E d'altra parte, avere dei sacerdoti ed inservienti travestiti è davvero una cosa tanto straordinaria da essere messa alla pari con tutte le

di sesso è minacciato ai militari spergiuri, *KBo* VI 34 II 42 - III 1:

“Nun bringt man Frauenkleider, einen Rocken und eine Spindel (TÚG ŠĀ SAL ^{GIS}hūlāli ^{GIS}hūešan(n)-a) (43) herbei und zerbricht einen Pfeil (GI-an), (44) und du sprichst zu ihnen folgendermassen: ‘Was ist dies? Sind (es) nicht (45) Überkleider von Frauen (ŠA SAL ^{TUG}NÍG.LÁM^{MES})? Wir haben sie (hier) zur Vereidigung. (46) Wer nun diese Eide übertritt und dem König, der Königin (47) und den Söhnen des Königs Böses (48) zufügt, den sollen diese Eide aus einem Mann zu einem Weibe (49) machen (LÚ-an SAL-an iendu), seine Heere sollen sie zu Weibern machen (*tuz < zi > uš-šuš* SAL^{MES}-uš iendu), (50) sie nach Weiberart kleiden (SAL-li waššandu) und ihnen ein Kopftuch (51) aufsetzen (^{TUG}kureš-šar šiyandu)! Bogen, Pfeile und (sonstige) Waffen (^{GIS}BAN^{II.A} G^{II.A} ^{GIS}TUKUL^{II.A}) (52) sollen sie ihnen in ihren Händen zerbrechen (53) und ihnen Rocken und Spindel (^{GIS}hūlāli ^{GIS}hūešan(n)-a) (III 1) in die Hände legen!’ ”(13).

E similmente, nel rituale contro l'impotenza, dovuto alla maga Paškuwatti di Arzawa, la sostituzione dei simboli femminili con quelli maschili è intesa a provocare per analogia la risoluzione dei problemi dell'impotente. *KUB* IX 27 (+) I 18-29⁽¹⁴⁾:

“Faccio una porta di canne; (18) [poi] la lego con lana rossa (e) lana bianca. (20) [Al] mandante del rituale pongo in [mano] un fuso [ed] una conocchia (^{GIS}hū-išan ^{GIS}hūlāli-[a]). (21) Egli passa sotto la porta, (22) e come esce dalla porta, (23) gli prendo via il fuso (24) e la conocchia, e gli dò un arco [e una freccia]

altre virtù e prerogative attribuite alla dea nell'inno di Enheduanna? Si veda comunque il seguente passo, che non sembra dare adito a dubbi (come ammette lo stesso Sjöberg, art. cit., p. 226, n. 17): R. Borger, *Asarh.*, p. 99, ll. 53-56: “Wer dieses Denkmal von seinem Ort entfernt ... dessen Männlichkeit möge Ištar, die Herrin des Kampfes und der Schlacht weiblich machen (*zikrišu sinnišāniš lušālikšu*)”.

(13) N. Oettinger, *Militärischen Eide* (*StBoT* 22), Wiesbaden 1976, pp. 10-13. E cf. ancora ibid., III 2-9: “Nun bringt man eine blinde und taube Frau an ihnen vorbei fort, und du sprichst zu ihnen folgendermassen: ‘Siehe, (dies ist) eine Blinde und Taube. Wer nun dem König und der Königin Böses zufügt, den sollen die Eide ergreifen, und sie sollen ihn aus einem Mann zu einer F[rau mac]hen (*n-an LÚ-an S[AL-an iya]ndu*) und ihn wie einen Blinden b[lend]en und wie einen Tauben [taub mach]en ...’ ”. Alle pp. 64-66 Oettinger mostra come ^{GIS}hūeša- debba essere tradotto con “fuso” e non con “specchio” (come invece era uso), anche perché in *KUB* XLIII 60 IV 6 si legge: ^{GIS}hūlāli I ^{GIS}BAL. Ma il fuso, simbolo di paziente lavoro, in mano a donna non mite può diventare uno strumento di minaccia; v. il mito di Ašertu ed Elkunirša, *KUB* XXXVI 35 II 3 (cf. 15): [*ammedaza-ma-wa-ta* ^{GIS}BA]L[?].TUR-az *hattarāmi* “ti trafiggerò col [mio fu]so” (parole di Ašertu a Baal), v. H. Otten, *MIO*, 1 (1953), p. 125 sg. (ma H. G. Güterbock, apud E. Laroche, *RHA*, 82 [1968], p. 26 n. 1, suggerisce la lettura: GÍ]R.TUR-az “col (mio) piccolo [pugna]le”). Il termine *hurrta* per fuso, *teari*, è attribuito, anche divinizzato, della dea kizzuwatnea Lilluri, v. E. Laroche, *Ugaritica* V, p. 455.

(14) Traduzione del rituale: A. Goetze, *ANET*², p. 349 sg.; cf. G. del Monte, *OA*, 12 (1973), p. 127 sg., ove questo passo è anche trascritto. Alla l. 24, il necessario emendamento: *ar-ha da¹-ah-ḫi* (copia: *pí-ih-ḫi*), è confermato da Oettinger, op. cit., p. 64 n. 5, che ha controllato il testo su fotografia.

(GI^SBAN [GI-an(n)-a (?)], (25) poi così dico al riguardo: (26) ‘Ecco, ti ho tolto l’effeminatezza (SAL-tar arḫa daḫḫun), (27) e ti ho restituito la virilità (EGIR-pa LÚ-tar piḫḫun). (28) Ormai hai respin[to] i costumi femminili ([SAL-aš] šaklin), (29) as[sumi] i costumi virili (LÚ-aš š[ak]lin)!’.

Il motivo doveva essere ben diffuso in Anatolia, perché lo si incontra ancora nell’epopea, in lingua accadica, della conquista di Uršu, *KBo I 11 Ro(!) 16* sg.: *pi-laqa ubluni qanê(GI)^{hâ} itbalu kirassa ublunim sikkûra(SAG.KUL) itbalu* “portarono un fuso e tolsero le frecce, portarono uno spillone e tolsero il chiavistello”⁽¹⁵⁾. E questo dunque, nell’invocazione sopra ricordata, viene posto in relazione con Ištar/Šauška, divinità già di per sé ambigua in quanto è rappresentata da ipostasi di ambedue i sessi, come si deduce dai rilievi di Yazılıkaya, ove sulle pareti dell’ambiente principale essa è raffigurata sia in abiti femminili (nr. 55a) che maschili (nr. 38)⁽¹⁶⁾. In un testo, *KUB XXXI 69* 5 sg., si legge infatti: *tuel-za wašpan LÚ-aš iwar waššiy[āš] SAL-aš[š]-a-za iwar waššiyaš* “ti metti la tua veste alla foggia maschile, e te (la) metti alla foggia [femminile]”⁽¹⁷⁾. Nelle liste di divinità ḫurrite trovate a Ugarit, Šauška è poi enumerata tra le divinità maschili⁽¹⁸⁾.

(15) V. H. G. Güterbock, *ZA*, 44 (1938), p. 122 sgg. (*CAD, K*, p. 407b, dà un’altra interpretazione sintattica). Si tratta verosimilmente di un racconto anedddotico, narrato dal sovrano per porre in risalto l’inettitudine dei suoi generali. — A proposito del mutamento di sesso minacciato ai guerrieri infedeli, già F. Sommer, art. cit., p. 100, ricordava il trattato di Aššurnirāri V con Matī’ilu, v. E. F. Weidner, *AfO*, 8 (1932-1933), p. 22 sg., V 9: “so (sei) der Genannte fürwahr eine Hure, [sei]ne Krieger (seien) fürwahr Weiber”. E subito più avanti, V 12 sg.: “Was] die Männer [betriff]t, so möge die Herrin der Frauen (= Ištar) ihren Bogen wegneh[men]”, ciò che in n. 40 viene così chiarito: “Wohl Euphemismus für ‘zu geschlechtlicher Impotenz verurteilen’, wie schon Peiser, *MVAG* 1898, S. 12 annahm”. Un’analoga interpretazione per la mitologia ugaritica è proposta da D. R. Hillers, in: *Orient and Occident. Essays Presented to C. H. Gordon*, Kevelaer 1973, pp. 71-80 (sul simbolismo delle armi in ambito ebraico v. Id., *Treaty-Curses*, Roma 1964, p. 67 sg.; per l’arco e il fuso rispettivamente come simbolo maschile e femminile, cf. H. Hoffner, *JBL*, 85 [1966], pp. 326-334). Ma passi in contesti analoghi (e cioè maledizioni), ove “arco” e “spezzare” sono posti in relazione, sembrano sconsigliare ogni eufemismo: i guerrieri invece, perché disarmati, sono posti in balia del nemico; v. R. Borger, *Asarh*, p. 44, l. 74 sg.: “Ištar, die Herrin des Kampfes und der Schlacht ... zerbrach ihren Bogen (^{BS}qašat(BAN)-sunu tašbir)”. W. von Soden, *AHw*, p. 1206b, sub *šebêru(m)*, cita ancora: M. Streck, *Asb.*, p. 194, l. 25; E. F. Weidner, *AfO*, 8 (1932-1933), p. 184, IV 4; D. J. Wiseman, *Treaties*, p. 63, l. 453, p. 71, l. 573.

(16) V. E. Laroche, *JCS*, 6 (1952), p. 117.

(17) Il passo è stato posto in risalto da A. Goetze, *Cor. lingu.*, p. 51.

(18) V. E. Laroche, *Ugaritica* V, p. 522. In una festa hurrita per Ištar di Šamuša si “spezza un pane sottile alla virilità (e) alla mascolinità della Signora (scil. Ištar)” I NINDA.SIG aš-ta-aš-ḫi ta-ha-a-aš-ḫi ^DGASAN-we KIMIN, v. V. Haas - G. Wilhelm, *AOATS* 3, p. 97, ove sono citati gli altri passi in cui si offre ai due termini, non più però posti in relazione con Ištar. Ad un Ištar maschile in epoca accadica hanno fatto pensare alcune iscrizioni di Mari, dove una ^dINNANA.UŠ è contrapposta ad una ^dINNANA.ZA.ZA (equivalente a ^dIšdarat), v. G. Dossin, in: A. Parrot, *MAM* I, pp. 68, 74; *MAM* III, pp. 307-330; cf. J. Bottéro in: S. Moscati ed., *Le antiche divinità semitiche*, Roma 1958, p. 41. Comunque, a Ištar è attribuito un vigore virile; v. *VAS* 214 (poema di Agušaja) II 1 sg.: *ilī u šarri igāš zikrūtušša* “essa (Ištar) danza (tra) gli dèi e i re nella

Ma in *KUB XV 35 (+) I 61* sg. si chiede a Ištar di concedere anche un altro favore, simmetrico al primo. Come tutto ciò che è virile viene tolto ai nemici per essere assegnato a Ḫatti, così anche le doti femminili devono essere unicamente patrimonio ittita, perché dunque “il paese di Ḫatti sia un paese puro dove ci si sposa e si genera (lett. del prezzo della sposa e del generare)!” . Si tenga presente *STC II*, pl. LXXVII, l. 33: *pētât pusement ša kališina ardâti*(KI.SIKIL)^{mes} “(Ištar,) che apre il velo a tutte le giovani donne”⁽¹⁹⁾.

Un altro rituale, *KUB XLIV 15*, comprende un’invocazione a Ištar, che sembra conservare (se è rettamente intesa) una formulazione indicata più per una cerimonia assira che ittita:

- I 11 ... nu te-ez-zi
 12 [K]Û-ki⁽²⁰⁾ D GAŠAN URU Ne-nu-wa-aš SAL.LUGAL-aš URU Ri-
 mu-uš-ši-ya-aš-ma
 13 [SAL]É.GI₄-aš nu ku-e-da-ni URU Ne-nu-wa-aš URU-aš ad-
 da-aš-ma-aš
 14 [URU] Ri-mu-uš-ši-ya-aš-ma-aš iš-ḫa-ni-tar-ta-aš na-pa ke-
 e-da-ni UD[-ti]/ud[-da-ni]
 15 [kat-t]a zi-ik D GAŠAN ti-i-ya n[u(-)o]x [zi-ik i-ya
 11 “... e (il celebrante) dice:
 12 ‘Mangia, Signora, regina di Ninive, nuora⁽²¹⁾
 13 di Rimušši! E a chi tra loro il padre (è) di Ninive, la Città,
 14 e tra loro la parentela (è) di Rimušši, allora in questo/a gi[orno]/co[sa]
 15 rivolgiti tu, o Signora, e tu adempi [...’ ”.

L’epiteto di Ištar: “regina di Ninive”, è frequente nelle composizioni ittite di origine hurrita, quali il Canto di Ullikummi⁽²²⁾, il Mito di Ḫedammu, e il “romanzo” di Appu⁽²³⁾. La geografia religiosa che risulta da quest’ultima composizione unisce dati babilonesi e hurriti: “[Il dio So]le risiede a Sippar e il dio Luna risiede a Kuzina; il dio della Tempesta risiede a Kummiya e Ištar risiede a Ninive; Nanaya [risie-

sua virilità”; IV 3 sg.: *iddišši eḫlūtam narbi’am danānam* “egli (Ea) le donò virilità, alta statura e vigore”.

(19) V. E. Ebeling, *AGH*, p. 132, l. 33; cf. E. Reiner - H. G. Güterbock, *JCS*, 21 (1969), p. 261.

(20) Il dupl. Bo 3727 I 12, cit. da H. Otten, *ZA*, 64 (1974), p. 48, ha: *az-zi[-*.

(21) L’epiteto *kallātu*, che è proprio anche di Ištar, nei passi citati da K. Tallqvist, *Götterepitheta*, p. 110 sg. (cf. *CAD*, K, p. 81 sg., s. v. *kallatu*), non è mai posto in relazione con un nome di città, ma solo con nomi di divinità e di templi (i quali naturalmente stanno per la divinità alla quale il tempio è dedicato).

(22) I A III 34, v. H. G. Güterbock, *JCS*, 5 (1951), p. 152 sg.

(23) V. J. Siegelová, *Appu (StBoT 14)*, Wiesbaden 1971, nell’indice, p. 127, sub URU Ne-nuwa.

de] a Kiššina e a Babilonia r[isiede] Marduk”⁽²⁴⁾.

Ištar tutto può, e la sua personalità si esprime per contraddizioni. A suo moto potrebbe stare questo distico, tratto da un’ “autoesaltazione”: “il nero io faccio bianco e il bianco faccio nero”⁽²⁵⁾. E di tale spirito è pervaso un inno – KUB XXIV 7⁽²⁶⁾ – di chiara impronta hurrita, come provano i nomi delle ierodùle che formano il corteo della dea. Il nome stesso della dea però non sembra essere qui quello usuale in ambito hurrita, vale a dire Šauška, perché è espresso costantemente dall’accadogramma con il complemento fonetico –li–, dunque ^D IŠTAR–li–.

- I (mancano c. 6 ll. all’inizio della col.)
- 7 ma–a–an–m)a(?) l[a–a]b–bi–[i]l–[ya]–i[t²–t]a–r[i(?) (o o)]
- 8] ku–e–e[z–za o o]^{MES} na–at ku–ra–ak–ki
- 9 [GIM–an] a–ša–an–zi šar–ga–u–e–eš–ma ku–e–ez–za
- 10 [o o]^{MES} nu za–[a]b–[bi]–ya tar–aḫ–bi–iš–kán–zi
- 11 [nu nam–]ma ^{SAL.MES}e–ši–in–zi ^{SAL.MES}KAR.KID–ya
SIG₅–an–te–eš
-
- 12 [wa–al–l]a–ab–bi–ya–aš ŠA ^DGAŠAN ḫa–an–te–ez–zi–uš
^{SAL}SUḪUR.LÁL^{HI.A}
- 13 [^DNi–n]a–at–ta–an ^DKu–li–it–ta–an ^DŠi–en–tal–ir–te–in
- 14 [^DNa–]am–ra–zu–un–na–an nu–kán ^DIŠTAR–li É–ir ku–it
- 15 [a–aš–š–]ya–at–ta–ri nu a–pu–u–uš a–pé–e–da–ni É–ir
- 16 [š]u²–wa–u–wa–an–zi u–i–ya–az–zi nu KIN–an ku–it an–ni–iš–
kán–zi
- 17 [n]a–[a]t ḫal–wa–am–na–az an–ni–iš–kán–zi É–ir–ma ku–it
- 18 [a]n–ni–iš–kán–zi na–at du–uš–ka–ra–at–ta–az–za
- 19 [a]n–ni–iš–kán–zi ḫa–an–ta–ir–ma ^{SAL.MES}E.GI₄.A–uš
- 20 nu TÚG–an ša–ri–iš–kán–zi ḫa–an–da–ir–ma DUMU^{MES} É^{TI}
- 21 nu A.ŠA–an IKU–li ḫar–ši–iš–kán–zi
-
- 22 wa–al–la–aḫ–bi–ya–aš ŠA ^DGAŠAN ap–pí–iz–zi–uš
^{SAL}SUḪUR.LÁL^{HI.A}
- 23 [^D A–li–in ^DḪal–za–a–ri–in ^DTa–ru–wí–in
- 24 ^DŠi–na–an–da–du–kar–ni–in wa–al–la–aḫ–bi nu–kán ^DGAŠAN–li
- 25 [k]u–it É–ir pu–uk–kán nu a–pu–u–uš a–pé–e–da–ni [É]l–ri
- 26 a–ni–ya–wa–an–zi u–i–ya–zi nu É–ir tuḫ–ḫ[i–ma–az–z]a(?)
- 27 píd–du–li–ya–az–za e–eš–ša–an–zi nu–kán ^{SAL <MES>}É[.GI₄.A–
uš]

(24) V. J. Friedrich, ZA, 49 (1949), p. 227 sg., 245; cf. J. Siegelová, op. cit., p. 12 sg., 24 sg.

(25) Da BE 30158, inedito, cit. da A. Falkenstein, SAHG, p. 231.

(26) La stessa tavoletta, col. II 44 sgg., contiene il “racconto del pescatore”, anch’esso di origine hurrita.

- 28 *kap-pí-la-a-ir nu-kán I-aš I-an SAG.DU-a[n (o o)]*
 29 *[š]al-la-an-ni-iš-ki-iz-zi nu nam-ma ha-an-t[a²-an-zi Ú-UL*
nu TÚG-an]
 30 *Ú-U[L š]a-a-ri-ya-an-zi LÚ^{MES}AT-ĤU-T[IM-ma (o o)]*
 31 *[k]u-^rru^l-ri-^rya^l-aĥ-bi-ir nu nam-ma A.ŠĀ-an [IKU-li Ú-UL]*
 32 *[ha]r-šⁱ-y[a-an-z]i ha^l-lu-wa-nu-e-ir-m[a-aš²*
 33 *nu [nam^l-ma [o(?)]x-al-lu-u-wa-ar Ú-U[L*
 34 *nu UR.GI₇ GI[M-an tar-n]ir Ú-UL ha-an-ta[-*
 35 *nu-kán NINDA.Ī²[.E.DÉ.]A(??) [N]^Aku-un-ku-nu-uz-zi-i[n*
 36 *GIM-an ú-e-te-ni an-^rda^l tar-nir na[-aš*
 37 *ar-ha ha^r-ni-in-ki-i[r]*
-
- 38 *LÚ-iš-ma-kán DAM-ZU-ya ku-i-^re^l-eš a-aš-šⁱ-ya-a[n-ta-ri]*
 39 *nu-uš-ma-aš-kán a-aš-šⁱ-ya-tar ZA[G-na-š]a-an ar[-nu-uz-zi]*
 40 *na-at tu-e- <da- >az-za ^DIŠ^{TAR}-li-az-za [t]a-ra-a-^ran^l x x[*
 41 *pu-pu-wa-la-iz-zi nu-za-kán pu-pu-w[a-][a-t]ar ZAG-n[a(-)*
 42 *ar-nu-uz-zi na-at tu-e-da-za ^DGĀŠAN-li[-az-za⁽²⁷⁾*
 43 *Ī.DÙG.GA na-at wa-aš-ta-ri tu-^ruk^l-ma-ká[n ku-iš]*
 44 *[a-aš-]šⁱ-ya-at-ta-ri nu-uš-šⁱ [zi^l-ik URU-r[i(-)*
 45 *[o-]la-ak-ta-ra-šⁱ na-an an-da ka-a[-ri-ya-šⁱ(?)]*
 46 *[na-a]n tu-e-da-az^l-pát ^DIŠ^{TAR}-li-az a-pé-e[(-)*
 47 *[o-]x ar-ha Ú-UL ku-it-ki iš-dam[-ma-aš-š^r]*
-
- 48 *[ma-a-a]n SAL^{TUM}-ma A-NA LÚ^UMU-TI-ŠU pu-u[k-kán-za*
 49 *]pu-uq-qa-nu-wa-an ha^r-t[i] ma-a-an [*
 50 *]pu-uk-kán-za nu-uš-m[a-aš-]kán [*
 51 *[zi-ik] ^DIŠ^{TAR}-iš iš-hu-^ru^l-^rwa^l-a[t²¹-t]i [iš-hu-^ru^l-[wa^l-*
^ru^l-^raš^l [t]i-[-
 52 *-z]i² na-aš mar-la-tar pu-pu-wa[-tar*
 53 *-z]i² ma-na-at-kán wa-at-ku-an[-*
 54 *-]u-nu-zi ap-pa-an-zi-ma[(-)*
 55 *-y]a/e-^rš^u^l-wa-ar mar-la[-tar*
-
- 56 *[o o o iš²-ha²-m]i-iš-ki-mi na-an [*
 57 *]x-in(-)nu-mu LÚ^M[EŠ*
 58 *] x x x x [*
- II 1 *-]ta²-a[š²-k]u²-wa-ar zi-ik ^DIŠ^{TAR}[-iš]*
 2 *]x nu-za LÚ^r[MU^l-TI-KA ar-ha ka-ri-i[p-ta]*
 3 *]x LÚ^UŠU.GI-aĥ-ta ku-in-ma-kán LÚ-an ZAG-na²[-an²(-)]*

(27) Oppure: ^DGĀŠAN-li- <az- >z[a.

- 4 -t]a² ku-in-ma-za LÚ-an LÚKAL-an-pát ħar-ni-ik-ta
 5 [nu-z]a LÚ^{MES} ħu-el-pí GA.RAŠ^{SAR} i-wa-ar ar-ħa ka-ri[-ip-ta]
 6 [z]i-ik D IŠTAR-iš e-ša-ra-ši-la-aš-ma-aš a-ri-ša-an-d[a(-)]
 7 GIM-an du-wa-ar-ni-iš-ki-it na-aš-za-kán ŠE.LÚ^{SAR} (-)x x x x
 8 IT[-T]I(?) x ka-ri-ip-ta na-aš-kán ar-ħa ħar-ni-ik-ta
 9 TÚGN[G.LÁM^{MES}-ma²]-]aš-za GIM-an pár-ku-wa-ya wa-aš-še-
 eš-ki-ši
 10 nu ku-in [pa-a]p-ra-ab-ti ku-in-ma-za pár-ku-un-pát ar-ħa
 píd-da-la-ši
 11 ku-in [ú]l[-w]a-[te¹]-ši na-an G^{IS}AN.ʿZA¹.KÀR GIM-an pár-ga-
 nu-ši
 12 ku-in-ma[-ká]n a-pé-el-pát ú-e-ta-an-da-aš pa-ra-a
 13 ú-wa-te-š[i] a-aš-ma ku-wa-pí la-ħu-uz-zi
 14 nu(-)wa-x[- o -]x KÚ-iz-zi zi-iq-qa-za D GAŠAN-iš LÚ^{MES}-uš
 15 QA-TAM-M[A zi-i]n-ni-iš-ki-ši nu-uš-ši-kán MÁŠ.TUR^{HI.A}
 16 GIM-ʿan¹ [ta-r]u-up-pa-an-zi EGIR-an-da GUL-ki-š[i]
 17 G^{IS}kat-ta-l[u-]uz-zi-ma-aš DÙ-at na-aš-kán GÌ[R-it]
-
- 18 ANŠE-aš-ma-za GIM-an pu-un-tar-ri-ya-li-iš z[i-ik-pát[?]]
 19 SAL.LUGAL-aš D IŠTAR-iš [A]NŠE[?].GA.x[- o -m]a-z[a] G[IM-]
 an z[i-ik(-)]
 20 nu-ut-ta ku-wa-p[í] x x [
 21 UR.MAĤ-ma-za G[IM-an
 22 KALA.GA-aš al-x[
 23 LÚ^{MES}GURUŠ-aš-ma-za x[
 24 SAL^{MES}KI.SIKIL-aš(-)x[
 25 SAL^{MES}al-la-wa-an-x[
 26 zi-ik-pát D IŠTAR-iš
-
- 27]x x[

I

I

- (mancano c. 6 ll. all'inizio della col.)
 7 e come (?)] sce[nde] in batta[glia(?)⁽²⁸⁾]
 8] da una parte (sono) [gli], ed essi [come] pilastri
 9 stanno, e dall'altra parte (sono) gli eccelsi
 10], usi a vincere in battaglia,
 11 [e poi] cortigiane e prostitute gaie.
-
- 12 [Esa]lto esse, le prime ierodùle della Signora:

(28) Il verbo *lahbiyai-* non è attestato al medio-passivo; tuttavia le tracce dei segni sembrano giustificare la lettura proposta.

13 [Nin]atta, Kulitta, Šentalirte⁽²⁹⁾,
 14 [N]amrazunna⁽³⁰⁾. Quale casa è [cara]
 15 a Ištar, a quella casa
 16 ella le invia per render(la) colma(?). E il lavoro che compiono,
 17 lo compiono con zelo, e la casa a cui
 18 provvedono, con gioia la
 19 provvedono. Hanno fatto sposare le promesse spose,
 20 ed esse tessono panni; hanno fatto sposare i figli della casa,
 21 ed essi dissodano⁽³¹⁾ i campi in appezzamenti.

22 Esalto esse, le ultime ierodùle della Signora,
 23 esalto Ali, Ĥalzari, Taruwi,
 24 Šinandadukarni. Quale casa
 25 alla Signora è in odio, a quella casa
 26 ella le invia per(ché vi) provvedano. Ed esse provvedono la casa
 27 con affanno e paura. Hanno sobillato le promesse [spose,]
 28 e l'una si accapiglia con (lett. trascina) l'altra persona,
 29 e perciò [non] si spos[ano e]
 30 non tessono [vestiti]. Hanno condotto guerra
 31 a coloro che sono fratelli, e perciò essi [non] dissod[ano]
 32 i campi [in appezzamenti. Li(?)] hanno incitati alla discordia [
 33 e quindi non ... [
 34 e com[e] un cane [lascia]rono non spos[ati]
 35 e le focacce di gr[asso(??)] come basalto [*duro*]
 36 dentro l'acqua lasciarono, ed [essi
 37 annientarono completamente.

38 L'uomo e la sua sposa che [sono] cari,
 39 per loro l'amore con[duce nella] direzione giusta,
 40 e ciò da te, Ištar, detto ... [
 41 adora, e l'adorazione⁽³²⁾ nella direzione giusta
 42 conduce, e ciò per te, Signora, [

(29) Il primo elemento del nome è *ši(n)t-* "sette", v. C. G. von Brandenstein, *Bildbeschr.*, p. 33 n. 2. La divinità è attestata in *KUB XXVII 1 II 57* (dupl. *XLVII 64 III 6*): I NINDA.SIG *ši-in-ta-al-wu-ri* I NINDA.SIG *ši-in-ta-al-ir-ti*. E. Laroche, *Recherches*, p. 59, per nomi composti con *ši(n)t-*, cita ancora ^D*Šittadu-*, ^{ID}*Šintarbu-*; cf. inoltre ^{SAL}*Šintalimeni-*, var. ^{SAL}*Šintaminni-* (la sposa di Kešši), E. Laroche, *NH*, p. 163.

(30) A. Ungnad, *Subartu*, p. 104, pensa ad un prestito dall'accadico *namru* "chiaro, lucente".

(31) Il verbo *ħarš-* indica il compiere la prima aratura, il rompere la sodaglia; cf. B. Rosenkranz, *JEOL*, 19 (1967), p. 501.

(32) Per *pupuwalatar* cf. *VBoT* 25 I 3 sg.: ANA ^D*IŠTAR* ^{URU}*Šamuḫa-wa-za* [SISKUR] *pupuwalannaš* BAL-*aḫḫi* "Offrirò a Ištar di Šamuḫa [il rituale] del p."; *KUB* VI 15 II 13: SISKUR *pupuwalan[aš]*; *XLIX* 94 II 3, 11: SISKUR *pupuwalannaš*.

- 43 olio delicato, e ciò è piacevole. [Chi] è a te
 44 [ca]ro, a lui tu [nella] città [
 45] ... e lo ripa[ri(?),]
 46 [e (di) l]ui proprio per te, Ištar, quei [
 47]x alcunché [hanno] sentito dire.
-
- 48 [Se] una donna al suo sposo (è) o[diosa, (sei) tu, Ištar,]
 49 [(che) la] (ri)tieni odiosa; se [alla sua sposa]
 50 [un uomo] (è) odioso, a lo[ro *il rancore*]
 51 [tu,] Ištar, versi [/da versare di[sponi(?]
 52]. ed essi (acc.) inettitudine, infede[ltà
 53]. se essi fugg[
 54] ... prendono [
 II 1] ... tu, Ištar,
 2]x e [hai] divorato il tuo sposo;
 3]x hai fatto vecchio. L'uno, un uomo retto,
 4 ha[i *corrotto*,] l'altro, un uomo vigoroso, hai annientato,
 5 [e hai] divo[rato] gli uomini come porro fresco⁽³³⁾.
 6 Tu, Ištar, li hai frantumati come *fuscelli* di *ešarašila*⁽³⁴⁾,
 7 e li hai divorati [come]
 8 coriandolo con(?) ... Li hai annientati completamente.
 9 Come di lussuosi manti puri te ne vesti,
 10 e chi [con]tadini, e chi puro lasci andare.
 11 Chi tu conduci, lo innalzi come una torre;
 12 e chi tu conduci oltre a (ciò che è stato) costruito per (lett. di) quello
 (),
 13 dove dapprima egli versa(?),
 14 mangia ... Tu, Signora, gli uomini
 15 così [fi]nisci: come capretti
 16 si [rac]colgono a lei (scil. Ištar); poi colpisci,
 17 ne hai fatto una soglia, e li [calpesti col] piede⁽³⁵⁾.
-
- 18 Come un asino (è) *ostinato*⁽³⁶⁾, t[u proprio(?)] (così sei)]
 19 Ištar, regina; co[me] un ... (sei) [tu
 20 e a te dove x x[
 21 c[ome] un leone [

(33) Qui *ħuelpi*- è al nom.-acc. neutro, mentre *iwar* regge il gen.(34) O. Carruba mi ricorda KUB VII 1 I 23: *iššarašilaš ariešan*, ricordato tra nomi di piante; v. B. Rosenkranz, *Beiträge*, p. 11.(35) Forse: GĪ[R-*it išparatti*].(36) Cf. KUB III 99 (+) II 11 sg.: *pu-un-tar-ya-u-wa-ar* (12) ANŠE-aš *pu-un-ta-ri-ya*[(-)].

- 22 forte ..[
 23 i giovani [
 24 le giovani [
 25 le donne *allawan-x*[
 26 tu, I[štar,

All'inizio è descritto il corteo che assiste Ištar guerriera in battaglia, mentre le "cortigiane e prostitute gaie" che vengono poi, stanno a significare che ella è anche la dea dell'amore (I 7-11). Naturalmente però in scene di seduzione Ištar confida nelle sue stesse doti: *-(aḫta TA Ī.DÜG.G)]A-ma-za šanizzit iškit [nu-za unuw(ct-tat aššiyatar-ma-šši)] UR.TUR^{MEŠ} GIM-an EGIR-an ḫuwayanda(ri)]* "(Ištar) si lavò, si unse con squisito olio puro [e si ador]nò: le seduzioni (lett. amori) come cagnolini le correvano dietro" (Mito di Ḫedammu)⁽³⁷⁾. Attraverso le sue ierodùle, Ištar poi concede agli esseri umani il proprio favore (I 12-21), o somministra il suo odio (I 22-37). A chi le è caro, è data una vita felice e la concordia della casa. La descrizione che Ḫattušili III fa della propria unione familiare, propiziata dalla dea, ci mostra di fatto realizzata una situazione delineata nell'inno, dal quale sembrano quasi riprese alcune espressioni: "Und da nahm ich die Tochter des Pentipšarriš, des Priesters, die Puduḫepaš, auf Geheiß der Gottheit (scil. Ištar) zur Ehe. Und wir hielten eheliche Gemeinschaft(?) (*ḫandāuen*), [und u]ns schenkte die Gottheit die Liebe des Gatten [und] der Gat[ti]n ([*nu-(n)n*)]aš DINGIR^{LUM} ŠA LU^{MUDI} DA[M-aš(š)-a] aššiyatar pešta), und wir zeugten uns Söhne (und) Töchter. Dann [sprach] die Gottheit, meine Herrin, zu mir: 'Mitsamt deinem Hause sei mir untertan!' Und der [Gotth]eit war ich mitsamt meinem Haus treu. Und welches Haus wir uns geschaffen hatten, zu uns trat die Gottheit ein"⁽³⁸⁾. La discordia invece regna nelle case che Ištar non ama: i fratelli si odiano, né è possibile creare nuove famiglie. Si veda *STC* II, pl. LXXV, l. 9: *muštambīḫat aḫḫī(ŠEŠ)^{mēš} mitgurūti* "(Ištar,) che fa battere l'uno contro l'altro i fratelli concordī", che viene reso così nella versione ittita, *KUB XXXI 141 Ro 9* sg.: [*ŠEŠ^{MEŠ}-aš*]-*kan* I *ištarna MÈ-in kuiš* [...] (10) *ēššai* "che [...] provoca la lotta tra [i fratelli]"⁽³⁹⁾. È Ištar che rende possibile l'amore coniugale (I 38-47)⁽⁴⁰⁾, oppure provoca l'odio tra gli sposi (I 48-55)⁽⁴¹⁾. Successivamente, nella II colonna, è descritto il contrastante comportamen-

(37) V. J. Siegelová, *Appu (StBoT 14)*, Wiesbaden 1971, p. 54 sg., n. 11, ll. 10-12.

(38) Traduzione di A. Goetze, *NBr*, p. 13.

(39) V. E. Ebeling, *AGH*, p. 130 sg.; E. Reiner - H. G. Güterbock, art. cit., p. 258 sg., ove si riporta oltre alla versione in ittita anche il testo dell'esemplare accadico di Bogazköy. Il verso seguente, l. 10: *muttaddinat itbāru* "che (anche) doni sempre un compagno", è reso da questi due autori così: "who can pit friend against friend".

(40) Cf. *ASKT*, p. 130, Vo 47-54, in n. 12.

(41) V. *ASKT*, p. 130, Vo 63-66:

63 m e - e d a m d a m - t a m u - u n - n a - a b [-
 64 a n a - k u a š - š a - t a m [

to della dea (“e chi [con]tamini, e chi puro lasci andare”, l. 10). Delle sue azioni non si danno ragioni apparenti e sfuggono le motivazioni, poiché: *ilat zikarī* (NITA)^{mes} *dīštar sinnišāti* (SAL)^{mes} *ša la ilammadu milikšu mamman* “dea degli uomini, Ištar delle donne, (le ragioni del)la cui decisione nessuno può comprendere⁽⁴²⁾. Ištar, a suo piacere, innalza dal nulla oppure umilia chi invece è potente, e i *topoi* qui offerti sono quelli ben noti della tradizione mesopotamica, sintetizzati in ASKT, p. 129, Vo 19 sg.:

19 me-ri a n-š è í l-la ki-a di b-di b-b é-m è n

20 šá tal-lak-ta-šú šá-qa-tum mu-kàs-si-is-su ana-ku

“colui che vuole levarsi fino al cielo, lego io (Ištar) alla terra”⁽⁴³⁾.

65 ga š a n-m è n d u m u a m a-d a m u-u n-n a-a b[-

66 be-lé-ku mar-ti it-ti um-mi-šú da-ga-x[

A. Falkenstein, SAHG, p. 231, dà questa traduzione:

63/64 Ich [reize] die Ehefrau gegen den Gatten [auf],

65/66 ich [verteinde] das Kind mit der Mutter.

(42) STC II, pl. LXXVIII, l. 39 = E. Ebeling, AGH, p. 132 (l'espressione è attribuita anche ad Anu, v. L. W. King, BMS 1, ll. 9, 19, cf. CAD, L, p. 55a). Naturalmente anche Ištar raddrizza i torti, opera il bene: *tappallasi ḫablu u šagšu tušteššeri addakam* “tu guardi al danneggiato e all'oppresso, (e) giornalmente dai loro giustizia”; *iššir la išaru amiru paniki* “prospererà lo sfortunato, quando vedrà il tuo volto”, STC II, pls. LXVII sg., ll. 26, 41 = E. Ebeling, AGH, p. 130 sgg. Ma la sua azione risulta a volte torbida e non costantemente diretta alla realizzazione del giusto. “Slander, untruthful words, abuse, to speak inimical (words and) to add hostile words are yours, Inanna”, v. Å. Sjöberg, art. cit., p. 192 sg.: *i n-n i n š à-g u r₄-r a*, l. 157. Diversamente, la divinità invocata nel proemio del “romanzo” di Appu – nella quale con ogni verosimiglianza occorre vedere lo stesso dio della giustizia, il Sole – ha, come Ištar, il potere di esaltare o annullare gli uomini, ma di esso si serve solo a fine di bene: (2) *ḫ[an]dan]duš LÚ^{MES}-uš kuiš* (3) *[(šar)]iškizzi ḫūwappas[-a-k]an LÚ^{MES}-uš* (4) *[(GIŠ-ru)] mān lilakki ḫūwappuš-a-kan LÚ^{MES}-aš* (5) *[(tarn)]aš-ma <š> šakšakiluš walḫannai* (6) *[t]-uš ḫarniki* “(2) der die ge-[rech]ten Menschen (3) erhöht und die schlechten Menschen (4) wie einen Baum biegt und den schlechten Menschen (5) auf ihre(n) Schädel(n) š. (zer)schlägt (6) und sie (dadurch) vernichtet”, v. J. Siegelová, Appu (StBoT 14), Wiesbaden 1971, p. 4 sg.

(43) V. inoltre *i n-n i n š à-g u r₄-r a*, Å. Sjöberg, art. cit., pp. 190-193: “To destroy, to build up, to tear out and to settle are yours, Inanna” (l. 119); “To interchange the brute and strong and the weak and powerless is yours, Inanna” (l. 140); “To reduce, to make great, to make low, to make broad ... are yours, Inanna” (l. 155).

IL DIO ZAWALLI.
SUL CULTO DEI MORTI PRESSO GLI ITTITI

Altorientalische Forschungen 6
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Il dio Zawalli

Sul culto dei morti presso gli Ittiti

Oltre all'angoscia di fronte alla morte, e alla preoccupazione per il benessere dei defunti nell'Aldilà, gli Ittiti, come altri popoli, provano il timore che i morti esercitino una qualche azione sul mondo dei vivi.¹ Di qui le indagini mantiche condotte per individuare i maléfici influssi degli spiriti dei morti (*akkant-*, *ETEM-MU*, *GIDIM*), nel caso che essi abbiano ancora conti da regolare con chi è rimasto in vita,² oppure perché i culti a loro dovuti vengano trascurati.³ Talvolta si fanno

¹ Vedi A. Goetze, *Kleinasion, Monaco di Baviera* 21957, 169 sg.; H. Otten, *Hethitische Totenrituale*, Berlino 1958 (HTR), passim.

² Vedi Otten HTR 136 sg.; A. Archi, *SMEA* 14 [1971], 210–215; G. Del Monte, *AION* 33 [1973], 373–385. Su *akkant-* « morto; spirito di un morto », v. Otten HTR 143 sg., che chiarisce opportunamente come: „die Beziehung auf das Gespensterhafte fehlt weitgehend“; così KUB XVI 34 I 15: *LUNINDA.DÜ.DÜ-ja-wa GIDIM auka warapta-ma-wa-za UL*, va interpretato: « il fornaiolo vide un morto (non: uno spettro!), ma non si lavò (per purificarsi) ». V. inoltre A. Kammenhuber, *Materialien zu einem hethitischen Thesaurus, Lieferung 1/2, Aidilberga* 1973, 23–38. Al morto come al vivo è attribuita un'anima, *ištanza(na)*-, ZI, cf. l'invocazione in KUB XXII 35 II 7: « se tu, o defunto, mitighi la (tua) anima », citata da Otten HTR 123; cf. A. Kammenhuber, *ZA* 56 [1964], 160–162.

Gli spiriti possono essere « sollevati », cioè « provocati », *ninink-*, v. F. Sommer, *Hethitisches* 2, Lipsia 1922, 391, cf. KBo II 6 + KUB XVIII 51 II 55: *nu DUMUMES.ŠU-ma EME eššanzi nu GIDIM niniškanzi* « E i suoi figli fanno una lingua (= fattura) e provocano lo spirito (di Šaušgatti)? » Il verbo vuol dire lett. « sollevare », cioè « prender su », ed in questa accezione è usato anche in relazione con *GIDIM*: A. Goetze, *Hattušiliš*, Lipsia 1925, II, 52: « Inoltre prese su (*ninikta*) gli dèi di Hatti e gli spiriti (*GIDIMŠLA* = Mani) *in loco* », mentre in un passo parallelo, KBo VI 29 I 31 si ha *šarā dā-*, v. A. Goetze, *Madduwattaš*, Lipsia 1928, 115 sg. Il significato contrario è espresso da *šarā ašeš(anu)-*, cf. F. Sommer-H. Ehelolf, *Das hethitische Ritual des Papanikri von Komana*, Lipsia 1924, 51; v. KBo II 6(+) III 44 sg.: *GIDIM-ja šarā ašešanuwanzi* « e scongiureranno/esorcizzeranno lo spirito » (III 61: *šarā ašešanzi*). Agli spiriti dei morti possono riferirsi anche verbi usati normalmente in connessione con gli dèi, come *huittija-*, *SUD* « evocare », cf. KUB XXII 35 III 5, 12, o *arha tallija-* « esorcizzare », v. Otten HTR 9.

Si noti poi il seguente parallelismo tra *GIDIM* e *ḌZawalli-*. In KBo II 6(+) III 17 sgg., *KASKAL-ši dāi-*, con *GIDIM*, significa « portare lo spirito sulla strada », cioè « riconciliare » (v. F. Sommer, *Die Aḥḥijavā-Urkunden (AU)*, Monaco di Baviera 1932, 119): *SAL DIŠTAR-attiš kuwatta imma kuwatta* (18) *šer TUKU.TUKU-uanza n-an ari-jaueni* (19) *n-an-kan KASKAL-ši tijaueni* « Šaušgatti (scil. lo spirito di Š.), per qualsiasi motivo (18) sia irata, la (scil. la ragione che la riguarda) assoderemo mediante oracoli (19) e la riconcilieremo ». Ora, *arha KASKAL-šijaḥḥ-*, in connessione con *ḌZawalli-*, in KUB XVI 46 IV 14, vuol dire « togliere dalla strada, esorcizzare » l'ira dello Zawalli, v. Sommer AU 120, cf. qui [3], ed in oltre KUB XXII 67 I. 10, 15.

³ Cf. ad es. KUB XVIII 16 II 4–6: « Questo è il terzo anno che è stata trascurata la festa del *garana-* e la festa del *šeli-*; gli spiriti dei morti sono irati per queste mancanze? »

rappacificare anche morti con morti, come in KUB XXII 35 III 5 sgg., ove si evoca lo spirito di Halpaziti – verosimilmente il re di Aleppo,⁴ come mostra il richiamo agli dèi di Aleppo nella l. 13 – e il padre della Maestà, probabilmente Hattušili III:

- III 5]x [G]IDIM-ja SUD-an-zi
 6 [nu^{DU}]TUŠI A-NA GIDIM IGI-an-da
 [SI]SKUR ma-an-tal-li-ja-an-za 'BAL'-an-ti
 8 A-BI^{DU}TUŠI-ja SUD-an-zi
 nu-za 'A'-BI^{DU}TUŠI 'Hal-pa-LÚ-iš-ša
 10 1-aš 1-e-da-ni IGI-an-da
 SISKUR ma-an-tal-ja BAL-an-ti
 12 šar-ni-ik-zi-el A-NA GIDIM SUM-an-zi
 A-NA DINGIR^{MES} URU Hal-pa-ja šar-ni-ik-zi-el
 14 ša-ak-nu-wa-an-da-za pâr-ku-wa-ja-za
 SUM-an-zi . . .
- 5]x evocheranno lo spirito (di Halpaziti);
 6 [allora la Ma]està innanzi allo spirito
 offrirà un rituale mantalli-;
 8 e evocheranno il padre della Maestà:
 allora il padre della Maestà e Halpaziti
 10 l'uno all'altro vicendevolmente
 offriranno un rituale mantalli-;
 12 un indennizzo si darà allo spirito (di Halpaziti),
 e agli dèi di Aleppo si darà un indennizzo
 14 con (ciò che è) profano (e ritualmente) puro.⁵

In KUB XVIII 2 II 9 sg., in posizione parallela a GIDIM, compare una divinità, ^DZawalli-:

- [1] II 9 ŠA AMA^{DU}TUŠI^DZa-wa-al-li-iš
 10 ŠA DUMU.SAL GIDIM¹⁶ kar-ši-ja-an-du
 9 Il Zawalli della madre della Maestà,
 10 lo spirito della figlia (della Maestà) siano esclusi (dall'indagine mantica)!

Il nome della stessa divinità, probabilmente al plurale, compare anche nella precedente sezione del testo:

⁴ Cf. ancora KUB XVI 58 Rs. 6: INIM 'Halpa-LÚ (passo inutilizzabile). Su questo sovrano v. H. Klengel, Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jahrtausend v. u. Z. I, Berlino 1965, 199 sg.

⁵ Su questa linea v. J. Friedrich, ArOr 6 [1933], 366.

⁶ L'edizione ha: 'A. 'NA, e come mi comunica H. Klengel (al quale sono grato anche per avermi permesso di utilizzare i testi inediti citati in questo articolo, e tutti di prossima pubblicazione nella serie KUB), essa corrisponde all'originale. Poichè però il testo va emendato, si potrà facilmente pensare ad un errore di copiatura dello scriba, dovuto alla somiglianza del complesso A. NA col segno GIDIM.

- II 2 [I-NA^{UR}]UTÚL-na EZEN pu-r[u-ul-li(-)]
 3 [DZ]a-v[a-a]l-li(-)e²-eš pa-r[a-a]
 2 [In] Arinna la festa pur[ulli-]
 3 gli (?) Zawalli inol[tre]

Un'indagine oracolare riguardante questa volta lo spirito, e non più lo Zawalli, della madre della Maestà, si trova in KUB XVI 69 Vs. 10: GIDIM ŠJA AMA DUTUŠI ku-it SI×SÁ-at «poiché [lo spirito del]la madre della Maestà fu identificato . . .» Per Vs. 4 invece è forse da proporre la seguente integrazione: GIDIM^{SAL} D[Š]ŠTAR-at-ti-ma [«ma [lo spirito di Š]aušgatti »; comunque, l'intero testo oracolare KBo II 6 + KUB XVIII 51 è dedicato ad indagare sul modo di pacificare lo spirito (GIDIM) di Šaušgatti⁷ e quello di Armadatta, ambedue irati, TUKU.-TUKU. In KUB L 87 III 4 sgg. compare invece il dio Zawalli di Šaušgatti:

- [2] III 4 DZa-wa-al-li-iš ŠA^{SAL} D[Š]ŠTAR[at-ti
 5 ki-nu-un ku-it DINGIR^{LUM} A-NA SAL.LUGAL x[
 6 nu A-NA DINGIR^{LUM} SISKUR SUM-an-zi . . .
 4 Il Zawalli di Šaušga[tti
 5 ora, poiché la divinità con la regina . . [
 6 allora alla divinità si offrirà un rituale . . .

Ancora, in KUB XVI 46 si cerca di chiarire se una delle divinità Zawalli sia irata, ed infatti l'indagine oracolare stabilisce che si tratta di uno Zawalli di casa reale, e precisamente dello Zawalli di Šaušgatti⁸:

- [3] I 1 [ku¹-u-uš-kán ku-i-e-eš D[Za¹-w[a-al-li-e-eš]
 2 [š]e-ir ú-te-ir e-eš-zi [D] [Za-wa-al-li-iš
 3 DZa-wa-al-li-iš a-ri-i-e[-
 4 ki-e-da-aš-kán DZa-wa-al-li-j[a-aš] 1-aš ku-iš-k[i] DZa-wa-a[l-li-iš]
 5 an-da TUKU.TUKU-u-an-za . . .

- 1 Questi Zaw[alli] che [
 2 portarono su, è uno [Zawalli . . .?]
 3 Uno Zawalli (per mezzo di oracoli) stabil[. . .]
 4 Di questi Zawalli è un qualche singolo Zawa[lli]
 5 irato al proposito? . . . (RISPOSTA POSITIVA DELL'ORACOLO)

10 DZa-wa-al-li-iš ku-iš SI×SÁ-at DZa-wa-al-li-iš ŠA É.LUGAL

- 10 Lo Zawalli che fu stabilito (mediante l'oracolo) è uno Zawalli di casa reale? (RISPOSTA POSITIVA)

Termina così la I col.; le coll. II e III non sono conservate. All'inizio della IV col. si prosegue l'indagine per accertare l'identità dello Zawalli, che risulta essere appunto quello di Šaušgatti:

⁷ Cf. ancora KUB VIII 27 Rs. 8-12.

⁸ Cf. E. Forrer, KIF I [1929], 277.

- IV 6 *nu ŠA* ^{SAL} *D*IŠTAR-ti-ma . . .
 6 (È lo Zawalli) di Šaušgatti? . . . (RISPOSTA POSITIVA)⁹

Si prendono allora dei provvedimenti:

- IV 13 ^DZa-wa-al-li-iš *ku-iš ŠA* ^{SAL} *D*IŠTAR-ti SI × SĀ-at [n]a-an ar-ḫa
 KIN-an-zi
 14 SISKUR-ši *pi-iḫ-ḫi nam-ma-an ar-ḫa* KASKAL-ši-aḫ-mi . . .
 13 Lo Zawalli che fu stabilito (essere) di Šaušgatti, lo si tratterà (secondo
 le norme di culto);
 14 io gli offrirò un rituale, e quindi lo esorcizzerò. . . .

Similmente, come in KUB XVI 32 Vs. 1–5 e Vs. 14 sgg. ci si occupa del culto dello spirito (GIDIM) della regina Danuḫepa e di quello del detronizzato Urḫi-Tešup, così in KUB XVI 16 si indaga sugli Zawalli di Danuḫepa e di Urḫi-Tešup, i cui culti risultano essere complessi e dotati di notevoli benefici:

- [4] Rs. 1 ^rD¹Za-wa-al-[l]i-L[IŠ] ^{SAL}Da-nu-ḫé-pa SISKUR-aš ^{SUMES}IR-u-en . . .
 1 Lo Zawalli di Danuḫepa: interrogammo le carni riguardo al rituale . . .
 3 *nu LÚMESŠ É.DINGIR*^{LIM} *pu-nu-uš-šu-u-en nu me-mi-ir* . . .
 5 . . . *IŠ-TU A-BI* ^{PUTU}^{SI} *kar-ša-an* ^{LÚ.MESŠ}ENGAR^{MES.TIM}-ma
 6 *ku-i-e-eš e-šir* . . .
 12 . . . *A-NA DINGIR*^{LIM}-wa *É.UTÚL UL e-eš-zi*
 3 Allora interrogammo gli uomini del tempio, ed essi dichiararono . . .
 5 . . . (queste offerte furono) trascurate da parte del padre della Maestà;
 i contadini poi
 6 che (c')erano . . .
 12 . . . al dio manca un deposito.¹⁰
 23 ^DZa-wa-al-li-LIŠ ^DŪr-ḫi-^DU-up-ša-aš SISKU[R]-x[
 23 Lo Zawalli di Urḫi-Tešup: [riguardo al] rituale [.
 24 *nu LÚMESŠ* ^rÉ¹.DINGIR^{LI} ^Mp[u-]n[u-]u[š-šu-en
 24 Allora inter[rogammo] gli uomini del tem[pio] . . .

Molto simile a questo testo è KBo XXIII 114, dove si tratta oltre che degli Zawalli di Urḫi-Tešup e di Danuḫepa, anche di quello della madre della Maestà:

- [5] 9 [x x ^DZa-wa-al-l]i-uš(?) *ŠA* ^{URUZ}i-it-ḫa-ra-pát nam-ma-ma KI.MIN nu
 IGI-zi S[^{UMES}SIG₅-ru]
 10 [EGIR-ma NU.SIG₅-d]u . . .
 11 . . .
 12 ^DZa-wa-al-li-iš *É.DINGIR*^{LIM} *ŠA* ^{URUZ}i-it-ḫa-ra *ku-iš* SI × SĀ-at *ŠA*
¹Ūr-ḫi-^rD¹U-up

⁹ Il nome di Šaušgatti è probabilmente da integrare anche in IV 1: ^DZa-wa-al-li-iš x x *ŠA* ^{SAL} *D*IŠTAR-ti(+).

¹⁰ Cf. Vl. Souček, MIO 8 [1961], 378 nt. 39.

- 13 [nu SUMES NU.SI]G₅-du . . .
-
- 14 [nu? ^DZa-wa-a]l-li-LIŠ ŠA ^IŪr-ḥi-^{DU}-up-pát KI.MIN nu SUMES SIG₅-ru . . .
-
- 15 [ku-it NU.S]IG₅-ta nu ^DZa-wa-al-li-iš ŠA AMA ^{DU}TUŠI-ja nu SUMES NU.SIG₅-du [
16 . . .
-
- 17 [^DZa-wa-al-l]i-iš ŠA ^{SAL}Da-nu-ḥé-pa-ma nu SUMES NU.SIG₅-du . . .
-
- 18 [nu? ^DZa-wa-a]l-li-iš ŠA ^IŪr-ḥi-^{DU}-up-pát ŠA ^{SAL}Da-nu-ḥé-pa-ja KI.MIN
19 [IGI-zi SUMES] SIG₅-ru EGIR-ma NU.SIG₅-du . . .
20 . . .
-
- 21 [^DZa-wa-al-l]i ŠA ^IŪr-ḥi-^{DU}-up n[a-]at (?) DINGIR^{LUM}-za še-ek-kán-du-uš wa-aš-ku-uš [še-er]
22 [TUKU.TUKU-u-an-za] ka-ru-ú ku-i-e-eš še-ek-ku-e-ni nu SUMES NU.SIG₅-du . . .
-
- 23 [^DZa-wa-a]l-li-iš ^IŪr-ḥi-^{DU}-up še-ek-kán-du-uš-pát wa-aš-ku-uš še-er TUKU.T[TUKU-u-an-za]
24 [nu SUMES S]IG₅-ru . . .
-
- 9 [Allora(?) (sono) gli Zawalli della città di Zithara? Inoltre (=per il resto) *ditto*. Le prime carni siano favorevoli,]
10 [le successive siano sfavorevoli]! (L'ORACOLO CONFERMA)
-
- 12 [Lo Zawalli del tempio della città di Zithara che fu accertato (mediante oracoli), (è) [quello] di Urḥi[-Tešup?]
13 [Le carni] siano [sfa]vorevoli! (L'ORACOLO NEGA)
-
- 14 [Allora(?) (è) lo Zawalli proprio di Urḥi-Tešup? *ditto*. Le carni siano favorevoli! (RISPOSTA IN LACUNA, MA IN QUESTA CONTROPROVA L'ORACOLO SEMBRA INVECE CONFERMARE)
-
- 15 [Poiché (ciò) fu [sfa]vorevole, allora (è) anche lo Zawalli della madre della Maestà? Le carni siano sfavorevoli! (L'ORACOLO CONFERMA)
-
- 17 [(E') lo Zawalli di Danuḥepa? Le carni siano sfavorevoli! (RISPOSTA IN LACUNA)
-
- 18 [Allora (?) (è) lo Zawalli proprio di Urḥi-Tešup e di Danuḥepa? *ditto*.
19 [Le prime carni] siano favorevoli, le successive siano sfavorevoli! (L'ORACOLO CONFERMA)
-
- 21 [Lo Zawalli di Urḥi-Tešup: ciò (è che) la divinità [(è) irata] riguardo alle note mancanze
22 che già conosciamo? Le carni siano sfavorevoli! (RISPOSTA IN LACUNA)

- 23 [Lo Zawa]lli di Ur̄hi-Tešup (è) ira[to] proprio per le note mancanze?
 24 [Le carni siano fa]vorevoli! (L'ORACOLO CONFERMA)

In KUB XXII 40 ci si preoccupa invece di riparare a mancanze verso lo Zawalli di una donna, Uwa, per altro ignota¹¹:

- [6] II 4 DINGIR^{LUM} (?)¹² NÍ.TE-aš LUGAL ^DZa-wa-al-li-in [^{SA}]U-wa-a-i-ja
 5]x-ḫa nam-ma-ma ku-i-e-li ^DZa-wa-al-li-uš
 4 il dio (?) della persona del re e lo Zawalli (acc.) di Uwa
 5] . . inoltre gli Zawalli (acc.) dei quali . . .
 25 -ká]n[?] ku-iš ki-e-da-ni GE₆-an-ti ^DZa-wa-al-li-in
 26] uš-ki-nu-un . . .
 25] poiché in questa notte lo Zawalli (acc.)
 26] io vidi . . .
 29]^DZa-wa-al-li-iš A-NA SAL.LUGAL ki-e-da-ni-pát
 INIM-ni š[e-i]r (?)
 29] lo Zawalli alla regina riguardo a questa cosa.
 III 29 ^DZ]a-wa-al-li-ja-aš a-ni-u-ur KIN-an-zi
 30]x-ma ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR ^DZa-wa-al-li-ja-aš ti-an-z[i]
 29] si compirà il rito dello [Z]awalli
 30] . . si disporrà il tavolo dello Zawalli.

In Bo 6516 l. 5 si ricorda lo Zawalli forse di un Tutḫalija:

- [7] 5 ^DZa-wa-al-li-iš ŠA ^{IT}[u-ut-ḫa-li-ja (?)

I malèfici influssi di uno Zawalli, in KUB XLVIII 125 II 4 sg., sono annunciati alla regina tramite un sogno:

- [8] II 4 . . . gi-nu-wa GIG-zi
 5 [G]IG-zi-ma-wa-ra-an ^DZa-wa-al-li-ja-za . . .
 4 . . . si ammalerà alle ginocchia;
 5 si ammalerà per causa di uno Zawalli . . .

Ma si hanno divinità Zawalli anche di persone di ambiente estraneo a Ḫattuša, come è il caso, in KUB XXII 67, di É.GAL.PAP, un principe dell'Anatolia occidentale, contemporaneo di Muršili II e ostile agli Ittiti, al quale si associò nella ribellione anche Mašḫuiluwa, re del paese di Arzawa¹³:

¹¹ Cf. ancora KUB VI 34 IV[?] 11, 15, 17: É SALU-wa-a/U-wa-a(-ja)/U-wa(-pát). Le due citazioni riportate in E. Laroche, *Les noms des Hittites* (NH), Parigi 1966, 201 nr. 1462 vanno invece lette: šal-u-wa-ja-aš(-kán), che è il nome di un uccello.

¹² Vedi infra nt. 19.

¹³ Al caso di É.GAL.PAP si accenna nel trattato di Muršili con Manapa-Datta, v. J.

- [9] 1 ^DZa-wa-al-[l]i-iš ku-iš ŠA [É É.GAL.PAP SI×SĀ-at(?)]
 2 nu pa-a-i-mi A-NA DINGIR^{LIM} la-la-at-[ta-an-za-ma
 3 nam-ma-aš-ši SISKUR pi-iḫ-ḫi . . .
 13 ^DZa-wa-al-[l]i-iš ŠA É É.GAL.PAP [
 14 nu pa-a-i-mi A-NA DINGIR^{LIM} la-la-at-ta-an-[za-ma
 15 nu-uš-ši SISKUR pi-iḫ-ḫi nam-ma-an ar-ḫa [KASKAL-ši-aḫ-mi]¹⁴
 13 Lo Zawalli della casa di É.GAL.PAP [
 14 e io verrò: al dio . . .[
 15 e gli offrirò un rituale e lo e[sorcizzerò.]

Si tratta dunque di una divinità della casa, cioè della famiglia di É.GAL.PAP. E come qui si ha uno Zawalli della casa di un dinasta dipendente da Ḫatti, similmente in [3] si era incontrato uno Zawalli della casa del re, che risulta poi essere quello di Šaušgatti, la quale dunque deve essere stata una principessa, appartenente alla famiglia reale ittita.¹⁵ E in KUB V 6 III 13 si ha ancora uno Zawalli della casa reale di Ḫatti, e precisamente quello che Mašḫuiluwa «teneva (presso di sè) in Arzawa». Poiché Mašḫuiluwa era imparentato con la dinastia ittita, in quanto aveva sposato Muwatti, figlia di Šuppiluliuma I, e dunque sorella di Muršili II, è evidente che questo Zawalli fu portato ad Arzawa dalla principessa ittita in occasione delle sue nozze.

- [10] III 8 ki-i ku-it DINGIR^{MES} Za-wa-al-li-ja-aš ši-ip-pa-an-za-kán-zi pa-ra-a-
 ma Ū-UL ma-li-eš-ki-zi
 9 nu ma-a-an ṖÉŠ.TUR-aš ku-it-ki PA-NI DINGIR^{LIM} EME-an
 ar-ḫa tar-na-an ḫar-zi
 10 nu IGI-zi SU^{MES} . . .
 12 ŠA ṖÉŠ.TUR-wa ku-it EME A-NA PA-NI DINGIR^{LIM} ar-ḫa
 tar-nu-ma-an-zi SI×SĀ-at
 13 nu pár-na-al-li-iš ku-iš ^DZa-wa-al-li-i-iš ŠA ^DUTU^{SI} ṖÉŠ.TUR-aš
 ku-in
 14 ^{URU}Ar-za-u-wa ḫar-ta nu a-pí-e-da-ni pi-ra-an EME-an ar-ḫa tar-na-an
 ḫar-zi
 15 IGI-zi SU^{MES} . . .
 17 nu GAM a-ri-iš-kir nu-za-kán ḫur-ta-uš me-iq-qa-uš tar-na-aš na-at
 IŠ-TU DUP-PI a-ni-i-ir
 18 zi-la-aš-ma kal-la-ri-[e]š-kat-ta-ri . . .

8 Poiché così (stanno) le cose, che si liberà agli dèi Zawalli, ma oltre (la divinità) non accorda,

9 allora, se Mašḫuiluwa ha lanciato innanzi ad una divinità una qualche lingua,

Friedrich, Staatsverträge des Ḫatti-Reiches in hethitischer Sprache I, Lipsia 1926, 128 sg. § 18*. Sull'avvenimento v. gli Annali di Muršili: KUB XIX 34(+) I passim, e cf. KBo XIX 76(+) I 6, II 16-18.

¹⁴ Per l'integrazione v. l. 10.

¹⁵ L'osservazione è di G. Del Monte (v. nt. 2) 381.

- 10 le prime carni . . . (L'ORACOLO CONFERMA)
- 12 Poiché fu assodato che da parte di Mašhūiluwa è stata lanciata una lingua innanzi ad una divinità,
13 è quello Zawalli familiare della Maestà, che Mašhūiluwa teneva
14 (presso di sé) in Arzawa, innanzi al quale egli ha lanciato la lingua?
15 Le prime carni . . . (L'ORACOLO CONFERMA)
- 17 Lo si stabilì per oracolo: egli lanciò molte lingue, e le si fece anche per iscritto (lett. per mezzo di tavolette).
- 18 L'omen è sfavorevole . . .

Mašhūiluwa provocava dunque lo Zawalli allo stesso modo di come i figli di Šaušgatti provocavano lo spirito (GIDIM) della loro madre, e i nipoti di Armadatta lo spirito del nonno, facendo cioè «lingue» (EME), vale a dire fatture.¹⁶

In KBo XIII 234 si ricorda invece lo Zawalli di un sovrano, Muršili II, per il quale si fissano alcune offerte. Una notazione sul lato sinistro del testo: ^{URUZ}i-i-*ha-ra*, che sarà da interpretare come colophon, mostra come appunto nella città di Zithara sia da situare questo culto:

- [11] I 1 ṚA¹-NA ḌZa-wa-al-li-i ŠA ṚMur-ši-li [
2 ŠA BA.BA.ZA tar-na-aš 1 ^{DUG}ha-ni-eš[-ša-aš
3 I-NA UD 3^{KAM} pi-eš-kán-zi
9 ŠA ITU 6^{KAM} 1 NINDA.KUR₄.RA UD^{MI}[
10 ku-it-ma-an DINGIR^{LUM} an-da a[p-pa-an-
11 ḌZa-wa-al-li-i-iš ŠA [ṚMur-ši-li
1 Per lo Zawalli di Muršili [
2 una misura *t.* di pappa, un recipiente per attin[gere di birra(?),]
3 nel 3° giorno danno.
9 Il pane giornaliero del 6° mese [
10 mentre la divinità prend[. . .
11 Zawalli di [Muršili].

La divinità Zawalli non è legata solo a persone, ma compare anche in relazione con città. KUB V 6 II¹⁷:

- [12] II 45 ḌZa-wa-al-li-i-iš ku-it ŠA ^{URUZ}i-i-*ha-ra* A-NA ḌUTU^{ŠI} GIG¹ še-ir^a
TUKU.TUKU-at-ti SI×SÁ-at
46 nu-kán ^{SALMES}dam-ma-ra-an-za I-NA ^{URUZ}Zi-i-*ha-ra* pa-ra-a ne-an-zi
47 nu pa-a-an-zi EME^{MES} EGIR-pa a-ni-ja-an-Ṛzi¹ É.DINGIR^{LIM}.Ṛja¹
pár-ku-nu-wa-an-zi . . .
65 ḌUTU^{ŠI} ku-it GIG-an-za pa-ra-a ta-ma-aš-ki-iz-zi nu-uš-ša-an ma-a-an
66 ki-e-da-ni A-NA GIG ḌUTU^{ŠI} ḌZa-wa-al-li-i-iš ^{URUZ}An-ku-wa-ja

¹⁶ KBo II 6(+) I 12: DUMU.DUMU-ŠU ŠA I^{PSIN}.ḌU-ja EME ēššanzi; per i figli di Šaušgatti, in II 55, v. supra nt. 2.

¹⁷ Vedi Sommer AU 280 sgg., per le ll. 45-47; cf. ibid., 285, per le altre ll.

- 67 *pa-ra-a a-ra-an-za na-aš-kán A-NA* ^DUTU^{ŠI} ► *ma-al-ḥa-šal-la-ḥi-ti*
a-ri-eš-kat-ta-ri
 68 *nu* ^{SUMES}. . .
-
- 69 *nu* ^{ŠA} ^{URU}*An-ku-wa-ja* ^DZa-wa-al-li-i-in *ú-te-ir na-an ši-ip-pa-an-te-ir*
-
- 70 *nu* ^{DINGIR}^{LUM} *ša-ku-wa-aš-šar-ra-an A-NA EN-ŠU EGIR-pa*
pi-i-e-ir ^{DINGIR}^{LUM}*-ma-kán*
 71 *ku-iš ar-ḥa šar-ru-ma[-an-z]i* ^{SI} × ^{SÁ}*-at na-aš I-NA* ^{URU}*Zi-it-ḥa-ra*
 72 *pi-e-du-ma-an-z[i] . . .*

a) Scritto sopra la riga

- 45 Poiché lo Zawalli della città di Zithara, a proposito della malattia,
 è stato assodato (essere) in stato d'ira contro la Maestà,
 46 allora si invieranno a Zithara le donne dammara-,
 47 procedendo quindi ad annullare le lingue e a purificare il tempio.
 65 Poiché la malattia opprime ancora la Maestà, se
 66 per questa malattia della Maestà si (è) aggiunto anche lo
 67 Zawalli di Ankuwa, esso nei riguardi della Maestà per mezzo di magia
 sarà stabilito (mediante oracoli);
 68 allora le carni . . . (L'ORACOLO NEGA L'IPOTESI)
-
- 69 Si è portato lo Zawalli di Ankuwa e a lui si è libato.
 70 Il simulacro della divinità, intatto, resero al suo signore (scil. sacer-
 dote). Ma il simulacro
 71 che fu assodato essere danneggiato, [si stabilì] di condurlo
 72 a Zithara . . .

Ed ancora, oltre a [5] e a [11], KUB XLIX 92 IV 9:

[13]IV 9 . . . ^DZa-wa-al-li-iš ^{ŠA} ^{URU}*An-ku-wa-a*

Bo 6516 l. 6:

[14] 6 *A-NA* ^DZa-wa-al-li-i ^{URU}*An-ku-u-w[a*

KUB L 94 ll. 7 sg.:

[15] 7 *ma-a-an* ^DZa-wa-al-li-iš
 8 ^DZa-wa-al-li-iš ^{URU}*Z[i-it-ḥa-ra(?)*

Sembra comunque che la divinità Zawalli, almeno in alcuni casi, fosse collocata in templi. KUB L 94 ll. 11 sg.:

[16] 11 ^DZa-wa-al-li-iš x x[
 12 ^{ŠA} É.^{DINGIR}^{LUM} *TUKU.TUKU-at-ti* [

11 Lo Zawalli . . . [

12 all'interno del tempio [fu stabilito] (essere) in (stato) d'ira [.

Da tener presente, in questo senso. oltre a [5], è forse anche KUB XVIII 67 Vs.º 10:

[17] Vs.º 10 *ha-an-ta-ù-t]a-at(?) ŠÀ É.DINGIR^{LIM} ŠA DZa-wa-al-li-ja-aš*
 11]x DINGIR^{MES} EME-az ar-*ha a-ni-ja-az-zi*

10 fu assoda]to dentro al tempio dello Zawalli
 11] . . purificherà gli dèi dalla lingua.

In Bo 6611 Vs. 5 sg. la divinità sembra essere rappresentata da una statua :

[18] Vs. 5 [SAL.]LUGAL-za-kán A-NA DZa-wa-al[-li-i?
 6 *ku-e-da-ni me-hu-ni AL[AM*
 7 *nu-za A-NA DINGIR^{LIM} ◀ ha-a[n-*
 5 La re[gina] allo Zawal[li
 6 in quale tempo una sta[tua
 7 allora alla divinità . . [

Da 367/t Vs.º 10, [19], risulta che lo Zawalli, a somiglianza di molte altre divinità, ha una stele, ^{NA}4ZI.KIN.¹⁸ Il culto a lui dovuto comprende alcuni rituali, SISKUR, si veda qui [2], [3], [4], [6], [9]. In KUB XII 2 III 15 sgg., nell'elenco del pantheon di una città, compaiono anche le divinità Zawalli, per le quali sono fissate le feste stagionali di primavera e, verosimilmente, d'autunno; ad esse partecipa la comunità cittadina:

[20] III 15 DINGIR^{MES} *Za-wa-al-li-ja nu-kán ku-iš UDU dam-me-e-eš-zi*
 16 *ku-iš-ma ŠAH.TUR pi-e har-zi A-NA EZEN TE-ŠI*
 17 NINDA.KUR₄.RA-ma KAŠ IŠ-TU URULIM *pi-eš-kán-zi*
 15 Gli dèi Zawalli: chi spinge una pecora
 16 e chi presenta un porcello; per la festa di primavera
 17 pane e birra si dà dalla città.

La divinità che precede è il Sole ctonio: *taknaš* DUTU-*uš* (III 13), quella che segue è il dio della Tempesta di Nerik (III 18). Nel riepilogo (III 24) si legge: [Š]U.NIGIN 17? DINGIR^{MES} ^{NA}4ZI.KIN *ŠA URUB Ha-ku-r[a?]* «Totale: 17 (?) divinità (rappresentate con) stele, della città di Hakur[a(?)].»

Inutilizzabili sono i seguenti passi:

[21] KUB VI 6 I 9 D]Za-wa-al-li-iš-kán ku-it [
 10 SI×S]Á-at DZa-wa-al-li-iš-m[a?
 [22] KUB VIII 44 l. 8 A-NA TI GIG(-)x[
 9 DZa-wa-al-li[-
 10 DZa-wa-al-l[i-

¹⁸ Il rinvio è in M. Darga, RHA 84-85 [1969], 19.

[23] KUB XVI 42 Vs. 11 ^DZ]a-[w]a-al-li-ja-aš x[
12 1]0? [U]DU^{BI.A} ^DZa-wa-al[-li-

[24] KUB XLVIII 124 Rs.? 8 INIM ^DZa-wa-li-aš x[

[25] KUB XLIX 7 IV 6 [x] ^DZa-wa-a[l-li-
7 ^DZa-wa-al-li[-

Si ha dunque:

a) un costante parallelismo tra Zawalli e GIDIM; in particolare, Zawalli è una divinità che compare in connessione con persone defunte («Zawalli di NP»), le quali ebbero per lo più contrasti con alcuni membri della dinastia ittita. Per questa ragione, come si cerca di appacificarne lo spirito (GIDIM), così ci si preoccupa di calmarne lo Zawalli. Questo, come il GIDIM, non è di per sé un'entità negativa, ma può divenire pericolosa qualora ci si renda colpevoli nei suoi confronti. Attestati sono gli Zawalli di Muršili II ([11]), di Šaušgatti ([2], [3]), di Danuḫepa ([4], [5]), di Tuthaliya (? , forse Tuthaliya il Giovane?) ([7]), di Urḫi-Tešup ([4], [5]), di Uwa ([6]), della madre della Maestà ([1], [5]), e di E.GAL.PAP ([9]);¹⁹

b) vi è infatti una pluralità di Zawalli ([1], [3], [5], [6], [10], [20]);

c) gli Zawalli possono essere posti in relazione tanto con la dinastia ittita ([3], [10], [11]), quanto con altre casate di principi anatolici ([9]);

d) ciò spiega perché esistano «Zawalli della città di Ankuwa» ([13], [14]) e «Zawalli della città di Zithara» ([5], [11], [12], [15]). Entrambe le città, situate non lontano dalla capitale, erano luoghi in cui i sovrani ittiti soggiornavano, soprattutto nei periodi invernali, e pertanto esse dovevano avere residenze più riparate della cittadella di Ḫattuša. Si veda KUB V 3, in cui con un'indagine oracolare si stabilisce dove il re debba passare l'inverno; IV 1: ^DUTU^{ŠI} *kēdani* MU-ti ^{URU}Kāi[apa-ma? SE₁₂-jazi] «La Maestà [svernerà] quest'anno in Kāt[apa]?» IV 10: «La Maestà svernerà quest'anno in Ankuwa?»; IV 13: «La Maestà invece svernerà] quest'anno in Zithara?»²⁰ È dunque verosimile che in queste città, proprio perché vi risiedevano abitualmente i sovrani, fossero conservati alcuni degli Zawalli «di casa reale». Infatti, secondo [5], gli Zawalli della città di Zithara (disposti però nel tempio locale, l. 12), risultano poi essere quelli di Urḫi-Tešup, della regina Danuḫepa, e della madre della Maestà. In [11] si ricorda, sempre per Zithara, lo Zawalli di Muršili II. E ancora, in KUB XVIII 67 II 10 compare in un contesto mutilo uno Zawalli ([17]); il resto della col. II e la prima parte della col. III non sono conservati, ma in III 5 si legge: DINGIR^{LUM} *-wa ŠA* ^{URU}Anku[w]a ŠA ABI ^D[UTU^{ŠI} «la divinità di Ankuwa del padre della M[aestà . . .], e poi in

¹⁹ In KUB XXII 40 II 4 (= [6]) Sommer AU 281 nt. 4, legge: ^DZawallin] NÍ.TE-aš LUGAL «lo Zawalli] della persona del re». L'integrazione, suggerita dal fatto che subito dopo segue lo Zawalli di Uwa, e poi alla l. 5 compare Zawalli al plurale, non pare però probabile, perché si tratterebbe dell'unico caso in cui Zawalli sarebbe in relazione con una persona vivente, qui il sovrano regnante (che però in genere è indicato col titolo di «mio Sole, Maestà». ^DUTU^{ŠI}!). Meglio pertanto è integrare: DINGIR^{LUM}], cioè: «il dio] della persona (scil. personale) del re».

²⁰ Per Ankuwa, come residenza del sovrano, v. ancora KUB V 4(+) III 13, e A. Goetze, Die Annalen des Muršiliš, Lipsia 1933, s. ind.; per Zithara v. KBo XXI 43 IV 3, XXIII 6 Rs. 9, testi (tranne il primo, di datazione incerta) da riferire a Muršili II.

III 7 (e cf. 2):] *nu-wa* DINGIR^{LUM} ŠA [U]RU *Ankuwa* ŠA ABI^D[UTU]^{SI}. È possibile che qui DINGIR^{LUM} si riferisca allo Zawalli di II 10,²¹ e se ciò è vero, lo Zawalli di Ankuwa (o almeno uno di essi) risulta essere quello del padre della Maestà, quindi verosimilmente ancora uno Zawalli di Muršili II,²² sovrano questo che, come sappiamo, risiedette spesso in Ankuwa;²³

e) incerto è il caso di [20]. Qui le divinità Zawalli, precedute da una divinità ctonia, il dio Sole della terra, compaiono nel pantheon di Ḫakura, città non importante e verso cui la dinastia ittita non sembra avere avuto particolari legami. Forse dunque questi Zawalli non riguardano la casa reale, ma personaggi di importanza locale.

È pertanto verosimile che il termine Zawalli, di cui ci è ancora ignota l'etimologia, stia semplicemente ad indicare lo spirito, il genio di un defunto, di contro ad *akkant-* (ed al sumerogramma GIDIM, limitatamente all'area ittita), che significa anche «morto», e comprende dunque una sfera semantica più ampia, a differenza dell'accadico *etemmu*, che pure corrisponde a GIDIM, ed è invece «spirito di un morto».²⁴ Se questo spirito, che è in antitesi agli esseri viventi, è sentito come qualcosa di divino, e pertanto Zawalli è un dio, ciò non implica però che ogni uomo dopo la morte divenga una divinità, DINGIR^{LIM} *kiš-*, come invece è detto dei sovrani.²⁵ Con quest'espressione s'intende che il re defunto raggiunge il luogo ove risiedono gli dèi: «Ora lasciami al mio destino, presso gli dèi del cielo, e [lascia]mi libero di mezzo agli spiriti dei morti!»²⁶ È così che in KUB XVIII 32 6 e 13, a proposito dei culti dei sovrani defunti, si parla rispettivamente della «tomba/mausoleo (lett. casa di pietra) del dio Arnuwanda e del dio Tuḫhalija», É.NA₄ DINGIR^{LIM} ¹*Arnuwan[da]*/¹*Duḫhalija*; e in KUB XVI 39 II, che riguarda sempre «la tomba del dio Tuḫhalija», si invoca prima: «tu, Tuḫhalija . . .», e poi, rivolgendosi sempre allo stesso: «a te, o dio . . .» (ll. 11 e 14–16).²⁷

Gli Zawalli invece possono per qualche aspetto avvicinarsi agli dèi Mani, come mostra [9], secondo il quale una principessa ittita andando in sposa ad un dinasta del paese di Arzawa, porta con sé uno Zawalli «della casa», *parnalli-*, evidentemente per mantenere così un legame con i culti del proprio ambito familiare.²⁸ Anche

²¹ Vedi ad es. [2], ove il nome Zawalli viene ripreso con: DINGIR^{LUM}.

²² Buona parte di questi testi oracolari risalgono infatti a Ḫattušili III, figlio di Muršili II. Altri sono però da datare a Tuḫhalija IV; se questo fosse il caso anche di KUB XVIII 67, allora il «padre della Maestà» risulterebbe essere Ḫattušili III.

²³ Vedi supra, nt. 20.

²⁴ Vedi nt. 2. Sul culto dei morti in epoca assiro-babilonese v. da ultimo M. Bayliss, *Iraq* 35 [1973], 115–125.

²⁵ Vedi Otten HTR 119, ove si cita un passo in cui l'espressione è riferita anche alla regina, ed inoltre ad un ragazzo (DUMU.NITA) ed ad una ragazza (DUMU.SAL), secondo Otten, „wo es fraglich ist, ob die Aussage überhaupt noch auf die königliche Familie Bezug nimmt“. Comunque, su questa formulazione che compare in un rituale funebre, ha sicuramente influito il fatto che l'espressione ricorra costantemente nei rituali per la morte dei sovrani.

²⁶ Vedi H. M. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale für den hethitischen König*, Wiesbaden 1967, 62 sg. (StBoT 3).

²⁷ Alla l. 29 sg.: «tomba degli dèi (scil. divinizzati) padri», É.NA₄ DINGIR^{LIM} *addaš*. Tutto ciò è stato posto in evidenza da Otten HTR 106–111.

²⁸ Sul culto dei defunti appartenenti alla famiglia reale cf. Otten HTR 110–112. Una statua di Ḫattušili (I) era posta nel tempio del dio della guerra, ZA.BA₄.BA₄, KBo IV 9 III 11, e quelle di Ḫattušili, Tuḫhalija e Šuppiluliuma nel tempio del dio della Tem-

in ciò si ha un parallelismo col termine *GIDIM*. Nell'Autobiografia di *Ḫattušili III*, quando *Muwatalli* trasferisce la capitale del regno a *Tarḫuntašša*, si dice: *namma-kan DINGIR^{MES} URUḪatti GIDIM^{ḪI.A}-ja pidi ninikta* «inoltre prese su gli dèi di *Ḫatti* e i *Mani* (lett. morti) *in loco*». ²⁹ Ed ancora, in *KBo III 3 (+) I 15 sg.* si ha: *nu-wa-mu URUḪaruwattan URU-an dannattan purut DINGIR^{MES} akkandušša EGIR-pa pāi* «ora rendimi *Ijaruwatta*, la città vuota: l'argilla, gli dèi e i *Mani* (lett. morti)». ³⁰

La divinità *Zawalli* non va confusa con gli dèi ed i genii che proteggono l'uomo in vita e continuano a mantenere con lui, cioè col suo spirito, un legame anche dopo la morte. Per indicare la località in cui si svolgono i culti per *Mašḫuiluwa*, il defunto re di *Arzawa*, ci si esprime così: *kāš-ma IPEŠ.TUR-aš-pat IEN URU^{LUM} DINGIR^{LIM}* (var. *ŠA DINGIR^{LIM} INA* ^{1D} *Šijanta ešzi* «*Bada*, una città del dio di *Mašḫuiluwa* giace al fiume *Šijanta*). ³¹ Più significativo è *KBo II 6 (+) I 11 sg.*, dove si indaga su uno spirito, offeso perché i suoi dèi vengono trascurati: *mān GIDIM-pat kuitki TUKU.TUKU-uanza DINGIR^{MES}-ŠU-ja-šši kuit katta išḫū-wanteš* «se lo spirito (di *Armadata*) è irato in qualche modo, perché i suoi dèi (sono stati) abbattuti . . .». Parallelo è *KUB XVI 32 II 4: nu-kan DINGIR^{MES} SALTanuḫ[epa* «allora gli dèi di *Tanuḫ[epa* (la regina defunta)»; ³² o anche *KBo XVIII 15 6-11: nu[-šši] ŠA ABI-ŠU DINGIR^{MES}. ḪI.A nakkiškantat n-an-kan kāš-ma ŠA ABI-ŠU DINGIR^{MES} ijawanzi parā neḫḫun* «[a lui] gli dèi di suo padre furono oppressi, ed ecco io l'ho inviato a celebrare gli dèi di suo padre». ³³

pesta, *KUB X 11 III 29, IV 2, 21-23* (cf. *II 15 sg.*: *n-ašta LUGAL-uš INA É DIŠKUR anda paizzi*). Offerte alle statue di *Ḫattušili*, *Tuḫalija*, *Šuppiluliuma* e *Muršili* sono ricordate in *KBo II 29 Vs. 10-14; 30 I 12-15*. Per altri testi in cui sono preciate le offerte ai membri defunti della famiglia reale (in genere secondo la formula: «alla tavola, *GIŠBANŠUR*, di *Ḫattušili* . . .»), v. *H. Otten, MDOG 83 [1951], 62-70*.

²⁹ Goetze *Ḫattušiliš* 20. In un passo parallelo, *KBo VI 29 I 31* si ha invece: *DINGIR^{MES} UḫBUḪatti DINGIR^{MES} URUTŪL-na DINGIR^{MES} GIŠERIN-aš* „gli dèi] di *Ḫatti*, gli dèi di *Arinna*, gli dèi del cedro“, cf. Goetze *Madduwattaš* 115 sg.

³⁰ Cf. Goetze *Kleinasien* 169; Otten *HTR* 144. In *KUB XVI 34 I 6 sg. GIDIM^{ḪI.A}* più che «simulacri» dei morti, sarà da intendere semplicemente come «morti», e cioè le loro urne cinerarie: *nu-wa LŪ^{MES} É.DINGIR^{LIM} ANA LŪ^{MES} É.NA₄ DINGIR^{LIM} (7) anda uerijanteš GIDIM^{ḪI.A}-ja-wa-šmaš daninuwanteš (8) LŪ^{MES} É.DINGIR^{LIM}-ma-wa-šmaš anda uerijanteš warpanzi-ma-wa-az (9) ŪL nu-war-at-kan ŠA É.DINGIR^{LIM}-pat ijantari* «e gli inservienti templari chiamati presso gli inservienti della «casa di pietra» (Mausoleo), essendo stati disposti in ordine da loro i morti, i (suddetti) inservienti templari chiamati presso di loro, non si lavano (per purificarsi), ed entrano (in tale stato) nel tempio . . .».

³¹ Friedrich *Staatsverträge* I, 116 sg. l. 38.

³² Forse in tale modo va interpretato *KUB XVI 39 II 29: š]umeš DINGIR^{MES} ŠA É. NA₄ DINGIR^{LIM} addaš* «voi, dèi della «casa di pietra» (Mausoleo) degli dèi padri (scil. degli antenati divinizzati) . . .».

³³ Quest'ultimo passo, ove l'espressione: *ŠA ABI-ŠU DINGIR^{MES}* «gli dèi di suo padre», può tradursi bene (e a quanto è dato vedere, senza tradire il significato del termine latino) anche con: «i *Mani* di suo padre», mostra come sia pericoloso riferire concetti di una cultura ad un'altra. Quest'ultima traduzione verrebbe infatti ad annullare la differenza tra lo *Zawalli* e le divinità del morto, che sopra è stata mostrata.

Grafie attestate per Zawalli

Singolare

- Nom. ^DZa-wa-al-li-iš: KBo XXIII 114 l. 12, 15, 17, 18, 23; KUB VI 6 I 9, 10; XVI 46 I 10, IV 1, 13; XVIII 2 II 9; XXII 40 II 29; XXII 67 l. 1, 13; XLIX 92 IV 9; L 94 l. 5, 7, 8, 11 (cf. 3); 87 III 4; Bo 6516 l. 5.
^DZa-wa-al-li-i-iš: KBo XIII 234 I 11; KUB V 6 II 45 sg., 66, III 13.
^DZa-wa-al-li-LIŠ: KBo XXIII 114 l. 14; KUB XVI 16 Rs. 1, 23.
- Gen. ^DZa-wa-li-aš: KUB XLVIII 124 Rs. 8.
^DZa-wa-al-li-ja-aš: KUB XVI 42 Vs. 11; XVIII 67 Vs. 10; XXII 40 III 29, 30.
- Dat. ^DZa-wa-al-li-i: KBo XIII 234 I 1; Bo 6516 l. 6.
- Acc. ^DZa-wa-al-li-in: KUB XXII 40 II 4, 25.
^DZa-wa-al-li-i-in: KUB V 6 II 69.
- Abl. ^DZa-wa-al-li-ja-za: KUB XLVIII 125 II 5.

Plurale

- Nom. [^DZ]a-w[a-a]l-li(-)eš: KUB XVIII 2 II 3.
^DZa-wa-al-li-uš(?): KBo XXIII 114 l. 9.
- Nom. n. (?) DINGIR^{MES} Za-wa-al-li-ja: KUB XII 2 III 15.
- Gen. ^DZa-wa-al-li-j[a-aš](?): KUB XVI 46 I 4.
- Acc. ^DZa-wa-al-li-uš: KUB XXII 40 II 5.
DINGIR^{MES} Za-wa-al-li-ja-aš: KUB V 6 III 8.

DIE ADAD-HYMNE
INS HETHITISCHE ÜBERSETZT

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Die Adad-Hymne ins Hethitische übersetzt

Alfonso ARCHI

In der großen Hymne, von der uns etwas mehr als ein Drittel in KBo III 21 = 2BoTU 6 erhalten ist, erscheint in der Unterschrift die Bemerkung "Schreiber auf Babylonisch". Die Hymne ist, auch wegen der darin enthaltenen Gedankengänge und der stilistischen Wendungen, seit langer Zeit als die hethitische Übersetzung eines babylonischen Gedichts erkannt worden, dessen Original uns jedoch immer noch unbekannt ist¹. Sie ist dem Wettergott gewidmet, dessen Logogramm in III 8 und 12 wiederkehrt. In III 21 und 24 werden zwei berühmte Kultstätten des Adad genannt, nämlich der von Hammurapi geweihte Tempel É.NAM.ḪÉ in Babylon, den Ammisaduqa restaurieren ließ, und das von Samsuiluna erbaute Heiligtum in Pada. Da aber nach dem in II 1 Gesagten Adad u.a. die "Ellilwürde", d.h. die höchste Gewalt zuerkannt wurde, während seit der 1. Babylonischen Dynastie die *illilātu* auf Marduk übertragen wurde, hat man auch vorgeschlagen, daß "danach dieser hymnische Text trotz der Unterschrift für ein Produkt hethitischer (oder allenfalls hurritischer) Gelehrsamkeit zu halten sei"².

¹ E. Forrer, dem allerdings der hymnische Charakter des Textes entging, schreibt in 2BoTU II 3*: "Der Rest der Unterschrift ... 'Schreiber auf Babylonisch' zeigt, daß der Originaltext babylonisch war; es ist aber nichts davon auf uns gekommen". A. Goetze, *Tunnawi* (New Haven 1938) 78; ders., *JCS* 2 (1948) 149-152 (dort übersetzt er sogar die Zeilen II 6-11 ins Babylonische zurück). H. G. Güterbock, in: *Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft: Alt-orientalische Literaturen*, Hrsg. W. Röllig (Wiesbaden 1978) 224: "In althethitischer Sprache liegt ein hymnisches Gebet an den Wettergott vor, für das zwar kein akkadisches Vorbild bekannt ist, das sich aber in babylonischen Begriffen bewegt ...".

Der einfache Umstand, daß in einem literarischen Text, wie hier in II 1, eine von *wallija-* "preisen" herkommende Form auftaucht, ist ein klarer Hinweis darauf, daß wir es mit einem Werk akkadischen Ursprungs zu tun haben, wie E. Laroche in "La prière hittite: Vocabulaire et typologie", *École pratique des Hautes Études, V^e Section, Sciences Religieuses; Annuaire* 72 (1964/65) 27-29 bemerkte. Tatsächlich unterscheidet sich die Struktur des heth. Gebets von der des mesopotamischen und enthält kein Preislied zu Ehren der Gottheit.

² So Güterbock, in einer vorausgegangenen Arbeit: *Kumarpi, Mythen vom churritischen Kronos aus den hethitischen Fragmenten zusammengestellt, übersetzt und erklärt* (Istanbul 1946) 109. Diese Auffassung wird von A. Kammenhuber, *Orakelpraxis* (THeth 7; Heidelberg 1976) 17^{aa}, geteilt.

Allerdings kennen wir wenigstens ein Gedicht mesopotamischen Ursprungs, das mit Sicherheit aus einer hurritischen Zwischenfassung ins Hethitische übersetzt wurde. Es handelt sich um die Hymne auf Ištar, die als KUB XXIV 7 I-II 27 herausgegeben wurde³. In ihr zeigt die heth. Version aber sichtbare Spuren der hurritischen Überarbeitung sowohl im Wortschatz als in einigen der behandelten Themen, wie beispielsweise in der Beschreibung des der Göttin folgenden Zuges⁴. Dies ist jedoch bei der Hymne an den Wettergott nicht der Fall. Deshalb kann es auch unter Berücksichtigung des Umstandes, daß die hier erwähnten Realien zur mesopotamischen Umwelt gehören, keinen Zweifel daran geben, daß in dieser Gottheit Adad und nicht Tešup zu sehen ist. Daß ihm ungewöhnliche Machtbefugnisse wie die "Elišil-Würde" zugewiesen werden, läßt sich leicht erklären, wenn man als Ort der Abfassung des Textes nicht Babylon, sondern eine andere Stadt in Babylonien annimmt. Andererseits hat die in den Gebieten westlich des Euphrats dem Kult des Wettergottes beigelegte Bedeutung offenbar die Verbreitung dieser Hymne gegenüber anderen begünstigt⁵.

Es ist nicht einfach, in der akkadischen Literatur genaue Entsprechungen für die in der Hymne vorkommenden Ausdrücke zu finden. Andererseits genügt es, wo immer die Möglichkeit dazu besteht, ein akk. Original mit der heth. Version zu vergleichen — wie das an Ištar gerichtete Gebet KUB XXXVII 36(+)37 und XXXI 141⁶ —, um zu begreifen, zu welchen Umbildungen und Bearbeitungen eine Übertragung ins Hethitische Anlaß gab.

Was die Datierung der Hymne betrifft, so weisen einige Elemente der Schreibweise darauf hin, daß sie nicht in der Spätzeit verfaßt worden sein kann: besonders charakteristisch ist hier die Eigentümlichkeit des nicht geschriebenen *-r* in *gulašša(r)*, II 4, und *hatrešša(r)*, II 8. Dies wird durch die Untersuchung der Zeichenformen bestätigt, die für die eindeutigen Fälle auch an der Autographie durchgeführt werden kann (die auf H. H. Figulla zurückgeht). Hierzu betrachte man die folgenden Zeichen: TAR (II 1, 4, 13 usw.); AK (III 15); IK (II 16, 17); NAM (III 21); EN (II 1,

³ Siehe A. Archi, *OA* 16 (1977) 305-311.

⁴ Es ist jedoch wahr, daß in den heth. Übersetzungen religiöser Texte aus dem Akkadischen üblicherweise beide Fassungen in nebeneinander stehenden Kolumnen wiedergegeben werden.

⁵ Für Adad als Gott der Wahrsagung (hier Vs. II 6-11) im nördlichen Syrien vgl. Adad von Kallassu (unweit von Aleppo), s. A.1121 = G. Dossin, *Fs. Th. H. Robinson* (Edinburgh 1950) 103-7: 8' *ina tērētīm* "Adad bēl Kallassu [iqb]ēm"; A. 2731 (alt A. 2925) = G. Dossin, in: *La divination en Mésopotamie ancienne et dans les régions voisines* (CRRA 14; Paris 1966) 78 (nur Übersetzung). Ich bin W. R. Mayer dankbar für den Hinweis.

⁶ Siehe die Bearbeitung von Reiner-Güterbock, *JCS* 21 (1967) 255-266.

12, III 19); URU (III 14, 18, 24); LI (II 1, 3, 6 usw.); SAR (II 12; III 8). Sie alle gehen auf die Zeit von Arnuwanda I. und Šuppiluliuma I. zurück. So sind mit Sicherheit auch die Formen von UK (II 1, 2, 10, 13, III 14) und AZ (II 17, III 14, 24) nicht archaisch, gehen aber den in den Texten Hattušilis III. bezeugenden Formen voraus. Die Daten stimmen also überein: die Übersetzung kann nicht später als um die Mitte des 14. Jhs., d.h. zu Beginn des Großreiches, erfolgt sein. Auszuschließen ist indessen die andere Möglichkeit, daß es sich um die Kopie eines auf das Alte Reich zurückgehenden Textes handeln könnte; einige mangelhafte Zeichen (DA: III 4; ŠA für TA: III 16 und 20¹) sowie insbesondere die zahlreichen Rasuren (wie in II 7, 17, 21, III 11, 21) und neu geschriebenen Zeilen (III 10-13) weisen darauf hin, daß es eine endgültige Fassung des Textes, die dem uns vorliegenden Exemplar vorausgegangen wäre, nicht gegeben haben kann.

Vs. I

1 [...	
2 [...	
3 [...	]RI[
4 [...	d]a-ga-an-zi-pi-ja
5 [...]
6 [...	]<u>x̄ iš-kal-li-iš-ki-iz-zi</u>
7 [...	]<u>x̄- zi</u>
8 [...	-]an ku-iš ar-ta-ri
9 [...	]<u>x̄-iz- zi</u>
10 [...	-]it(-)ha-u-wa-an-ni-it
11 [...	-p]a/k]a-an-ma
12 [...]
13 [...	]<u>x̄-na-aš</u>
14 [...	-š]a
15 [...]
16 [...]
17 [...]
18 [...]
19 [...	]<u>x̄-ma</u>

Vs. II

1 nu DEN.LIL-tar-še-it tu-uk pa-iš DINGIR^{MES}-na-ša ya-li-iš-ḫi-u-ya-ar
 2 [ma]-ni-ja-aḫ-in-na tu-uk zi-in-ni- it

- 3 *na-aš-ta A-NA DINGIR^{MES} GAL^{TIM} tu-li-ja an-[da] tu-el-pát*
 4 *gul-aš-[ša] tar-ra-nu-ut na-aš-ta ut-ne-ja-aš iš-ta-an-za-na-aš*
 5 *ap-pa-an-na ki-iš-ri-it-ti da-iš*
-
- 6 *li-iš-ši-ja-la-at-ta-ma ne-pi-ša-aš da-ga-an-zi-[pa]-[aš]-[ša]*
 7 *ud-da-a-ar kat-ta-an ar-ḥa pi-e-tum-ma-an-zi*
 8 ^{DE.A} *aš-kán ḥu-ya-an-ḥu-iš-ni ku-it ḥa-at-ri-i-e-eš-ša*
 9 *an-da ki-id-da a-aš-šu UZU^{LA} ḥu-ya-ap-pa-an-na UZU^{LA}*
 10 *ú-ya-an-na nu KUR-ja-aš a-ru-u-ya-u-ar DINGIR^{MES} tu-uk*
 11 *i-ya-a-ar-ya-a- ir*
-
- 12 ^{DA} *nu-uš-ma-[at]-ta ^{DEN.LIL} aš-ša šar-ga-ya-an-ni ḥa-an-da*
 13 *A-NA LÜ.^{MES} KÜR-ŠU-NU ú-e-mi-ja-u-ya-an-zi tu-uk ya-a-tar-na-
 aḥ-ḥi-ir*
-
- 14 *na-aš-ta tar-ḥu-i-la-a-tar-te-it ḥa-tu-ga-a-tar-te-it*
 15 *DINGIR^{MES} aš pa-ra-a kal-la-ra-an-ni ne-ja-an li-li-ya-an-za-ma-aš-
 ša-an*
-
- 16 *ik-za-te-eš KUR-e kat-ta ḥu-u-up-pa-an ḥar-zi*
-
- 17 *ik-ta-aš-ma-ad-du-uš-ša-an ir-ḥa-az Ū-[UL] na-aḥ-ša-ri-ja-ya-an-za*
 18 *ar-ḥa Ū-UL ú-iz-zi Ū-UL pít-tu-li-an-ta-an-ma*
 19 *an-da ya-ar-pi-iš-ki- ši*
-
- 20 *[o (o)-u]m-mi-it-ma-kán al-pa-ra-mi-it-ti-ta KUR-e ka-ri-ja-an*
 21 *[na-aḥ-ša-r]i[?]-at-ti-ma pí-ra-an da-an-du-ki-iš ḥu-u-ma-an-za*
 22 *]x ú-i-te-na-aš ta-ga-ya-aš*
 23 *]x-an-za-mi-iš ar-pi-ja-at-ta-ri*
-
- 24 *-[e]-it ḥa-tu-ga A-NA DUMU.NAM.LÚ.UL^{LU}.^{MES}*
 25 *-i]t-ta hé-e-u-un-ma hi-in-ga-na-aš*
 26 *]x na-aš-ta ta-an-du-ki-iš DUMU-aš*
 27 *G]UL[?] aḥ-ḥi-iš-ki-it-ta-ri*
-
- 28 *-z]i nu-za SAG.DU-in*
 29 *]x x x x*
 30 *]x*

Rs. III

- x+1 [...]x-ir'[?]
 2 [... --z]i
-
- 3 [... -[ar-te-it-kán aš-nu-an šal-la-an-ni-ma-ad-du-uš-ša-a[n]
 4 ...] nu-ut-ták-kán an-da¹ Ū-UL ku-iš-ki
 5 [... -]zi
-
- 6 *[ka-ru-i-l]i-e-eš DINGIR^{MES} pít-tu-li-ja-u-ya-ar*

- 7 [...]x-ja-an-du
-
- 8 [DINGIR^{MES}-na-ša] ^DIM-aš šar-ku-uš nu-ut-ta ^DIM AN-pát
9 [mi-nu-mar da-]ra-an- du
-
- 10 [nu ki-ir-ti-i]t mi-nu-ya-an-du li-iš-ši-ma-ad-du ya-ar-aš-nu-an-du
11 [nu iš-ši-i] mi-nu-mar da-ra-an-du
-
- 12 ^DIM-aš ki-ir-ti-it-ta mi-nu-an-du li-iš-ši-ma-at-ta
13 ya-ar-aš-nu-an-du nu iš-ši-i mi-nu-mar da-ra-an-du
-
- 14 ^{URU}Zi-ip-pi-ri-ma-az ^DUTU-ya-aš uk-tu-u-ri URU-ri
15 du-un-na-ak-ki-eš-na-aš É-ri an-da-an e-eš-ḥu-ut
16 nu-ut-ta¹(ŠA) ki-ir-ti mi-nu-ya-an-du li-iš-ši-ma-at-ta
17 ya-ar-aš-nu-ya-an-du nu iš-ši-i mi-nu-mar da-ra-an-du
-
- 18 ^{URU}KÁ.DINGIR.RA-ma-aš-ša-an ku-e-da-ni URU-ri ^DA-nu-uš
19 la-a-ma-an da-iš ^DEN.LÍL-aš-ma-aš-ši-kán gul-aš-ta
20 du-uš-ga-ra-u-an-da gul-aš-ta¹*(ŠA) ^DAMAR.UTU-aš a-aš-ši-ja-an-ti
21 nu-za-kán É.NAM.ḤÉ a-aš-ši-ja-an-ti É-ri an-da e-eš-ḥu-ut
22 nu ki-ir-ti mi-nu-ya-an-du li-iš-ši-ma-at-ta
23 ya-ar-ša-nu-ya-an-du nu iš-ši-i mi-nu-mar da-ra-an-du
-
- 24 A-NA ^{URU}Pà-da-ma-az-kán a-aš-ši-ja-an-ti URU-ri
25 an-da tu-uš-ga-ra-an-na a-ša-a-tar e-eš-ḥu-ut
26 nu ki-ir-ti mi-nu-ya-an-du li-iš-ši-ma-at-ta
27 ya-ar-aš-nu-ya-an-du nu iš-ši-i mi-nu-mar
 \ da-ra-an-du

Rs. IV

- x+1 [...]x
2 [...]ta
3 [...]x-mi
4 [...]
-
- 5 [... ^{URU}K]Á.DINGIR.RA
6 [...]a-u-ar
7 [...]x
8 [...] uk-tu-u-ri
9 ...]
-
- 10 [... -m]i¹-ja-at-ta ú-iz-zi
11 [... -i]š dam-mi-li šu-up-pa-i pi-di
12 [...] DUB.SAR pa-pi-li-li
-
- 13 [...]
14 [...]

Übersetzung

Vs. I

(4) ...] und auf der Erde [... (6) ..]. zerreißt [...]t. (8) ..]. der steht [...]t. 10 ...]...

Vs. II

1 Er gab dir die Ellil-Würde; und die Verherrlichung der Götter
2 und die Leitung vervollständigte er für dich.

3 Und für die großen Götter in der Versammlung machte er geltend
4 deine Bestimmung; und er legte es dir in deine Hand,
5 die Seelen des Landes zu nehmen.

6 Dir, in (deinem) Gemüt ist es gegeben, zu deuten
7 die Worte des Himmels und der Erde:
8 die Ordnung, die Ea festgelegt hat
9 in der Tiefe; zu untersuchen das günstige "Fleisch"
10 und das ungünstige "Fleisch". Die Huldigung der Länder
11 entbieten dir die Götter als Geschenk.

12 Anu aber und Enlil beauftragten dich, gemäß (deiner) Erhabenheit
13 ihre Feinde zu treffen.

14 Und dein Heldenmut, dein Schreckensglanz
15 sind gerichtet gegen das Unheil, im Angesicht der Götter. Dein rasches
16 Netz hält das Land unten zusammen.

17 Auch wer keine Furcht hat, entgeht nicht
18 dem Umkreis deines Netzes; auch wer sich nicht fürchtet,
19 den hältst du darin fest.

20 Wegen [...]. und deines Gewölks (ist) das Land bedeckt;
21 vor [Für]cht (?) jeder Sterbliche
22 ...]. der *Ähnlichkeit* des Wassers
23 mein [...]. ist schwierig.

24 Dein [...] schrecklich den Menschenkindern
25 ...]. den Regen aber des Todes
26 ...]. und das Menschenkind
27 [...] wird geschlagen (?).

28 ...]t und den Kopf
29 ...]....

Rs. III

x+3 Dein[...] (ist) vollendet; in der Größe aber dir/dich

4 [...]und dir/dich dazu keiner

5 [...]t.

6 Die [ewi]gen Götter, Angst

7 sollen sie [zeig]en.

8 [Von den Göttern] (ist) der Wettergott der mächtigste; dir, Wettergott
des Himmels,

9 mögen sie [Beruhigung] aussprechen.

10 [Und] mögen sie [dein Herz] beruhigen, mögen sie den Sinn dir be-
friedigen:

11 mögen sie [dem Herrn] Beruhigung aussprechen.

12 Wettergott, mögen sie dein Herz beruhigen, mögen sie dir den Sinn

13 befriedigen: mögen sie dem Herrn Beruhigung aussprechen.

14 In Sippar, der ewigen Stadt des Sonnengottes,

15 setze dich im Innengemach nieder;

16 mögen sie dein Herz beruhigen, mögen sie dir den Sinn

17 befriedigen: mögen sie dem Herrn Beruhigung aussprechen.

18 Babylon, die Stadt, der Anu

19 den Namen gegeben hat, die Enlil

20 ansah, die Geliebte sah (auch) Marduk mit Freude an;

21 in dem "Tempel des Überflusses", in dem geliebten Haus setze dich
nieder,

22 und mögen sie dein Herz beruhigen, mögen sie dir den Sinn

23 befriedigen: mögen sie dem Herrn Beruhigung aussprechen.

24 In Pada, der geliebten Stadt,

25 nimm in Freude (deine) Bleibe,

26 und mögen sie dein Herz beruhigen, mögen sie dir den Sinn

27 befriedigen: mögen sie dem Herrn Beruhigung aussprechen.

Rs. IV

(5) [...] Babylon [...] (8) [...] ewig [...] (10) [...].kommt (11) ... in
einem unberührten, reinen Ort. (12) [...] Schreiber auf Babylonisch.

Kommentar

II 1-2: Zu der auf Marduk und andere Gottheiten übertragenen "Ellil-Würde" s. *AHw*, *Ellilātu*; *CAD* I/J, *illilātu*.

Zu *wališhiuwar* in diesem Zusammenhang s. Güterbock, Rez. zu J. Friedrich, *HethWb*, *Oriens* 10 (1957) 359.

3-5: In dem Gebet an Ištar, KUB XXXVII 36+37.7 und XXXI 141.3, entspricht das heth. *šallajaš* DINGIR^{MES}-*aš* dem akk. ^a*I-gi-gi*, s. E. Reiner-H. G. Güterbock, "The Great Prayer to Ishtar and its Two Versions from Boğazköy", *JCS* 21 (1967) 257 und 265-266. Wie diese beiden Autoren bemerken, sind es im Sumerischen die Anunna, die das Epitheton "groß" tragen, während die Hethiter der altpab. Tradition folgen, nach der die Anunnaku die unterirdischen Götter (heth. *karuileš* DINGIR^{MES}, "die früheren Götter" hier in III 6), die Igigi aber die "großen Götter" des Himmels sind.

Zu den hier dargelegten Gedanken beachte man den jedoch auf Marduk bezogenen Ausdruck in CH I 14-15: "(Als Anu... und Ellil) unter den Igigi ihn groß machten", in *Igigi ušarbiü-šu*.

6-11: Den Göttern wird oft die Fähigkeit zum Auslegen von Omina zugeschrieben. Ellil betreffend, s. E. Ebeling, *Die akkadische Gebetsserie "Händerhebung"* (Berlin 1953) 20-21 (= KAR Nr. 25 Rs. III), Z. 22 f.: *eršu mūdū tēret niši*, "Weiser, Kundiger der Orakelentscheidung(en) über die Menschen".

A. Goetze, der eine Auslegung des ganzen Passus gibt, schreibt in der Rezension zu F. Ose, *Supinum und Infinitiv im Hethitischen*, *JCS* 2 (1948) 149 f.: "*liššiyala* is clearly a form of the adjective of appurtenance derived from *li/ešši* 'liver'; its meaning then is 'pertaining to, contained in the liver'. The passage states that certain activities are 'on the god's mind'. In first place it is his intention 'to bring down the words of heaven and earth'; this no doubt refers to the *omina celestia et terrestria*". In seiner "reconstruction of the Akkadian text" setzt Goetze *liššiyala-ita* mit *kabittuk-ka* gleich und führt dazu aus: "*k.* of which no actual occurrence is known to me is formed here after the model of *qatuk-ka*, '(is) in thy hand'".

Tatsächlich bedeutet *kabattu* "Leber, Inneres", aber im übertragenen Sinne auch "Gemüt, Sinn", s. hierzu die in *AHw* und *CAD*, *kabattu*, wiedergegebenen Stellen (vgl. W. G. Lambert, *BWL* 76, Z. 80 = Theodicy: *taḫšihu kabattuk* "in your mind you have an urge..."). Indessen sah der heth. Schreiber, durch den ganzen Sinn des Passus beeinflusst, hier einen Bezug auf die Leber als der Weissagung dienendes Organ, das sie in der

Tat ist (in der heth. Mantik durch das Logogramm $uzunfg.gig$ ausgedrückt), aber als die Leber des Schafes, akk. *amūtu*! Er übersetzte deshalb wörtlich und wählte ein von *lišši-* "Leber" abgeleitetes Adjektiv (im Vokabular KBo I 51 entspricht *kà-bi-tù* in Vs. II 9 das heth. *li[-iš-ši]*, s. Goetze, *The Hittite Ritual of Tunlawi* [AOS 14; New Haven 1938] 72). *CHD*, *liššiyala-*, folgt dem heth. Übersetzer wortgetreu: "The oracular (pertaining to the liver) words of heaven and earth are for you to take along".

Der Schreiber ist in Z. 9 einem gleichen Fehler verfallen, diesmal aber mit entgegengesetzten Folgerungen. Im akk. Original wird sicher *širu*, "Fleisch, Eingeweide-Omen", gestanden haben, was den beiden Logogrammen *u z u* und (zumindest in den lexikalischen Listen) *su* entspricht. Dieser letzte Ausdruck hatte auch bei den Hethitern die Bedeutung von "Eingeweide-Omen". Aber der Übersetzer der Hymne wählte das banale $uzu\dot{r}A$, das zuerst "Fett" bedeutet, aber auch die eßbaren Teile eines Tieres bezeichnet und im Gegensatz zu *kuš* "Fell" steht; vgl. § 80 in den Hethitischen Gesetzen.

14-19: Die Zeilen 15-19 wurden von H. A. Hoffner, in: *Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of J. J. Finkelstein* (Hamden 1977) 105 ff. erläutert und die Bedeutung von *ekt-* "Netz" bestimmt.

Zu Z. 16 vgl. die "Hymne an Šamaš", Z. 5 (= Lambert, *BWL* 126; W. von Soden, in: A. Falkenstein - W. von Soden, *SAHG* 240): [*saḫ*]pū *kīma šuskalli* [... *ša*]rūrū-ka "[Niedergeworfen] hält wie ein Netz [*das Land*] dein Strahlenglanz" (und vgl. auch Z. 83-94).

20-23: Die einschlägigen Stellen sind Ebeling, *AGH* 98 (= *LKA* 53) Vs. 14 und 16 (= KUB IV 26 A 8' und 9'): . . . *erpēti ina qerib šamē* "[Adad, der *verursacht*] Gewölk inmitten des Himmels"; Ebeling, *AGH* 104 (= *BMS* 21) Rs. 28: *e]rpēti mušallil ūmi* "[Adad, der *leitet*] die Wolken, der den hellen Tag überdeckt"; vgl. Ebeling, *AGH* 96 b 12 und 102, 38: *šākin upē*; und: *šākin erpēti mušaznin zunni*, s. W. Mayer, *Untersuchungen zur Formensprache der babylonischen "Gebetsbeschwörungen"* (Studia Pohl: Series Maior 5; Rome 1976) 378 (K.11345 und Sm.1117 = O. Loretz - W. R. Mayer, *Šu-ila-Gebete* [AOAT 34; Neukirchen-Vluyn 1978] Nr. 52 und Nr. 53).

Zu Z. 20, s. E. Laroche, "Hittite *-ima-*: Indo-Européen *-mó-*", *BSLP* 52 (1956) 77.

III 6-7: Im Gegensatz zu den von Forrer zu 2BoTU 6 geltend gemachten Vorbehalten könnte der Raum für die vorgeschlagene Ergänzung ausreichend sein. Die akk. Entsprechung für *karuileš* DINGIRMES ist, wie gesagt wurde, Anunnaku, s. Laroche, "Les dénominations des dieux 'antiques' dans les textes hittites", *Fs. Güterbock* (Istanbul 1974) 175-185.

Wie dieser Autor auf S. 185 bemerkt, haben die Hethiter *karuileš* DINGIR^{MEŠ}, einen der hurr.-heth. Tradition angehörenden Ausdruck, in *ilāni dārūti* zurückübersetzt. Zu diesem Passus vgl. das Gebet an Ištar, KUB XXXVII 36(+)-37 Z. 21 (und Duplikat): *inarruṭū* ^a*Anunnaki*, s. Reiner-Güterbock, *JCS* 21 (1967) 260.

8-9: *šarku-*, im Vokabular KBo I 42 II 20, entspricht dem akk. *aša-rēdu*. Zu der Formel *ašarēd ilī* (und ihren Varianten) s. *AHw*, *ašarēdu(m)*; *CAD*, *ašaridu*.

10-11: Forrer bemerkt zu 2BoTU 6: "Diese vier Zeilen (10-13) in kleinerer, aber derselben Handschrift, waren also zuerst freigelassen und wurden erst nachträglich geschrieben". Wie Goetze, *Tunnawi* 71 ff., erkannte, handelt es sich hier um die gut bekannte bab. Formel: *libba-ka liniḫḫū kabatta-ka lipaššihū*.

12-13: Das Distichon der Zeilen 10-11 wird nur wiederholt und der Name der Gottheit vorangestellt, wie es einer von Sumerern und Babyloniern verwendeten stilistischen Methode entspricht.

14-17: Sehr wahrscheinlich ist *dunnakešnaš é-ri* eine ungeschickte hethitische Anpassung an den Namen des berühmten Utu-Tempels in Sippar, *é-ba-bbar*, s. hierzu Ebeling, *RLA* II 263. Man möge bedenken, daß das Logogramm für *dunnakeššar é.šā* ist, und *šā*, auch wenn es komplexer ist, dem Zeichen *BABBAR* ähnelt. Wenn in dem heth. Ritual eine Gottheit eingeladen wird, in einem Tempel Wohnung zu nehmen, wird ein Teil des Tempelinnern namentlich erwähnt. So ist in KUB XV 34 II 13-14 zu lesen: "Und kommt wieder in eure guten Tempel und [setzt euch] wieder auf euren Thron (und) Stuhl (^{GIŠDAG-ti tabri-ja})", s. V. Haas - G. Wilhelm, *Hurritische und luwische Riten aus Kizzuwatna* (Neukirchen-Vluyn 1974) 190 ff. Außerdem KUB XXXVI 89 Rs. 47: ^{GIŠdahanga} (protohattische Schicht). Der heth. Schreiber kann also *é-ba-bbar* als *é.šā* neu interpretiert haben, ein Ausdruck, der die Cella des Tempels bezeichnet.

18-22: Vgl. CH I 16-17: *KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{k1} šum-šu šīram ibbiū* "(Als Anu und Ellil) Babylon mit seinem erhabenen Namen nannten".

Goetze, *Tunnawi* 58-59, bemerkte scharfsinnig, daß: "The *GUL-š-* represents the very well known expression Sum. *igi.zi.bar*, 'look (upon somebody) with a favorable eye' or Babylonian *naplusu* which may be specified by *hadīš* 'with joy' besides the more usual *kēniš* 'rightly, loyally' ". Er schlug daher für *gulš* die Bedeutung "sehen" vor. In Wirklichkeit bedeutet dieses Verb, wie es später näher bestimmt wurde, "ritzen, schreiben, markieren", und die ²*Gulšeš* sind die "Schicksalsgöttinnen", d.h. jene, "die (das Schicksal) aufzeichnen", vgl. O. Carruba, *Das Beschwö-*

rungsritual für die Göttin Wišurijan (StBoT 2; Wiesbaden 1966) 34-37; Goetze Rez. zu *HethWb*, 3. Ergänzungsheft, *JCS* 22 (1968) 19-20. Dann entspricht *igi-bar* nicht nur *naplusu* "erblicken, ansehen", sondern auch *naplastu*, das in *CAD* N₁ 306a als "name of a mark on the left lobe of the liver" bestimmt wurde. Der heth. Übersetzer kann daher gedacht haben, daß *igi-bar* "markieren, das Schicksal bestimmen", also *gulš*-bedeuten könne.

Die Form *gul-aš-ša* in Z. 20 kann als Imperativ der zweiten Person zusammen mit der Verbindungspartikel *-a* gedeutet werden (so Goetze a.a.O.). Aber die Anrufung einer anderen Gottheit als Adad in der zweiten Person scheint hier nicht am Platze zu sein.

Zu dem Tempel des Adad in Babylon, s. Ebeling, *RLA* II 368, *Enamhe*.

24-27: Zu der Angabe über den Bau des Adad-Tempels (*dūru* "Tempelmauer") in Pada durch Samsuiluna, s. L. W. King, *The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi* (London 1898) Nr. 97 II 44-46 = 98/99 II 46-47.

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THE NAMES OF THE PRIMEVAL GODS

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The Names of the Primeval Gods

Alfonso ARCHI

In token of an acquaintance that dates back many years, I dedicate this paper to Einar von Schuler who, long before the recent flourishing of Hurrian studies, taught us to search for the relationships between the Anatolian and the North Syrian cultures.

Emil Forrer, in his well-known study on “The Kingship in Heaven” myth, pointed out that “the former, primeval gods” who appear in the proem occur also in the lists of the gods called as witnesses in political treaties, where they constitute a well-defined group¹. They are invoked at the beginning of the myth as follows: “[...] Let the primeval gods, who [...] the [...] mighty gods, listen! Let Na[ra, Napšara, Mink]i, Ammunki listen! Let Ammezzadu, [Tuḫušī(?) ...] the father (and) mother of [...] listen! Let [Enlil(?) (and) Apant]ju, the father (and) mother of Iṣhara listen! Let Enlil [(and) Ninlil ...], who are the mighty (and) firmly established gods, listen!”²

As Emmanuel Laroche³ states in another important paper, these “former primeval gods”, *karuileš šiuneš*, Hurrian *ammati-na enna*⁴, are also called “inferior gods”, *kattereš šiuneš*, which means “gods of the earth”, *taknaš šiuneš*, and appear “dans des textes d’inspiration hourritisante, et d’origine kizzouvatnienne”. The expression *kattereš šiuneš* translates the

¹ E. Forrer, in: *Mél. F. Cumont* (Annuaire de l’Institut de Philologie et d’Histoire orientales et slaves IV; Bruxelles 1936) 697-700, where the lists from seven treaties are also given.

² H. G. Güterbock, *Kumarpī* (Istanbuler Schriften 16; Zürich/New York 1946) *1 and 6; P. Meriggi, *Athenaeum* 31 (1953) 110-111; E. Laroche, *RHA* 26 (1968) 39.

³ E. Laroche, in: *Anatolian Studies Presented to H. G. Güterbock on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (Istanbul 1974) 175-185. On “the primeval gods”, also see H. Otten, *ZA* 54 (1961) 114-157 (particularly pp. 145-147); A. Goetze, *JCS* 18 (1964) 96; H. G. Güterbock, *JCS* 21 (1967) 265-266 (for Anunnaki as equivalent of *karuileš šiuneš*); and the studies by V. Haas and G. Wilhelm quoted in note 9.

⁴ The meaning of *ammati* is “ancestor, grandfather”, see E. Laroche, “Glossaire de la langue hourrite”, *RHA* 34-35 (1976-1977) 46. More significant is the Hittite adj. *karuili-*, derived from the adv. *karu*, which marks the beginning of a mythic age: *in illo tempore*. We also have the equivalence: *a-ma-at-te-na e-en-na* = *ka-ru-ù-li-uš* DINGIR^{MES}-uš in the Hurrian-Hittite bilingual text KBo XXXII 1 ff., see E. Neu, *Das Hurritische: Eine altorientalische Sprache in neuem Licht* (Akademie der Wissenschaften u. der Literatur, Abh. der geistes- u. sozialwiss. Klasse 1988, 3) 15.

Hurrian *enna turi-na* (*du-ú-ri-e-na*) “inferior gods”, who live in the Underworld and who belong to the first generation of gods. The Hurrians (and the Hittites), acquainted with the Akkadian deities, equated them with the ^{DA}*A-NUN-NA-KE*₄. They must be kept distinct from the Hattic deities “of the earth”, like Lelwani, “king”, *katte/LUGAL-uš*, later “lady”, *GAŠAN*, of the Underworld⁵, or Išduštaya and Papaya, who in a ritual of Hattic origin spin the years to come like the Parcae, and are also called “inferior (and) former”, *kattereš karuileš*, KUB XXIX 1 II 2-3. Here perhaps, *karuileš* is an innovation of this recent manuscript, dating to a time when it had become scribal tradition to apply that epithet to the gods of the Netherworld. The Hattic-Hittite “inferior” gods do not belong to an older generation but make up the lower section of a system that makes an inner distinction between “gods of heaven and gods of earth”.

The first treaty that also includes in the list of deities “the primeval (*karuilijaš/karuiliuš*) gods” (without, however, giving their names), KBo VIII 35 (and duplicates; *CTH* 139), probably dates back to Arnuwanda I (beginning of the 14th century). These follow the “gods of heaven (and) the gods of the earth”, a formula which, according to the Hattic-Hittite conception, already included the gods of the Underworld. After “the primeval gods” at the end of the list come “the gods (all) of the land of Hatti (and) the gods (all) of the Kaška land (i.e., those of the two contracting countries), Heaven (and) Earth, Mountains (and) Rivers”⁶. In the later treaties the wording “gods of heaven (and) gods of the earth” disappears because it was thought superfluous, inasmuch as, like the gods of heaven, the primeval gods are also listed by name. Now, however, they are the ones at the end of the list, this time coming after “the Lulalḫhi gods, the Ḫabiri gods, Ereškigal, the male and female gods of Ḫatti, and the male and female gods of . . .” (the other contracting country). After the “primeval gods”, only: “Mountains, Rivers, Springs, the Great Sea, Heaven and Earth, Winds, Rain, Clouds” are listed; in short, the cosmic elements. ^D*EREŠ.KIGAL*, who stands for the Hattic-Hittite Lelwani, “lady” of the Underworld, in the Šuppiluliuma treaties maintains her original place in front of the “male and female gods of the land of Hatti . . .” (*CTH* 49, 53, 62, 66, 132), with the exception of the treaties with Mitanni (*CTH* 51, dupl. B, 52) and *CTH* 256, where this goddess, in a more logical sequence, directly precedes the primeval gods. This is also the case in

⁵ For Lelwani, see E. von Schuler, *RIA* 6, 595-598.

⁶ See O. R. Gurney, *Some Aspects of Hittite Religion* (Oxford 1977) 7. For the list of the deities, see Laroche, *Studies Güterbock* 177. The treaty was translated by E. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* (Berlin 1965) 109-112.

CTH 68, 69 and 136, where, however, other wording is used to indicate the goddess: "Sun-goddess of the earth", *taknaš* ^{DUTU}, which corresponds also to Allani, the Hurrian queen of the Netherworld.

In all the treaties the deities introduced as "primeval gods" are twelve in number, with the exception of CTH 76 (Mawatalli – Alakšandu), which in its entirety gives a shortened list, enumerating only nine. Nara, Namšara, Minki, Ammunki, Ammezzadu, who also appear in the invocation at the beginning of "Kingship in Heaven", are followed by Tuḫuši (perhaps to be added to that invocation at l. 4), and Alalu along with Anu, the kings of the first two generations of gods. Then Antu appears, the female counterpart of Anu; followed by Apantu, a name created in assonance with Antu; and finally Enlil appears with Ninlil, the couple that was at the head of the Sumerian pantheon and who (according to the Sumerians) belonged to the generation following An(u). In the only two versions of the treaty with Mitanni, CTH 51, 52, that exist, does Apantu not appear, and in twelfth place, after Enlil and Ninlil, NIN.É.GAI, the Akk. Bēlat-ekalli, well-known in the Syrian milieu (Hurr. Pentikalli), appears⁷. With Mušili II, the list established under Šuppiluliuma remains unchanged in the Syrian treaties, whereas in the Anatolian ones the colorless Apantu is replaced by Kumarpi, Anu's successor as king of the gods. Since Enlil, and probably Ninlil and Apantu, also appear in the introduction of "Kingship", it is obvious that the list in the treaties depends directly on the Hurrian myth.

The other type of source that records these gods (rituals, in the last analysis go back to an oral tradition) does not present a canonical list. Fully five of these rituals (nos. 3, 4, 5, 7, 11, according to the order given in the passages cited below) are in Hurrian or present sections in Hurrian, and the others are modeled on them. Therefore, the primeval gods belong to the Hurrian cult, and together with Ištar and her two attendants, Ninatta and Kulitta, are among the very few Hurrian deities who, without undergoing a process of syncretism, are included in the lists of deities in the treaties. Their function is a purifying one: they must "judge" the causes of an "impure" situation, then lure all adversity into the Underworld. It is the king in person who in one text invokes these gods, assumes the responsibility for his acts, and places the weights on the scale which symbolizes justice and which is then solemnly lifted in front of the Sun god, "fair lord of justice": "(The diviner) gives a lead weight to the king and the king places the weight on the scale; the diviner holds the

⁷ A. Goetze, *Or* 9 (1940) 223-228; Laroche, *Glossaire* 200.

scale in front of the Sun, and in Hurrian says as follows ...”⁸. And, in fact, the causes of evil must be identified precisely in order to eliminate them by making them sink into the Underworld through the “sacrificial pit”, ^(D)api, through which the Underworld deities have been summoned. “Now (primeval gods) decide the judgment (DI-eššar *hannadumati*) of this house! Whatever blood guilt there (may be), take it and give it to the ‘goddess of blood’, and she (will) take it down into the black earth, and there (will) bind it fast!”⁹ Their action also benefits the gods since it eliminates disagreements: “If some god of the land has angered the Weather-god, may the Anunnaki-gods now reconcile the Weather-god with that god ... If some mountain, river, well (or) source has angered the Weather-god, may the Anunnaki-gods reconcile the Weather-god with that mountain, river, well [(or) source]” (Muwatalli’s prayer to the Weather-god of Kummanni, the region from which the Hittites had assimilated the Hurrian culture, KBo IX Obv. 14, 16)¹⁰.

Whereas in the treaties, as in the rock pantheon of Yazilikaya, which is an elaborate representation of Hittite-Hurrian syncretism, the number of these gods is twelve¹¹ (symbolizing completeness)¹², in the rituals the number varies: five in no. 7; seven in no. 12; eight in no. 1; ten in no. 3; twelve in no. 2; thirteen in no. 4; fifteen in no. 5. And these lists which appear in the rituals are not the canonical list of the treaties. In fact, in the rituals Enlil and Ninlil do not appear, nor does the group Anu, Antu and Apantu (with one exception: Enlil and Apantu in no. 3). Instead, the first four of those named in the initial invocation of “Kingship”, are almost never missing. These same four also begin the lists in the treaties: Nara, Namšara, Minki, Ammunki (nos. 1-5, 10, 12; no. 8 is incomplete; Napirra, in no. 9, seems to be a corruption of Nara – Namšara; in no. 7,

⁸ KBo XVII 95 III 8-11 = ChS I/5, 359.

⁹ KBo X 45 and the duplicates KUB VII 41, XLI 8, treated by H. Otten, *ZA* 54 (1961) 128-129, II. III 8-12; this is the most complete ritual where the primeval gods are invoked. The functions of the primeval gods were outlined by V. Haas – G. Wilhelm, *Hurritische und luwische Riten aus Kizzuwatna* (AOATS 3; Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1974) 50-53; V. Haas, *Or* 45 (1976) 207-208; G. Wilhelm, *Grundzüge der Geschichte und Kultur der Hurriter* (Darmstadt 1982) 79.

¹⁰ Similarly in Obv. 29-30. Translation by Ph. Houwink ten Cate, *RHA* 81 (1967) 115.

¹¹ The primeval gods were identified in the group of twelve deities (nos. 1-12) in Chamber A. See H. G. Güterbock, in: *Studies in Honor of B. Landsberger* (AS 16; Chicago 1965) 198; V. Haas – M. Wäfler, *OA* 13 (1974) 223-224. The “twelve gods” following the “bloody Nergal” in the Luwian ritual KUB XXXV 145 Obv. 10, are to be considered a product of Hurrian influence. See H. G. Güterbock, in: K. Bittel (et alii), *Das hethitische Felsheiligtum Yazilikaya* (Berlin 1975) 191.

¹² Twelve are e.g. the parts of the body, KUB VII 53 + XII 58 (Tunnawi) I 32, II 35, see Haas-Wäfler, *ibid.* 223.

only Nara – Namšara appears). Amizzadu is listed only slightly less frequently (nos. 2-5, 10, 11); Tuḫūši, however, appears only twice (nos. 9 and 12), as does Alalu (nos. 4, Hurrian, and 7, Hurrianizing), who moreover is associated in the mythological section no. 11 with Anu and Kumarpi, his successors in divine kingship. (Kumarpi appears in the ritual KBo X 45 11 39-40, with duplicates, but in a mythological scene along with the Sun-goddess of the earth: “Kumarpi from the throne away [...]; to the Sun goddess of the earth...”¹³, and is not included among the primeval gods, no. 1.)

Some of the ritual lists are characterized by the presence of a triad made up of Adunterra, “the diviner”, ^LUZU/ḪAL, Zulki “the female seer”, ^SAL^ENSI, and Iripitiga, “the lord of justice”, *ḫannešnaš išḫaš*¹⁴ (nos. 1, 2, 6, 10), who, as the epithets show, has a function in the celebration of the ritual¹⁵.

Other deities, who should represent local traditions, are only mentioned a few times (with the exception of Iltara, who appears in the mythological fragment KBo XXII 87). They are: Alammu, Apaštu, Ašša, Aunammu, Elluita, Ijandu, Iltare, Memešarti, Muntara, Mutmuntara, Napirra, Taištara, Tida[...], Undurupa. Of these, Elluita (no. 7) could be an anomalous spelling for Iltara/Elladura, and Napirra (no. 9) seems to be a juxtaposition of sounds similar to Nara-Napšara. Undurupa is not in his place here since he should be identified with Undurumma, the vizier of Ištar¹⁶. The name of Memešarti (nos. 4, 5) seems to be a strange inversion (not improbable if we consider certain ritual formulas) of *šarrat māmiti*, “queen of oath”, the epithet for the goddess Išḫara. It is to be noted that Memešarti appears elsewhere only in the ritual KBo X 45 (and duplicates) in a significant sequence: “Memešarti of Heaven and Earth, Moon god, Išḫara, sacred Oath ...”¹⁷. The epithet, in reverse order: “of earth and heaven”, following the Hurrian custom, is also found in nos. 4 and 5 (but with uncertain Hurrian grammatical notations); perhaps this formula, which concludes various sacred lists, has been attributed to Memešarti because of a lack of understanding of the Hurrian language.

¹³ H. Otten, *ZA* 54 (1961) 124-125, II. II 39-40.

¹⁴ Otten, *ibid.* 146, remarks that the other epithet given to Iripitika: “lord of the Earth”, *taknaš/ki-aš EN*, is a “Mißverständnis, ausgehend von der ideographischen Schreibung DI-aš EN bzw. KI-aš EN”.

¹⁵ In the ritual KBo X 45 (and duplicates) the Weather-god is also called “diviner”, ^LUZU; see Otten, *ZA* 54, 121, I. I 58.

¹⁶ KUB XXVII 1 II 17. See I. Wegner, *Gestalt und Kult der Ištar-Šawuška in Kleinasien* (AOAT 36; Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1981) 84-85, where the following passages are also quoted, *VBoT* 132 III 4: ALJAM ŠA ^DUn-du-ru[-; Bo 2860 I 11: ^DUn-du-ru²-pa-an ŠA IM DÜ-zi.

¹⁷ Otten, *ZA* 54, 132-135, II. III 54-55, IV 9-10.

Both in the treaty and ritual lists a common nucleus can be recognized, consisting of Nara, Namšara, Minki, Ammunki and Amizzadu, all evoked at the beginning of “Kingship” together with Enlil and probably Apantu, considered “father” and “mother”, respectively, of Išhara (l. 5), the tutelary goddess of oaths, widespread in the Syrian area (as shown by the Ebla documentation) as early as the 3rd Millennium; and all receive the epithet of “mighty (and) firmly established / eternal”, *daššauēš wakturiš* DINGIR^{MES}-iš (l. 6). This may have been done to show the sacredness of oath-taking by placing it at the very origins of the order guaranteed by the gods. In the ritual KBo XVII 94 (= ChS I/5 no. 77) III 26-27 “Išhara, the father and the mother of Išhara, (together with) the primeval gods” are also mentioned together (immediately thereafter, in ll. 29-30, their names are given, Enlil and Abadu; no. 3).

Almost as if representing all the other gods, Nara and Namšara appear in some other situations in the great Hurrian mythological cycle, but they never play a very active role. Again in “Kingship” (II 9-11), Marduk addresses Kumarpi, saying: “Anu gives me his virility, Kumarpi gives me [wis]dom, Nara gives [me] [. . .], Napšara gives [me . . .], Enlil [gives] me strength [. . .]”¹⁸. And in another fragment, KUB XXXIII 105 I 10-12, he says: “Of Nara they gave me wisdom, [of Napšara(?)] they gave [me] wisdom; (now) I have them: [value . . .] and wisdom; of Anu, I have virility . . .”¹⁹. They were banished to Tartarus to make room for the new generation of gods, driven there like Alalu and Anu, with whom they are now placed on the same level: “When the Weather-god drove you down there to the black earth . . .”²⁰. Nevertheless, they continue to exercise their benevolent influence, and Ea, the Akkadian god of wisdom, in the myth “The Kingship of KAL” considers them brothers when he gives the following order to his vizier Izzummi: “Go down there to the black [earth] and tell what I say to you to Nara and Napšara, my brothers!”²¹ A gesture of conciliation following the battles of “Kingship” is recounted in the banquet scene in the Hurrian-Hittite bilingual KBo XXXII 1 ff. (dating from the beginning of the 15th c.), in which the Sun-goddess of the earth, who has invited Tešup of Kumme, the lord of the gods to her palace, seats “the primeval (*amate-na/karuiliuš*) gods” at Tešup’s right²².

The basic arrangement of these deities is by couples, even though in

¹⁸ Güterbock, *Kumarpi* *3, 8; P. Meriggi, *Athenaeum* 31 (1953) 114-115; E. Laroche, *RHA* 26 (1968) 42.

¹⁹ Güterbock, *ibid.* *6, 10; Meriggi, *ibid.* 130; Laroche, *ibid.* 77.

²⁰ Otten, *ZA* 54, 132-133, ll. III 36-37.

²¹ In the text: “my brother”, as if Nara Namšara were considered a single entity.

²² See Neu, *Das Hurritische* 15-16.

the lists of treaties two triads developed: Nara – Namšara; Minki – Tu-ḫuši – Ammunki; Ammizzadu – Alalu; Antu – Anu – Apantu; Enlil – Ninlil. The creation of a name similar in sound to another is obvious in the following couples: Nara – Namšara, Minki – Ammunki, and Antu – Apantu (as well as Ašša – Apašta, Muntara – Mutmuntara, who appear only in the rituals). Ammizzadu, Antu and Apantu present the Semitic feminine ending, and at least in these cases, as in that of Enlil – Ninlil, the couple is based on the male – female opposition.

This conception of the deities of the Netherworld, as is shown by the Hittite-Hurrian documentation, was not common to all the Hurrian peoples, and surely not to the Mitanni. In both versions of the treaty between Šuppiluliuma I and Mattiwaza “the inferior gods” are included in the Hittite pantheon but not in that of Mitanni, where, instead, Anu and Antu, Enlil and Ninlil appear among the “superior” gods, following some Tešups designated by epithets, and Ea-šarru, and preceding the Indo-Aryan deities Mithras, Varuna, Indra, Nāsatya (*CTH* 51 Rev. 55-56; 52 Rev. 41)²³. At Imar (with regard to the Euphrates region), only the couple Amaza (which corresponds to Ammizzadu) – Alal, perhaps to be connected with the Netherworld, but not the other “inferior gods”, appears in the Akkadian rituals and offering lists (13th c.)²⁴.

It is probable that the concept reflected in the Ḫattuša texts is the one that developed at Kizzuwatna, which means approximately in the Taurus region. Here the purification rituals included the riddance of evil by banishing it to the Netherworld, where, together with some deities from the local tradition, the gods of the generation of Alalu were made to dwell, listed according to the order established in the Kizzuwatna version of “The Kingship in Heaven” myth passed on to the Hittites.

With the introduction of the Hurrian cult at Ḫattuša (between the 15th and 14th centuries), the Hittite scribes had to revise the official pantheon listed in political treaties so they would also include the “primeval, inferior gods”. In this case the basic list was also the same as that in “Kingship”, but the number of gods was increased to the symbolic number of twelve by including Anu with Antu and Apantu and Enlil with Ninlil, distant and by now obsolete Mesopotamian deities which in the

²³ Wilhelm, *Kultur der Hurriter* 80.

²⁴ The writings are: DA-lál (DA-la-al is attested only in no. 447, 9) and DA-ma-za . The passages are: a) rituals, nos. 370, 110 ($\text{L}^{\text{U}}\text{SANGA DA-lál}$); 373, 73: DA-lál [u DA-ma-za] (between Ninurta – Sebettu and Nergal); 385, 9: 2 $\text{GISBANŠUR}^{\text{MES}} \text{DA-lál u DA-ma-za}$ (after 1 table for Dagan, and 1 table for Išhara and Ninurta; Ereškigal in ll. 26 ff.); b) annual liturgy, no. 447, 9: $\text{é DA-la-al u A-ma-za}$; c) sacrificial lists, nos. 378, 9: Alal and Amaza between Ninurta – Sabittu and Nergal; 380, 5: Alal between Iškur and Ninkurra – Ninurta; 382, 14: Alal between Dagan of Tabnia and Išhara.

cultured milieu of a peripheral (with respect to Mesopotamia) chancellery could well be considered “primeval”.

Some of them, moreover, had already been included in “Kingship”.

If some of the names of these gods are truly deformations of Sumerian divine names²⁵, this must be attributed to earlier and more direct contacts between the Hurrians and the Mesopotamian cultures.

* * *

Political treaties

<i>CTH 49, I (akk.)</i>	<i>CTH 51, I (akk.)</i>	<i>CTH 52, I (akk.)</i>
Šuppiluliuma	Šuppiluliuma	Šattiwaza
with Aziru	with Šattiwaza	with Šuppiluliuma
Rev. 7-9	Rev. 52-53	Rev. 23-24
1. <i>Na-a-ra</i>	1. <i>Na-a(ar)-ra</i>	1. <i>Na-ar-ra</i>
2. <i>Nam-ša[-ra]</i>	2. <i>Na-am(ap/Nam)- ša(-ar)-ra</i>	2. <i>[Namšara]</i>
3. <i>Mi-in[-ki]</i>	3. <i>Mi-in(en)-ki</i>	3. <i>[Minki]</i>
4. <i>[Tuḫūši]</i>	4. <i>Am[-mu-ki]/ Am-mu-uk-ki</i>	4. <i>[Ammunki]</i>
5. <i>[Ammunki]</i>	5. <i>Tu-u-ḫu-ši/ Tu-ḫ[u-ši]</i>	5. <i>[Tu-u-ḫu]-ši</i>
6. <i>[A-am-mi-iz- za]-du₄</i>	6. <i>Am-mi-iz-za-du</i>	6. <i>Am-mi-iz-z[a-du]</i>
7. <i>A-la-l[u]</i>	7. <i>A-la-lu</i>	7. <i>[A-l]a-lu</i>
8. <i>[A]-an-t[u₄]</i>	8. <i>A-nu</i>	8. <i>A-nu</i>
9. <i>[Anu]</i>	9. <i>A-an-tu₄(/du)</i>	9. <i>[Antu]</i>
10. <i>[Apantu]</i>	10. EN.LÍL	10. <i>[EN.LÍ]L</i>
11. <i>[Enlil]</i>	11. NIN.LÍL(/NIN.URTA)	11. NIN.LÍL
12. <i>[Ninlil]</i>	12. NIN.É.GAL ^(lim)	12. NIN.É.GAL

²⁵ See. Gurney, *Hittite Religion* 15; “They appear indeed to be a group of originally Mesopotamian deities whose names have been garbled in the process of transmission. Minki and Ammunki seem somehow to reflect either the primordial pair Enki and Ninki, or else Enki - Ea and either his epithet Ammanki or his dialect form Umunki. Narru was a name of Enlil. Is Napšara a corruption of Namtar, the dread messenger of the Underworld?” According to Laroche, *Glossaire* 121, Iltara could be “une adaptation de Latarak, avec prothèse vocalique”. Alala, together with Belili, is “mother father” of Anu according to the Anu theogony, cfr. W. G. Lambert, *RLA* 3, 470. But Ammizza(du), as it is proved by the writings without -du in the Imar texts and in two Hurrian-Hittite rituals, has nothing to do with the Babylonian king Ammizaduga, as F. H. Weißbach, *RLA* 1, 98 already stated.

<p><i>CTH 53 (akk.)</i> Šuppiluliuma with Tette IV 41-43</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Na-a-ra</i> 2. <i>Nam-ša-ra</i> 3. <i>Mi-in-ki</i> 4. <i>Tu-u-ḫu-ši</i> 5. <i>A-am-mu-ki</i> 6. <i>A-am-mi-iz-za-du₄</i> 7. <i>A-la-lu</i> 8. <i>A-an-tu₄</i> 9. <i>A-nu</i> 10. <i>A-pa-an-tu₄</i> 11. EN.LÍL 12. NIN.LÍL 	<p><i>CTH 62</i> Muršili II with Duppi-Tešup IV 14-18</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Na-ra-aš</i> 2. <i>Na-ap-ša-ra-aš</i> 3. <i>[Mi-in-ki]</i> 4. <i>Tu-ḫu-u-ši(/u-ḫu-ši)</i> 5. <i>Am-mu-un-ki (/A-am-mu-ki)</i> 6. <i>Am(/A-am)-mi-iz-za-du(/du₄)</i> 7. <i>[(A-la)]-lu</i> 8. <i>A-nu</i> 9. <i>A-an-tu₄</i> 10. <i>A-pa-an-tu₄</i> 11. EN.LÍL 12. NIN[(.LÍL)] 	<p><i>CTH 66 (akk.)</i> Muršili II with Niqmepa 11. 108-109</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>[Na-a]r-ra</i> 2. <i>Na[m-ša-ra]</i> 3. <i>Mi-e[n]-ki</i> 4. <i>[Tuḫuši]</i> 5. <i>[Ammunki]</i> 6. <i>[Ammizzadu]</i> 7. <i>A-[nu]</i> 8. <i>[(A-l)]a-^ra²-lu¹ (/¹la-lu¹)</i> 9. <i>A-an-t[₄u₄]</i> 10. <i>[Apantu]</i> 11. <i>[EN.LÍL]</i> 12. <i>[NIN.LÍL]</i>
<p><i>CTH 68</i> Muršili II with Kupanta-KAL J 7-8</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>[Naraš]</i> 2. <i>Na-ap-ša-ra-aš</i> 3. <i>Mu-un-ki-iš</i> 4. <i>[Ammunkiš]</i> 5. <i>[Tuḫušiš]</i> 6. <i>[Ammezaduš]</i> 7. <i>A-la-lu-uš</i> 8. <i>Ku-mar-pi-iš</i> 9. <i>A-nu[-uš]</i> 10. <i>[Antuš]</i> 11. <i>[EN.LÍL]</i> 12. <i>NIN.LÍL.LA</i> 	<p><i>CTH 69</i> Muršili II with Manapa-Datta B IV 22-25</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Na-ra-aš</i> 2. <i>[Na-ap-š]a-ra-aš</i> 3. <i>Mu-un-ki-iš</i> 4. <i>Am-mu-un-ki-iš</i> 5. <i>[Tu-ḫu-ši]-iš</i> 6. <i>Am-me-za-du-uš</i> 7. <i>A-la-lu-uš</i> 8. <i>[Ku-mar-pi-i]š</i> 9. <i>A-nu-uš</i> 10. <i>A-du-uš</i> 11. EN.LÍL 12. <i>[NIN.LÍL]</i> 	<p><i>CTH 76</i> Muwattalli with Alakšundu IV 21-23</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Na-a-ra-aš</i> 2. <i>Na-ap-ša-ra-aš</i> 3. <i>Am-mu-un-ki-iš</i> 4. <i>Tu-ḫu-š[i-i]š</i> 5. <i>A-mi-iz-za-du-uš</i> 6. <i>A-la-lu-uš</i> 7. <i>Ku-mar-pi-iš</i> 8. EN.LÍL-aš 9. NIN.L[ÍL-aš]

<i>CTH</i> 105	<i>CTH</i> 132	<i>CTH</i> 136
Tuḫalija IV	KBo XII 31	KBo XIII 55
with Šaušgamuwa	(Šuppiluliuma I?)	(Šuppiluliuma I/ Muršili II)
B Rev. 21'-22'		
...]	IV 10-13	I 8-10
EN.LÍL	1. <i>Na-ra-aš</i>	1. <i>Na-ra-aš</i>
NIN.LÍL	2. <i>Na-ap-ša-ra[-aš]</i>	2. <i>Na-ap-ša-ra(-aš)</i>
	3. <i>Mu-un-ki-iš</i>	3. <i>Mi-in-ki-iš</i>
	4. <i>Tu-ḫu-š[i]-iš</i>	4. <i>Tu-ḫu-ši-iš</i>
<i>CTH</i> 256	5. <i>Am-mu[-un-ki-iš]</i>	5. <i>A-mu-um-ki-iš</i>
Šuppilulijama II	6. <i>Am-mi-iz-za-</i>	6. <i>A-la-lu-uš</i>
<i>ABoT</i> 56 II 28-29	<i>du-uš</i>	
1. <i>Na-ra-aš</i>	7. <i>A-la-lu[-u]š</i>	7. <i>A-an-du-uš</i>
2. <i>Na-ap-ša-ra-aš</i>	8. <i>A[-nu-uš]</i>	8. <i>A-pa-an-du-uš</i>
3. [...]	9. [Antu?]	9. <i>A-nu-uš</i>
4. [...]	10. <i>A-pa-an-du-uš</i>	10. [...]
5. [?] <i>A-la-lu-uš</i>	11. EN.LÍL	
6. [?] <i>A-nu-uš</i>	12. NIN.L[ÍL]	<i>CTH</i> 212
7. [?] [...]		KBo XII 134
		Vs. [?] 4-6
		1. <i>Na-ra-a-aš</i>
		2. [Napšaraš]
		3. [Minkiš]
		4. <i>Tu-ḫu-u-š[i]-iš</i>
		5. [...]
		6. [...]
		7. EN.LÍL-aš
		8. [...]

Rituals

1) KBo X 45 I 42-45 (dupl. KUB XLI 8 I 25-27), II 16-19 (*CTH* 446; Otten, *ZA* 54 [1961] 120, 122, ll. 49-52): (I 41: *ták-na-aš-ša* ^DTU-UN) ^DA-DU-UN-TAR-RI-IN ^{LÚ}HAL (II: ^{LÚ}AZU) ^DZU-UL-KI-IN ^{SALENSI} (II: {ŠA} ^{SALENSI}) ^DIR-PI-TI-GA-AN (dupl.: -aš) *ták-na-aš* EN-AN (dupl.: KI-aš EN-aš; II: om.) ^DNA-RA-A-AN (dupl.: -a-ra-aš) ^DNA-(AM-)ŠA-RA-A-AN (dupl. ^DNA-AM-ŠA-RA-AŠ; II: -am-ša-ra-an) ^DMI-IN-KI-IN (dupl.: -iš) ^DA-MU-UN-KI-IN (dupl.: -iš) ^DA-A-BI (II: -pi-in)

2) KBo XIV 100 + KUB XXXIX 99 Obv. 10-13 (*CTH* 449,4): ^DNA-RA-AŠ ^DNA-AP-ŠA-RA-AŠ ^DME-I[n-ki-iš] [^DAM-MU-UN-KI-IŠ] ^DAM-MI-IZ-ZA-AŠ ^DA-LA-LA-AŠ ^DA-TU-UN-TE-ER-RA-AŠ ^{LÚ}AZU [^DZU-UL-KI-IŠ SA]L ^{SALENSI} ^DIR-PI-IT-(GA-)AŠ ḫa-an-ne-eš-na[-aš EN-aš] [nu? ... ^DA-t]U-UN-TE-ER-RA[-aš] ^DZU-UL-KI-IŠ ^DIR-PI-IT-g[a-aš]

3) KBo XVII 94 III 26-32 (CTH 449, 8; ChS I/5 No. 77, 354): (nu-
kán ^DIš-ḫa-ra-an [ŠA ^DIš-ḫ]a-ra-ja A-BU-ŠU AMA-ŠÚ-ja ka-ru-ú-i-li-
ja-aš-ša DINGIR^{MES} ... nu ḫur-li-li ki-iš-ša-an [me-ma-i] a)-nu-ša-ra
DINGIR^{MES}-na du-ú-re-e-na ^DEN.LÍL-aš [Ú ^D]A¹-ba-du-uš ŠA ^DIš-ḫa-ra
A-BU-ŠU AMA-ŠÚ-ja ^DNa-a-ra [^DNa-a]m-ša-ra ^DMi-in-ki ^DA-mu-un-ki
^DA-mi-za-du-un ^DA-la-lu-u[n] [^DA-ú]-un-na-mu-un ^DI-ja-an-du-un

4) KBo XVII 95 III 13-17 (CTH 449, 8; ChS I/5 No. 78, 359): (ši-me-
ga-a-an-ne-eš al-la-a-an-ne-i[š]) ^DMu-un[-da-a-r]a ^DMu-ut-mu-un-
da-a-ra ^DA-mi-iz-za-du-^ta¹ ^DA-la[-a²-lu]-ta ^DA-ú-nam-mu-du
^DJa-a-an-du-^ta¹ ^DIl-ta-ra-a-ta ^DTa-iš-ta-ra-a-ta [^D]Na-ra-a-ta
^DNa-am-ša-ra-a-ta ^DMi-in-ki-ta [^DA]-mu-un-ki-ta ^DMi-im-mi-šar-
te-ni-e-ta ([e-še-n]e-ta ḫa-a-wu_w-u-ru-ul-le-e-ta)

5) KBo XVII 96 I 7-11 (CTH 449, 8; ChS I/5 No. 79, 361): (ták-
na-a-aš ^DUTU-un) ^DM[u]un-ta-a-ra-an ^DMu-ut-mu-un-ta-r[a-an]
[^DE^p-t]a-ra-an ^DTa-aš-ta-ra-an ^DA-am-mi-iz-za-an ^DA-la-la-an
[^DA]-ú-nam-mu-un ^DI-ja-an-du-un ^DE-el-ta-ra-an ^DTa-iš[-ta-ra-an]
[^DN]a-a-ra-an ^DNa-am-ša-a-ra-an ^DMi-in-ki-in ^DAm-mu-un-k[i-in]
[^D]Me-mi-šar-ti-in (e-še ḫa-wu_w-ur-ni ^DE-er-pi-ták ^DMu-šu-u[n-ni-in])

6) KBo XXI 13 IV 5-7 (= A) (dupl. KUB XXXIX 101 II 19-23 = B;
IBoT II 125 II 8-12 = C; CTH 449, 6): (ták-na-aš DINGIR^{MES}-aš
ši-pa-an-t[i]) ^DA-du-un-te-er-ra-an ^{LÚ}AZ[U] (C: ^{LÚ}ḪAL) [(^DZu-ul-ki-in)]
[^DIr-pi-ti-ga-an] ḫa-an-ni-eš-na-aš iš-ḫa-a-an (B: [D]i-eš-na-aš EN-an)
(nu [(kiš)-an an-d(a te-ez-zí) ki-i-wa) ^DA-du-un-te-er-ra-aš
^DZ[u-u(l-ki)-iš ^DIr-pi-ti-ga-aš]

7) KUB XXVII 34 I 9-10 (CTH 790; ChS I/5 no. 75, 339): (du-ú-
ri²-na-aš-ta e-en-n[a-aš-t]a-an) ^DNa-ra-ta-an [^DNa]m-ša-ra-ta-an
^DA-aš-ša-ta-an ^DA-pa-aš-ta-ta-an ^DEl-lu-i-ta-ta¹-an

8) KUB XXXIX 100, 1-3 (449,5):

x + 1	A]-NA ^D A ¹ [-]ḫa-am-ma ^D Ti-da[- -]x ¹ A-NA ^D A-ú-nam ^D I-ja-an-nu/d <u>u</u> ² (-)
3	] A-NA ^D Mi-in-ki ^D Am-mu-un-ki [

9) KUB XLV 28 + XLVII 59 + XXXIX 97 Obv. 13-15 (= A; dupl.
1864/u + KUB XVII 20 + Bo 3814 Obv. 20-22 = B; CTH 420,1; Otten-
Rüster, ZA 68 [1978] 155): (nu DINGIR^{MES} A-NUN-NA-KE₄ ŠUM-az
[(kiš-an a-ša-an-zi)] [^D]l-ta-ra-aš ^DNa-pi-ir-ra-aš (B: -pi-ra-) ...
^DMi-in-ki-iš ^DTu-ḫu-u-ši-iš ^DA-mu-un-ki-iš [(^DA-wa-an-na-mu-uš)] ...
^DA-NUN-NA-KE₄-ma ^DKu-mar-pi-iš

KBo XIII 193, 3-6 (= C; CTH 420,2): (^DÚ-pi-el-lu[-ri]) [I UDU
^DI-]l-ta-ra I UDU ^DNa-pi-ir-ru [I UDU ^DMi-in-ki ^D]Tu-ḫu-u-ši ^DA-am-
mu-un-ki I UDU ^DA-w[a-an-na-mu] ([I UDU ^D. . .]-x¹-x¹-i-u-la)

10) ABoT 46, 2-6 (CTH 449,8): [^D]Ú-un-du-ru-pa-aš [^DA-du-un-

te-er-ra-aš ^{LÚ}AZU(?)] [^{D.SI}ALZu-ul-ki-iš [^{SAL}ENSI(?)] [^DIr-pi-ti-ga-aš
*ḫa-a)n-ni-eš-na-aš i[š-ḫa-aš] [. . .] [^DN]a-ra-aš ^DNa[-am-ša-ra-aš]
^DMi-in-ki-iš] [^D[A]m-^lmi^l-^liz^l-z[a-du-uš] [^DAm-mu-un-ki-iš] [. . .*

11) KUB XLVII 56 Obv. 9-11 (mythological section):]-eš
*ša-tu-u-um ^DKu-mar-pi ^DA-m[i-]iz-za-du-uš [. . . .-i]š ^DA-la-lu-uš
 ša-tu-u-um ^DKu-mar-pi-iš [. . . .]x^l-ra-aš . ^DA-an-ni-eš a-ku-u-ša*

12) Bo 2716 III 9-11 (Otten, *ZA* 54 [1961] 146 f.; Haas, *Or* 45 [1976]
 207 note 79, quoted as Bo 2760!): 7 DINGIR^{MES} *ka-ru-ú-ja-ša iš-na-a[z
 . . .] ^DMe-in-ki ^DTu-ḫu-ši ^DA-mu-um^l[-ki] ^DA-la-am-mu ^DIl-ta-ru
^DN[a-a-ra] ^DNam-ša-ra*

List of the gods

(The quotations concerning Alalu, Antu, Anu, Apantu, Enlil, Kumarpi, Ninlil are only from passages where they are listed as “primeval gods”. The Hurrian forms are from texts which present a “syntaxe relâchée”, Laroche, *Studies Güterbock* 180.)

Alalu

- Hitt. abs. ^DA-la-lu CTH 62
 nom. ^DA-la-lu-uš CTH 68, 69, 76, 132, 136, 256
 acc. ^DA-la-lu-un KBo XVII 94 III 31; ^DA-la-la-an KBo XVII 96 I 8
 Hurr. erg. ^DA-la-lu-uš KUB XLVII 56 Vs. 10
 dir. ^DA-la[-lu-*l*]a KBo XVII 95 III 14
 Akk. abs. ^DA-la-lu CTH 49, 51, 52, 53, 66; ^DA-la-a^l-lu CTH 66

Alammu

- Hitt. abs. ^DA-la-am-mu Bo 2716 III 10; ^DA[-*l*]a-am-ma KUB XXXIX 100, 1

Am(m)izzadu

- Hitt. abs. ^DA-am-mi-iz-za-du₄ CTH 62; ^DAm-mi-iz-za-du CTH 62
 nom. ^DAm-mi-iz-za-aš KBo XIV 100+ Obv. 12; ^DA-mi-iz-za-du-uš CTH 76; ^DAm-me-za-du-uš CTH 69; ^DAm-mi-iz-za-du-uš CTH 132;
 acc. ^DA-am-mi-iz-za-an KBo XVII 96 I 8; ^DA-mi-za-du-un KBo XVII 94 III 31
 frg. ^DA-mi-iz-za-du[(-)] KBo XII 137 Vs. 3; ^D[A]m-^lmi^l-^liz^l-z[a-du(-)] ABoT 46, 6
 Hurr. erg. ^DA-m[i-]iz-za-du-uš KUB XLVII 56 Obv. 9
 dir. ^DA-mi-iz-za-du-ta KBo XVII 95 III 13
 Akk. abs. ^DA-am-mi-iz-za-du₄ CTH 53; ^DAm-mi-iz-za-du CTH 51
 frg. ^DAm-mi-iz-z[a- CTH 52;]-du₄ CTH 49

Ammunki

- Hitt. abs. ^DA-am-mu-ki CTH 62; ^DA-am-mu-un-ki KBo XIII 193, 5;
^DAm-mu-un-ki CTH 62; ^DA-mu-um^l[-ki] Bo 2716 III 9

- nom. $\text{D}A\text{-mu-un-ki-iš}$ CTH 136; $\text{D}A\text{-mu-un-ki-iš}$ KUB XXXIX 97 Obv. 14, XLI 8 I 27, XLV 28+ Obv. 14; $\text{D}Am\text{-mu-un-ki-is}$ CTH 69, 76, 132; KUB XXXIII 120 I 3
- acc. $\text{D}A\text{-mu-un-ki-in}$ KBo X 45 I 51, II 19; $\text{D}Am\text{-mu-un-ki-in}$ KBo 96 I 10
- Hurr. abs. $\text{D}A\text{-mu-un-ki}$ KBo XVII 94 III 31
- dir. $\text{D}A\text{-mu-un-ki-ta}$ KBo XVII 95 III 17
- Akk. abs. $\text{D}A\text{-am-mu-ki}$ CTH 53; $\text{D}Am\text{-mu-uk-ki}$ CTH 51
- frg. $\text{D}Am[-]$ CTH 51

Antu

- Hitt. abs. $\text{D}A\text{-an-tu}_4$ CTH 62
- nom. $\text{D}A\text{-an-du-uš}$ CTH 136; $\text{D}A\text{-du-uš}$ CTH 69
- Akk. abs. $\text{D}A\text{-an-du}$ CTH 51; $\text{D}A\text{-an-tu}_4$ CTH 49, 51, 53, 66

Anu

- Hitt. abs. $\text{D}A\text{-nu}$ CTH 62
- nom. $\text{D}A\text{-nu-uš}$ CTH 68, 69, 132(?), 136, 256
- Hurr. erg. $\text{D}A\text{-an-ni-eš}$ KUB XLVII 56 Obv. 11, 12
- Akk. abs. $\text{D}A\text{-nu}$ CTH 51, 52, 53, 66

Apantu

- Hitt. abs. $\text{D}A\text{-pa-an-tu}_4$ CTH 62
- nom. $\text{D}A\text{-pa-an-du-uš}$ CTH 132, 136; $\text{D}A\text{-ba-du-uš}$ KBo XVII 94 III 30
- Akk. abs. $\text{D}A\text{-pa-an-tu}_4$ CTH 53

[*Api*, the deified sacrificial pit for summoning up the infernal deities, follows seven primeval gods in KBo X 45 I 45, II 19 = ZA 54 (1961) 120 l. 52, 122 l. 19. For other quotations of $\text{D}Api$, see A. Kammenhuber, *HWB*² 181-182; E. Laroche, "Glossaire de la langue hourrite", *RHA* 34 (1976) 34; J. Puhvel, *HED* 1-2, 99-102.]

Apašta

- Hurr. abl. $\text{D}A\text{-pa-aš-ta-ta-an}$ KUB XXVII 34 I 10

Ašša

- Hurr. abl. $\text{D}A\text{-aš-ša-ta-an}$ KUB XXVII 34 I 10

Aduntarri

- Hitt. abs. [$\text{D}A\text{-du}$]-*un-tir-ra* KBo XVII 83 IV 4 (EZEN $\text{D}U$ URU *Hiššašhapa*)
- nom. $\text{D}A\text{-du-un-te-er-ra-aš}$ KBo XXI 13 IV 7 (dupl. IBoT II 125 II 11: $\text{D}A\text{-d}[u-]$); $\text{D}A\text{-tu-un-te-e}[r\text{-ra-aš}]$ $\text{L}^{\text{U}}\text{AZU}$ KBo XIV 100+ Vs. 11; [$\text{D}A\text{-t}$]*u-un-te-er-ra[-aš]* KBo XIV 100+ Obv. 13
- acc. $\text{D}A\text{-du-un-tar-ri-in}$ $\text{L}^{\text{U}}\text{HAL}$ KBo X 45 I 42 and dupl. KUB XLI 8 I 25 (KBo X 45 II 16: $\text{L}^{\text{U}}\text{AZU}$); $\text{D}A\text{-du-un-te-er-ra-an}$ $\text{L}^{\text{U}}\text{AZU}$ KBo XXI 13 IV 5 (dupl. IBoT II 125 II 9:] $\text{L}^{\text{U}}\text{HAL}$)
- frg. $\text{D}A\text{-du-un-tir}[-]$ 1124/v. l. 4 (quoted in KBo XVII, VI ad No. 83)

Aunammu

- Hitt. abs. $\text{D}A\text{-}\acute{u}\text{-}nam$ KUB XXXIX 100, 2; $\text{D}A\text{-}w[a\text{-}an\text{-}na\text{-}mu]$ KBo XIII 193, 5
 acc. $[\text{D}A]\text{-}\acute{u}\text{-}nam\text{-}mu\text{-}un$ KBo XVII 96 I 9; $[\text{D}A\text{-}\acute{u}]\text{-}un\text{-}na\text{-}mu\text{-}un$ KBo XVII 94 III 32
 Hurr. dir.! $\text{D}A\text{-}\acute{u}\text{-}nam\text{-}mu\text{-}du$ KBo XVI 95 III 14

Elluita

- Hurr. abl. $\text{D}El\text{-}lu\text{-}i\text{-}ta\text{-}ta\text{-}an$ KUB XXVII 34 I 10

Enlil

- Hitt. abs. $\text{D}EN.L\acute{I}L$ CTH 62, 69, 105, 132
 nom. $\text{D}EN.L\acute{I}L\text{-}a\check{s}$ CTH 76, 212; KBo XVII 94 III 29
 Akk. abs. $\text{D}EN.L\acute{I}L$ CTH 51, 52, 53

Ijandu

- Hitt. acc. $\text{D}I\text{-}ja\text{-}an\text{-}du\text{-}un$ KBo XVII 94 III 32, 96 I 9
 frg. $\text{D}I\text{-}ja\text{-}an\text{-}d[u^{\prime}(-)]$ KUB XXXIX 100, 2
 Hurr. dir. $\text{D}Ja\text{-}a\text{-}an\text{-}du\text{-}ta^{\prime}$ KBo XVII 95 III 14

Iltara

- Hitt. abs. $\text{D}El\text{-}la\text{-}du\text{-}ra$ KBo XII 136 I 6 (list of gods: after Ištar of Samuḫa and KAL, followed by Aa and Damkina); $[\text{D}I\text{-}(?)]\text{-}il\text{-}ta\text{-}ra$ KBo XIII 193, 4; $\text{D}Il\text{-}ta\text{-}ru$ Bo 2716 III 10
 nom. $\text{D}El\text{-}tar\text{-}ra\text{-}a\check{s}$ KBo XXII 87 Rev. 8, 9, 11, 12 (myth.)
 acc. $\text{D}E\text{-}el\text{-}ta\text{-}ra\text{-}an$ KBo XVII 96 I 9; $[\text{D}El^{\prime}\text{-}t]a\text{-}ra\text{-}an$ KBo XVII 96 I 8
 Hurr. dir. $\text{D}Il\text{-}ta\text{-}a\text{-}ra\text{-}ta$ KBo XVII 95 III 15
 Akk. abs. $\text{D}El\text{-}la\text{-}al^{\prime}\text{-}ra\text{-}al^{\prime}$ KBo XVII 97 + KUB XXXIX 94 II 10 (ritual with Akkadian and Hurrian passages)

Irpitiga

- Hitt. nom. $\text{D}Ir\text{-}p\acute{i}\text{-}ti\text{-}ga\text{-}a\check{s}$ K1-aš EN-aš KUB XLI 8 I 26; $\text{D}Ir\text{-}p\acute{i}\text{-}it\text{-}(ga\text{-})a\check{s}$ $\check{h}a\text{-}an\text{-}ne\text{-}e\check{s}\text{-}na[-a\check{s}$ EN-aš] KBo XIV 100+ Obv. 13; $\text{D}Ir\text{-}p\acute{i}\text{-}it\text{-}g[a\text{-}a\check{s}]$ KBo XIV 100+ Obv. 14
 acc. $\text{D}Ir\text{-}p\acute{i}\text{-}ti\text{-}ga\text{-}an$ $t\acute{a}k\text{-}na\text{-}a\check{s}$ EN-an KBo X 45 I 43, II 17 (without title)
 frg. $\text{D}Ir\text{-}p[i\text{-}t][i\text{-}ga\text{-}a\check{s}$ IBoT II 125 II 12; [Pl.] $\check{h}a\text{-}an\text{-}ni\text{-}e\check{s}\text{-}na\text{-}a\check{s}$ $i\check{s}\text{-}\check{h}a\text{-}a\text{-}an$ KBo XXI 13 IV 5-6; [Pl.] $\text{D}i\text{-}e\check{s}\text{-}na\text{-}a\check{s}$ EN-an KUB XXXIX 101 II 20; $[\text{D}Ir\text{-}p\acute{i}\text{-}ti]\text{-}ki(?)$ KBo XVII 83 IV 5 (EZEN $\text{D}U$ URU $\check{H}i\check{s}\check{s}a\check{s}\check{h}apa$)
 Hurr. abs. $\text{D}E\text{-}er\text{-}p\acute{i}\text{-}t\acute{a}k$ KBo XVII 96 I 11 (after Earth and Heaven, together with Mušuni)

Kumarpi

- Hitt. nom. $\text{D}Ku\text{-}mar\text{-}p\acute{i}\text{-}i\check{s}$ CTH 68, 69, 76, KUB XL 43 Rev. 4 (treaty), XLV 28+ Vs. 15
 Hurr. abs. $\text{D}Ku\text{-}mar\text{-}p\acute{i}$ KUB XLVII 56 Obv. 9
 erg. $\text{D}Ku\text{-}mar\text{-}p\acute{i}\text{-}i\check{s}/e[\check{s}]$ KUB XLVII 56 Obv. 10, 14

Memešarti

- Hitt. nom. [Ⓓ]*Me-me(mi)-šar-ti-iš* AN-aš(/*ne-pi-ša-aš*) *ták-na-aš-ša*(/κ1-na-aš) KBo X 45 IV 9 (dupl. KUB XLI 8 IV 8);
[Ⓓ]*Me-me(mi)-šar-ti-iš* AN-aš(/*ne[-pi-š]a-aš*) κ1[-na-aš-š]a(/κ1-pa-aš) KBo X 45 IV 23 (dupl. KUB XLI 8 IV 22)
 acc. [Ⓓ]*Me-mi-šar-ti-in* (*e-še ha-wu_u-ur-ni*) KBo XVII 96 I 11
 Hurr. abs. [Ⓓ]*Me-im-mi-šar-te(-ni-e-ta)* ([*e-še-n*]-*e-ta ha-a-wu_u-u-ru-ul-le-e-ta*) KBo XVII 95 III 17

Minki/Munki

- Hitt. abs. [Ⓓ]*Me-in-ki* Bo 2716 III 9; [Ⓓ]*Mi-in-ki* KUB XXXIX 100, 3
 nom. [Ⓓ]*Me-i[n-ki-iš]* KBo XIV 100+ Vs. 11; *Mi-in-ki-iš* CTH 136, KUB XLI 8 I 27, XLV 28+ Obv. 14; [Ⓓ]*Mu-un-ki-iš* CTH 68, 69, 132
 acc. [Ⓓ]*Mi-in-ki-in* KBo X 45 I 44, II 18, XVII 96 I 10
 frg. [Ⓓ]*Mi-in-ki*[-] KBo XII 137 Obv. 2; [[Ⓓ]*Mi-in-ki*]-*iš* KUB XXXIII 120 I 3; [[Ⓓ]*Mi-in-ki*]-*CTH* 62
 Hurr. abs. [Ⓓ]*Mi-in-ki* KBo XVII 94 III 31
 dir. [Ⓓ]*Mi-in-ki-ta* KBo XVII 95 III 16
 frg. [Ⓓ]*Mi-in-ki*[-] KBo XXVII 217 I 2 (myth.)
 Akk. abs. [Ⓓ]*Mi-en-ki* CTH 51, 66; [Ⓓ]*Mi-in-ki* CTH 49, 51, 53

Muntara

- Hitt. acc. [Ⓓ]*Mu-un-ta-a-ra-an* KBo XVII 96 I 7
 Hurr. abs. [Ⓓ]*Mu-un[-da-a-r]a* KBo XVII 95 III 13

Mutmuntara

- Hitt. acc. [Ⓓ]*Mu-ut-mu-un-ta-r[a-an]* KBo XVII 96 I 7
 Hurr. abs. [Ⓓ]*Mu-ut-mu-un-da-a-ra* KBo XVII 95 III 3

Namšara/Napšara

- Hitt. abs. [Ⓓ]*Nam-ša-ra* Bo 2716 III 11; [Ⓓ]*Na-ap-ša-a-ra* KUB XXXIII 112+ 114+ III 36 (myth.)
 nom. [Ⓓ]*Nam-ša-ra-aš* KUB XL 43 Rev. 3 (treaty); [Ⓓ]*Na-am-ša-ra-aš* KUB XLI 8 I 26; [Ⓓ]*Na-ap-ša-ra-aš* CTH 62, 68, 69(?), 76, 132, 136, 256, KBo XIV 100+ Obv. 11, KUB XXXIII 120+ II 10 (myth.)
 acc. [Ⓓ]*Na-am-ša-a-ra-an* KBo XVII 96 I 10; [Ⓓ]*Na-am-ša-ra-an* KBo X 45 II 18; [Ⓓ]*Na-(am)-ša-ra-a-an* KBo 45 I 44
 frg. [Ⓓ]*Na*[-] *ABOT* 46, 5
 Hurr. abs. [[Ⓓ]*Na-a*]-*m-ša-ra* KBo XVII 94 III 31
 dir. [Ⓓ]*Na-am-ša-ra-a-ta* KBo XVII 95 III 16
 abl. [[Ⓓ]*Na*]-*m-ša-ra-ta-an* KUB XXVII 34 I 10
 Akk. abs. [Ⓓ]*Nam-ša-ra* CTH 49, 53, 66(?); [Ⓓ]*Na-am-ša-ra* CTH 51; [Ⓓ]*Nam-ša-ar-ra* CTH 51

Napirra

- Hitt. abs. [Ⓓ]*Na-pi-ir-ru* KBo XIII 193, 4
 nom. [Ⓓ]*Na-pi-ir-ra-aš* KUB XLV 28+ Obv. 13 (dupl. Bo 3814+ Obv. 7: -*pi-ra-*)

Nara

- Hitt. abs. ^DNa-a-ra KUB XXXIII 112+114+ III 35, 42 (myth.); ^DNa-ra KUB XXXIII 105 I 10 (myth.)
 nom. ^DNa-a-ra-aš CTH 76, KUB XXXVI 3 III 2, 3 (myth.), XLI 8 I 26; ^DNa-ra-a-aš CTH 212; ^DNa-ra-aš CTH 62, 69, 132, 136, 256, KBo XIV 100+ Obv. 11, KUB XXXIII 120 II 12 (myth.), ABoT 46, 5
 acc. ^DNa-a-ra-an KBo XVII 96 I 10; ^DNa-ra-a-an KBo X 45 I 43, II 18
 frg. ^DNa-ra[- KUB XXXIII 120+ II 10 (myth.); ^DNa[- KUB XXXIII 120+ Obv. 2, Bo 2716 III 10
 Hurr. abs. ^DNa-a-ra KBo XVII 94 III 30
 dir. ^DNa-ra-a-ta KBo XVII 95 III 16
 abl. ^DNa-ra-ta-an KUB XXVII 34 I 9
 Akk. abs. ^DNa-a-ra CTH 49, 51, 53; ^DNa-ar-ra CTH 51, 52, 66

NIN.É.GAL

- akk. abs. ^DNIN.É.GAL CTH 51, 52; ^DNIN.É.GAL^{lim}

NIN.LÍL

- Hitt. abs. ^DNIN.LÍL CTH 62, 105, 132; ^DNIN.LÍL.LA CTH 68
 nom. ^DNIN.LÍL[-aš[?]] CTH 76
 Akk. abs. ^DNIN.LÍL CTH 51 (dupl. wrongly: ^DNIN.URTA), 52, 53

Taištara

- Hitt. acc. ^DTa-aš-ta-ra-an KBo XVII 96 I 8; ^DTa-iš[-ta-ra-an] KBo XVII 96 I 9
 Hurr. dir. ^DTa-iš-ta-ra-a-ta KBo XVII 95 III 15

Ti-da[- KUB XXXIX 100, 1

Tuḫuši

- Hitt. abs. ^DTu-ḫu-ši Bo 2716 III 9; ^DTu-ḫu-u-ši CTH 62, KBo XIII 193, 5; ^DTu-u-ḫu-ši CTH 62
 nom. ^DTu-ḫu-ši-iš CTH 69, 76, 132, 136; ^DTu-ḫu-u-ši-iš CTH 212, KUB XLV 28+ Obv. 14
 Akk. abs. ^DTu-ḫ[u-ši] CTH 51; ^DTu-u-ḫu-ši CTH 51, 52(?), 53

Undurupa

- Hitt. nom. ^DÚ-un-du-ru-pa-aš ABoT 46, 2

Zulki

- Hitt. nom. ^DZu-ul-ki-iš KBo XIV 100+ Obv. 13 (Vs. 12: [^DZ. SA]L ^{SAL}ENSI); ^DSIALZu-ul-ki-iš ABoT 46, 3; [^DZu-ul]-ki-iš KUB XXXIX 101 II 22 (dupl. KBo XXI 13 IV 7: ^DZ[u-])
 acc. ^DZu-ul-ki-in ^{SAL}ENSI KBo X 45 I 42 (dupl. KUB XLI 8 I 25); ^DZu-ul-kin {ŠA} ^{SAL}ENSI KBo X 45 II 17; ^DZu-ul-ki-in KUB XXXIX 101 II 19 (-ki-) and dupl. IBoT 125 II 9

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HOW A PANTHEON FORMS
THE CASES OF HATTIAN-HITTITE ANATOLIA AND EBLA
OF THE 3RD MILLENIUM B.C.

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How a Pantheon forms

The Cases of Hattian-Hittite Anatolia and Ebla of the 3rd Millennium B.C.

It is a comparison which allows us to understand and evaluate better certain aspects of a religion which are not evident at first reading of the data. Through the analysis of how a phenomenon developed in certain environments, elements can be identified which help to devise a model according to which working hypotheses related to other religious experiences can then be verified.

The two investigations presented here demonstrate the repercussions that occurred in a religious system when peoples of different cultural traditions came into contact and merged. In the first place, they have phenomenological value. But in the second case - that of Ebla - not only the environment was similar to that in which the Old Testament traditions were formed. Both the Eblaite and Israelite languages belonged to the Semitic group. Moreover, some of the populations involved in those processes could have presented socio-economic forms analogous to Palestinian ones between the 2nd and the 1st millennium B.C.

I. Hattian-Hittite Anatolia

A prelude to the formation of the Hittite state in the central Anatolian plateau delimited by the wide bend of the river Kızıl Irmak (classical Halys) is the conquest of the town of Kanesh (= Nesa) by a ruler from the town of Kussara (18th cen.). Kanesh, which lies to the south of the Halys, not far from Kayseri (Caesarea Mazaca), was in the 19th cen. one of the most important city-states, chosen for that reason by the Assyrian traders as the main centre for their activity. It is uncertain where Kussara has to be placed; in any case the trend of the military operations by Anitta, son of that Pithana who was the conqueror of Kanesh, is towards the central plateau. The cities defeated by Anitta are Salatiwara and Ullamma, in the "Lower Land", south of the Salt Lake (as well as Purushanda, whose ruler recognized Anitta's supremacy), and Salampa, the Land of Hattum (/ Hatti) together with Zalpuwa, on the plateau. These were manifestly the political opponents of the dynasty of Kussara.¹

These deeds are recorded in the Proclamation of Anitta, a text in Old Hittite, which has to be considered the first written document of Hittite cul-

¹ For the historical references concerning the Old Hittite kingdom, see *Gurney, Anatolia*. For the Hittite pantheon, see the well-balanced synthesis given by *Gurney, Aspects*, 4-24. The Proclamation of Anitta is edited by *Neu, Anitta*. All these works give abundant literature. For an attempt to define the Hittite and the Hattian ethno-cultural area, see *Singer, Hittites and Hattians*.

ture. Three gods are mentioned there: the Hittite Weather-god Tarhunna (written ^DIM-*unnas*) "Victorious, Hero" (derived from *tarh-* "to win"), the patron of Anitta; the Hattian deified throne Halmasuit; Siusmi, Siusummi, an epithet meaning "My, Our god". Hittite and Hattian elements stay side by side. Even the kingship is influenced by the Hattians: "My god", Siusmi, delivers Hattusa to the Throne-goddess Halmasuit, meaning: into Anitta's hands.

Some similar ideological aspects are found in an Old Hittite ritual for the erection of a new palace. Here "father" of the king is the Weathergod (^DIM-*aš*), undetermined by a geographic name as well as in the Anitta text: "mother" is the Sun-deity (^DUTU-*uš*); and the Throne-goddess Halmasuit brings to the king the emblems of power:

"To me, the king, have the gods - Sun-deity and Weather-god - entrusted my land and the house ... To me, the king has the Throne-goddess brought from the sea the (insignia of) power and the chariot. They have opened the land of my mother and called me, the king, Labarna. From then on I extol my father, the Weather-god".²

Both texts are linking by the same number of gods, and the same roles for the Weather-god and the Throne-goddess. Therefore it has been suggested that "Our god", Siusummi, should be identified with the Sundeity. The noun *sius* goes back etymologically to Indo-European *djēus, as Latin *deus*, Greek *Zeus*. Also cognate with *djēus (with the suffix *-att-*) is Tijaz, Tiwaz, the Sun-god in Palaic and in Luwian, respectively; and *sius* should have been the name of the Sun-god by the Hittites. The noun originally meaning "sky", as the source of light, might have developed semantically into "Sun(-god)" in the Indo-European Anatolian languages. When the Hittites took over the (feminine) Hattian Sun-deity, then *sius* lost its original connotation and became the appellative for "god".³ Brilliant though this theory may be, it is not easily acceptable,⁴ although it is a fact that Luwians and Palaites preserved an Indo-European word for the god of day-light.

There is no continuity between the dynasty of Anitta and that of Hattusili, which also originated from Kussara. In this new phase, Kanesh is destroyed, and Hattusa (which was cursed by Anitta) is chosen as capital. It is impossible to detect the events of that dark period, but two facts are clear. The Hittites

² KUB XXIX 1 I 17-26. See the translation of the whole text by Goetze, in: ANET, 357-358; and for an evaluation of this passage, see Neu, Anitta, 125-126.

³ Neu, Anitta, 116-131; *Bin-Nun*, Tawananna, 147-152.

⁴ There is no divine name with the pers. pron. suffix. In l. 11, ^dUTU-*az* could be the writing for the "Sun-deity" (without pers. pron. suffix!) if we understand the passage as following: "whatever land rose up from the Sun-deity", see Carruba, *Chronologie*, 232. Further, the change in meaning of *sius* should be dated between Anitta and Hattusili I, and the former noun for "god" disappeared subsequently. Cf. Starke, *Halmasuit*, 47-65; his identification of "Our god" with Halmasuit, however, is unacceptable.

called their language *nesili / (ka)nesumnili* "that of (Ka)nes", which certainly means that Kanes was the major city-state in the area where their language was used. But the political centre then shifted directly to the Land of Hattum, where the new dynasty is active from the middle of the 17th cen.⁵

What caused friction between the dynasties of Kussara and their antagonists was surely not an ethnic contrast. Because of the two changes of capital, there was also something different from a simple rivalry between city-states. We can only state that a group bound by the same language seized rapidly an area substantially allophone. People of different languages: Hittites, Hurrians, Hattians and perhaps other Asiatic languages, had coexisted in central Anatolia already for a longer time, as it is shown by the Old Assyrian tablets from Kanes. Further, a few geographic names show that the Hittite-Luwian speaking population had settled there for some time.⁶ Perhaps "the Land of Hattum" was linguistically more uniform. Hattian was still a spoken language there, as it is proved by whole rituals (not simple invocations) recorded by the Hittites surely from native speakers and not just copied from ancient tablets. Judging from the events concerning Zalpa, the important town at the Black Sea, whose Elders asked the Hittite king for one of his sons as ruler,⁷ the formation of the Hittite kingdom must have been achieved by a small group of people.

These political events are reflected in the pantheon, which developed through assimilation. Privileges are acknowledged for great centres of the Hattian cult, like the towns of Arinna, Nerik and Zippalanda (Laws §§ 50-51). The main gods of the lustration ritual for the royal couple are the Weather-god and the Sun-deity (the latter in the double hypostasis of the sky and of the earth).⁸ The fact that in this ritual also Arinna is involved, shows that the Sun-deity was already related with the Hattian goddess of Arinna. Hattusili I declares himself "beloved of the Sun-goddess of Arinna" in his annals;⁹ and there are good reasons to think that ^DUTU in the Old Hittite texts, also when undetermined, has to be mostly identified with the Sun-goddess of Arinna. The other gods mentioned in the lustration ritual are the Hittite Hantasepa "the First one", and the Hattian Inar. In the ritual "When the Weather-god thunders", celebrated obvious in a crucial period of the seasonal cults, the Weather-god is associated with Wasezzili and the Sun-goddess with Mezzulla, both Hattian; and the other gods are the Hattian Inar and Tuhasail.¹⁰ The associa-

⁵ The grandfather of Hattusili I appointed his heir in Sanahuitta.

⁶ *Bilgiç*, Ortsnamen, 8-10.

⁷ KBo III 38; see *Otten*, Zalpa, 8-11.

⁸ The ritual is published by *Otten / Souček*, Ritual.

⁹ Cf. *Gurney*, Aspects, 11-12. On the Sun-goddess of Arinna in the Old Hittite kingdom, see *Archi*, Anrufung, 7-15.

¹⁰ The ritual is published by *Neu*, Gewitterritual; see also *Neu*, Ritualtexte, 62-69, no. 25.

tions of the Weather-god with Wasezzili and of the Sun-goddess with Mezzulla are rather frequent in Old Hittite religious texts,¹¹ and go back to the Hattians.

Some connections between gods of different cultural origin are quite clearly understandable as in the case of a celebration for the dead, where the Hattian Parcae Isdustaja and Papaja are grouped together with Lelwani, the Hittite queen of the Underworld, and her circle.¹² But further the Hittites took over esoteric practices, like conjurations to gods, who are addressed also with an "heavenly title":

"When the (crown) prince conjures, [the singer says:] 'For mankind Wasezzili, but [among] the gods a Lion-king (art) thou, and [thou holdest] Heaven and Earth'. And so is decided in the Weather-god's prayer".¹³

Cult is determined by social and institutional relations, especially in those ancient cultures. This is manifest in the Old Hittite KILAM festival, "(of) the Market", which presents two main aspects. The first one is concerned clearly with the magic reintegration of hunted wild animals. In a ceremonial procession opened by the royal pair, the following groups passed: 1) a "holy" priest and a priest of ^DKAL, the tutelary god of the wild animals, whose symbol is the stag, accompanied by a psalmodist; 2) several spears and 10 or 20 copper shields, the hunters' weapons, carried by attendants; 3) the figures of some "animals of the gods" in silver, gold or lapis lazuli: a panther, a wolf, a lion, two boars and a bear; 4) some hunters; 5) four figures of the stag in precious materials; 6) perhaps some birds in ivory. The figures of animals were rather large because they were pulled or dragged by some officials, so that the connection between animals and hunters had to be quite realistic. The following section is rather fragmentary, but it is clear that the ritual action had to appease the tutelary god of the wild animals in order to assure their reintegration, an idea which has to go back to an archaic age, when hunting played an important role for the maintenance of a social group.

The second aspect concerns instead the need for supply of victuals in an urban society. The administrators at the head of the storehouses, ^{LÜ.MEŠ}AGRIG É ^{NA4}KIŠIB, of several towns were aligned before "the gate of the house" which they represented (because the festival took place at Hattusa, it is probable that the houses were just symbolized in some way). In front of the gates were placed food, drinks, small livestock. When the king passed before an admini-

¹¹ See the index in: *Neu*, Glossar, 344 and 349-350.

¹² KBo XVII 15 obv.1 8-18; see *Haas / Wäfler*, Bemerkungen, 84-87, cf. *Neu*, Ritualtexte, 72.

¹³ KUB VIII 41 II 4-6 and VBoT 124 rev. 6-9 (Hittite) = KUB XXVIII 75 III 11-14 (Hattian), see *Laroche*, Hattic Deities, 187-192. On the double name of the gods, see *Friedrich*, Göttersprache.

strator, the herald called him by the name of the town he belonged to and he bowed down to the king. Some of the towns belonged to the Hattian area (as Ankuwa and Harharna); others were to the south of the Halys (as Hupisna, Nenassa, Tuwanuwa, Zallara), and belonged to the Hittite kingdom from Hattusili I's time. The geography of this festival may be that of the Old Hittite kingdom: the towns are listed (with several others) in Telepinu's edict as seat of "storehouses".¹⁴ But in the case of some administrators, instead of using a genitive of relation, the name of the town is enlarged with the Hattic suffix *-il*, which characterizes the masculine ethnics: (H)anikkuil, Hupisnail "the (man) from Ankuwa, from Hupisna". Clearly this festival - where also the temple of Halki "the Grain" plays a central role - institutionalized in cult the supply system of the Palace administration. Now on this celebration which concerns so crucial an aspect of the Hittite state, the Hattian influence is such that the gods worshipped are, with only few exceptions (as Halki and Ulza), Hattians:¹⁵

1 Tauri(t)	13 [Zizzasu]	24 Hasamili
2 IM, Wasezzili	14 Zulija	25 Hattu Teteshapi
3 UTU, Mezzulla	15 Susumittu	26 Puskuruna, Tapalhuna
4 IM, Wasezzili	16 NIN.É.GAL	27 IM ^{URU} Ziplanda, Katahhi
5 Inar, Habandali	17 Hanikku	28 Ulza, Uliwasu, Katarzasu
6 EN.ZU, Kuzanisu	K[atahhi]	29 Susumahi, Simmisu
7 Hulla	18 Zilipuru	30 Haratsi
8 Telepinu	19 Katimu	31 [Sita]rzuna, Tahampiwu, Wahzasu, Takkihau
9 ZABABA	20 Halki	32 [..]natasu, Kuzanisu, Tahpillanu
10 [UD ^{AM}]	21 Zilipuru	33 IM, Wasezzili
11 GAL.ZU	22 Wahisi	
12 Tuhasail	23 [...]	

The Palaic documentation, which concerns a culture formed under conditions similar to the Hittite ones in a borderland (Paphlagonia) of the Hittite area, offers a suitable verification of the Hattian influence in the process of pantheon formation. The ritual KUB XXXV 165 gives in rev. 11-18 the following list of gods, where the priority in the offerings is according to rank:

Zaparwa, Katahziwuri, Tijaz, Ilalijantikes (pl.), Hasamili, Kamama, Saushalla, Hilanzipa, Gulzannikes (pl.), Ulilijantikes (pl.)

¹⁴ See §§ 4 and 37-38, in *Hoffmann*, Telepinus, 14-15.40-45.

¹⁵ The gods are listed in the following table in the order they appear in the text, so that some of them are repeated. The list is given and commented by *Singer*, KILAM I, 101-103. For the interpretation of the festival given here, see *Archi*, Société, 29-31.

That Zaparwa was the first god of the Palaites is apparent also from other texts, some of which are written in old ductus. In any case, all the Palaic documentation must go back to the Old Hittite kingdom. It is rather uncertain if Zaparwa as well as Saushalla have to be considered Hattian gods, but surely Hattian are Katahziwuri, Hasamili and Kamama. Tijaz is the Sun-god whose name is an enlargement of an Indo-European base: *djēus-att-s. The other four gods are genii whose names are formed with "Anatolian" bases (that is common to Hittite, Luwian and Palaic, the Indo-European Anatolian languages): *ilalija*- "to desire", *zipa*- "genius", *guls*- "to mark", *ulili*- "the green".¹⁶

The Palaic pantheon therefore, as well as the Hittite one, was formed through assimilation.

A change of language needs newcomers, but not necessarily a large number of people. The assimilation of gods, the registration of cultic rituals in Hattian, the continuity in the material culture as well, could mean that it was a process of infiltration. That is in agreement with the fact that the personal names of the population settled already before the conquest of Kanes by Anitta are Asianic, Hurrian and Hittite-Luwian. But the new political structures created by the Pithana dynasty at Kanes and later on by Hattusili at Hattusa were the result of a conquest.

The Hittites brought to Hattusa some few gods, who are said to be those of Kanes, and therefore were "sung" in (*ka*)*nesili* - the name the Hittites gave to their own language - but who are not frequently quoted in the texts. They are: Pirwa, Ilali, Tarawa, Assijat.¹⁷ The Hittites had also several genii, whose names are composed with the element *-sipa*, *-zipa*: *Asgasepa* "the daemon of the door", *Hilazepa* "the daemon of the court", *Ispanzasepa* "the daemon of the night", *Kamrusepa* the patroness of healing, *Mijatanzipa* "the daemon of prosperity", *Daganzipa* "the daemon of the earth".

The only god whose name goes back to an Indo-European root is that of the Sun-deity of the Palaites and of the Luwians: Tijaz, Tiwaz. This is a general feature of the panthea of Indo-European peoples, and it has to be explained by the fact that the Indo-European speaking populations developed societies very different from that stage when they shared some common beliefs. More evidence of a common heritage can be found in some cultic practices, like that concerning the hearth (Hitt. *hassa*-, Lat. *āra*, Osc. *aasa*l, Skt. *āsa*).¹⁸

The Hittites constitute a case where a population sharing an urban culture overlapped another urbanized and evidently more sophisticated population, taking over its pantheon. That pantheon came then to reflect that political

¹⁶ The text is studied by *Kammenhuber*, *Das Palaische*, 8 and 31-36 (see also the commentary in the "Wortschatz", 70ff); and by *Carruba*, *Das Palaische*, 19 and 48ff.

¹⁷ See *Goetze*, *Theophorous Elements*; *Laroche*, *Noms*, 288-289.

¹⁸ On the cult of the hearth by the Hittites, see *Archi*, *Focolare*.

change, when the whole country was unified in one kingdom. All the local gods, mostly naturalistic in character, were included, organized hierarchically under a couple at their head, formed by the Sun-goddess of Arinna, the deity of a celebrated sanctuary, and the Weather-god of Hatti, who takes his appellative from the core of the kingdom.

II. Ebla¹⁹

The archives of the royal palace of Ebla are to be dated to the 24th cen. B.C., and concern every sector of Palace administration. The main body of the texts comes from the central archive, which covers a period of about 50 years. Minor archives deal with special administrative sections for the years immediately preceding the destruction of the Palace.

The documentation pertaining the pantheon can be classified as follows: 1) bilingual lexical lists; 2) some few hymns and rituals; 3) very few juridical documents provided with an invocation to the gods; 4) documents concerning sheep deliveries with sections of offerings to the gods; 5) administrative documents which register gifts to the gods or to the officials devoted to their cult; 6) personal names.

1. Lexical lists²⁰

The bilingual (Sumerian-Eblaite) word lists are arranged by the initial sign. In the section based on the sign AN, which, besides expressing phonetic values, may stand for the divine determinative, about fifteen gods are listed. The selection includes some deities having a correspondence in the Eblaite cult. ^dUTU, the Sun-god(dess) and probably ^dTU (a short form for ^dNin-tu), the Mother-goddess, are without Eblaite renderings perhaps because those names were considered to be self-evident (which deprives us of knowing them). The correspondence ^dInanna = (^d)Eš₇-dar was surely established in Mesopotamia, while the following have to be ascribed to a Syrian milieu (Ebla or Mari): ^dNè-úrugal (Nergal) = (^d)Ra-sa-ap (Rešep); ^dIzi (not ^dGibil, the Sumerian Fire-god) = (^d)Ī-sa-du; ^dGÁxSIG₇-ra = (^d)Iš-ĥa-ra.

A second group is made up of Sumerian gods who appear in Sumerian hymns and rituals, or, if in Semitic, of Mesopotamian origin, like ^dEn-líl = (^d)I-li-lu; ^dEn-ki = (^d)Ā-u₉; ^dNisaba. To this group ^dEn-zi = (^d)Zu-i-nu, the

¹⁹ An expanded version of this section will appear in Or.

²⁰ For the section AN in the Ebla word lists, see Lambert, The Section AN. On Enki in the offering lists, see Pettinato, Culto ufficiale, 104. The priest Aku-Enki is quoted in ARET I 3 (65).

Moon-god, can be added, who is attested, besides these lists, only in personal names of people from the Mari - Kish region, that is from central Mesopotamia.

Only for Enki can there be a case of assimilation to the Eblaite cult. The process was facilitated by the fact that this god was already assimilated by the Semites settled in Mesopotamia to one of their deities: ^dÉ-a. As the Eblaite writing shows, the name /hayyu(m)/ must go back to the root HYY/W "to live", and Hayyu must be a god of fresh water springs. In Sumerian writing, Enki appears, although seldom, in the Eblaite offering lists, and to him an "anointed" priest, pa₄-šeš, is devoted, whose tie with the god is made clear also by his name: A-ku-^dEn-ki.

2. Rituals²¹

Nine rituals are in Sumerian, and two others are just translations from Sumerian originals. All of them mention the Sumerian goddess of incantations Ningirim, and in some cases also Enlil, Enki and Ninki. Another one (in three different versions) is a re-elaboration in Semitic of Sumerian themes. In the mythological section Enlil, "the father of the gods", his vizier Kabkabu, the Star, and the Sun-goddess Utu (here, differently from Mesopotamia, feminine, as it is proved by a verbal form with the prefix *ti-*) are quoted; in the ritual action the Weather-god Adda appears instead. This re-elaboration, and the fact that the other rituals are in syllabic Sumerian, show that those documents had in some way a practical use, and were not seen just as library texts. The prestige of Sumerian culture, to which was owed the cuneiform writing system, must have been enormous. But that did not have any influence on the cult and only a minimal effect on magic.

In another ritual, clearly composed in Ebla, the acting gods are the Semitic Adda, the deified Syrian river Balikh (known in the Sargonic period also in middle Mesopotamia) and two local deities like Adarwan and Amarig, a deified mountain south of the Amanus.

3. Juridical texts²²

In a verdict confirming the awarding of an inheritance to the sons of the vizier Ibrum (TM.75.G.1444), the king pronounces his sentence invoking the following three gods: ^dKu-ra, ^dUtu, ^dA-da. Utu and Adda, but not Kura, are

²¹ For the rituals, see *Krebernik*, *Beschwörungen*. The ritual in Semitic, in three versions, is ARET V 1-3; see *Fronzaroli*, *Scongiori eblaiti*.

²² The verdict TM.75.G.1444 is published by *Edzard*, *Text TM.75.G.1444*. The Ebla - Abarsal treaty is edited by *Sollberger*, *Treaty*, 129-155.

also mentioned in the curse which closes the treaty between Ebla and Abarsal (a city-state to the east of the Khabur river): "(who) will do all that for evil, Utu, Adda, all the gods...". The reason why Kura is not mentioned in this international treaty is probably that his cult was known only in the Ebla region. But at Ebla oaths were taken, also by people representing other city-states, in the temple of Kura.

At the head of the Ebla pantheon was therefore a triad: Kura, the Sun-goddess, and the Weather-god, and among them Kura was the city god.

4. Offering lists ²³

Approximately twenty tablets record deliveries of sheep to the Palace. These are monthly documents, and the totals of animals delivered range from 500 to 1,000 head. The texts present three sections listing sheep: for: 1) offerings to the gods; 2) alimentation for the court; 3) alimentation for officials not residing in the Palace.

These lists are rather stereotyped. They register more or less the same gods and the same acting people. The number of the listed deities slightly exceeds forty. One can group the most frequently attested of them according to the diffusion of their cult, and in some cases with the support of an etymology, as follows:

a) Semitic gods

^d*A-da*: The relevance of his cult (see above no. 3) together with the Sargonic documentation, proves that he was the most important Semitic Weather-god in the northern and eastern areas.

^d*Utu*: Although the Semitic rendering of this ideogram is not given, this deity must obviously to be taken as Semitic. The verbal form *ti-a-ba-an* "you make bricks", with the feminine prefix in the ritual ARET V 3 I 2, shows that the deified Sun was considered in Ebla to be a goddess, as later in Ugarit, Canaan and among the Arabs.

^d*Da-gan*: To this god one has to refer the epithet: lugal *Du-du-lu^{ki}* "Lord of Tuttul", whose variant ^dBE *Du-du-lu^{ki}* (BE = *bē(lum)*) is well attested also in other economic texts. ^dBE *Ga-na-na* could be also an hypostasis of Dagan, because Ganana was a region in middle Mesopotamia. There is no direct evidence that ^dBE *ma-tum* / *kalam-tim* "Lord of the country" refers to this god, as well as lugal *mātim* attested in Mari of the *šakkanakku* age. Dagan, whose major cult place was Tuttul on the Balikh, was one of the most important gods of the northern Semites.

^d*Ga-mi-iš*: During the 1st millennium Kamos was the tutelary god of Moab.

²³ Four of these documents have been studied by *Pettinato*, *Culto ufficiale*.

^d*Ga-aš-ru*: This god is known also from the Imar tablets (second half of the 2nd millennium), and must not be identified with Ugaritic *Ktr*.

^d*Ī-sa-du* "the Fire-god": He is seldom attested.

^d*Ra-sa-ap*: Rašap is the god of pestilence according to the West Semitic tradition (Ugarit, Arameans, Phoenicians).

^dBE dingir-dingir-dingir "Lord of the gods": It is unknown to what kind of a god this rare epithet could refer, and the relevance for the Eblaite religion of an idea like that of lordship over the gods remains obscure.

dingir a-mu, dingir en "God of the father; God of the king": These gods are discussed below.

b) Gods received from the substratum

^d*Ku-ra*: He is the most frequently attested god together with ^dNI-*da-KUL/BAL*. His feminine counterpart is ^d*Ba-ra-ma*.

^dNI-*da-KUL/BAL*: He is mostly qualified by four place-names: 'Amadu (Hamath), Atanni, (L)arugadu and Luban, but a NIDA-BAL/KUL of the Palace (SA.ZA_x^{ki}) is also attested. His female counterpart is known only by the epithet ^dBE-*mí (bālatum)* "lady", who also receives offerings. The writing with NI which can be read: *ni, Ì, 'a, bu,* and the alternation of BAL with KUL (the latter a simplified form of the first sign) makes the analysis of the name difficult.

^d*A-dam-ma*: She is the female counterpart of Rašap. In the 2nd millennium she belongs to the West Hurrians' pantheon.

^d*Am-ma-rí-gú*: According to the Hurrian documentation from Hattusa, he is a deified mountain.

^d*Aš-da-bil*: In the 2nd millennium he is the Warrior-god of the West Hurrians.

^d*Ba-li-ḫa*: The river Balikh deified. The name is in the dual, and "the two Balikh" are attested in the rituals ARET V 4, 5. This god is known also from Sargonic personal names and from the Imar texts. Although the name is treated as a Semitic one, it has perhaps to be considered as belonging to the substratum because of the general archaism of river names. The dual form may reflect the fact that it is formed by two watercourses.

^dGÁxSIG₇-*ra*: The reading of this name in the Lexical Lists is: (^d)*Īš-ḫa-ra*. This goddess appears as theophoric element in Sargonic personal names. She was included in the pantheon of the Hurrians settled in Syria, and is attested also in the documents from Imar. She has to be considered as belonging to the Syrian substratum.

^dTU: Short form for ^dNin-tu, the Sumerian Mother-goddess. It seems probable that the Sumerian name hides a local goddess with similar functions; in fact such deities are well known in the Syrian and Anatolian regions.

c) Sumerian-Akkadian gods

^dEn-ki and his female counterpart ^dNin-ki: They are rarely attested. For Enki see no. 1: Lexical lists.

^dNin-kar(-DU): This deity should be Ninkarrak, a goddess attested in Old Akkadian texts.

^dŠa-ma-gan: He is the Akkadian Šakkan (Sumerian Sumukan), the god of the wild and herding animals. Therefore he opens the offering lists. His cult was probably introduced under Mesopotamian influence. He is attested in Mari in the name of the king Iku(n)-Šamagan.

5. Administrative documents

A way to ascertain the relevance of a god in the cult is to compare the number of quotations referring to him in the economic documents registering the deliveries of goods. In the volumes ARET I-IV, VII-VIII, concerning every sector of the administration, the gods most frequently mentioned whether for gifts dedicated to them or for deliveries to their personnel, are the following:

- (1) NIdaBAL: 105 (references); (2) Kura: 82; (3) Rašap: 40; (4) Adda: 29; (5) Gamiš: 23; (6) GÁxSIG₇-ra (Išhara): 19; (7) Ašdabil: 16; (8) Utu: 12

The first two gods: NIdaBAL and Kura, have more than twice as many quotations as the third one: Rašap. That NIdaBAL precedes Kura is explained by the fact that he is represented by several hypostases. But Kura's pre-eminence over the other deities is confirmed by the annual accounts (about twenty in number) of silver and gold expended by the Palace. They invariably begin with the recording of "one mina silver (470 grs.) for the head (of the statue) of Kura". This donation is likely to refer to a rite of yearly renewal (well known for many cultures) of the main god's statue in the city.

Both Kura and NIdaBAL, as well as Išhara and Ašdabil, belong to the substratum. Rašap, Gamiš and the feminine Sun-deity are diffused in later times in the cultures of the West-Semitic area. The Semitic Weather-god Adda has a rather high number of quotations, although it seems probable that some of his functions must have been similar to those of either Kura or NIdaBAL: the main male god in the religions of the Ancient Near East has usually the feature of a being controlling meteorological phenomena. Dagan appears rarely, and always as "the Lord of Tuttul".

6. *Personal names*

A quite different picture emerges from the scrutiny of the theophoric elements in the personal names. The most frequently attested are listed here below according to the number of names where they appear.

Malik, Damu, Il

Lim, Išar

Da'ar, Zikir, Kura, Eštar, Naim, Adda, Daban, Rašap, Ba'al / BE

Utu, Gamiš, Dagan, NIDaBAL, Enki

The names are all Semitic with the exception of Kura, the main god of the city, in the third group (where the frequency is one name in ten with respect to the first group), and NIDaBAL in the fourth. And it is also significant that gods like Adda, Dagan and Rašap, among the most important of the official pantheon, are to be found no earlier than in the third group or even in the fourth.

Most of the elements are appellatives: Malik "King, Ruler", the most frequent of all; and then Išar "the Righteous one"; Da'ar "the Durable, Overlasting one"; Na'im "the Favourable one". Besides, there are deified elements which recall a pre-urban social organization: Damu, the bond of blood, "the Stock" (*damu* "blood"); Lim "the Clan" (*lim* "multitude, people"; Akk. "thousand"); Zikir "the Name" (*zikrum*) or "the male" (*zikarum*).

These names are not the expression of a popular religiousness. In fact, out of eleven names of kings of Ebla, two are composed with Lim and seven with Damu.²⁴ They reflect instead an archaic tradition: that of the Semitic populations before their urbanization.

As W. Robertson Smith saw one hundred years ago: "the system of an antique religion was part of the social order under which its adherents lived", and "the first steps of a social and religious development took place in small communities, which at the dawn of history had a political system based on the principle of kinship".²⁵

Some names, like those compounded with Kura and NIDaBAL, attest contact with the population of the northern Syrian substratum. Others, like those with the Semitic gods Adda, Eštar and Rašap, testify an already rather articulated gods' world. But by far the most frequently attested elements are some deified social structures and appellatives. Those appellatives reflect a

²⁴ The lists of the kings of Ebla are published by Archi, Könige; *id.*, Prosopography, 212-214. One has to notice also that 21 of 38 names of "king's sons" are composed with Damu, see Archi, *ibid.*, 225-230.

²⁵ Robertson Smith, Lectures, 28 and 32.

phase of the social development, when, above all, the gods of the group or of the place where the tribe had settled down were venerated, that is the same stage which had "the clan" and "the bond of blood" deified. They can only go back to a period when there was not yet a pantheon organized in several major gods, otherwise it would be unclear to what gods they would refer.

The case of Il is meaningful in this respect. It is the most frequent theophoric element after Damu and the appellative Malik. While *-ilum*, written *-NI(i)-lum/lulla/li* is the appellative meaning "god", *-il* has the function of the subject in a verbal sentence in several names, as in Old Akkadian, and "thus should be in the *status rectus*, not the absolute or predicate state. Therefore it cannot be merely the general word 'god'".²⁶

Now, Il does appear neither in the official pantheon of the offering lists, nor among the gods attested in the other administrative documents. This is exactly the situation for Old Akkadian. Il is a very productive element in forming personal names, but he does not succeed in becoming part of the official pantheon. This also applies to the sources from Mari: Il appears very frequently in Amorite personal names,²⁷ but he is excluded from the official pantheon of Mari.²⁸ Three different cases and one and the same pattern!

The formation of an urban society gives rise to specialization among the gods who are sometimes taken over in part from the population already settled in the region. In the three cases mentioned above, Il does not find any place in this process. This is probably because the identity of Il was not sufficiently characterized by any particular aspect, in contrast to Indo-European *djēus, which is linked to the notion of "light".

Il was the divine which manifests itself in particular situations and places. Significantly, his name is morphologically the absolute state of Common Semitic *ilum* "god". For this reason Il remains still very productive in the tradition of name-giving.

It is probable that Il had originally those characteristics proper to a "supreme being". But even if one would ascribe an "Urmonotheismus" to the ancient Semites, it could be only similar to that of other "primitive societies". It is always doubtful to define a god through verbs and appellatives attested in the theophorous personal names, because in most cases they apply to several deities; and it is incorrect to give to words (e.g. to **bny* "to build, beget"; **qny* "to acquire, create") values determined by later theological evaluations.²⁹

²⁶ Roberts, Pantheon, 31-33 and 121-144.

²⁷ See Huffmon, Amorite Names, 162-165; Rouault, ARM XVII/1, 260-261.

²⁸ See Edzard, Pantheon in Mari.

²⁹ See MAD 3, 98: ^dÉ-a-ba-ni, ^dEN.ZU-ba-ni, *Ib-ni*.^dEN.ZU^dIM/LUGAL; cf. Huffmon, Amorite Names, 176-177, sub BN², BN³; cf. Gröndahl, Personennamen, 176.

The documentation of Ebla gives a different perspective to the Ugaritic one, considered to be the expression of the Canaanite culture in its archetypal stage.

According to Ugaritic texts Il is the lord of the gods, he receives the epithet of "father", *ab*, and several gods refer to him as their "father". According to some myths he procreated in fact several gods. Il is also "father of mankind", *ab adm*, and perhaps he is described in a text as modelling mortals from clay.³⁰ He is at the head of the pantheon and opens the offering lists. In order to show that the Ugaritic Il was "creator of the cosmos" like El Elyon, venerated by Melchizedek as "creator of heaven and earth" (Gen 14: 22), from one side one has tried to identify his attributes with those of El of the Old Testament, and from the other side one has produced parallelism from contemporary cultures as the Hurrian myth of "Kingship in Heaven" in order to elucidate the conflict between Il and Baal, as well as the Babylonian Enuma Elish. The conclusion was: "It would seem that there is reason enough to assume that like the Sumerian god Enlil, the Babylonian god Marduk and YHWH the God of Israel, El, the supreme god of the Canaanites, was thought to be the creator of both the cosmos and man".³¹

The only precise datum which could be produced for Il as creator of the earth is the name Elkunirsa in the Hittite translation of a Canaanite myth, in which (according to most scholars) the title attributed to Il also in the Karatepe inscription (8th cen.) is preserved: *el qn 'rš* "El creator of the earth".³² But this Ugaritic Il, so characterized in functions and personality, is the result of the influence of some of those cultures quoted in order to elucidate him by similarities. The new evidence from Ebla, together with a careful evaluation of Old Akkadian and Amorite evidence, compels us to accept this conclusion.

To have already organized the gods in lists (which we call "pantheon") is a typical Mesopotamian feature, as it is to provide the gods with ancestors. And it is typically Hurrian to mention in those lists also unnamed "gods of the father", *enna attanni-bi-na*, for several gods like Tešup, Ḫepat, Šauška and Šimegi (and for the man to whom the sacrifice is celebrated), as well as the two parts of the cosmos "earth and heaven" *eše ḫawurni*, followed by "mountains and rivers". In the Anatolian-Hurrian lists "the gods of the father" and "earth and heaven" are preceded by the major gods. In the Ugaritic-Hurrian ones, however, a "god the father" (*eni attanni*), here in the singular and without the genitive (-*bi*), stays at the beginning because one has to match the Babylonian theological order. The influence is mutual. Only in one case (II d) there is a plural: *enna-šta attanna-[-šta-]ma* "to the gods the fathers", which reflects the

³⁰ See Pope, El, 47-54; de Moor, El.

³¹ So de Moor, El, 186.

³² Cf. Pope, El, 49-54, who is very cautious about this matter: "All the Ugaritic allusions to El's creativity are in terms of generation and paternity".

Hurrian idea of plurality for those gods. They are always preceded by a mysterious "god šalanni" (*eni šalanni*; in II d, in the plural: *enna-šta šalanna-šta-ma*) who is attested also in the Anatolian-Hurrian lists.³³ In the Ugaritic lists "Il the father" (*ilib* / DINGIR *a-bi*) is preceded in one case (I b) by an otherwise unknown Il Safon (*il špn*) created only in order to make this list as complete as possible. Further, there are: Il, Dagan, Baal (Safon), in this sequence because one has to respect the Hurrian order according to generations: El (who stands for Anu), Kumarpi, Tešup. One offering list has the sequence: Ilib, earth and heaven (*arš wa šmm*), Koṭarot, Dagan, Baal Safon, where also the order: "earth and heaven" shows Hurrian influence".³⁴

a	b	c	d	
Ugaritica V 18 gods lists	KTU 1.47 gods list	KTU 1.118 gods list	KTU 1.148 offering list	
DINGIR a-bi	il špn il[i]b	ilib	ilib	ilib arš w šmm
DINGIR-lum	il[]	il	il	il kṭrt
^d Dagan	dgn	dgn	dgn	dgn
^d IM be-el	b'[l š]pn	b'l špn	b'l špn	b'l špn
Ḫur.sag.Ḫazi	b'lm	b'lm	b'lm	

I Ugaritic lists

a	b	c	d
KTU 1.110 gods lists	KTU 1.111 ritual	CTA 166 ritual	KTU 1.116 ritual
in ṭln(d)			in(tt) ṭlnn(ṭtm)
in atn(d)	in atn(d)	in atn	en(tt) atn[ṭt]m
il(d)	il(d)	il	il(d)
ṭṭb(d)	ṭṭb(d)	kmr̄b	ṭṭb(d)
	kmr̄bn(d)	ṭṭb hlbg	

II Hurrian lists from Ugarit

³³ Laroche, Glossaire, 212.

³⁴ Part of the data are already tabulated by Nougayrol and Laroche, Ugaritica V, 44 and 519-520.

The introduction of Ilib, the gods' ancestor, in these lists was facilitated by the relevance of the cult of the ancestors in human society. It was prescribed to a son to honor "his ancestral god", *ilibh* (Aqhat poem, KTU 1.17 I 27, 45, IV 16), a cult well attested in Syria already in the Ebla age. The dead kings were considered tutelary beings in Ugarit as well as in Ebla, receiving the qualification of "god", *il* and Sumerian *dingir* in Ugarit and in Ebla, respectively. The Eblaite offering lists include a "god of the father", *dingir a-mu*, for the king, the queen and the princes, who could be the deceased father. It is also probable that "the god / gods of the king / queen", *dingir(-dingir) en / maliktum* have to be considered deified ancestors.³⁵

It is certainly correct to evaluate the God of Israel in the light of the Ugari-tic evidence. Israel was formed in Canaanite milieu! In fact, Yahwe who was equated to El became the God of an urban society, and the redactors of the Old Testament (in large part a rather late source) were surely well acquainted with the theology about Il which had developed in the Canaanite centres.

But the El of the Patriarchs' age was something different. As far as he is concerned, it is more proper to refer to the Eblaite evidence, which reveals to us Il as a deity of a pre-urban society. That holds good both for the revised Alt's theory, which maintained that Israel emerged from pastoral tribes settled at the periphery of the city-state, and for the theory according to which Israel formed in the rural settlements of those city-states. Their El was a tutelary god of the group, whose epiphanies were linked to rather primary needs: procreation for continuity of the group, and protection. Yahwe was assimilated first with this El, and then with the El of the cities. The long process towards monotheism began at a later stage.

³⁵ Archi, *Cult of the Ancestors*.

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THE GOD EA IN ANATOLIA

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THE GOD EA IN ANATOLIA

ALFONSO ARCHI – Rome

In her study on the iconography of the Anatolian group of cylinder seals from Kültepe, Nimet Özgüç examines also the representations of Ea and his vizier Isimu/Usmu, and recalls how H. Frankfort "pointed out that the two-faced god is a type transmitted from the Akkadian repertoire to the Colony period".¹

Probably also the representation of Ea, with streams of water rising from his shoulders, was included in the local iconographic repertoire without the worship of that god having assumed in that age any importance to the people of Anatolia. In the Old Hittite texts Ea is never mentioned.²

He appears in the list of deities invoked as witnesses in the political treaties beginning from the 14th century.³ These lists reflect a theological order. At their head are the Sun-god of heaven and the Sun-goddess of Arinna; the Weather-god of Hatti follows, together with other Weather gods, then come several tutelars-gods (KAL); the Lady of the Underworld: Babylonian Allatum, Hattian Lelwani; Ea and his wife Damkina; Telepinu, designated by his cult-centers; several other deities⁴. It is not obvious why Lelwani/Allatum and Ea were inserted among the two groups of hypostases of Kal and Telepinu. Ea is associated with Allatum inasmuch as he is the god of the sweet waters, the ocean that is under the earth: the Abzu. As such, Ea/Enki was also the god of fertility in Mesopotamia (as Telepinu is the Anatolian god who causes nature to be reborn and produces abundance), but it is uncertain whether this function of his was known to the Hittites.

These are the passages of the treaties in which Ea occurs:

a) Suppiluliuma-Huqqana; KAL, ^DA.A.-aš, Ishtar (J.Friedrich, *Staatsv.* II, p. 112 1.50; this treaty has not yet the canonic order)

b) Suppiluliuma - Sattiwaza, and Sattiwaza - Suppiluliuma: KAL, Liliwani, ^DÉ.A-aš, Damkina, Telepinu (E. Weidner, *PD*, p. 30 1.44, and p. 50 1.16).

¹ N. Özgüç, *Kültepe mühür baskılarında Anadolu grubu - The Anatolian Group of Cylinder Seal Impressions from Kültepe*, Ankara 1965, pp. 60-61.

² See H.Hirsch, *Untersuchungen zur altassyrischen Religion (AfO, Beiheft 13/14)* p. 16, who quotes the letter kt a/k 611 1.10: "Whom have I to send to Ea's daughter?", with the remark: "meines Wissens einziger Beleg".

³ The name of Ea is written in the Hittite sources as following; ^DÉ.A, ^DA.A., ^DEN.K ^DEN.KI. Originally the god's name was: *hayyu(m)*, as it is shown by the bilingual lexical lists from Ebla of the 3rd mill., which have: ^DEn-ki = ^Dà-u. In the 13th cen. the name was red: *lja-*, as it is proven by Yazilikaya no. 39: ^Dl/1a (*HH* no. 209); cfr. alphabetic Ugaritic: ^Di 'e-y = 1/Eya, see E. Laroche, *Glossaire de la langue hourrite, RHA* 34-35 (1976-1977) pp. 76-77. In the hieroglyphic inscriptions of the 1st mill. the name is written: ^DI-ja, see Laroche, *Syria* 31 (1954) p. 99 ff. For the Lycian PNs beginning with *ja-* see G. Neumann, in: *Florilegium Anatolicum, Mél. E. Laroche*, Paris 1975, p. 265. Cfr. now F. Starke, *Untersuchungen zur Stammbildung des keilschrift-luwischen Namens*, Wiesbaden 1990, p. 34 note 31.

⁴ Cfr. O.R. Gurney, *Some Aspects of Hittite Religion*, London 1977, pp. 4-6.

In the Mitannian pantheon the order is: Teshup, ^DÉ.A-LUGAL *ḫa-zi-zi*, Anu, Antum, Enlil, Ninlil (PD, p. 32 1.55); and in the Sattiwaza-Suppiluliuma version: Teshup, ^DÉ.A EN *ḫa-ši-ši*, Su-muqan of Gurda, Anu, Antu, Enlil, Ninlil (PD, p. 52 1.40)

c) Suppiluliuma - Tette: KAL, ^DÉ.A, Allatum, Telepinu (PD, p. 66 1.21).

d) Mursili - Duppi-Teshup: KAL, ^DA.A-aš, Allatu, Telepinu (G.del Monte, *Il trattato fra Mursili II di Hattusa e Niqmepa' di Ugarit*, Roma 1986, p. 172 1.20)

e) Mursili-Niqmepa: KAL, ^DA.A-aš, Allatu, Telepinu (*Trattato*, p. 28 1.94)

f) Mursili-Manapa-Datta: KAL, Allatu, ^DEN.KI, Telepinu (*Staatsv*, II, p. 14 1.B 9)

g) Muwatalli - Alaksandu: KAL, Allatu, ^DA.A-as, Telepinu (*Staatsv*, II, p. 78 1.11)

h) Tuthaliya-Sausgamuwa; KAL,] ^DA.A, Allatu [(C. Kühne-H.Otten, *Der Sausgamuwa-Vertrag*, *StBoT* 16, Wiesbaden 1971, p. 20 1.12).

i) Suppiluliuma II: KAL, ^DÉ.A-aš, Lelwani, Telepinu (*ABoT* 56 II 1.12).

The pantheon of a prayer of Muwatalli is listed instead according to cult centers; therefore the theological order is less evident. Here, after the Sun-god of Heaven, the Sun-goddess of Arinna and the other gods of Arinna; the gods of Samuha; the gods of Katapa; all the gods of Hatti follow: Weather-god, Sun-god, the god KAL of Hattu, Teshup and Hepat of Aleppo worshiped in Hattu, Ea and Damkina, the god of war ZABABA, the deified throne Halmasuitta, Allatum (Lelwani) and Ishtar of Niniveh⁵. Therefore, with Muwatalli, five amongst the major deities of the region of Hatti (i.e. Hattusa) do not belong to the Old Hittite tradition, but were passed down by the Hurrians: they are the two pairs Teshup - Hepat of Aleppo, Ea - Damkina, and Ishtar of Niniveh.

Finally, the pantheon of the open-air shrine of Yazılıkaya, of the time of Tuthaliya IV, is entirely Hurrian. The procession of the gods is opened by Teshup, who is followed by Tasmisu (?) the "Pure Brother of Teshup", Kumarpi (identified by an ear of grain), Ea, the male form of Ishtar-Sausga, with his two attendants Ninatta and Kulitta, Kusuḫ the Moon-god, Simegi the Sun-god, and several other gods.

Ea, with Damkina (who appears in Yazılıkaya as Tapkina in the procession of the goddesses), therefore occupied a permanent place among the major Hurrian gods, as E.Laroche demonstrated long ago.⁶

The introduction in Hatti of those major Hurrian deities was facilitated by the fact that the Hurrians had already identified equivalencies for them (with the exception of Hepat) with the Sumerian-Akkadian gods, which in large part were no more than a purely nominal fact inasmuch as it was the habit of cuneiform writing to express (as much as possible) divine names with Sumerograms. Thus we have Teshup, the Weather-god: U, IM; Kumarpi: EN.LÍL; Sausga: ÍŠTAR, U.DAR; Tasmisu: ^DIB, ^DNIN.URTA; Simegi, the Sun-god: UTU; Kusuḫ, the Moon-god: EN.ZU, XXX). The Hittites had behaved in the same way with their gods.

Instead, Ea, the "lord of wisdom", whose advice resolves critical situations, as is outlined in the Hurrian myths, is substantially the same god of the Akkadian pantheon. In these compositions, the Mesopotamian elements are exterior, except for the epic style, probably influenced by Akkadian models. But with Ea the Hurrians understood a particular function of the divine. The other gods are the manifestations of certain specific powers; Ea is the wisdom that guides them. Also in other pantheons there are gods who were turned to overcome adversity. In general, they were minor gods, the-

⁵ KUB VI 45 1.50-53; J.Garstang - O.R.Gurney, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire*, London 1959, pp. 116-119.

⁶ E.Laroche, *JCS* 2 (1948) pp. 114-121.

refore more familiar and close, such as the Hittite Hannahanna, the “Mother-goddess”, who is on mankind’s side, as is stated specifically in a ritual: “To the gods allotments are given ...but for Hannahanna there did not remain a place; so for her, mankind remained (as) a place.”⁷ It is Hannahanna who, after all efforts of the other gods have failed, is able to indicate an act which in the end will lead to the restoration of order (Myths of Telepinu, KUB XVII 10, and of the Vanished Storm-god, KUB XXXIII 24+). Ea, instead, is a god of first rank in the Mesopotamian pantheon, who to the Hurrians probably represented a culture they felt was superior to their own.

The case of Ugarit is different. To that pantheon belonged Kothar (a name derived from KŠR, Akk. *kašāru* “to repair, achieve”), the craftsman who excels for his ability as an artisan. Since he “knows” how to create objects and construct buildings, he assumes the epithet of *ḥasīs* “wise” (in the myths he appears with the double name of *kt-r-w-ḥss*) and is made to correspond to Ea.⁸ Therefore, the Hurrians had assumed of Ea the basic function, and from amongst the numerous Akkadian epithets they chose the one which most directly denoted him under that aspect. In Ugarit, instead, there was a transfer of functions, and the same epithet, assimilated from the Hurrians, came to mean manual dexterity.

In the Hurrian myths in Hittite, Ea acts precisely according to the Babylonian model of “lord of wisdom”, *bēl ḥasīsī*. In *Kumarpi* Ea seems to help the unnatural births with which Kumarpi frees himself of the creatures with which he had been impregnated (col. II). And he plays an active role in the rest of the poem, which, however, is not possible to define because of extremely fragmentary state of the text (III 15: Ea, lord of wisdom and watery depths, ^DA.A]-aš *ḥa-at-ta-an-na-aš ḥar-šum-na-aš EN-aš*; IV 10: ^{URU}*Ab-zu-u-wa*, 10 and 12: ^DA.A-aš *ḥa-at-ta-an-(na-aš EN-aš)*)⁹ In *Ullikummi* Teshup and Tasmisu go to Apsuwa, where Ea lives (before whom they bow “fifteen times”) to ask him for advice about how to overwhelm Ullikummi. Ea intervenes directly to obtain from the Primeval Gods the sickle with which to cut Ullikummi from his base, the sickle which was used at the beginning to separate heaven from earth.¹⁰ In *Hedammu* Ea is “king of wisdom”, *ḥaddannas* / *GALGA-aš LUGAL-uš*, who reproaches Kumarpi for wishing the destruction of mankind and therefore for causing the ruin of the gods, who are now deprived of sacrifices.¹¹ Not only in the Hurrian myths in translation, but also in the texts in Hurrian, the usual title of Ea is: “(lord of) wisdom”, Hurr. *madi*, which corresponds to the Akk. *ḥasīsu*, Hitt. *ḥattatar*, and which occurs not rarely with the Akkadian term in a hendiadys: *madi ḥazzizi*. Both can be deified: ^DA.A ^DDAM.KI.NA ^{DAK}^DNISABA ^DMa-a-ti ^DḤa-az-zi-zi.¹² A third epithet is: *šarri* “king”, which in the Anatolian milieu must be understood as: “king (of wisdom)”¹³ The Anatolian rituals of Emar also list *madi* deified,

⁷ KUB XXX 29 obv. 9-15, see G. Beckman, *Hittite Birth Rituals (StBoT 29)*, Wiesbaden 1983, pp. 22-23.

⁸ See *Ugaritica V*, p. 248, l. 19.

⁹ See P. Meriggi, *Athenaeum* NS 31 (1953) pp. 114-127.

¹⁰ Güterbock, *Ullikummi*, *JCS* 6 (1952) pp. 40-47.

¹¹ KUB XXXIII 100+ and duplicates III 8 ff., see J. Siegelová, *Appu-Märchen und Hedammu-Mythus (StBoT 14)*, Wiesbaden 1971, pp. 46-47. The Akkadian equivalences to *GALGA* are *milku* and *iēmu*, see the passages quoted in *CAD M*, 2, p. 67: *milku*, for Ea giving his “advice” in the assembly of the gods. The Hittite reading for *GALGA* is *ḥattatar*, Akk. *ḥasīsu*, see H.G. Güterbock, *Kumarpi*, Zürich-New York 1946, p. 55 f. A. Kammenhuber, *ZA* 56 (1964) p. 203 note 98 no 3. Ea is said: *ḥaddannas LUGAL-uš* again in *Hedammu*, KUB XXXIII 10 II 7, see Siegelová, *Appu*, p. 48.

¹² For *madi ḥazzizi*, see Laroche, *Glossaire*, p. 163: *madi*. They occur deified in: KUB XX 59 I 25-26, 28-29; LI 79 Vs. III 15-16; KBo XIII 151, 1-4; XI 15, 5-6, festival of the AN.TAḤ.ŠUM (see below). Much documentation on *madi* is given by A. Kammenhuber, *Dier Arier im Vorderen Orient*, Heidelberg 1968, pp. 132-141; Cfr. E. Neu, in: *Studien zum indogermanischen Wortschatz*, hrsg. W. Meid, Innsbruck 1987, pp. 180-181. For the quotations of *madi* in Hurrian texts, see Laroche, *Glossaire*, p. 100, 163. Cfr. the PN Ea-*madi* attested in Alalah IV, see D.J. Weisman, *AT*, p. 132; *JCS* 13 (1959) p. 100. However, *madi* occurs in PNs also connected to other DNs, like Teshup and Nikkal, see Kammenhuber, loc. cit.

¹³ See the passage of *Hedammu* quoted above. But in the Mesopotamian sources *šar apsi* is a very frequent epithet of Ea, see H.D. Galter, *Der Gott EA/Enki in der akkadischen Überlieferung*, Dissertation Graz 1981, pp. 43-45. Ea-šarri is a name in use in Mitanni and Syria, cfr. Laroche, *Glossaire*, p. 77: Mit. I 77, 101; Mitannian pantheon in the Suppliuma-Mattiwaza treaty, KBo I 1 Rs. 55 = 2 Rs. 31: Ea-LUGAL EN *ḥasīsī*; Hurrian texts: KUB XLVII 2, 14.

Emar VI.3 472, 60; 473, 13; 483, 4-5: ^dMa-a-di ^dNè.iri₁₁.gal à ^dVII.bi,¹⁴ just as the Hurrian documents in alphabetic writing from Ugarit, RS 24.274, 11: *Eya-da-ma Ĥazzi-da-ma*.¹⁵

It was therefore above all through the Kumarpi cycle that the personality of Ea was made known to Hattusa.¹⁶ But in the Hittite religious practice, the god was introduced with the Hurrian cults, even if some elements were assimilated directly from Babylonia. The hymn to Adad KBo III 21, known to us only in the Hittite version (which most likely dates back to the 15th cent.) describes Ea as the deity who established cosmic order in the depths of the abysses: "Dir (Adad), in (deinem) Gemüt ist es gegeben, zu deuten die Worte des Himmels und der Erde: die Ordnung (*ĥatrieš-šar*), die Ea festgelegt hat in der Tiefe (*ĥuwanĥuišni*); zu untersuchen das günstige 'Fleisch' und das ungünstige 'Fleisch'".¹⁷ Further, in *Gilgamesh*, which the Hittites had translated and of which they knew both the Akkadian original and the Hurrian version, the great gods sit in assembly in canonic order: Anu, Enlil, Ea and the Sun-god of Heaven.¹⁸ Ea is invoked also in a great Akkadian ritual.¹⁹

For the Hurrians, Ea was an active god, and with the same rank that he had in Babylonia. Ea plays an important role in the Hurrian rituals *itkalzi*, "purification of the mouth", for Tasmisarri and Taduhepa (the Hittite royal couple), and *itkaĥi*, "purification...", for Tasmisarri (to be dated to the beginning of the 14th cent.), fashioned after models going back to the north-Syrian milieu.

itkalzi - Ea Damkina: *ChS* I, 1 nos. 5 III 58; 9 I 19-20 (Kumarpi, Salus Bitinhi, Ea, Sauska Damkina); 11 Rs. 13; 12 I 9.

itkaĥi - Ea is quoted together with Teshup: *ChS* I, 1 nos. 1 Vs. 4; 3 Vs. 43-48 (1.43: Ea *ma-di*; 46: *uruApzu*)

Ritual for Tasmisarri - Ea *madi/madunni* is quoted together with Teshup: *ChS* I, 1 no. 43 II 13, III 25, IV 4, 15

Ritual quoting the kings of Akkad: *ChS* I, 5 no. 87 IV 16 (Ea is quoted after a king of Tukris)

Ritual of Allaiturahi from Mukis: *ChS* I, 5 nos. 23 II 14-16 (an invocation where Ea is quoted after Teshup, Hapat and Sauska), and 19 III 46 (a similar invocation in Hittite)

In any case, the majority of the Hurrian religious texts come from Kizzuwatna, like the great festival *ĥišuwa*.

Ĥišuwa-festival of Manuzija (Kizzuwatna; Hattusili III) - Ea Damkina after Ninatta Kulitta: KBo XV 47+ V 56 (followed by Adamma Kupapa); KUB XII 12 IV 16; XXVII 10 IV 17,²⁰ further: KBo XV 37 II 27, IV 31; XVII 98 V 27; XXXIII 181 Vs. 4-6 (followed by Hutena Hutellura); KUB XL 100 II 7 and 9.

Various rituals and festivals of Hurrian origin, in the sections regarding offerings, list the deities according to an order with few variations. And a segment of these lists is taken directly from the Babylonian canon, which has Anu, Enlil, Ea, Šamaš, Sin, Adad in the first places. The Hurrians eliminate Anu (classified by them as a "primeval god") and place at the head their Weather-god, Tes-

¹⁴ D. Arnaud, *Recherches au pays d'Astata, Emar* VI. 3, Paris 1986.

¹⁵ *Ugaritica* V, pp. 504-05.

¹⁶ Other fragmentary texts, mostly probably belonging also to the cycle of Kumarpi, are: KUB XXXIII 117-RHA 82 (1968) pp. 79-80; XXXIII 32 = RHA 82, p. 78 (1.9: ^b]Ē.A-aš U-UL ša-a-ak-ti an-na-az x]; KBo XIII 83, 3; ^b]Ē.A-mar-la-an-za], where it seems that Ea receives the title of "idiot"!; XXVI 81; XXVI 118.

¹⁷ See A. Goetze, *JCS* 2 (1948) pp. 149-50; and for an edition of the whole text and this translation, see Archi, *Or.* 52 (1983) pp. 22-26.

¹⁸ KUB VIII 48 I 4, see J. Friedrich, *ZA* 39 (1929) pp. 16-19; cfr. R. Stefanini, *JNES* 28 (1969) p. 40.

¹⁹ KUB IV 47 Rs. 4: Ea and Bunene; 7: Mount Elpati and Ea; 46-47: *šūi* ^oĒ.A. *izzizani šūi* ^oĒ.A. *naphar*.

²⁰ For these passages, see A. Dinçol, *Belleleten* 53 (1989) pp. 21, 26, 27.

hup; he is followed by Tasmisu, the “Pure Brother of Teshup”, who corresponds to Anatolian Suwalijat and whose name is written with the Sumerograms NIN.URTA and IB; then comes Kumarpi, who corresponds to Enlil and “Grain”, Halki, NISABA; the Moon-god Kusuh, usually written EN.ZU (Sin) or XXX; and the Sun-god Simegi, written UTU (Šamaš).²¹

1) Ritual of Ammihatna - KBo V 2 II 58-III 2: Teshup, Teshup's Pure Brother, Kumarpi, Ea, EN.ZU,UTU; 2)Bo 4811 II 18 ff. and KBo XXIV 47 III 1 ff. (see KBo XXIV, p. VI sub no. 47): Teshup, NIN.URTA, Kumarpi, Ea, EN.ZU, UTU; 3) KBo XXIV 59 IV 14-17: Teshup, Tasmisu, Kumarpi, Ea, 4) KUB XXXIV 102 II 3-8 = III 17-25: Suwalijat, Halki/NISABA, Ea, EN.ZU, UTU; 5) KUB XXXII 84 I 14-22: Suwalijat, NISABA, Ea, UTU *SAME*; 6) ritual for Teshup of Aleppo - KBo XIV 142 I 1-7 = KUB XXVII 13 I 1-5: several hypostases of Teshup, NIN.URTA, Ea, Nisaba, ENZU, UTU, *SAME*; 7) ritual for Teshub of Manuzija in Kizzuwatna (Mursili II) - KBo XI 5 I 8-16: several hypostases of Teshup, IB, Kumarpi, Ea, Sin, Simegi; 8) ritual for Sauska of Samuha (Mursili II; new redaction of Hattusili III)-KUB XXVII 1 I 47-61: several hypostases of Teshup, Tasmisu, Ishtar, Kumarpi, Ea, EN.ZU, UTU; in II 17-22 list of the viziers of Sauska, Teshup, Kumarpi, Ea (whose vizier is Izummi), Simegi and Hesui; 9) KUB XLI 55 Vs. 4-7: Teshup of Samuha, IB Halki Ea UTU [X], NIN.GAL; 10) KBo XXXIII 208 II 1-4:] NISABA, Ea, EN.ZU, UTU; 11) KUB XLI 48 IV 10-15: Teshup, Suwalijat, Halki, Ea, EN:ZU; 12) IBoT I 23 III 5-20: Teshup of Durmitta, Suwalijat, NISABA, Ea, Sin, UTU *SAME*; 13) KUB IV 19, 1-3: Ea, Sin, UTU; 14) KBo VII 27, 3-7: Teshup, [X], Ea, NISABA, UTU *SAME*.

A certain number of texts present non-canonic lists, obviously dictated by local cultural traditions, where male and female deities occur alongside one another.

1) KUB X 92 V 2-7: IB, Sarruma, DINGIR^{MES}.LÚ^{MES}, Ea, Sin, UTU; 2) KBo XI 28 III 8-34: UTU *SAME*, Kumarpi, Ea Damkina, KAL; 3) KBo XII 136 I 2-6: Ishtar of Samuha, KAL, Elladura, Ea, Damkina; 4) KBo XIV 139 II 5-14: Hepat Sarruma, Taru Takitu, Umbu NIN.GAL, Ea; 5) KUB X 27 III 1-5: Taru Takitu, Ea Damkina, Aja UTU; 6) KUB XLVI 7 Vs. 11-15: Hepat Musuni, Ea Damkina, Aja UTU; 7) KBo XXV 190 = ChS I,2 83 Vs. 22-27: Hepat, UTU, Sarruma, Ea Damkina; 8) KBo XXVII 191 II 9-11: Ninatta Kulitta, Ea Damkina; 9) KUB XXXII 52 III 5-6; Umbu, NIN.GAL, Kumarpi, Ea, Astapi; 10) IBoT II 26, 3-5:] Ea Damkina, Umbu NIN.GAL.

In some lists, Ea and Damkina are linked to the two Hurrian deities who establish fate: Hute-na and Hutellura (*hur-* “to mark, write”), or also to the Hittite ones: Gulses (*gulš-* “to mark, write”) and MAH (the Mother-goddess). According to the hymn to Adad (mentioned above) it is precisely Ea who “has established in the abysses his instructions (*hatressar*, from *harrai* “to write, prescribe”) that govern heaven and earth”.

1) KUB XXVII 5, 8-12: Ishara, Allani, DINGIR^{MES}-*na attanni*, Ea Damkina, Hutena Hutellura; 2) KBo XXIII 181 Vs. 4-6 (*hišuwu-* festival): Ea Damkina, Huttenu Hutelluza; 3) KBo XXVII 191 II 3-11: Gulses MAH, Ishara, [X X X], Ninatta Kulitta, Ea Damkina; 4) KBo XXIV 101 Rs. 4-6: Ea Damkina, MAH Gulses Tarawa; 5) KBo XXIV 71+ = ChS I,5 no. 76, 2-3: NIN.É.GAL, Ea [Damkina], Gulses [MAH].

In a ritual, KUB XVII 20 II 7, “health” is made to descend from Ea: “and behind him sits Health, son of Ea”, EGIR-ŠU-*ma*^DKi-el-ti DUMU^DA.A *e-es-zi*.

Introduced to Hattusa through the Hurrian cults, Ea finds a place also in some festivals of Hittian-Hittite tradition, something very rare among the Hurrian deities who had not found an equivalence with the Hittite ones (another case is that of Ishtar/Sauska). The great festival of the AN. TAḤ.ŠUM, whose final version dates to Tuthalija IV, dedicates the celebrations of the 29th day to

²¹ See Laroche, *JCS* 2 (1948) pp. 114-118, and the tabulation given by Güterbock, *RHA* 68 (1961) pp. 3-7.

Ea.²² In the outline, KBo X 20 III 41, is read “Next day the king and the queen go into the temple of Ea (in Hattusa)”. It is to be noted that the following day is dedicated to the Mother-goddess, which explains (for the reasons given above) why the worship of Ea was also thought to be pertinent to this festival.

First tablet. KUB XX 59 1 12: purification of the vizier Izzummi and Kali; 23-32: sheep are sacrificed to Ea, Ea Damkina, Ea Damkina AK NISABA Madi Hazzizi, Ea Damkina [AK] NISABA Madi Hazzizi [MAḤ] Gulses, Ea Damkina[; further offerings in III 6-9: Ea Damkina [X MAḤ] Gulses, Izzummi Kali, and 13, 21: Ea, Izzummi; IV 13-24: Ea, Damkina, [MAḤ Gulses]; V 9 and 14: Izzummi; VI 1: Izzummi and Kali, 14-16: MAḤ Gulses, Izzummi Kali.

KBo IV 140 (parallel text); the offerings and sacrifices are according to the following order, I 3-18: [Ea Damkina A]K NISABA, [Ea Damkina A]K NISABA [Madi Hazzizi MAḤ] Gulses, [Ea Damkina A]K NISABA [Madi Hazzizi] Izzummi [Kali], [Ea Damkina A]K NISABA [...] Allani, [Ea Damkina AK] NISABA[; III 10-20: Ea, Damkina,]MAḤ [Gulses, Izzummi Kali,]MAḤ [Gulses Izzummi] Kali[.

Second tablet. KBo XIII 151 I 2-5: Ea Damkina [AK] NISABA Madi Hazzizi Gulses MAḤ [X]; KUB LI 79 III 15-17 (dupl. KBo XIII 128 III): Ea Damkina AK NISABA Madi Hazzizi Izzummi SUKKAL Kali.

Cfr. KUB XI 27 I 4-5:]PU ANE²³ an-na-al-li DĒ.A.DĒ.A [...] DINGIR^{MES}.LÚ^{MES} ḪUR.SAG^{MES}.

The deities associated with Ea in the celebrations that take place in his temple define the god's personality and sphere of action. Ea is coupled, as usual, with Damkina, and is followed by Nabu and Nisaba. Nabu, whose name is written ^DAK, occurs in Hattusa only in this group of texts.²³ He is the god who presides over writing, the protector of the scribes and, therefore, like Ea, he belongs to the sphere of wisdom. Since Nabu does not appear in the Hurrian lists, his introduction into Ea's circle in Hattusa is due to the Hittites on the basis of their knowledge of the Babylonian pantheon. Nisaba, too, originally the goddess of grain, presides over writing and the sciences; the Sumerogram NISABA occurs in the Hurrian lists because Kumarpi is associated with Dagan, and Dagan with grain. The deity who finds his place in Ea's temple is the deity of the sciences. He is followed by the Gulses and the Mother-goddess, the goddesses who establish fate, who “shape man”,²⁴ and know the unfolding of his life. Finally, as usual, his vizier Izzummi (Isimu) belongs to Ea's circle, followed by Kali.

Another result of the integration of the Hurrian cults with the Hittite ones is the inclusion of Ea (and Sauska) in the “Festival of the month”, KUB II 13 V 36-37: “The king drinks Ea with a cup, [the singer sings in Hattian(!)]”. Moreover, in the festival where the NIN.DINGIR (*CTH* 649) acts, Ea appears in a list that has various minor gods, KBo X 27 IV 18-23: Parga, Ea, Allatum, the deified throne Halmasuita, Hanzunzi, MAḤ... (Halmasuita and Allatum occur together with Ea also in the Muwatalli's prayer, KUB VI 45, quoted above).

As god of wisdom, Ea is mentioned in some rituals because he oversees the construction of buildings. Here there is a point of contact with the Ugaritic Kothar. KUB IV 1+ Vs. 31-34 (dups. KUB II 2+, KUB IX 33); “The Male Gods have been the craftsmen in building it (i.e. the temple). Telepinu has laid the foundations. The walls above them, Ea, the king of wisdom, has built (them).

²² The 28th and 29th days of the festival are treated by M.Popko and P. Taracha, *AoF* 15 (1988) pp. 82-113; for this reason transliterations are omitted here.

²³ It has been suggested to read Nabu in a letter from Amarna, EA 32 = VBoT 2, see F.Sommer - A.Falkenstein, *HAB*, p. 98; followed by L. Rost, *MIO* 4 (1956) p.329, and W.L.Moran (et alii), *Les lettres d'el-Amarna*, Paris 1987, p. 195. In the postscript the scribe wish to his Egyptian colleague to be protected by a god, whose name was read: ⁰PA-as! But one has to read (II. 16-17); ⁰Ē.A![-as] *ḫattannas* LUGAL-*u*š; see now the parallel formula in, *Mst.* 2, 19-20; 3,18-19, in: S. Alp, *Heitische Briefe aus Maşar-Höyük*, Ankara 1991, pp. 122-125.

²⁴ See Otten-Siegelová, *AJO* 23 (1970) p. 33, 11.16-17, and pp. 37-38.

Timber and stones all the Mountain(-gods) have brought (them). The mortar, the goddesses have brought (it).²⁵ In another ritual regarding the construction of buildings, KBo XV 24+ (dupl. KBo XIII 114), this time of Hurrian tradition (not Hittite like the other one) the principal role is played by the goddess NIN.É.MU.UN.DÜ, who has a speaking name: "Lady who has built the house". Beside her is Ea, who receives numerous offerings, among the significant ones is that of "10 ears of bread", 10 *hazizi SA NINDA* (III 3-6)²⁶ Hazzizi, as stated, is a loan-word from the Akk. *hazisu* "ear; understanding; wisdom", and bread in the form of an ear alludes directly to the wisdom of the god,²⁷ who here, too, must guarantee with his experience the solidity of the construction.

To the Luwian tradition of Kizzuwatna belongs the ritual against an epidemic KUB IX 31, where Ea, too, is invoked, II 30-31: "Great Sun, Father gods and Ea..."²⁸.

Ea was therefore introduced into Anatolia as the god of wisdom through the Hurrians, and his personality was exemplified by the stories of the Kumarpi cycle. In Hattusa he was not assimilated simply as a god of Teshup's circle. A temple was dedicated to him (at least in the 13th cent.); he was invoked amongst the major gods to guarantee political treaties and, because of his expertise, he was called to preside over the construction of buildings.

Perhaps, however, precisely because of his characteristics as adviser of the other gods he had relative importance in daily religious life. Only once is there recorded a votive offering for Ea, KBo VIII 63 I 3-4; "The matter her Majesty knows about [...] then Ea and All[...]. And only once is he the subject of a question to an oracle, KUB XVI 60 III 2: -[x-mi]É.A LUGAL-wa-kán [.

For the Hittites of Northern Syrian of the 1st millennium B.C., Ea is still one of the most important gods.²⁹ In Maraş 1 he comes immediately after the Weather-god Tarhun as well as in Tell Ahmar 1 and 2, where he receives the ancient title of "king". In Çiftlik II. 3-4 one reads: "On the one hand Tarhun and Hepat sit, [and on the other] Ea and Kupapa sit, and on the other Saruma and Alasuwa sit"³⁰ In Karatepe: "Tarhun of Heaven, the Sun of Heaven, Ea and all the gods", while the Phoenician version has instead of Ea: *El qn'rs*.

²⁵ See N.Boysan-Dietrich, *Das hethitische Lehmhaus* (TH 12), Heidelberg 1987, pp. 50-51; cfr. Goetze, *ANET*, p. 356.

²⁶ Boysan-Dietrich, *Lehmhaus*, pp. 69-71. Ea is quoted several times also in the duplicate KBo XIII 114 II-III (III 12: Ea Gulla Hepat), *ibid.*, pp. 70-75.

²⁷ Cfr. H.A. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum*, New Haven 1974, p. 160.

²⁸ See Laroche, *DLL*, p. 37 sub *-ha*; transcription in: Starke, *Die keilschrift-luwischen Texte in Umschrift* (StBoT 30), Wiesbaden 1985, p. 53.

²⁹ The name of the good was identified by Laroche, *Syria* 31 (1954), pp. 99-107.

³⁰ J.D. Hawkins - A. Morpurgo Davies, *AnSt* 28 (1978) p. 109.

KAMRUŠĚPA AND THE SHEEP
OF THE SUN-GOD

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Kamrušepa and the Sheep of the Sun-God

Alfonso ARCHI

In the Telepinu myth, the god, with his disappearance, provokes the paralysis of men, animals, and nature, and threatens the very survival of the gods. When the bee finds him and stings him, he becomes even more angry¹. Then a ritual is performed to appease him. But the god is still angry. Version I, KUB XVII 10, runs as follows:

(II 33-36, III 1-2) Telepinu came in his fury. Lightning flashed, it thundered while the dark earth was in turmoil. Kamrušepa saw him and moved [with] the eagle's wing. She stopped it, namely, anger. She stopped it, the wrath. She stopped [sin]. She stopped sullenness.

(III 3-7) Then Kamrušepa says to the gods: "Go, O gods! See! Bring the Sun-God's sheep to Ḫapantali² and select twelve rams, so that I will treat Telepinu's *karaš*-grains. I have taken a basket with a thousand eyes (i.e. a sieve with many holes), and I have poured *karaš*-grains upon the rams of Kamrušepa.

(III 8-12) I have made a burning over and off Telepinu, from one side and from the other side. And I have taken from Telepinu, from his body, his evil; I have taken his sin; I have taken his anger; I have taken his wrath; I have taken his ire; I have taken his sullenness."

(III 13-16) When Telepinu was angry, his soul and his heart were stifled (like) brushwood. Just as they burned these sticks of brushwood, may the anger, wrath, sin, and sullenness of Telepinu likewise burn up.

The celebration of the ritual — it is said — begins immediately after the finding of Telepinu (col. II x+1-32) with magic formulae that are also invocations to move the god: "Here [lie] figs. Just as [a fig] is sweet, so let [your soul], Telepinu, become sweet in the same way" (II 16-18). But it is Kamrušepa who establishes

¹ The classification according to various versions of the fragments preserving the myth, and the ritual connected with it, is owed to H. Otten, *Die Überlieferungen des Telepinu-Mythus* (MVAeG 46, 1; Leipzig 1942). The texts have been transliterated by E. Laroche, *RHA* 23 (1965) 88-110. A first translation has been given by A. Goetze, *ANET*² (1955) 126-128. For recent translations, see H. A. Hoffner Jr., *Hittite Myths* (Atlanta 1990) 14-20; F. Pecchioli Daddi - A. M. Polvani, *La mitologia ittita* (Brescia 1990) 71-87 (with a bibliography at p. 72).

The episode of the bee is preserved in its entirety only in the third version.

² Goetze, *ANET*² 127, followed by many scholars, translates: "Ḫapantali is shepherding the Sun-god's sheep." And Laroche, *RHA* 23 (1965) 94, transliterates: *ū[-e-ši-ja]*, but *Ḫa-pa-an-ta-li* does not have the nominative ending. Hoffner, *Myths* 16, translates: "Now tend the Sun God's sheep for Ḫapantali."

- 7 [UZ]^UKIR₁₄ UZU_{a-iš-ši-it} [UZU_{a-iš-ši-it}? ta-ak-ki]
 8 [hur-ḥ]u-uš-šu-uš ḥu-ur-ḥu-[...] ta-ak-ki]
 9 [UZU<sub>ḥ]a-aḥ-ri-iš-ši UZU[ḥa-aḥ-ri-... ta-ak-ki UZU_{ge-e-nu-uš-...}]
 10 [UZU_{ge-e}]-nu-uš-ši-it ta-a[k-ki]</sub>

(II x+1-4) Then Kamrušepa [says] to the gods: “[Go, O gods!] See! [Bring] [the Sun-God’s sheep] to Ḥapantali, select twelve rams, and treat Telepinu’s *karas*-grains.

(II 5-10) Its head matches his head; its forehead matches his forehead; its nose (matches) the nose; its mouth [matches his mouth]; its throat matches his throat; [its lung matches] his lung; its knee matches [his] knee.”

This version does not contain the short description of how the rams were to be prepared, and replaces the 1 sg. of the present with the 2 pl. of the imperative: “(select... and) treat...!”⁷ Therefore, the goddess herself does not perform the ritual, but enjoins that the ritual be performed according to her instructions. And this time the ritual is different: each part of the body of the person to be purified is made to correspond to that of the animal to be sacrificed so that the sickness may be eliminated⁸.

A variation of the theme of Kamrušepa and the Sun-God’s sheep is found in the short mythological section of another ritual, KUB XII 26 II, which — in contrast to those considered up to now — does not resort to the well-known mythical element of an angry god who disappears and who must be appeased⁹.

- 1 ^DUTU-uš-wa ^DKam-ru-ši-pa-aš-ša UDU^{HA} ki-iš-kán-zi
 2 nu-wa-ra-at-za-kán ḥa-an-na-(an-)ta-ti nu-wa-ra-at-za-kán
 3 ša-a-an-ta-ti nu-wa-za ^DKam-ru-ši-pa-aš šA AN.BAR ^{GIS}GU.ZA
 4 da-a-iš nu-wa-aš-ša-an A.BÁR ^{GIS}GA.ZUM SÍG
 5 da-a-iš nu-wa-kán šu-up-pl-in ÁŠ.SAL.GÁR-an
 6 ki-iš-ši-ir nu-wa-ra-an pí-iš-ši-ir
 7 nu-wa-ra-an-kán ar-ri-ir nu-wa-ra-an
 8 :am-ma-aš-ša-an-da nu-wa-ra-an A-NA DUMU.LÚ.U₁₉.LU
 9 a-ni-ja-u-wa-an-zi ḥar-kir nu DUMU.LÚ.U₁₉.LU
 10 12 ^{UZU}ÜR^{HA}-ŠU an-ni-eš-kán-zi
-
- 11 nu-wa-ra-an EGIR-pa a-li-ja-aš la-ga-na-aš
 12 e-eš-ša-an-zi nu-wa-ra-an EGIR-pa AMA-ni
 13 DUMU-an e-eš-ša-an-zi
-
- 14 ša-ra-a-wa-kán ne-pl-ša-aš ^DUTU-uš ú-it
 15 nu-wa-aš-ši EGIR-an nu-un-tar-nu-ut IGI-an-da
 16 ^DKam-ru-ši-pa-aš nu-un-tar-nu-ut nu-wa-ra-an
 17 EGIR-pa AMA-ni DUMU-an i-e-er

⁷ Less likely it is a 3 sg. of the preterit: “she (Kamrušepa) treated...”.

⁸ This kind of ritual has been studied by Haas, *Or* 40 (1971) 410-430.

⁹ See A. Goetze, *The Hittite Ritual of Tunnawi* (AOS 14; New Haven 1938) 88-89; Laroche, *RHA* 23 (1965) 168-169 (transliteration); cfr. Haas, *Or* 40 (1971) 423-424.

The Luwian word *ammašsa/i-* “to wipe (dry)” (l. 8), has been explained by H. Craig Melchert, *Historische Sprachforschung* 101 (1988) 211-214.

from the Sun-God's flocks. They are prepared in a way that is not entirely clear to us. Then, it seems that these victims are burned. The difficulties of interpretation are mostly lexical in nature since it is not certain that *kar-aš-šu-uš* (ll. 5, 6) is a spelling of *kar-aš*, a kind of cereal⁴. The transcription of the crucial passage is the following:

III 3 ^D*Kam-ru-še-pa-aš* DINGIR^{MES}-*na-aš* EGIR-*pa te-e-ez-zi i-it[-ten-wa]*
 4 DINGIR^{MES} *ka-a-aš-ma* ^D*Ĥa-pa-an-ta-li* ^DUTU-*aš* UDU^{HI.A}-*ŠU ū[-. . .]*
 5 *na-aš-ta* 12 UDU.NÍTA^{HI.A} *kar-aš-te-en nu* ^D*Te-li-bi-nu-wa-aš k[ar-*
aš-š]u-uš
 6 *a-ni-ja-mi da-a-aĥ-ĥu-un-za pát-tar* 1 LI-IM IGI^{HI.A}-*wa nu-uš-ša[-an]*
kar-aš-šu-uš
 7 *ša* ^D*Kam-ru-še-pa* UDU.NÍTA^{HI.A}-*ŠU iš-ĥu-u-uh-ĥu-un*

The same formulation is found in the parallel text of the Disappearance of the Storm-God, KUB XXXIII 28(+) III, in an extremely fragmentary passage that preserves only the last two lines, restored according to KUB XVII 10 III 6-7⁵:

x+1 *[da]-a[ĥ-ĥu-un-za pát-tar* 1 LI-IM IGI^{HI.A}-*wa nu-uš-ša-an kar-aš-šu-uš]*
 7 *[ša* ^D*Kam-[ru-še-pa* UDU.NÍTA^{HI.A}-*ŠU iš-ĥu-u-uh-ĥu-un]*

And the ritual that follows is the same one as that in the Disappearance of Telepinu.

There is another parallel text of this mythological section, KBo VIII 73 II (restored according to KUB XVII 10 III 3-5)⁶:

x+1 ^D*Kam-ru¹-še-pa-aš-ša* DINGIR^{MES}-*aš* EGI¹[(*r-pa te-e-ez-zi i-it-ten-wa*
 DINGIR^{MES}-*eš)]*
 2 *ka-a-aš-ma* ^D*Ĥa-ba-an-ta-ĭ(i* ^DUTU-*aš* UDU^{HI.A}-*ŠU ū[-. . .]*
 3 *nu-kán* 12 UDU.NÍTA^{MES} *kar-aš-te-e[(n nu* ^D*Te-li-bi-nu-wa-aš*
k)ar-aš-š(u-uš)]
 4 *a-ni-ja-at-* [ten]
 5 [s]AG.DU-SÚ *ĥa-la-aš-ša-an ta[-ak-ki*
 6 [SA]G.KI-*ša-aš-ša-an ĥa-an-z[a-. . . ta-ak-ki* UZU^{KIR.14}-*ŠU]*

³ There is no reason to see in this sequence two purifications of Telepinu, one by a mortal and one by Kamrušepa, as G. Kellermann thinks, in: H. A. Hoffner Jr. - G. M. Beckman (ed.), *Kaniššuar: A Tribute to H. G. Güterbock on his Seventy-fifth Birthday* (AS 23; Chicago 1986) 118-120). In the narration, the sequence of events follows a logic proper to the text, and the ritual passes from the human sphere to the divine, then again returning to the human.

⁴ A first important contribution to understanding this passage has been made by M. Popko, *JCS* 26 (1974) 181-182, who saw that *pát-tar* 1 LI-IM IGI^{HI.A}-*wa* means "sieve (of) a thousand eyes". This identification makes it probable that *kar-aš-šu-uš* refers to *kar-aš*, a cereal, here "*karasš*-grains", despite the fact that this term is probably an s-stem neuter. The passage is translated in this way by both Hoffner, *Myths* 16, who at first had rejected this interpretation (H. A. Hoffner Jr., *Alimenta Hethaeorum* [New Haven 1974] 74-75), and Pecchioli Daddi - Polvani, *Mitologia* 81. Haas, *Or* 40 (1971) 421, derived this term from *karš* - "to select".

⁵ Transliteration by Laroche, *RHA* 23 (1965) 117. Last translations: Hoffner, *Myths* 22; Pecchioli Daddi - Polvani, *Mitologia* 99.

⁶ This fragment has been transliterated and translated by Haas, *Or* 40 (1971) 422-423.

the goddess Malija; and Malija told it to the god Pirwa; and Pirwa told it to Kamrušepa. Kamrušepa harnessed her horses and went to the Great River. Kamrušepa is conjuring the Great River..."¹²

The first four of the rituals mentioned here require the sacrifice of one or more animals. Kamrušepa assumes the responsibility of prescribing the selection of the victims from the flocks of the Sun-God of Heaven. It is she who *founds* those rituals.

The mythical theme of procuring the sacrificial victims by taking them from a divine sphere is common to various cultures. What comes to mind immediately, limiting ourselves to Greek mythology is the theft of Apollo's herd of oxen by young Hermes, as is narrated in the Homeric Hymn to Hermes; and, again, the oxen of Augeas, son of Helios, or those of Geryon. As in some of the Greek myths, in Hittite mythology animals were taken from the Sun, the star that sees everything, and therefore to whom the extensive pastures belong. Sacrifice deprives a living being of life. It is such a grave act that it must be institutionalized by a deity¹³. In fact, it is Hermes who, by killing the oxen stolen from Apollo, invents the sacrifice and shows man how to perform it¹⁴.

If the sacrifice finds legitimacy in its being founded by a god, the hunt, inasmuch as it also violently deprives animals of life, must also be ritualized. This concept, common to all hunting cultures, also finds clear traces among the Hittites. During a religious ceremony, the KILLAM festival, which goes back to the Old Hittite period, the king sits at the palace door and a cortege parades in front of him made up of: 1) processional carts pulled by oxen; 2) ten dancers, of whom one is ritually nude; 3) two priests (one of whom called "pure") of Inar/KAL, the tutelary-deity of wild animals and the hunt; 4) ten or twenty game-bags, one of the symbols for Inar; and 5) the "animals of the gods", that is, a leopard and a wolf made of silver; a gold lion; two wild boars, one made of lapis-lazuli and one made of silver; a silver bear; and finally, four silver and gold deer, all of which are pulled, which gives an idea of their size¹⁵.

According to a parallel text (I.j col. VI), after the animals have reached "their places", the hunters, LÚMES UR.GI₇, arrive, who prostrate themselves in front of the king and then take their places. Then, there is the ceremony of "drinking the gods". The royal couple drinks the Storm-God and Wašezzi, and the silver vases are in the form of the head of a bull, the animal sacred to the Storm-God. The smiths presenting these vases receive a recompense. Then the king and the queen drink the tutelary-deities Inar and Ḫapantali from zoomorphic vessels brought from the temple of Inar. The effigies of the "animals of the god" (according to a Middle Hittite version, 3.a, some wine is poured over the leopard and one of the boars),

¹² The text has been studied by H. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7 (1961) 157-162, and again transliterated by Laroche, *RHA* 23 (1965), 169-172.

¹³ About this point, see the classic work of W. Burkert, *Homo necans: Interpretationen altgriechischer Opferriten und Mythen* (Berlin/New York 1972).

¹⁴ For a study of Hermes founding the sacrifice using as victims the oxen stolen from Apollo, see W. Burkert, "Sacrificio-sacrilegio: il 'Trickster' fondatore", in: C. Grottaneli - N. F. Parise (ed.), *Sacrificio e società nel mondo antico* (Bari 1988) 163-175, and particularly pp. 169-170 on the theme of getting the heavenly animals.

¹⁵ The text has been edited by I. Singer, *The Hittite KILLAM Festival* I, II (StBot 27, 28; Wiesbaden 1983-1984).

and the king is asked for the recompense for the hunters. Finally, some skins of leopards, lions, boars and deer are brought before the priests (3.b.D. reverse).

The meaning of the ceremony, which is entirely dedicated to Inar, the tutelary-deity of wild animals and whose sacred animal is the deer, is clear. The hunters follow the animals and, finally, with the presentation of the hides, the killed animals are returned to Inar, that is, to their natural habitat, so they may become whole again¹⁶.

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¹⁶ For this interpretation of the procession in the KILAM festival, see A. Archi, in: F. Imparati (ed.), *Studi di storia e di filologia anatolica dedicati a G. Pugliese Carratelli* (Firenze 1988) 29-31.

FORMATION OF THE WEST
HURRIAN PANTHEON: THE CASE OF IŠḪARA

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Formation of the West Hurrian Pantheon: The Case of Išhara

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The Hurrians knew of the Sumerian–Akkadian pantheon already during the late Akkadian period, when they settled in Upper Mesopotamia. The scribes who wrote the short inscriptions of Tiš-atal and Atal-šen of Urkiš during the last decades of the third millennium B.C. (according to the Middle Chronology), at the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur, used Sumerograms for the names of their gods. These deities are Nergal, Lugalbanda, An, Utu, Im, Inanna, as well as the Lady (⁴NIN) of Nagar, the major goddess of their region. For the Sun-god, the Weather-god, and Inanna, they meant, respectively, Šimegi, Teššub, and Šauška; a Hurrian god also lies behind Nergal. Relating, if only in name (according to the scribal tradition of the cuneiform writing schools), their own gods to Sumerian–Akkadian gods meant setting in motion a process of partial amalgamation.¹

The Hurrian peoples who came to northern Syria during the following centuries reorganized their pantheon, taking as a model the Akkadian canon.² The results of

Author's note: To the usual abbreviations add: *ARET* III = A. Archi and M. G. Biga, *Testi amministrativi di vario contenuto* (Archivi Reali di Ebla Testi III; Roma: Missione Archeologica Italiana in Siria, 1982); *ARET* IV = M. G. Biga and L. Milano, *Testi amministrativi: assegnazioni di tessuti* (Archivi Reali di Ebla Testi IV; Roma: Missione Archeologica Italiana in Siria, 1984); *ARET* V = D. O. Edzard, *Hymnen, Beschwörungen und Verwandtes* (Archivi Reali di Ebla Testi V; Roma: Missione Archeologica Italiana in Siria, 1984); *ARET* VII = A. Archi, *Testi amministrativi: registrazioni di metalli e tessuti* (Archivi Reali di Ebla Testi VII; Roma: Missione Archeologica Italiana in Siria, 1988); *ARET* IX = L. Milano, *Testi amministrativi: assegnazioni di prodotti alimentari* (Archivi Reali di Ebla Testi IX; Roma: Missione Archeologica Italiana in Siria, 1990); *ARET* XI = P. Fronzaroli, *Testi rituali della regalità* (Archivi Reali di Ebla Testi XI; Roma: Missione Archeologica Italiana in Siria, 1993); *MEE* II = G. Pettinato, *Testi amministrativi della biblioteca L. 2769* (Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla 2; Napoli, 1980).

1. For the interpretation of ⁴UTU-ga-an as *šimega+n* in the Tiš-atal inscription (line 19) see M. Krebernik, *ZA* 81 (1991) 139. Later, the thematic formation of this DN is *Šimeg+ai*, *Šimeg+i*; compare also the secondary form *Ša-u-uš-ga-a-e* for Šauška (see E. Neu, *Das hurritische Epos der Freilassung I* [Studien zu den Bogazköy-Texten 32; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 1996] 499).

2. See E. Laroche, “Teššub, Hebat et leur cour,” *JCS* 2 (1948) 113–36; idem, “Documents hourrites de Ras Shamra,” in *Ugaritica* V (ed. J. Nougayrol, E. Laroche, C. Vroilleaud, and C. F. A. Schaeffer; Paris: Geuthner, 1968) 518–27; idem, “Pantheon national et pantheons locaux chez les Hourrites,” *Or* 45 (1976) 94–99.

this syncretism are known to us from the god lists of Kizzuwatna (copied for the archives of Ḫattusa from the end of the 15th century on) and of Ugarit (14th and 13th century). Some ancient Hurrian gods are equated with Sumerian, Akkadian, or Syrian gods, such as Kumarbi/Enlil/Dagan, Teššub/Iškur/Hadda, Šawuška/Inanna/Ištar, Šimegi/Utu/Šamaš, Kušub/Nanna/Suen. Other gods are unknown from the Hurrian sources of the Eastern regions; only a few of these are assimilated into Mesopotamian deities (Aštabi, for example, is equated with Ninurta). This fact suggests a local (that is, Syrian) origin for these deities.

The discovery of the archives of Ebla (24th century B.C.) reveals a stage in the cultural development of the Syrian area that goes back about 1,000 years earlier than previously known documentation. If gods like Adamma and Aštabi(l), who appear later in the West Hurrian pantheon, are already mentioned in the Ebla documents, this does not mean that the Hurrians were already present in the Aleppo region at that time. These gods, instead, go back to a pre-Hurrian substratum.³ During the Ebla period, the Hurrians had not yet even settled in the Ḫabur triangle, as is proved by a few dozen personal names of the city of Nagar (Tell Brak) attested in the Ebla tablets and, more recently, by the personal names mentioned in the tablets of Tell Beydar (50 km west of Tell Brak) of about the same period; not one of these names is Hurrian.⁴

The Epic of Freeing

The Hurrian *Epic of Freeing*, which also had a Hittite translation (KBo XXXII 11–113), shows how an ancient Syrian deity could become a major god in the Hurrian pantheon.

The acting gods are, on one side, two Hurrian deities, Teššub and Allani, the Sun-goddess of the Earth (referred to as Allatum in the Akkadian sources),⁵ whose functions were similar to those of Ereškigal, and, on the other, Išhara, who was the main goddess of Ebla during the third millennium.⁶ Her important role in this Epic is determined by the fact that the action concerns Ebla.

The proem, no. 11, opens with these words: “I will tell of Teššub, the g[reat] lord of Kummi, I will exalt the you[ng lady] Allani (who stays) at the bolt (that is, the gate) of the Earth. And (together) with them I will tell of the young lady Išhara, *skill-*

3. This fact was already stated by E. Laroche in a discussion at the 24th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Paris, 1977).

4. See A. Archi, “The Regional State of Nagar according to the Texts of Ebla,” *Subartu* 4/2 (1998) 1–39; A. Catagnoli, “The 3rd Millennium Personal Names of the Habur Triangle in the Ebla, Brak and Mozan Texts,” *Subartu* 4/2 (1998) 41–66; F. Ismail, W. Sallaberger, P. Talon, and K. Van Lerberghe, *Administrative Documents from Tell Beydar (Seasons 1993–1995)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996).

5. During the Empire period the Hittites used *ALLATUM* as an Akkadogram for Lelwani, while the Hurrian Allani was considered a different goddess.

6. See A. Archi, “Divinités sémitiques et divinités de substrat: Le cas d’Išhara et d’Ištar à Ebla,” *MARI* 7 (1993) 71–78.

ful in speaking, a goddess *renowned* for (her) wisdom” (no. 11 I 1–6).⁷ The subject of the tale is defined in the following lines: “I will tell of Pizikarra, who will bring [] to (?) Ebla. Pizikarra destroy [] Nuḫašše and Ebla []” (I 7–9).⁸ A dialogue between Teššub and Išhara is found already in the reverse of the first tablet, badly damaged and lacking the Hittite translation, where Teššub comes to threaten the destruction of Ebla (IV 17: ^{URU}E-*eb-la-an pa-^ra¹*[-]).⁹ It seems that Teššub first sends his brother, the ‘right’ (*ḫandanza*) Šuwalijaz, to Ebla with a message, while Išhara is already there (no. 37, 13–14): *lilivahḫūanzi* [^{URU}Eblai] ^{GIŠ}ŠÚ.A-aš URU-ri ^ū ^DIšharaš-ma-*k[an . . . u]it?* ‘Go rapidly [to Ebla,] the city of the throne. Išhara [w]ent? [already there]’.¹⁰ Then Teššub himself goes to Ebla and asks Mēgi (*Me-e-ki*), the king (who is referred to by the flowery phrase “star of Ebla,” no. 16 II 13), to free some prisoners (Hurr. *kirenzi*, Hitt. *parā tarnumar*). If not, he will destroy Ebla. The final part of the text is missing. It seems, however, that the *Epic* represents the etiologic tale of the destruction of Ebla.

The palaeography and some linguistic elements of the Hittite version show that the version from Ḫattusa is to be dated to the Middle Hittite period (between the 15th and 14th century), while the grammar of the Hurrian text points to an older date.¹¹

The narrative appears to have been inspired by events that occurred in the 17th century, a turbulent period for northern Syria, when Jamḥad was weakened by the pressure of the Hurrians and by the Hittite incursions led by Ḫattusili I.¹²

7. Here Išhara is qualified as ‘goddess *renowned* for her wisdom’ *ma-a-ti a-mu-tu-u-pa-ti e-ne*, while in the text from Ḫattusa ‘Wise (is) Šaušga’ ^d*Ma-(a)tu-(uš-)ša-uš-ga* (see Neu, *Epos*, 40). Sometimes, Ištar and Išhara share in part the same attributes (see p. 29 below).

8. *Ibid.*, 30. A parallel passage mentioning Pizikarra is no. 32 (see *ibid.*, 41–43).

9. *Ibid.*, 49–50. This dialogue recalls that of Wotan and Erda in the fourth scene of the *Rheingold*, with their roles inverted.

10. *Ibid.*, 505, 507–8. The expression in Hurrian is: “in Ebla at the throne” (*ibid.*, 349); see also no. 19 I 7, 12, 21 (*ibid.*, 379, 380). The Hittite version has always “in Ebla, the city of the throne”; see nos. 19 II 7, 12, 21; 24+216 II 7 and 35, 2 (see *ibid.*, 379, 381, 489, 503). This is a circumlocution for “royal city.”

11. *Ibid.*, 3–7.

12. We may have an idea of the situation in Syria in this period from the Deeds of Ḫattusili I, composed under Mursili I. For the fragments relating to Jarim-Lim of Aleppo, see A. Kempinski, *Syrien und Palästina (Kanaan) in der letzten Phase der Mittelbronze IIB-Zeit (1650–1570 v. Chr.)* (Ägypten und Altes Testament 4; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983) 46–49. Ebla is mentioned in KUB XL 4, 6 (see C. Kühne, *ZA* 62 [1973] 244).

H. Otten, basing himself on the mention of Mēgi and of the city of Ikinkališ (see below), writes: “Die historische Wertung der geschilderten Ereignisse und der mit diesen verbundenen Eigennamen führt zwangsläufig auf die anderthalb Jahrhunderte, die zwischen dem Ende der Archive von Mari und dem Ausgreifen Ḫattusilis I. nach Nordsyrien liegen”; he adds in n. 17: “mit Mēki . . . könnten zumindest Einzelzüge des ‘historischen’ Hintergrundes auf die Zeit Šamši-Adads I. datiert werden” (“Ebla in der hurritisch-hethitischen Bilingue aus Bogazköy,” in *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft von Ebla* [ed. H. Waetzoldt and H. Hauptmann; Heidelberg Studien zum Alten Orient 2; Heidelberg: Heidelberg Orientverlag, 1988] 292).

We know that the city of Ikinkališ, which in the Epic (^{URU}*I-ki-in-kal-li-(i-)iš*) is the antagonist of Ebla, was conquered by Ḫattusili I during the campaign in which he also seized Alalah.¹³ Even in the 24th century I/Aka(n)kališ (*A-ga-ga-li-iš^{ki}*),¹⁴ although belonging to Ebla (it was led by an overseer, *ugula*), was a town of note, since its territory included some minor centers.¹⁵ An unpublished text (TM.75.G.2560+ rev. V 7–11) mentions jars of wine from Akakališ and Karkemiš, and a geographical location to the north of Ebla, in the modern Syro-Turkish border area, is suggested also by the Annals of Ḫattusili.

The mention of Nuḫašše alongside Ebla in the proem (no. 11 I 9) would appear to be a later addition, possibly introduced in the recension from which the Hittite translation was made (it seems that the region of Ebla was known by this name only from the 15th century on).¹⁶ Ebla was by that time a small center, and it was useful to locate it geographically.¹⁷

The destruction threatened at the beginning of the Hurrian text would, therefore, be that which brought an end to Middle Bronze Age Ebla (in the last decades of the 17th century, according to the Middle Chronology).¹⁸ The *Epic*, however, preserves some earlier elements.

13. Ebla keeps prisoner “the sons of Ikinkališ” together with a certain Purra. The council of elders of Ebla, led by Zazalla, does not want to free these people because “if we set them free, who will serve us our food? They are (our) cupbearers, servants, cooks and scullery boys” (no. 15 I 22–28//II 22–29). Mēgi is forced to admit to Tešsub that, despite his own wishes, Ebla will not free the prisoners (no. 15 IV 12–19//III 12–20), thus sealing its own fate. See M. C. Astour, “The Geographical and Political Structure of the Ebla Empire,” in *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft von Ebla* (ed. H. Waetzoldt and H. Hauptmann; Heidelberg Studien zum Alten Orient 2; Heidelberg: Heidelberg Orientverlag, 1988) 142 n. 25. Astour has recognized that Ikinkališ/Ikakališ is to be identified with Akakališ of the Ebla texts of the 24th century. The Annals of Ḫattusili I (KBo X 1 obv. 6–9; 2 I 15–19) say: “In the following year I marched against Alalah and destroyed it. Subsequently I marched against Waršuwa(Uršu); from Waršuwa I marched against Ikakališ (Akk. *I-ga-ka-li-iš*; Hitt. *I-ka-ka-li*); from Ikakališ I marched against Tašhiniija; and I destroyed these lands (the Akk. version has instead: “and coming back I destroyed Uršu).”

14. *A-ga-ga-li₉(NE)-iš^{ki}* seems to be the writing in use during the last period of the archives.

15. See A. Archi, P. Piacentini, and F. Pomponio, *I nomi di luogo dei testi di Ebla* (Archivi Reali di Ebla Studi 2; Roma: Herder, 1993) 100. *ARET* III 430 II mentions ‘oil of the centers of Akakališ’ *i-gi-š uru-uru A*. The names of some of those centers are given in TM.75.G.1698.

16. H. Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jahrtausend v.u.Z.* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1969) 18–21.

17. Ebla occurs also in the Hurrian fragment KUB XLV 84 Vs. 15 (Middle Hittite writing), together with Ḫalpa.

18. For the archaeological data concerning Ebla in the second millennium B.C., see P. Matthiae, “Tell Mardikh, 1977–1996: vingt ans de fouilles et de découvertes: La renaissance d’Ebla amorrhéenne,” *Akkadica* 101 (1997) 1–29. In no. 19 I 24–30//II 24–31 Tešsub declares: “I will destroy the city of Ebla; I will reduce it to a state as though it had never been inhabited. I will smash the walls of the lower city like a cup; the walls of the upper city I will trample like a pile of rubbish.” Tešsub’s threat foretells the fate of Ebla, and the description of an acropolis and lower city is fitting. Such a description, however, would fit most of the cities of the Middle Bronze Age. This is a literary device, as is the threat by Tešsub to extinguish the homefires in the river (I 38–39//II 38–39). Ebla, in fact, did not lie on a river.

Mēkum

Documents from Ebla show that *mekum/mēkum* was the title of the dynasty between the 21st and 20th centuries. The legend of a seal in Syrian style reused by an Assyrian merchant, Aššur-nādā, impressed on two documents from Kültepe *kārum* level 2, reads: *kišib Ib-Damu mēkim Ebla[jim]*.¹⁹ *Ib-Damu* is a name that belongs to the onomastic tradition of the Ebla of the 24th century,²⁰ and the seal must originally have belonged to a ruler of Ebla, probably of the first half of the 20th century or even earlier. Another reused seal in Syrian style impressed on an Assyrian tablet (*kārum* level 2) has ¹PN1¹ du[mu](?) ¹PN2¹ *ša me-ku-um i-ra-mu-šu*.²¹

The same expression as on the first seal is used also in the inscription on the votive statue of Jibbiṭ-Lim of Ebla: *I-bi-iṭ-li-im / DUMU Iḡ-ri-iš-ḫi-ib LUGAL / me-ki-im Eb-la-i-im*. A translation of “Jibbiṭ-Lim, son of Jigriš-Ḥeb, the king, of the Eblaite royal/dynastic lineage” is dictated by both texts.²² The inscription of the second seal should mean: “. . . , whom the (Eblaite) dynast has favored.”²³

19. The first document is *TC 3, 247 a, b*, seal impression at Pl. CCXXXI 14: *kišib Ib-da-mu me-ki-im Eb-la[-im?]*. The second document has been published by M. T. Larsen and E. Möller (“Five Old Assyrian Texts,” in *Marchands, diplomates et empereurs: Études offertes à P. Garelli* [ed. D. Charpin and F. Joannès; Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1991] 237, 248, F.T. 2A, seal C): *kišib Ib!-da[-mu] me-ki-!im¹ [Eb-la-im?]*; compare B. Teissier, *Sealing and Seals on Texts from Kültepe kārum Level 2* (Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1994) 177, nos. 529a and 529b; the drawing of the seal is on p. 233.

20. See M. Krebernik, *Die Personennamen der Ebla-Texte* (Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient 7; Berlin: Reimer, 1988) 212; for the personal names with the element *-damu*, see *ibid.*, 159–61.

21. S. Dalley, *A Catalogue of the Akkadian Cuneiform Tablets in the Collections of the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, with Copies of the Texts* (Royal Scottish Museum, Art & Archaeology 2; Edinburgh, 1979) 1 (envelope 7A, seal 2); compare B. Tessler, *Sealing and Seals*, 177 no. 527.

22. For this interpretation of the passage of the votive inscription, see G. Pettinato, who translates “of Eblaite ‘stock’” (*The Archives of Ebla: An Empire Inscribed in Clay* [New York: Doubleday, 1981] 24–25). For the whole inscription, see M. Heltzer, “The Inscription from Tell-Mardiḫ and the City of Ebla,” *AION* 35 (1975) 289–317; W. G. Lambert, *RA* 75 (1981) 95–96, I. J. Gelb, “The Inscription of Jibbiṭ-Lim, King of Ebla,” *Studia Orientalia* 55.8 (1984) 1–19, I. J. Gelb and B. Kienast, *Die altakkadischen Königsinschriften des dritten Jahrtausends v.Chr.* (Freiburger Altorientalische Studien 7; Stuttgart: Steiner, 1990) 369–71.

M. Heltzer and I. J. Gelb interpreted *me-ki-im* as a causative participle from **qum* ‘to rise’: “who raises (the Ebleans)” (Heltzer, “The Inscription from Tell-Mardiḫ,” 292–95; Gelb, “The Inscription of Jibbiṭ-Lim,” 8–9). The two seal inscriptions show now that *meḫekum* is a dynastic (and not personal) title; the explanation of M.-V. Tonietti, who derives *meḫekum* from **mlk*, therefore ‘king’, seems to fit much better (quoted by D. Charpin and N. Ziegler, “Mekum, roi d’Apisal,” *MARI* 8 [1997] 243–47; the study by Tonietti, “Le cas de Mekum,” is now published: *ibid.*, 225–42). See also C. Kühne, “Meki, Megum und Mekum/Mekim,” *Israel Oriental Studies* 18 (1998) 311–22.

23. On the use of the pronoun suffix in relative sentences, see W. von Soden, *Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik*. (Analecta Orientalia 33; Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1952) 217, §165.2.

The title of *me/ēkum* was used for the Eblaite ruler at least from the end of the Ur III Dynasty. In a document from Drehem of the 7th year of Amar-Suena, this term appears as the name of an ensi of Ebla (lines 14–15): *Z[u?–ri?–im?] lú-kin-gi₄-a me-gu-um énsi Eb-la^{ki} ‘Zurim(?)*, the ambassador of Mekum, governor of Ebla’.²⁴ The legends of the reused seals in the Old Assyrian period show that the Sumerian scribe mistook a title for a personal name.

The torso of the statue of Jibbiṭ-Lim (the only preserved part) was found reused in the levels relating to the Persian period in area G, on the southwest slope of the Acropolis.²⁵ The inscription, with which Jibbiṭ-Lim dedicates his own image to Ištar in order that the goddess protect him and his sons, says that he placed the statue (together with a cult basin, *ap-sà-am*) “before Ištar, his Lady,” therefore inside a temple of the goddess. Such a sacred building could be identified in an early phase of Temple D, on the western edge of the Acropolis, which was used throughout the Middle Bronze Age. The closest stylistic comparison is given by the statue of a *šakkanakku* of Mari, Jištup-II, which A. Moortgat, with insight, dated to the period of Gudea.²⁶ The name of the father of Jibbiṭ-Lim, Jigriš-Ḫeb, follows a tradition which dates back to the archives of the 24th century: Jigriš-Ḫalab was the third from last king of the old dynasty.²⁷ Epigraphic dates (the form of signs, layout of the lines, and the formula), however, lead us to date the inscription of Jibbiṭ-Lim to a period after the Third Dynasty of Ur, to the beginning of the second millennium.²⁸ It is at that time that the so-called Archaic Palace (P5, northern sector of the lower city), built in the Early Bronze IVB (which corresponds to the period of Gudea and the Third Dynasty of Ur), was restored and readapted for the first time.²⁹

The Neo-Sumerian documentation shows that Ebla continued to be the principal state of northern Syria at least until the beginning of the 20th century, with minor centers at Byblos, Uršu, and Jaḫmad(i)um.³⁰ Such was the prestige of the city

24. D. I. Owen and R. Veenker, “Megum, the first Ur III ensi of Ebla,” in *Ebla 1975–1985: Dieci anni di studi linguistici e filologici* (ed. L. Cagni; Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale) 263–91; the transcription of the text is at p. 267. On Zurim, *lú-kin-gi₄-a* of Ebla, see also D. I. Owen “Syrians in Sumer,” in *New Horizons in the Study of Ancient Syria* (ed. M. W. Chavalas and J. L. Hayes; Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 25; Malibu: Undena, 1992) 121.

25. See A. Archi and P. Matthiae, in *Ebla: Alle origini della civiltà urbana* (ed. P. Matthiae; Milano: Electra, 1995) 408.

26. “This statue represents the style of the phase of Ur-Baba and Gudea in the series of the statues from Mari” (A. Moortgat, *The Art of Ancient Mesopotamia* [London & New York: Phaidon, 1967] 64). This dating has been confirmed by the list of *šakkanakku*s of Mari, according to which, calculating the duration of the reign of each ruler of Mari, Ištup-II is a contemporary of Gudea (see J.-M. Durand, “La situation historique des *šakkanakku*: Nouvelle approche,” *MARI* 4 [1985] 155–56).

27. For other PN's with the element *Ig-ri-iš-*, see M. Krebernik, *Personennamen*, 217–18.

28. See I. J. Gelb, “The Inscription of Ibbiṭ-Lim,” 5.

29. P. Matthiae, “Tell Mardikh, 1977–1996,” 4; idem, “Fouilles à Ébla en 1993–1994: Les palais de la ville basse nord,” *CRAIBL* (1995) 654, 659–74.

30. Owen “Syrians in Sumer,” 107–82. According to I. J. Gelb (see sub M'D), Jaḫmad(i)um represents a metathesis of Old Babylonian Jamḫadum (*Computer-Aided Analysis of Amorite*

during the 20th century, that the dynastic title used there was known even in Egypt as the name of a ruler of a Syrian region. In the Story of Sinuhe, to be dated to the 12th dynasty, perhaps towards the end of the reign of Sesostri I (the last decades of the 20th century), a certain Meki (Mk³i) from Qedem is one of the Syrian princes on good terms with Egypt.³¹

More than a century later, when the king of Mari was Jasmaḥ-Haddu, *me-kum/ me-ki-im* appears in letter A.877 as the name of a king of *A-pi-ša-al*^{ki}, with whom Aplaḥanda of Karkemiš was in contact.³² There existed, therefore, an Apišal in Syria, probably the Abarsal of the Ebla texts of the 24th century, as well as one near Umma, in southern Mesopotamia.³³ The Syrian Apišal would, therefore, be located east of Karkemiš. What at Ebla had been a dynastic title from at least the 21st century on was preserved in a more northern region as a proper name.

The Goddess Išhara

The gods, it is well known, take part in the affairs of men. If, in the *Epic* concerning the freeing of some persons held at Ebla, Teššub turns to Išhara, this is because she was considered the most important deity of Ebla. This fact reflects in part the situation of the 24th century, when Kura (known to us only from the documents of Ebla) was the god of the city, while the main goddess was Išhara.

Ištar, a Common Semitic goddess, was already well known at that time (there was even an 'Ištar of the Palace' ^d*Aš-dar SA.ZA_x^{ki}*). However, the cult of Išhara was more widely spread. In the monthly offering lists attesting the official cult at the palace (twenty tablets concerning the last months of the city), Išhara is mentioned 40 times, while Ištar is named only 5 times.³⁴

[Assyriological Studies 21; Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1980] 24; see also C. Wilcke, *N.A.B.U.* [1990/33] 26).

31. *ANET*³, 21, §219. This Meki has been related to the Syrian evidence discussed above by G. Scandone Matthiae ("Méki/Mekim d'Ebla dans l' 'Histoire de Sinouhé'?" *MARI* 8 [1997] 249–50). For the dating of the Sinuhe text, see J. Baines, "Interpreting Sinuhe," *JEA* 68 (1982) 38.

32. Sections of this tablet have been already quoted by G. Dossin ("Aplaḥanda, roi de Carké-miš," *RA* 35 [1938] 119 = *Recueil G. Dossin: Mélanges d'Assyriologie (1934–1959)* [Leuven: Peeters, 1983] 297). The letter has now been published and studied by D. Charpin and N. Ziegler, "Mekum, roi d'Apišal," *MARI* 8 (1997) 243–47.

33. On Abarsal, see A. Archi, "La ville d'Abarsal," in *Reflets des deux fleuves: Mélanges A. Finet* (ed. M. Lebeau and P. Talon; Leuven: Peeters, 1989) 15–19.

On the two Apišals, see B. R. Foster, "Naram-Sin in Martu and Magan," *ARRIM* 8 (1990) 40–43. Another certain mention of the Syrian Apišal is found in *AIT* 409, 45 (Alalaḥ VII, a list of wedding gifts for a princess of Alalaḥ who marries the king of Apišal; see J.-J. Glassner, "Narām-Sin poliorcète: Les avatars d'une sentence divinatoire," *RA* [1983] 10).

34. The data concerning Išhara were already given in A. Archi, "Divinités sémitiques et divinités de substrat: Le cas d'Išhara et Ištar à Ebla," *MARI* 7 (1993) 71–78.

The older and rarely attested writing of the name is ^dSIG₇.AMA, as is proven by *ARET* XI 1 (see the index in *ARET* XI, 132), the ritual performed for the marriage of the king when Arrukum was the vizier; this writing is used also in the incantation *ARET* V 16 I 5 (see M. Krebernik,

If among human beings the king and queen were seen as the projection of Kura and Barama (the consort of Kura),³⁵ the tutelary goddess of the dynasty, or at least the personal goddess of some sovereigns, was Iṣhara. A link such as ‘Iṣhara of the king’ (^dŠÁRA¹[BARA₁₀]-iṣ/ra en; referring both to the king Irkab-Damu and to his successor, Iṣar-Damu) is not found for any other divinity. The cult of “Iṣhara of the king” took place in the temple of Kura and in the secondary residence of the king at (L)arugatu;³⁶ Iṣhara of Kun-Damu, the fourth from last king of the dynasty, was still venerated at least thirty years after his death.³⁷ The goddess had a temple at Ebla (TM.75.G.10176 obv. I 4–5; 10251 obv. VIII 17–18) and her cult was well rooted in the Eblaite territory, since we have the following hypostases: Iṣhara of M^a-NE^{ki},³⁸ U₉-gú-a-đš/š^{ki}, Zi-da-ralla^{ki} (= Zi-ti-lu^{ki}?), ZulZú-ra-am₆/mu^{ki}, Zú-za-ga-bù^{ki} (also attested once each are Iṣhara of A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}, Ba-na-i-um^{ki}, and Wa-NE-du^{ki}). In the incantation *ARET* V 16 addressed to the Earth and the two rivers Balih (ÉN-É-nu-ru ki ÉN-É-nu-ru ^dBa-li-ḡa-a), Iṣhara appears together with Hadda, Kamiš, and local divinities such as Ammarik and Adarwan.³⁹

Die Beschwörungen aus Fara und Ebla [Hildesheim: Olms, 1984] 130, 134). The parallel text of the marriage ritual, *ARET* XI 2 (celebrated when the vizier was Ibrum), has the usual writing: ^dGÁXSIG₇(BARA₁₀)-iṣ. ^dSIG₇.AMA occurs also in the administrative text TM.75.G.1418 rev. VIII 8, to be dated to Arrukum, while other documents of the time of Arrukum have ^dŠÁRA(BARA₇ = LAGABXSIG₇)(-iṣ) (see *ARET* IV 17 obv. XIV 20; *MEE* II 33 rev. IX 16). This last writing was preferred for its phonetic value corresponding to part of the goddess’s name but, because of a misunderstanding, the scribes of the last thirty years of the archives used the form ^dGÁXSIG₇-iṣ/ra, which should be rendered as ^dŠÁRA¹-iṣ/ra. The lexical lists have ^dGÁXSIG₇ = ^dIṣ-ḡa-ralla. In TM.75.G.2078 rev. I 3, ^dGÁXSIG₇-ra-iṣ presents both the phonetic complements.

It is difficult to accept that the name of the III month, ^dAMA-ra, stands for Iṣhara, as was suggested by F. Pomponio (“I nomi divini di Ebla,” *UF* 15 [1983] 144 n. 16). In this case, ^dAMA-ra could be a simplified form of the older writing ^dSIG₇.AMA used for the month name. ^dAMA appears, however, as the divine element also in theophorous personal names, such as I-ti-^dAMA (in A. Archi, “I rapporti tra Ebla e Mari,” *SEB* 4 (1981) 155 [TM.75.G.1559 obv. II 4; in *ARET* IX 53 rev. VI 3, read: *Puzur₄-ra-^{dr}Ku¹-ra*). In the “local calendar,” in addition to ^dAMA-ra, the following months are named with a god name: iti ^dA-dam-ma (I), ^dGa-mi-iṣ (IV), *Be-li* (V), ^dAš-da-bil (VI), ^dÁ-da (VIII).

35. See the marriage ritual *ARET* XI 1 (65) and 2 (68). In this ritual, a statue of Iṣhara and a statue of [^dLa-bù]-dull/^dSl.GAR ‘the Lioness’ are offered by the king (*ARET* XI 1 [101–2], 2 [111–12]). P. Fronzaroli identifies this “lioness” with Istar (*ARET* XI, 52).

36. For ^dŠÁRA¹-iṣ/ra en, see *ARET* IV 4 (25) (vizier Ibbi-Zikir), 7 (39) (Ibbi-Zikir), TM.75.G.1349 rev. IX 16–19 (é ^dKu-ra; Ibbi-Zikir), 1356 obv. II 3–4 (Ibbi-Zikir), 1362 = *MEE* II 40 rev. V 3–4 (vizier Ibrum), 1418 rev. VIII 8–11 (é ^dKu-ra; vizier Arrukum), 1442 obv. IV 10–11 (Ibbi-Zikir ?), 2368 obv. VII 11 13 (lú A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}; Ibrum), 2440 obv. IV 13–14 (Ibbi-Zikir).

37. *ARET* III 334 III 5–6, TM.75.G.2455 obv. X 9–10 (Ibrum). For Kun-Damu see *ARET* VII 150. In this offering list for the dead kings, ^dŠÁRA¹-ra lú da-da en ‘Iṣhara, the favorite of the king’ appears after Rašap, the god of Underworld, and his consort Adamma.

38. The town of M^a-NE^{ki} has to be located in the Euphrates area, probably not far from Emar (see A. Archi, “Les rapports politiques et économiques entre Ebla et Mari,” *MARI* 4 [1985] 65; compare *ARET* III 323 rev. IV 8–11: in M^a-NE^{ki} lú ĩ-mar^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti).

39. M. Krebernik, *Beschwörungen*, 130–31.

The total destruction suffered by Ebla a little after halfway through the 24th century and the political and social changes that hit Syria between the 3d and 2d millennium provoked a radical break. The area of the Royal Palace G was abandoned and the power center was transferred to the northern sector of the lower city (Archaic Palace P5). A few elements of the ancient tradition survived, however, such as the names of the kings Jigriš-Ḫeb and Ib-Damu.

The cult of Išhara spread from the region of Ebla as far as the Babylonia of the Akkadian period. Some Sargonic personal names are formed with the name of the goddess; ^dAš-Ḫa-ra is one of the few non-Elamite gods in the Elamite version of a treaty between a ruler from Elam and Narām-Sîn found at Susa.⁴⁰ An Old Akkadian love incantation (*MAD* V 8) is addressed to both Ištar and Išhara.⁴¹ Perhaps the two goddesses also originally had similar functions, at least in part. It is a fact, however, that in the Epic of Gilgamesh and in Atra-Ḫasis, there is a situation where Išhara plays the role of Ištar.⁴²

During the reign of Šulgi, the cult of Išhara was introduced at Ur, where a temple was dedicated to the goddess together with Bēlat-Nagar.⁴³ This information defines the area of origin of the two divinities. Išhara was the great goddess of northern Syria (in the proper sense), Bēlat-Nagar that of the area of the Ḫabur, where Nagar (Tell Brak) was the principal center.⁴⁴

Starting from the 8th year of Amar-Suena, the cult of Dagan is attested at Nippur, where the god had a temple together with Išhara. The two gods receive offerings in 'the Palace' é-gal and in 'the garden' ḫ^ḫkir^ḫ.⁴⁵ In *MVN* V 125, Ḫabūritum appears together with Dagan, Išhara, Inanna, Nin-nigin-gar, and another god whose name is not preserved; she does not, however, receive animal offerings in "the garden," like

40. J. J. M. Roberts, *The Earliest Semitic Pantheon* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1972) 37; W. Hinz, "Elams Vertrag mit Narām-Sîn von Akkade," *ZA* 58 (1967) 91, II 7. See also W. G. Lambert, "The Akkadianization of Susiana under the Sakkalmahs," in *Mesopotamie et Elam* (36 CRRAI; Ghent: University of Ghent, 1991) 54.

41. Lines 33-34: "By Ištar and Išhara I conjure you. . ." (see J. and A. Westenholz, *Or* 46 [1977] 198-219).

42. D. Prechel, *Die Göttin Išhara* (Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas und Mesopotamiens; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1996) 58-60.

43. M. Hilgert, "erubatum im Tempel des Dagān: Eine Ur III-zeitliche Urkunde aus Drēhim," *JCS* 46 (1994) 29-39; D. Prechel, *Die Göttin Išhara*, 26-32.

44. See D. Matthews and J. Eidem, "Tell Brak and Nagar," *Iraq* 55 (1993) 201-7. 'The Lady of Nagar' ^dNIN Na-gār^{ki} is already mentioned in a pre-Sargonic document from Mari (D. Charpin, "Tablettes présargoniques de Mari," *MARI* 5 [1987] 79, no. 20 II 4), and in the inscription of Tiš-atal of Urkiš (see I. J. Gelb and B. Kienast, *Die altakkadischen Königsinschriften*, 382, line 18). For this goddess during the period of the Mari archives, see M. Guichard, "Au pays de la dame de Nagar," in *Florilegium marianum* 2 (Mémoires de N.A.B.U 3; Paris: SEPOA, 1994) 235-72; idem, "La visite d'un prêtre de Dame-Nagar à Mari," *N.A.B.U.* (1995/51) 43-45.

45. M. Hilgert, *JCS* 46 (1994) 29-39; H. Waetzold, "Dagān in Mesopotamien," *Or* 54 (1985) 245-56.

the other gods. Ḫabūrītum ‘the Lady of the Ḫabur’ is probably to be identified with Bēlat-Nagar.⁴⁶

Dagan and Išhara were linked insofar as they were the principal divinities of the northwestern regions. Their cult was probably introduced at Nippur through Mari.⁴⁷ Sources from the 24th century enable us, however, to determine the areas from which they had originated. Dagan, whose consort was Šalaš, was the great god of the Middle Euphrates and had his main sanctuary at Tuttul on the Baliḫ.⁴⁸ For the kings of Akkad, Dagan controlled the access to “the Upper Country.”⁴⁹ Išhara was the goddess of the region of Ebla. Mari was dedicated instead to Ištar (and “the Lady of Nagar” had arrived there from the north).⁵⁰

The old Eblaite pantheon dissolved, together with the social structures of which it was an expression. Kura, the god of the city, is not mentioned in any sources from the second millennium. Ištar became the tutelary deity of the dynasty and the great goddess of the city as well. Jibbit-Lim (as noted above) dedicated his statue to “Ištar, his Lady” (*bē-el-ti-šu*) invoking the protection of the goddess on himself and his own sons. Archaeological finds leave no doubt: the great goddess of Ebla (*ḫEb-la-i-tu* in the *tākultu* ritual)⁵¹ for the entire Middle Bronze Age was Ištar. In the vestibule of Shrine G3, in front of Temple D, a large stele, on which the goddess is shown standing on a bull, framed by a winged canopy, was reused, sculpted on four sides, and dedicated to Ištar; the sculpted scenes are rich in symbolism relating to the goddess.⁵² It is more than likely that Temple D, on the western slope of the citadel, close to Royal Palace E,

46. In T. Fish (*Catalogue of Sumerian Tablets in the John Rylands Library* [Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1932] 440), Ḫabūrītum appears after Dagan. For this reason, W. G. Lambert had suggested that she should be identified with Išhara (*RIA* 5, 176); this is excluded by *MVN* V 125, where the two goddesses are listed one after the other.

47. Among the few personal names from Mari known for the Ur III period, three are composed with Dagan (Jiše-^dDagan, Šu-^dDagan, and Turam-^dDagan) and one with Išhara (Šu-^dIšhara; see Owen “Syrians in Sumer,” 123–32). At Mari of the *šakkanakku* period, there was a temple of Dagan (see H. Limet, *Textes administratifs de l'époque des šakkanakku* [ARM XIX; Paris: Geuthner, 1976] nos. 185, 188–90, 192, 193). The cult of Išhara was particularly widespread in Mari during the Old Babylonian period, as is proved by 34 personal names with Išhara as the divine element (see Prechel, *Die Göttin Išhara*, 50–53).

48. A. Archi, “Šalaš Consort of Dagan and Kumarbi,” in *Studio Historiae Ardens: Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate* (ed. T. P. J. van den Hout and J. de Roos; Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1995) 1–6; A. Archi, “Tuttul-sur-Baliḫ à l'âge d'Ebla,” in *De la Babylonie à la Syrie, en passant par Mari: Mélanges offerts à J.-R. Kupper* (ed. Ö. Tunca; Liège: Université de Liège, 1990) 197–207.

49. See Gelb and Kienast, *Die altakkadischen Königsinschriften*, 164, Sargon C 2, lines 17–34, Narāmsīn C 5, lines 29–39.

50. See D. Charpin, “Tablettes présargoniques de Mari,” *MARI* 5 (1987) 99–100; D. O. Edzard, “Pantheon und Kult in Mari,” in *La civilisation de Mari* (15 CRRAI; ed. J.-R. Kupper; Liège: Université de Liège, 1967) 69.

51. R. Frankena, *Tākultu: De sacrale Maaltijd in het assyrische Ritueel* (Leiden: Brill, 1954) 96 no. 76.

52. P. Matthiae, “Una stele paleosiriana arcaica da Ebla e la cultura figurativa della Siria attorno al 1800 a.C.,” *Scienze dell'Antichità* 1 (1987) 447–95; idem, “Le temple ailé et le taureau:

was destined for the dynastic cult of the goddess. The greatest temple building of Ebla, Temple P2, in the northern sector of the lower city, was also dedicated to Ištar (as shown by the fragments of a basin), and perhaps also to Hadda.⁵³ Immediately to the south a square opened, dominated by a large cult platform, 52.5 × 42 m, built with white stone blocks.⁵⁴ On a cylinder seal found in a favissa opened in the square, a priestess is represented worshipping a standard topped by a bird and composed of a female and a male head; another seal with this same standard was found in Fortress V, on the western side of the city walls.⁵⁵ This standard has been identified as the golden symbol *sēmēion*, which, according to Lucian of Samosata, was standing between the statues of Zeus and Hera (Hadda and Atargatis).⁵⁶

Kura and Išḫara, originally the two ancient divinities of Ebla, had completely different destinies. Kura disappeared; Išḫara was instead included in the pantheon of various cultures in Syria, in Eastern Anatolia, and in Mesopotamia. This limited rooting in a precise Semitic culture would suggest that the two gods belonged to the pre-Semitic substratum.

The Amorites venerated the Common Semitic Ištar and, as their main male god, the Weather-god of Ḫalab (whose cult, already in the third millennium, was as important at Ebla as at Mari).⁵⁷ This change from the Eblaite to the Amorite period suggests the following paradigm. When, due to radical political-social change, a pantheon dissolves, those gods who are not included in the dominant pantheon of the new society come to belong to a weak system. At that point they can be absorbed into the pantheon of another society.

When the Hurrians, moving from the Ḫabur region, reached northern Syria they found gods such as Adamma and Aštabi(l), who had once been part of the official pantheon of Ebla and had then become local deities. The scarce cultural identity of these gods enabled the Hurrians to include them in their pantheon.⁵⁸ Other gods were received through syncretism. Teššub was assimilated with Hadda of Ḫalab, and Kumarbi

Origine et continuité de l'iconographie de la grande déesse à Ebla," in *Reflets des deux fleuves* (ed. M. Lebeau and P. Talon; Leuven: Peeters, 1989) 127–35.

53. P. Matthiae, "Due frammenti di un nuovo bacino scolpito dal tempio P2 di Ebla," *Studi Miscellanei* 30 (1997) 3–12.

54. P. Matthiae, "L'aire sacrée d'Ištar à Ebla: Résultats des fouilles de 1990–1992," *CRAIBL* (1993) 638–62.

55. P. Matthiae, "The Lions of the Great Goddess of Ebla: a Hypothesis about some Archaic Old Syrian Cylinders," in *Cinquante-deux réflexions sur le Proche-Orient ancien offertes en hommages à L. de Meyer* (ed. H. Gasche, M. Tanret, C. Janssen, and A. Degraeve; Leuven: Peters, 1994) 329–38; idem, "Tell Mardikh, 1977–1996: Vingt ans de fouilles et de découvertes. La renaissance d'Ebla amorréenne," *Akkadica* 101 (1997) 9–11.

56. Lucianus, *De dea syria*, 33. See H. Seyrig, "Antiquités syriennes: Les dieux de Hiérapolis," *Syria* 37 (1960) 233–52.

57. For Hadda of Ḫalab at Mari, see D. Charpin, *MARI* 5 (1987) 81, no. 22 III 6: ^dḪa-lab_x(LAM); 99: ^dIl Ḫa-lab_x.

58. A. Archi, "Substrate: Some Remarks on the Formation of the West Hurrian Pantheon," in *Hittite and Other Anatolian Studies in Honour of Sedat Alp* (ed. H. Otten, E. Akurgal, H. Ertem, and A. Süel; Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1992) 7–14.

with Dagan; consequently ^dHa-(l)a-ba-du ‘She of Ḫalab’, that is Ḫebat (respectively the form attested in Ebla and that of the later periods), became the spouse of Teššub, while Kumarbi received Šalaš as his consort.⁵⁹

Notwithstanding these changes, the clear memory persisted in Syria of Išhara as the goddess of Ebla. The Hurrian *Epic of Freeing* shows this. Moreover, the Hurrians had assimilated Ištar, the new goddess of Ebla, into a goddess of their pantheon: Šawuška. Why then should they have depicted Šawuška (Ištar) as the tutelary divinity of Ebla and as quarrelling with Teššub?

It is perhaps precisely due to this superimposition of Išhara and Ištar at Ebla that they were sometimes considered similar. At Alalah (of both periods VII and IV) the sign IŠTAR (*e*₈+*dar*), in certain cases at least, referred to Išhara.⁶⁰

The Hurrians preserved the tradition by which Išhara was originally connected with Ebla until the 13th century: a Hurrian document from Emar (an oracle text) still mentions Išhara of Ebla, *Eb-la-be* ^dIš-ḫa-^rra¹].⁶¹

Emar was one of the Semitic centers (with a Hurrian presence) where Išhara, with Dagan and NIN.URTA, was one of the principal local gods.⁶² The Hittites, who from roughly halfway through the 14th century directly controlled the territory of Aštata (where Emar was located), learned of the Syrian rites of Išhara precisely from Emar. In the dispute with his father’s third wife, Tawananna, Mursili II accused Suppiluliuma’s widow (daughter of a king of Babylon) of having made the silver of the temple of Aštata disappear. Tawananna, directly involved in the administration of this sanctuary, rejected the accusation: “[To Išh]ara of Aštata she spoke thus again and again: ‘Goddess, that [silver] I have [no]t. Who holds the silver of you, O Goddess?’” (KUB XIV 4 IV 17–18).⁶³ In the oracle text dedicated to clarifying the reasons for the anger of the ‘god of Aštata’ DINGIR^{LUM} ŠA^{URU} Aš-ta-ta (evidently Išhara, who is mentioned by name in II 7 and 9), the divinity is asked: ‘Have you (O god) rejected the prescribed (ritual) procedure in the manner of Mizzulla (a lady who acted in accord with Tawananna) and preferred the procedure of Aštata?’ *išḫiüll-aza* ŠA^{SAL} Mizzulla *iwar markijat nu išḫiül* ŠA^{URU} Aštata *šanaḫta* (KUB V 6+ I 8–9).

59. A. Archi, “Studies in the Pantheon of Ebla,” *Or* 63 (1994) 249–51; idem, “Šalaš Consort of Dagan and Kumarbi.”

60. In personal names like *Eḫ-li-^dIŠTAR-ra* / *Eḫ-li-^dIš-ḫa-ra*, *Um-mi-^dIŠTAR-ra* / *Um-mi-^dIš-ḫa-ra* (see D. J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets* [London: The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1953] 9 n. 2; E. Laroche, *RHR* 148 [1955] 11; I. Wegner, *Gestalt und Kult der Ištar-Šawuška in Kleinasien* [Alter Orient und Altes Testament 36; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981] 176).

In a letter from Kaneš, a woman with an Anatolian name offers a pair of bull figurines (*rimu*) to Ištar and Išhara (see Prechel, *Die Göttin Išhara*, 46, with previous literature).

61. Msk. 74.224, 10; see Laroche, *Méskéne—Emar: Dix ans de travaux 1972–1982* (ed. D. Beyer; Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations, 1982) 60.

62. See Prechel, *Die Göttin Išhara*, 74–90.

63. See S. R. Bin-Nun, *The Tawananna in the Hittite Kingdom* (Texte der Hethiter 5; Heidelberg: Winter, 1975) 183–84.

Išhara was the tutelary goddess of oath taking.⁶⁴ In the Song of Kumarpi, she appears alongside Enlil, the father of the gods, evidently because she was considered an “ancient deity.” After the invocation of the Primeval Gods, we read: “[Enlil and Abad]u, the father (and) mother of Išhara, listen!” This interpretation of Išhara, which passed into the rituals of Kizzuwatna,⁶⁵ is perhaps the reason why she is often connected with Allani, the goddess of the Underworld, where the Primeval Gods lived.

This was the Išhara the Hittites knew, whom they received from the Kizzuwatna and Mukiš (Alalah) tradition.⁶⁶

64. For Išhara *el(a)mi-we-ni*, see M. Salvini and I. Wegner, *Die Rituale des AZU-Priesters* (Corpus der Hurritischen Sprachdenkmäler I.2; Roma: Multigrafica, 1986) 453 lk. Kol. 7, 456 IV 10.

65. KBo XVII 94; see E. Laroche, “Dénominations des diex ‘antiques’ dans les textes hittites,” in *Anatolian Studies Presented to H. G. Güterbock on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (ed. K. Bittel, P. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, and E. Reiner; Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1974) 180.

66. In Kizzuwatna, Išhara had important cultic centers (see in particular KUB XL 2, studied by A. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna and the Problem of Hittite Geography* [YOSR 22; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940] 61–71, and in general Prechel, *Die Göttin Išhara*, 119–29).

EA AND THE BEAST. A SONG RELATED
TO THE KUMARPI CYCLE

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EA AND THE BEAST
A SONG RELATED TO THE KUMARPI CYCLE

Alfonso Archi (Roma)

In the *Inhaltsübersicht* of KUB XXXVI, p. II-III, H. Otten noted *ad* No. 55: "...'ich habe den Fluss A(ranzah) geschwängert'...'er spie aus', also anklingend an die Situation im Mythos vom Königtum im Himmel". A further step towards an understanding of the text was made by E. Laroche, who, in reviewing KUB XXXVI, noted how the term *šuppal(anza)* "beast" appears, as well as in No. 55, also in No. 32, two fragments which "paraissent donc appartenir au même récit mythologique".¹ In "Mythologie d'origine étrangère", however, Laroche transcribes only KUB XXXVI 32, with the title: *Ea et la Bête*.²

I suggest that the two fragments, numbers 32 and 55, belong to the same tablet, No. 55 iii 1'-4' being the end of lines 16-19 in No. 32 without direct join. The two fragments display the same writing (see in particular the signs KU, PA, Ú) and have DUMU.NAM.U₁₉.LU, without LÚ (32, 7; 55 ii 19'). We may thus recover much of col. iii, although the start of all the lines is missing. In col. ii many signs have been damaged.³ Possible sections of cols. i and iv have not yet been identified.

Both fragments contain exclusively the older form of signs such as AH (32:1, 3, 6; 55 ii 17', 33, iii 24'), EN (55 ii 11'), IK (55 ii 22'), KI (32:2 *et passim*; 55 ii 5' *et passim*), LI (32:7 *et passim*; 55 ii 5' *et passim*), NA (32:1 *et passim*; 55 ii 11' *et passim*), SAR (55 ii 18', 37'), TAR (55 ii 13' *et*

¹ E. Laroche, *OLZ* 51 (1956), col. 422. The term *šuppal*, *šuppalant-* has been explained as "(domestic) livestock" by J. Friedrich, *HWb*, 108. E. Laroche, *Dictionnaire des Mythologies* (Paris 1981), 35, connects this term with *šuppi-* "pure, sacred" and interprets *šuppala*, synonymous with *gimraš ġuitar* "animals of the field", as "wild animals". Notice, however, that *šuppala* means "(domestic) animals" in § 163 of the Hittite Laws. B. J. Collins, *Diss.*, 13-19, translates this term again with "livestock". In the text which we are commenting here, it has to be a mythological animal.

² E. Laroche, "Textes mythologiques hittites en transcription. Mythologie d'origine étrangère", *RHA* 26 (1968), 78.

³ I am grateful to H. Klengel for his permission to collate the two fragments in photographs at the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin.

passim). These forms are characteristic of the Middle Hittite tablets from the start of the Imperial period, from Tuthaliya I/II to the first years of Suppiluliuma I. The introduction of the Hurrian epic to Hattusa is dated to this period. The numerous erasures indicate that we are in possession of the first (possibly the only) Hittite redaction of this “song” of Hurrian origin.

The two columns preserved contain a dialogue between the Beast and Ea, the god who – thanks to his advice – plays an important role in the epic of Kumarpi. This time Ea is unaware of everything. The Beast, whose origin and appearance we do not know of, brings him information. A new god is arising who will overthrow the cosmic order and will rule over all gods and countries. This theme is common to the songs of the Kumarpi Cycle. The Storm God throws Kumarpi from his throne, while the other monstrous beings who Kumarpi unleashes in turn against the Storm God, are killed.

In the first of the paragraphs preserved (ii 4'-22'), the Beast (?) describes the tremendous battle which will break out between the new god and his adversaries. Nobody can resist him. He will drag his opponents down in the Underworld; the other gods will acknowledge his supremacy. He will rule over the black earth and the great sea (23'-29').

Ea asks whether this god has already been born and when he will be ready to set in action that for which he is predestinated (30'-36'). Of the Beast's answer, only a reference to the wisdom of the Former Gods is preserved (38'-43').

At the start of the column iii (1-8, 9-15, 16-19) the Beast boasts that he is better informed than Ea. It is the goddesses who establish destiny that have determined the regality of the newcomer. At this point (25-34, 35-38, 39-44) there is the story of the birth of this new hero, together with at least four other gods, including the Tigris, the War God, and [...]sipa.

The expression “five mighty gods [will be placed] inside him (-šī *šarḫuwanti*) recalls *Kumarpi* I 30-31 (cfr. also l. 34), where Anu announces to Kumarpi: “I have placed inside you a burden”, *INA ŠĀ-KA-ta-(k)kan anda impan teḫhun*. He is “impregnated”, *armahḫ-*, with the Storm God, the Tigris and Tasmisu, “three terrible gods”. Other gods, however, emerge from the body of Kumarpi, but their names and details of their births remain somewhat obscure given the fragmentary nature of col. ii. Unlike the passages in *Kumarpi*, *armahḫ-* governs an accusative of respect in *Ea and the Beast*.⁴ A god, possibly the river Aranzah (the Hurrian name

⁴ Cf. J. Puhvel, *HED* 1-2, 156.

for the Tigris) would appear to be born of a mountain, which is “penetrated”, *ḫat(t)-*, iii 35-37.⁵ Immediately afterwards, however, it would appear that something (perhaps another mountain) is impregnated by spittle (*allapabḫ-*, l. 39, cf. *iššalli-* “spittle”, in l. 31). An analogous situation is found in *Kumarpi*, A i 39-41, where Kumarpi impregnates mount Kanzura by spitting saliva mixed with the semen of Anu. In KUB XXXIII 118 the pregnancy of mount Wasitta is described, and the lengthy labour and birth. This fragment does not, however, belong to the tablet of KUB XXXVI 32 (+) 55.

These similarities between *Kumarpi* and *Ea and the Beast*: the listing of the new gods (at least Aranzah is common to the two songs) and the description of how these are created, could suggest that, in our text, before going on to the narrative proper, it was felt necessary to recall the episode from which the rivalry between Kumarpi and the Storm God derived. It is unlikely, however, that so much space would be dedicated to the narration of ancient events or that the memory of such would be given to the Beast.

A further element common to the epic of Kumarpi is that the new lord of the gods is born with the assistance of the Fate and Mother Goddesses. This is the case of the Storm God (*Kumarpi*, A ii 75-76: ^D*Gulšeš* in unclear context), and of Ullikummi (*Ullikummi*, Tab. I, A iii 10-17; cfr. A iv 13-14: “And Enlil began to say to himself: ‘Who is he, this child, whom the Fate Goddesses and Mother Goddesses have raised again?’”). Among the least well-preserved songs, the ^D*Gulšeš* and DINGIR.MAH^{MES} appear also in *Hedammu*, fragments No. 18 and 19. In *Ea and the Beast*, to these two groups of goddesses are added also the ^D*Darauēš*⁶ and the ^D*I-I-i-*, a name which is difficult to restore (iii 13-14, 16).

col. ii
 x+1 [] x¹ x¹ x¹ x¹ []
 3' [-] x¹ (-) A - [NA¹ (-) x¹ x¹] []
 [ua-] al- [aḫ¹] - [an¹] - [zi¹] EGIR- pa- ja ua- [al¹] - a [ḫ- an-] z [i]

⁵ In *Ullikummi*, Tabl. i, I B 17-18, Kumarpi begets Ullikummi sleeping with the Rock: -za^{NA₁} p[iruni kat]tan šešta.

⁶ Already A. Goetze suggested a connection between the DN *Tarawa-* and the verb *tarāwīya-*, in *JCS* 17 (1963), 60-61. For the meaning “to hand over, deliver” of this verb, see H. C. Melchert, *CLL*, 211, who, however, does not accept the connection with the DN.

- 5' [] *le-e ku-iš-ki hu-u-i-^[iš¹]-mu-zi-ma-^[a]*
 [] *(-)]ku-in mu-^[a]-ra-an EGIR-pa le-e ku-i^[š²]-ki*
 7' [] *ku-iš-ki Ú-UL-ma-^[a] ku-in hu-u-i-iš-mu-zi*
 [] *mu-^[a]-ra-a)]n-kán BAL-ni ar-^[a] le-^[e¹] ku-iš-ki da-a-i*
 9' [] *mu-^[u]]^[a]-ra-aš-kán ^[x¹] ne-pi-^[š¹] še-er da-la-a-ú*
 [] *mu-^[a]-r]^[a]-aš-kán da-an-ku-^[a]-i ták-ni-i kat-ta-an-ta*
 11' [*pi-en-na-i*
 [] *da-an-ku-^[a]-i ták-n)]i-i kat-ta-an-ta pi-en-na-i*
 [] *] hu-u-ma-an-da-a-aš DINGIR^{MES}-aš*
 [] *ha-tu-ga¹-an e-eš-tu*
 13' [] *-]^[x¹] e-eš-tu du-uš-ga-ra-tar-^[ma¹]-^[a]-aš-ši-kán*
 [] *-]^[x¹]-ma-^[a]-aš-ši-kán hu-u-ma-an-da DINGIR^{MES}-aš*
 [] *aš-šu-ul e-eš-^[tu¹]*
 15' [] *-]^[x¹]-tu DINGIR^{MES}-aš-ma-^[a]-ra-aš KUR-^[a]-aš-ša hu*
 [] *-^[u¹]-ma-an-da-aš*
 [] *EGI]R¹-pa-aš-ša-ma-^[a]-az iš-^[hi]-ma-na-az a-pa-a-aš*
 [] *^[tar¹]-^[ah¹]-^[a]-an ^[har¹]-^[du¹]*
 17' [] *-a]z a-pa-a-aš tar-^[ah¹]-^[a]-an ^{[har-^[du]} mu-^[a]-kán ^[x¹]-^[x¹]*
 [] *-^[x¹]-^[x¹]*
 [] *hu-)]it-ti-^[a]-an-na-ú mu-^[a] HUR.SAG-aš GIS-ru ^[x¹]*
 [] *-^[x¹]-^[RA¹]-KU SAR-^[e¹]*
 19' [] *N]AM. <LÚ. >U₁₉. LU⁷ ZI-an TI-tar ku-i-da-^[aš²]-^[a]-kán*
 [] *] mu-^[a] hu-u-ma-an⁸ ar-ša¹-^[a]-aš-šu-u-^[ri¹]-^[iš¹]-^[š¹]⁹-it-^[a]⁹*
 21' [] *-]^[x¹] mu-^[a]-kán DINGIR^{MES}-aš ku-^[a]-pi ^[a]-aš-^[š¹][?]-e-^[ki¹][?]-zi*
 [] *DI]NGIR^{MES}-uš tu-ik-ku-uš an-da ar-mu-ud-^[du¹]*
-
- 23' [] *d]a-an-ku-^[in¹]-^[ma¹]-^[a]-^[aš¹]-ša-an da-ga-an-zi-^[pa-an]*
 [] *^[tar¹]-^[pa¹]-^[la¹]-^[a¹]-an*
 [] *n]e-pi-eš-ma-^[a]-kán tar-pa-la-an a-RI-pu-uš aš-^[šu¹]-li*
 [] *^[u¹]-uš-ki-id-du*
 25' [] *-]^[x¹]-du šal-li-in-ma-^[a]¹-kán a-^[ru¹]-na-an ^[ki¹]-ša-^[an¹]*
 [] *-^[x¹](-)^[x¹]-^[x¹]-^[x¹]-^[x¹]-^[x¹]*
 [] *[hu-u-ma-an-^[a]²-kán ar-ša-ar-šu-u-ri-iš-ši-it na²-^[x¹]-^[x¹](-)^[x¹]-^[x¹]-ki-*
 [] *id-du*
 27' [] *-]^[š¹]-u-^[u¹]-pa-an iš-tar-na ar-^[a] hu-it-ti-^[a]-an-^[na¹]-*
 [] *^[x¹]-^[x¹]-^[x¹]*

⁷ An crasure follows.⁸ An erasure follows.⁹ Notice in ii 26' the variant: *ar-ša-ar-šu-u-ri-iš-ši-it*.

[H]JUR. [SAG]^[MES]-aš (?) ÍD^[MES]-aš (?) a-ru-na-aš^{MUŠ}il-
 lu-i-ja-an-ga-aš
 29' [] a-pi-ni-iš-ša-an iš-tar-na ar-ḥa [ḥu]¹-it-(ti-)i-ja¹-
 an-ni-iš-^[ki]-id-du

[-]^[x] mu^{DÉ}.A-aš šu-up-pa-al EGIR-pa^[ki]-iš-ša-an
 pu-nu-uš-ta
 31' [DIN]GIR^{LU}M DINGIR^{MES}-aš iš-tar-na^[x] [x]^[x] ḤA^[x] [x]^[x] [x]^[x]
^[x] [x]^[x] tar-ḥu-i-^[li]-[e]š-zi
 [] da-ga-an-zi-pa-an ne-pi-ša-an^[HUR] SAG^{MES} ÍD^{MES}
 33' [-u]š tar-aḥ-zi nu-ya-ra-aš DINGIR^{MES}-aš ḥu-ma-an-da-aš
 i-ja-at(?) -ni-ja-an-da-aš KUR.KUR^{MES}-aš ḥu-u-ma-an-^[da]-aš
 35' [k]a-ru-ú mi-i-ja-an-za
 [mu-ḡ]a-^[ma](?) mi-i-^[e]-eš-zi
 37' [] (from rev.)

[-š]a-an ḥa-la-a-eš nu-ya ḥi-in-^[x]-^[x]-^[x]-^[x]
 39' [] me-mi-iš-ta na-ak-ki-^[x]-^[x]-^[x]-^[x][(..)]
 [-]mi-aš iš-ša-az ú-it
 41' [ka-ru-]^[i]-li-aš DINGIR^{MES} ḥa-at-^[ta]-tar-ša-mi-^[it]
 [-]^[x]-ša-mi-it I-DI
 43' [-]^[x] I-DI
 (lines 44'-52': traces of signes)

col. iii

1 [-p]i ma-ni-ja-aḥ-ta-ri an-na-nu-u[m-ma-]
 [] ku-it-ki ša-a-ki-iz-zi nu-za-kán A[N]
 3 [m]a-ni-ja-aḥ-ḥi-iš-ki-it-ta-ri ku-e-ez LAL[?]-az [(..)]
 [k]u-iš-ki ku-it-ki me-ma-i EGIR-an-na-ya-aš-ši Ú-[UL]
 5 []^[x]-at-ta¹ am-mu-uk šu-up-pa-la-an-za ki-i ut-tar^[a]-[ya-an]
 [kat-ta me-mi-iš-]ki-nu-un ku-u-un ku-in DINGIR^{LU}M-in me-ma-aḥ-
 ḥu-[un]
 7 [] ḥu-u-ma-da DUMU.NAM. <LÚ. >U₁₉.LU-li ku-iš LUGAL-uš []
 [pi-r]a-an am-mu-uk šu-up-pa-la-an-za ša-a-a[k-mi]

9 [mu-ya^D]É.A-aš Ú-UL ša-a-ak-ti an-na-az(-)u[a[?]]
 [] ne-pi-ša-an ku-i-e-eš i-e-ir nu-ya^[x][]

- 11 [] *ša-ma-na-aš ku-in* DINGIR^{LM}-in LUGAL-u-iz-na-ni [ti-it-ta-mu-ir]
[na-an] tu-li-aš pi-di DINGIR^{MES}-aš LUGAL-u-iz-za-an-ni [ti-it-ta-
mu-ir]
- 13 [] *ne-pi-ši* DINGIR^{MES}-aš uk-tu-ri LUGAL-u-i[z-na-tar
DINGIR.MAH^{MES}]
- [^D]Gul-še-eš^DDa-ra-ù-i-e-eš^DI-I[i[?]-]
- 15 [] LUGAL-u-iz-za-na-ni hu-iš-mu-e-^[i^r] []
-
- [mu-m]a-ya DINGIR.MAH^{MES}^DGul-še-eš^D[Da-ra-ù-i-e-eš^DI-li-]
^{[x¹]-eš}
- 17 [x-x-a]n-ša-i-iš n[e²-]-eš DINGIR^{MES}-aš
DINGIR^{MES}-ni-an-da-aš
[]^{[x¹]-ša-aš} HUR.S[AG^{MES} MUNUS]UMMED)A^{MES}-aš
KUR.KUR^{MES}
- 19 [] an-da-a[n hu-i]š-mu-ù-e-ir
-
- []
21 [] I MU^{KAM}-az
[]
23 [] a[?] ku-iš DINGIR^{LM}
[] p[i-e-da-za ú-iz-zi
-
- 25 [] DINGIR^{MES}-ni-eš LUGAL-u-e-eš
[] -a]z
27 [] -ja-an-zi
[] EGIR-an-da
29 [] -a]k-du
[]^[x¹]GISŠUKUR pa-id-du
31 [] -ya]ra-at iš-ša-al-li ha]l-zi-
^{[ša¹]-[x¹]-[x¹]} mu ^[x¹] ^[x¹] ^[x¹] ^{[x¹]-[x¹]-[x¹]} aš-[du¹] mu-ya-
aš-ši-^[kán] 5 DINGIR^{MES} ^[KAL] šar-hu-ya-an-ti []
[] DUMU.N]AM. <LÚ. >U₁₉.LU
33 [] -eš
[]]
-
- 35 [] HUR.SAG-aš ^{[ha¹]-at-ta-ù}
[]^{[x¹]-an} pi-e-da-^{[ma¹]-ya-az}

37	[		¹⁰]A-ra-an-za- <u>hi</u> -in ar-ma-ah- <u>hu</u>
	[]
<hr/>			
39	[		] ar- <u>ha</u> al-la-pa-ah-aš-ta-za
	[		] -š <i>i</i> -pa-an ar-ma-ah- <u>hu</u>
41	[		]^[x¹] mu- <u>ya</u> -ra-at-kán
	[		]^[D¹] ZA-BA ₄ -BA ₄ -<an->ma ar-ma-ah- <u>hu</u>
43	[		-i]a-an-ti ¹⁰ ú-li-li-ti
	[		-a]n ar-ma-ah- <u>hu</u>
<hr/>			
]

col. ii

	[“		] they will [st]rike (and) strike again.
5'	[		] Let nobody save
	[		] ..; let no[body] him
7'	[		] Nobody shall save whom
	[		] Let nobody rescue him in the revolt;
9'	[		] That he shall leave [] above in the heavens!
	[		] ; he will [drive] down to the dark underworld,
11'			he will drive down to [the dark uderworld.]
	[		] shall be terrible to all the gods!
13'	[		] .. shall be! Enjoyment to him instead
	[		] All the favor of the gods shall be to him!
15'	[		shall []! He to the gods and to all the countries
	[		Th]en, shall he keep them defeated with
			strings,
17'			shall he keep [them] defeated with [.....]!
	[		] shall he draw! The wood of the mountain,, vegetation
19'	[		] soul and life [of] mankind. To whi[ch]
	[		] .., and also all its streams
21'	[		] Where he will give judgment ¹¹ to the gods

¹⁰ An erasure follows.¹¹ For forms of the iterative *hannešk-* with assimilation of *-n-* in MH, see J. Friedrich – A. Kammenhuber, *HWb*² H, 137. These forms (from Mašat texts) present, however, the writing *ha-aš-si-ik-*.

in [] may he bring the gods in person!"¹²

- 23' ["] The dark earth (acc.) a substitute (acc.)
[] May the heavens look with favor at the substitute (and) the;
- 25' let [] ; let [] the great sea (acc.);
let [all] its streams.
- 27' [] draw... through away
[] the serpent of [the moun]tains, the rivers, the sea
- 29' may he draw [] thus through away!"

- [] . Then Ea asked again the Beast as follows:
- 31' ["] will [this g]od become mighty among the gods?
[] will he subjugate earth, heavens, mountains, rivers,
33' [] he to all the gods
[] to all the [luxur]iant lands
35' [(Is) he] already grown?
[] will he reach ripeness?"
- 37' (from rev.)

- [The Beast answered to Ea: "] thrust [] and cons[ign]
- 39' [] said: "Honor[ed]
[] ... came from the mouth;
- 41' [] the wisdom of the [For]mer Gods
[] knew their []
- 43' [] knew
[...]

col. iii

- 1 [] ... governs. He will know¹³ something
in order to tame [] and [DN]
- 3 will continue to govern¹⁴ [] . With which harness

¹² The passage with *anda ar-* in A. Goetze, *Madduwattas* (Leipzig 1928), Vs. 82: *nu-ḫ Š[A¹ Madduḫatta tuēkkuš anda mekki ār-ḫun*, cfr. H. Otten, *Sprachliche Stellung und Datierung des Madduwatta-Textes*. StBoT 11 (Wiesbaden 1969), 23 does not help for a better understanding of this line.

¹³ I derive *ša-a-ki-iz-zi* from *šakk-*, although this is a regular *-ḫi* verb.

¹⁴ Middle forms of *maniya ḫḫ-* are used only here, ll. 1 and 3, besides KBo VIII 42 Rs 12, see *CHD* L-N, 164. At least the second form needs *-za*, as E. Neu has noted in his

[he knows.] Someone will say something (like): ‘after him no[body]
 5 will [].’ Me, the Beast, this thing I used
 [to reveal:] ‘This god whom I mentioned,
 7 the king who as a human being [] all the things
 [] I, the Beast, kn[ow in advan]ce.”

9 “Do you not know, (also,) Ea? Once upon a time, [the gods]
 [] who made the sky, and [poured]
 11 the foundations [of the earth,] the god whom [they installed] in king-
 ship,
 [they installed him] in the kingship of the gods in the place of the as-
 sembly:
 13 the everlasting king[ship] of the gods in the sky. [The Mother-
 goddesses,]
 the Fate-deities, the *Delivering*-deities, the Il[i...]
 15 did [this god] live in kingship.”

“The Mother-goddesses, the Fate-deities, [the *Delivering*-deities, the Ili-
 ...]
 17 []...[]... to the gods who tell the fortune,
 []... the Mount[ains(as) nur]ses, the Lands
 19 they made [him] live within []”

21 []
 [] during one year
 23 []
 [] the god who
 [] will come from [that] place.

25 [] the go]ds, the kings
 [] from
 27 [] ...
 [] behind
 29 [] may he []
 [] may he go [with] a spear

Interpretation der hethitischen mediopassiven Verbalformen. StBoT 5 (Wiesbaden 1968), 112.

- 31 []... call it spittle five
mighty gods [will be placed] inside him.
(as) a hu]man being
- 33 []..
[]
-
- 35 [] may he penetrate the mountain
[]... The places
- 37 [] may it become pregnant with the river
Aranzah
[]
-
- 39 [] he spat out
[] may it become pregnant with [the
god -]sipa,
- 41 [] and it
[] may it become pregnant with
Zababa
- 43 [] he will spread out¹⁵ in []
[] may it become pregnant [with
the god.]
-
- []

¹⁵ On the meaning of *ulilya-*, see J. D. Hawkins, A. Morpurgo Davis, "Studies in Hieroglyphic Luwian", in *Fs Güterbock*², 73-74.

TRANSLATION OF GODS:
KUMARPI, ENLIL,
DAGAN/NISABA, HALKI

Orientalia 73 (2004)
(= A. Archi – F. Pecchioli Daddi,
Studi di Ittitologia in Onore di O. Carruba),
319-336.

Translation of Gods: Kumarpi, Enlil, Dagan/NISABA, Ḫalki¹

Alfonso ARCHI

1) Kumarpi and Enlil

Kumarpi became “father of the gods”, ^d*Ku-mar-bi at-ta-a-nu-un-ni-ya-aš* DINGIR^{MEŠ}², DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*aš attas*³ (as indicated by the epithet frequently attributed to this deity), against his wishes. He emasculated Anu with a bite whilst fighting him for “the kingship in heaven”. On hearing Kumarpi’s victorious laughter, Anu replies: “Stop rejoicing within yourself! I have placed inside you a burden. First, I have impregnated you with the noble Storm god (Teššub) ... Three terrible gods I have placed inside as burdens.”⁴ In effect, Kumarpi also gives birth to other gods, Ea acting as obstetrician in these difficult labours (this section of the Song of Kumarpi is in a very poor condition). At least one other god is born of Kumarpi’s spittle mixed with the seed of Anu. Strictly speaking, therefore, the father of this new generation of gods was Anu. A Hurrian hymn reasserts the truth when it states of Teššub: “your father Anu”, *at-ta-i-wu_i-um-ma* ^d*A-ni-eš*, “your mother Kumarpi”, *ni-ra-wu_i-ú-um-ma* ^d*Ku-mar-we_e-ni-eš*, KUB 47.78 r 12’-14’⁵. Kumarpi, instead, played the active role of father in generating monstrous beings such as Ḫedammu and Ullikummi, or vindictive spirits such as Silver, to whom he entrusts the task of defeating Teššub⁶.

¹ A. Kammenhuber, “Die hethitische Getreidegottheit Ḫalki/Nisaba”, in: M. Mori (ed.), *Near Eastern Studies Dedicated to Prince T. Mikasa* (Wiesbaden 1991) 143-160, has shown how the case of the deities Ḫalki/Nisaba is a good example of the ways in which the Hittites reworked foreign cultural elements. The topic of the “translation” of a god from one culture into another has been discussed by J. Assmann, “Translating Gods: Religion as Factor of Cultural (In)translatability”, in: S. Budick - W. Iser (ed.), *Translatability of Culture: Figuration of the Space Between* (Stanford 1996) 25-36.

² KUB 45.21 Vs. 3; see ChS I/5-1, no. 1, 24’ (!).

³ The passages are listed in B. H. L. van Gessel, *Onomasticon of the Hittite Pantheon*, I (Leiden 1998) 259-260; see, e. g., the Song of Ullikummi, in: H. A. Hoffner, *Hittite Myths* (Atlanta 1990) 52, § 6: “Kumarpi, Father of the Gods, is sitting”. The documentation concerning Kumarpi is presented in an admirable way by H. G. Güterbock, *RIA* 6 (1980-1983) 325-330.

⁴ Hoffner, *Hittite Myths* 40 § 5.

⁵ H.-J. Thiel - I. Wegner, “Eine Anrufung an den Gott Teššub von Ḫalab”, *SMEA* 24 (1984) 187-213.

⁶ The Hurrian ritual KUB 27.38 = ChS I/5-1, no. 87, has in iii 19-21: “[Here] (is) Silver

Alalu, the first “king in heaven”, defeated by Anu, “went down to the Dark Earth”, whilst Anu, “Heaven”, “went up to the sky and hid himself”. In defining the cosmos in mythical terms, the Hurrians used two Sumerio-Akkadian names. Kumarpi, however, continued to belong to the world of men. His city was Urkiš⁷, capital of one of the first Hurrian kingdoms. Various cultic texts mention him after Teššub and Tašmišu, together with the gods of the last generation. In a Hurrian incantation from Mari, he follows his spouse Pidenḫi “She of Piten” (that is Šalūš, who was originally the spouse of Dagan)⁸. In the Hurrian texts from Hattusa, Kumarpi appears alone in the *itkalzi* ritual, ChS I/1, 5 III 5, and in ChS I/1, 11 Vs. 31 (the versions of Ḫattuša date to the predecessors of Suppiluliuma I). Elsewhere he is followed by Ea, Kušuh/*SIN* and Šimiki/*UTU*⁹. In the *ḫišuwa* Festival, he is preceded by his spouse Šalūš, as the Sun god Šimiki is preceded by Aya¹⁰.

Cultural links generally tend to make different systems homogeneous. The cuneiform writing, using several Sumerograms (in Hittite, also Akkadograms) instead of the phonetic names, favoured this process. In several cases, however, the superimposition of a Sumerian or Akkadian name on that of a god of different origin did not indicate a true identification between gods whose characteristics were created in different cultural environments.

Akkadian tradition had a marked influence on the literary and structural form of the Kumarpi cycle. Ea plays a pivotal role in the development of the plot in all of the songs since, as god of wisdom, he took those decisions which would determine the course of events. The Akkadian

(*ušhune*), the king (*ewri*), the king of the gods (*šarri*) ...; here (is) Ḫedam(mu), the king, to whom Kumarpi has given birth as the king of the gods.” This passage has been explained by G. Wilhelm, in: *Fs. H. A. Hoffner Jr.* (Winona Lake 2003) 393-395.

⁷ Hoffner, *Hittite Myths* 52, § 4 (Ullikummi); 47 § 4 (Silver).

⁸ F. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 36 (1939) 17, line 4. For Salaš, the spouse of Dagan according to the Ebla texts of the 3rd millennium, see below, note 22. For a well-balanced scrutiny of the documentation concerning this goddess, see L. Feliu, *The God Dagan in Bronze Age Syria* (Leiden/Boston 2003) 288-293; on the possible relation concerning Salaš, Šalūš and Šala, the spouse of Hadda from the OB period, see D. Schwemer, *Die Wettergottgestalten Mesopotamiens und Nordsyriens im Zeitalter der Keilschriftkulturen* (Wiesbaden 2001) 403-411.

⁹ The god-list in the substitution ritual KUB 17.14 Rs. (1), H. M. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale für den hethitischen König* (StBoT 3; Wiesbaden 1967) 60-61, shows a Hurro-Kizzuwatnean influence; ll. 11'-12' have the sequence: Enlil (for Kumarpi), Ninlil, Kušuh, Ningal, Ea, Damkina.

¹⁰ ChS I/2, no. 22 I 2'-4': Nupatik - Šawuška, Šalūš - Kumarpi, Aya - Šimiki. ChS I/2, no. 40 i 40-43: Kumarpi, Šimiki, Aštapi, Nupatik. ChS I/2, nos. 83 Vs. 13'-14' / 84 11'-12': Kušuh - Kumarpi - [...] - Šawuška. ChS I/3-1 (Mursili II), no. 1 i 59-63 (several Teššubs) Tašmišu - Šawuška AN, Kumarpi - Ea (A.A.), Kušuh - Šimiki, Aštapi - Nupatik - Ugur; ii 17-22: viziers of Šawuška, Tešup, Kumarpi, Ea, Šimiki, Ḫešuj. ChS I/4 (*ḫišuwa* Festival), nos. 23 v 30-35 and 26 v 21-25: Teššub Manuziya, Ḫebat mušuni, Šalūš Kumarpi, [; nos. 23 vi 17-25, 26 vi 1-4, 29 vi 21-24: Lilluri, Ḫebat mušuni, Šalūš - Kumarpi, Aya - Šimiki, Šawuška.

god Ea has no Hurrian counterpart. Together with his wife, Damkina, he was accepted into the Hurrian cult precisely for those functions which the myths attribute to him. Via the Hurrians, Ea reached Hittite Anatolia¹¹. Other elements were incorporated into the Cycle when the Hurrians came into contact with Syrian societies. Teššub took on aspects common to the Semitic Hadda such as, for example, the mythologem of the battle with the Sea¹². Consequently, the geographical picture extends as far as the Mediterranean: it is from Mount Ғazzi (Mons Casius) that Teššub, together with his brother Tašmišu and Šawuška, sees Ullikummi's rise from the sea (§ 32).

Notwithstanding the direct Akkadian influence, Enlil and Kumarpi are generally perceived as two different gods in the Kumarpi Cycle. The reason for this lies in the central role played by Kumarpi in Hurrian mythical thought. At the start of the Song of Kumarpi (§ 2), Enlil and Ninlil are invited, along with the Primeval Gods, to "listen" to the story of "kingship in heaven". Kumarpi then, however, goes to Nippur, the city of Enlil, to await the birth of the gods with which he has been impregnated (§ 8). In the Song of Ullikummi (§§ 18-20), Enlil plays an ambiguous role. He recognises that "this evil (plot) can only be Kumarpi's. Just as Kumarpi raised Teššub, so (now) he has raised against him this Basalt as a supplanter". He then, however, does nothing to stop Kumarpi's plan and permits Ullikummi to be implanted in Upelluri's right shoulder.

A fragmentary text in Hittite of the Atrahasis epos, KUB 36.74, has Enlil together with his vizier Nušku. Another episode (not preserved in the Babylonian original), KUB 8.63, uses, however, the name of Kumarpi instead of Enlil¹³.

¹¹ A. Archi, "The God Ea in Anatolia", in: *Fs. N. Özgüç* (Ankara 1993) 27-33. One day of the Autumn festival was devoted to the rites for Ea and Damkina, Nabû and NISABA, KUB 58.45 + KUB 59.42 (see M. Nakamura, *Das hethitische nuntarriyašša-Fest* [Leiden 2002] 282-286; this tablet cannot be ascribed to a specific day), as well as the 29th day of the Spring festival (see M. Popko – P. Taracha, "Der 28. and 29. Tag des hethitischen AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-Festes", *AoF* 15 [1988] 82-113).

¹² Ph. H. J. Howink ten Cate, in: D. J. W. Meijer (ed.), *Natural Phenomena: Their Meaning, Depiction and Description in the Ancient Near East* (Amsterdam 1992) 117, has suggested that KBo 26.105 preserves a fragment of the myth of a conflict between Teššub and the Sea. The text has been discussed by Schwemer, *Wettergottgestalten* 451-454. For a Hurrian text concerning this mythologem, see I. Rutherford, "The Song of the Sea (ŠA A.AB.BA SIR): Thoughts on KUB 45.63", in: G. Wilhelm (ed.), *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie, Würzburg, 4.-8. Oktober 1999* (StBoT 45; Wiesbaden 2001) 598-609.

¹³ For KUB 8.63, see H. G. Güterbock, *Kumarbi: Mythen vom churritischen Kronos* (Zürich/New York 1946) 30-31, 81-82, *29-*30; for KUB 36.74, see J. Siegelová, *ArOr* 38 (1970) 135-139. For the Atrahasis epos at Ғattuša, see, further, A. M. Polvani, in: *Fs. P. Fronzaroli* (Wiesbaden 2003) 533-539. The Hittite translation of "Enkidu's Dream" of the Gilgameš poem has Enlil. KUB 8.48 i 4, lists the sequence: Anu, Enlil, Ea, Šamaš; see R. Stefanini, *JNES* 28 (1969) 40.

In north-west Syrian environments from at least the 16th century on, Kumarpi was equated with “father Enlil”¹⁴, that is to say “the father of the gods”, although another Akkadian tradition held Anu to be the father of the Storm god, as well as of other gods. In the god-list of Šattiwaza’s treaty with Suppiluliuma, Anu and Enlil, both together with their spouses, Antu and Ninlil, and NIN.É.GAL, conclude the list of the Primeval Gods. The scribes followed the example of the Akkadian god-lists, in which Antu is merely a name. Enlil and Ninlil meant also Kumarpi and Šaluš. This sequence is to be found in all of the political treaties between Suppiluliuma and Mursili II and the Syrian kings. In the Hurrianized Syria of the time, the identification of Kumarpi and Šaluš with Enlil and Ninlil was quite clear. In treaties between Mursili II and the Anatolian kings, however, Kumarpi follows Alalu and precedes Anu and Enlil and their respective consort, as occurs also in the treaty between Muwattalli and Alaksandu where, however, Anu and Antu are ignored¹⁵. The royal courts of western Anatolia knew Kumarpi but were not necessarily aware of the identity which had developed in Syrian theological circles. It is for this reason that Kumarpi and Enlil are both found in the same lists.

2) Enlil and Dagan

According to the kings of Akkad, Dagan was lord of the regions which stretched towards the north-west, including northern Syria, an idea that had existed for some time in Mesopotamia. Mesanepada of Ur dedicated a lapislazuli bead (found at Mari) to the god Lugal-kalam, that is Šar/Bēl mātīm “the Lord of the country”¹⁶. It is Dagan who gives Sargon the entire country, as far as the Silver Mountains¹⁷. This motif is then tak-

¹⁴ On Kumarpi, see in general H. G. Güterbock, *RIA* 6, 324-330; the references to a bilingual omen, with Enlil in the Akkadian version and Kumarpi in the Hittite one, and to the Ugaritic vocabulary with the equation Enlil-Kumarpi, are given at p. 325. Enlil receives the title of “father of the gods”, *i-li-lu a-mu dingir-dingir-dingir*, already in an Eblaite incantation (D. O. Edzard, *ARET* 5, 1 v 2-4, vi 1-3, 10-12), under the influence of the Babylonian religion.

¹⁵ See A. Archi, *Or* 59 (1990) 121-123. Enlil (that is, Kumarpi) opens the list of the Primeval Gods in ChS 1/5-1, no. 77 (KBo 17.94) iii 29’.

¹⁶ E. Sollberger, in: E. Sollberger - J.-R. Kupper, *Inscriptions royales sumériennes et akkadiennes* (Paris 1971) 90 had already identified Lugal-kalam with Dagan. This god appears also in the votive inscription of Šaba (Salim) of Mari, *pa,-šeš* Lugal-kalam: I. J. Gelb - B. Kienast, *Die altakkadischen Königsinschriften des dritten Jahrtausends v. Chr.* (FAOS 7; Stuttgart 1990) 17-18 (MP 23). See further the votive inscription of Ištup-ilum, son of Išma-Dagan, for a temple he built in Mari for Lugal-mātīm, Gelb-Kienast, *ibid.* 361 (MŠ 5).

¹⁷ D. Frayne, *Sargonic and Gutian Periods* (RIME 2; Toronto/Buffalo/London 1993) 28-31: 14-28, 6’-21’: “Sargon, the king, bowed down to the god Dagan in Tuttul. He (Dagan) gave to him (Sargon) the Upper Land: Mari, Jarmuti, and Ebla as far as the Cedar Forest and the Silver Mountains.”

en up again by Naram-Sin, who attributes the success of the Syrian expedition both to Nergal, who opens up the road to new conquests, and to Dagan, with whose aid he conquers the lands in the area of the Euphrates¹⁸. Dagan had the same rank as the great gods of Babylonia, each of whom is lord of an important city: “Aštar in Eanna, Enlil in Nippur, Dagan in Tuttul, Ninĥursag in Keš, Ea in Eridu...”¹⁹.

For the Syrian peoples of the third millennium, as for those of the following millennium, Dagan was the god of the Middle Euphrates. Also Ħammurapi, who was well aware of Hadda of Ħalab’s supremacy over northern Syria, considered Dagan to be the god of “the towns beside the Euphrates”, in particular Mari and Tuttul (CH, Prologue IV 27-34). The Ebla archives (second half of the twenty-fourth century) show how originally some of the principal gods exercised control each over a particular region. West of Dagan’s area lay that of Hadda of Ħalab, whilst ‘Adabal (^dNI-*da-bal*) (not mentioned in later periods) dominated the valley of the Orontes from Hama to Amuq²⁰. In the Ebla documents, Dagan is mentioned only in terms of epithets such as “Lord of Tuttul”, ^dBAD (*ba’l*) *Du-du-lu^{ki}*, or “Lord of the country”, ^dBAD KALAMTM / *ma-tum/tim*; the writing ^d*Da-gan* is, however, used in the name-giving²¹. Already at this time, the consort of the “Lord (i.e. Dagan) of Tuttul (^dBAD *Du-du-lu^{ki}*) was Šalaš, who, however, also formed a couple together with ^d*Wa-da-’à-an* of *Ga-ra-mu^{ki}*, the god of a town in the Euphrates valley²².

The kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur, instead of carrying out military campaigns in Syria and establishing strongholds in the Ħabur region, opted

¹⁸ Ibid. 132-135, E2.1.4.26 i 5 - ii 19: “No king whosoever had destroyed Armanum and Ebla; the god Nergal, by means of (his) weapons opened the way for Naram-Sin, the mighty, and gave him Armanum and Ebla. Further, he gave to him the Amanus, the Cedar Mountain, and the Upper Sea. By means of the weapons of the god Dagan, who magnifies his kingship, Naram-Sin, the mighty, conquered Armanum and Ebla. Further, from the side of the Euphrates as far as Ulišum (i.e. Uršum), he smote the people whom Dagan had given to him for the first time.” iii 23-31: “The god Dagan gave me Armanum and Ebla and I captured Rid-Adad, king of Armanum.”

¹⁹ Ibid. 113-114 (Bāsetki inscription), E2.1.2.10, ll. 29-33.

²⁰ See A. Archi, “Hadda of Ħalab and his temple in the Ebla period”, in print.

²¹ See G. Pettinato, *Or* 54 (1985) 234-244, who quotes, further, the writing ^dLuga1 *Du-du-lu^{ki}* (in the writing system of Ebla, luga1 = *ba’lum*) in TM.75.G.2075 obv. ii 14-15; see G. Pettinato, *OA* 18 (1979) 147. Several passages concerning these two epithets are collected by F. Pomponio - P. Xella, *Les dieux d’Ebla* (Münster 1997) 98-99, 102-106.

An unpublished text from Ebla proves the identity of Dagan of Tuttul with Bēl-mātim “the Lord of the country”, TM.75.G.2397 obv. vii 21-31: I udu il šu é ^dBAD *ma-tum Gú-gú-a-nu šu-du^{ki}*, in ud è-*sù si-in Du-du-lu^{ki}* “I sheep (for) the lifting of the hands (in) the temple of the Lord of the country, PN has taken on the occasion of his departure to Tuttul”.

A hymn to Nisaba in Semitic, ARET V 7, has: ^dInanna ^dBAD.AL, *kalam-tim* “Ašdar, the mighty lady of the country”; see M. Krebernik, in: P. Fronzaroli (ed.), *Literature and Literary Language at Ebla* (Firenze 1992) 88 (6.3) and 96.

²² A. Archi, “Šalaš consort of Dagan and Kumarbi”, in: *Fs. P. H. J. Houwink ten Cate* (Leiden 1995) 1-6.

to develop diplomatic relations with the local dynasties²³. Inter-dynastic marriages could have helped spread knowledge of certain Syrian divinities in southern Mesopotamia²⁴. Dagan was worshipped at the palace of Ur, and would appear to have had a temple at Nippur²⁵. Išhara was associated with him, not because she was his spouse (her character was similar to that of Ištar), but because they shared north-western origins²⁶, as did also “the Lady of the Ḥabur”, *Ḥabūrītum*, probably to be identified with “the Lady of Nagar”, ^dNIN Na-gār^{ki}²⁷.

Dagan’s cults spread to the dynasty of Isin, possibly because Išbi-Erra, “the travelling rubbish salesman of non-Sumerian origins”, was “a man of Mari”, as Ibbi-Sin of Ur says so scathingly²⁸. Išbi-Erra, in his message demanding the surrender of Kazallu (reported by Puzur-Šulgi/Numušda, the governor of Kazallu, in a letter to Ibbi-Sin) declares: “I have sworn by the name of Dagan, my god.” One manuscript has, however, the variant: “by the name of Enlil, my god, and Dagan”²⁹. The two gods were considered as equal since they played the same roles in their original regions. This identity, and that of their spouses, is codified in the god-list An = *Anum*³⁰. The royal inscriptions of Isin always mention Enlil.

²³ D. I. Owen, “Syrians in Sumerian Sources from the Ur III Period”, in: M. W. Chavalas – J. L. Hayes (ed.), *New Horizons in the Study of Ancient Syria* (Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 25; Malibu 1992) 107-176.

²⁴ J. Boese – W. Sallaberger, *AoF* 23 (1996) 26-27, have suggested that the cult of Dagan was introduced at the court of Sulgi by his spouse Tarām-uram from Mari. Two sons of this king had PNs with Dagan; see H. Waetzoldt, *Or* 54 (1985) 245-256. See, further, W. Sallaberger, *Der kultische Kalender der Ur III-Zeit*, I (Berlin 1993) 19-20; T. Scharlach, in: D. I. Owen – G. Wilhelm, *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians* 12 (Bethesda, Maryland 2002) 108.

²⁵ M. Hilgert, *JCS* 46 (1994) 29-39; Sallaberger, *Kultischer Kalender* 222-223. A good evaluation of the Ur III documents concerning Dagan is given by Feliu, *The God Dagan* 48-57.

²⁶ For Išhara, the goddess of Ebla in the 3rd and the 2nd millennium, see A. Archi, “Divinités sémitiques et divinités de substrat: Le cas d’Išhara et d’Ištar à Ebla”, *MARI* 7 (1993) 71-78; id., “Formation of the West Hurrian Pantheon: The Case of Išhara”, in: K. A. Yener – H. A. Hoffner Jr. (ed.), *Recent Developments in Hittite Archaeology and History* (Winona Lake, Indiana 2002) 21-33.

²⁷ The Lady of Nagar is attested in the inscription of Tiš-atal of Urkiš; see D. Frayne, *Ur III Period* (RIME 3/2; Toronto 1997) 462-464: E3/2.7.3.1. The documentation of the OB period has been studied by M. Guichard, “Au pays de la dame de Nagar”, in: *Florilegium marianum* 2 (Mémoires de NABU 3; Paris 1994) 235-272.

²⁸ Išbi-Erra’s name is, however, Akkadian. This letter of Ibbi-Sin to Puzur-Numušda has been translated by W. H. Ph. Römer, in: R. Borger – W. Hinz – W. H. Ph. Römer, *Historisch-chronologische Texte* I (Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments I/4; Gütersloh 1984) 351-353.

²⁹ Römer, *ibid.* 349 (with bibliography). The letter has been published by F. A. Ali, *Sumerian Letters: Two Collections from the Old Babylonian School* (Dissertation from the University of Pennsylvania 1964) 42-53. For Išbi-Erra acclaimed as the son of Enlil, see, further, Å. W. Sjöberg, “The Ape from the Mountain Who Became the King of Isin”, in: *Fs. W. W. Hallo* (Bethesda, Maryland 1993) 211-220.

³⁰ CT 24.6 II 22-23. See R. L. Litke, *A Reconstruction of the Assyro-Babylonian God-List, AN: 4A-nu-um and AN: Anu šá amēli* (Texts from the Babylonian Collection 3; New Haven 1998) 42-43, nos. 193-195.

Išbi-Erra, however, named one of his sons Nur-Dagan, and two kings have names with Dagan: Iddin-Dagan and Išme-Dagan³¹.

The Amorite dynasties continued to consider Dagan as “the Lord of the country”. A god-list dating to Yaġgid-Lim (who transferred his capital from Šuprum to Mari), or to the first years of his successor, Yaġdun-Lim, has: Ištar, Ištar Dēritum, Annunītum, Dagan, / Lugal mātim (*B*: Bēl mātim), Ninḥursaga, ... Lugal Terqa (*B*: Bēl Terqa)... The list includes Dagan in the first group, after three goddesses. The following section opens with the epithet defining Dagan’s jurisdiction: “the Lord of the Country”, and with his spouse Ninḥursaga (this Sumerogram in all likelihood corresponds to Šalaš)³². There is then a third hypostasis of Dagan: “the Lord of Terqa” (an epithet applied to this god already in the 3rd millennium)³³.

Yaġdun-Lim, “king of Mari, Tuttul, and the land Ḫana”, claims that his kingship derived from Dagan: “Dagan proclaimed my kingship (and) gave to me a mighty weapon that fells my royal enemies”, while in the curse formulae Anum and Enlil are invoked, according to the Babylonian tradition. The inscription for the foundation of the temple of Šamaš, by the same king, follows the Babylonian models in style, with again Sumero-Akkadian gods in the curse formulae, where Enlil is “lord of the gods”, using the Amorite (and West Semitic) term *šāpiṭum* “who exercises authority, judge”³⁴. Scribal tradition demanded certain sequences of gods and certain writings.

³¹ The documentation concerning the dynasty of Isin has been discussed by Feliu, *The God Dagan* 296-297, who writes: “Later, one of the successors of Išbi-Erra, the king Ur-dukuga, restored the temple é-dúr-ki-gar-ra of Dagan in the same city. In the commemorative inscription of the event, Dagan is called en gal kur-kur-ra ‘The august lord of the lands’ [D. R. Frayne, RIME 4 (Toronto 1990) 94, E4.1.13.1, lines 1-2], an epithet that has a clear parallel with the ‘Enlilian’ title en kur-kur ‘lord of the lands’. In parallel, Gungunum of Larsa, through the daughter of Išme-Dagan of Isin, Enannatumma, commemorated the reconstruction of the temple of Dagan in Ur called é-éš-me-dagal-la; in this inscription Dagan is also called by the very ‘Enlilian’ epithet en dingir gal-gal-e-ne ‘The lord of the great gods’ [Frayne, RIME 4, 115, E4.2.5.1].”

³² J.-M. Durand, *MARI* 5 (1987) 611-612, noted that the temple of Ninḥursaga in Mari is close to that of Bēl-mātim, that is Dagan, who was assimilated to Enlil. He proposed, therefore, that Ninḥursaga should be identified with Šalaš, the spouse of Dagan, in: P. Mander – J.-M. Durand, *Mitología y Religión del Oriente Antiguo*, II/1. *Semitas Occidentales (Ebla, Mari)* (Sabadell 1995) 136; see, further, in: *MARI* 8 [1997] 278. The sound identification of Ninḥursaga with Šalaš weakens J.-M. Durand’s new thesis (*Mitología y Religión* 172-178) that Bēl-mātim should be Hadda of Halab. For the identity of Bēl-mātim with Dagan already in the 3rd millennium, see above, note 21.

³³ For this archaic list of gods and its later duplicate (*B*), see J.-M. Durand, *MARI* 4 (1985) 162-163; id., *Mitología y Religión* 165-213. A further list of this period, published by M. Lambert, *Syria* 47 (1970) 247 (quoted by Durand, *Mitología y Religión* 212-213), has: Ištar, Annunītum, Dagan, /Lugal mātim, Ninḥursaga, Lugal Terqa... The tablets of the 24th century from Mari already mention Dagan as Lugal Terqa; see D. Charpin, *MARI* 5 (1987) 100.

³⁴ Frayne, RIME 4, 602-604, E4.6.8.1 lines 3-5, 9-14, 61, and 604-608, E4.6.8.2 line 137. All the documentation concerning Dagan of the OB period has been discussed in detail by Feliu, *The God Dagan* 62-213.

Šamši-Adad I, whose royal cities were Aššur and Šubat-Enlil, usually defines himself as “appointee (*šakin*) of Enlil, vice-regent (*iššiak*) of Aššur”³⁵. In the votive inscription for the building of an extension to the temple of Dagan in Terqa, he is, however, “appointee of Enlil, worshipper (*pāliḥ*) of Dagan, vice-regent of Aššur”³⁶. This is similar to the dedication of vases for Dagan in Mari: “appointee of Enlil, vice-regent of Aššur, beloved (*narām*) of Dagan”. Also his son, Yasmaḥ-Addu, installed by him in Mari, takes the title of “appointee of Enlil”, according to the Akkadian tradition³⁷. The seal inscription of a servant, instead, follows local tradition: Yasmaḥ-Addu is “appointee of Dagan”. According to a votive inscription of another servant, he is “vice-regent of Dagan and Ištar”³⁸, two epithets which are fitting for a king of Mari. Dagan is identified with Enlil in a votive inscription of Yasmaḥ-Addu, where he addresses Dagan of Tuttul with the name of Mullil, the Emesal form of Enlil: “To Mullil, [the one who listens to] prayers, who dwells in Tuttul...”³⁹.

Zimri-Lim, having retaken the throne from Yasmaḥ-Addu, cites both of the gods in his seals: “Zimri-Lim, appointee of Dagan, beloved of Enlil, king of Mari and the land of Ḫana, son of Yaḥdun-Lim”⁴⁰. Here the juxtaposition of the two gods emphasises the assimilation of one to the other. In the “Epic of Zimri-Lim”, Dagan receives the Sumerian epithet Nunamir, which stands for Enlil⁴¹. The king enters the temple of Dagan at Terqa after his military victories: “... he came into the presence of Nunamir; in the (temple) Ekisiga he offered his sacrifice, within Terqa, the beloved of Dagan. Zimrilim asked Dagan for life, prosperity and strength.”⁴² A learned scribe of Mari, who felt overlooked, writes a bilingual “letter-prayer” to Zimri-Lim. The gods he invokes reflect the Sumero-Akkadian theology of Nippur at the time. An(um) and Enlil called Zimri-Lim to royal status (l. 3); Ninḫursaga (/Nintur; that is Šalaš at Mari) raised him to the rank of prince. Dagan (⁴*Da-gan* also in the Sumerian text) is “the great mountain, the father of the great gods, who marshals the Anunnaki, the powerful god, creator of heaven and earth, the father who gives birth

³⁵ A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC (to 1115 BC)* (RIMA 1; Toronto/Buffalo/London 1987) 55, A.0.39.2., ll. 2-3; 56, A.0.39.3, ll. 2-3; 59, A.0.39.7, ll. 3-4.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 60, A.0.39.8, ll. 3-5.

³⁷ Frayne, RIME 4, 615, E4.6.11.1, l. 2.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 620, E4.6.11.2003, l. 2; 619, E4.6.11.2001, l. 6’.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 617, E4.6.11.3., ll. 1-3.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 626-627, E4.6.12.4 and 5. For the title “beloved (*narām*) of Dagan” and “appointee (*šakin*) of Dagan”, see the seals of his servants, respectively *ibid.* 632-634, E4.6.12.2008-2010, and 2011.

⁴¹ On Nunamir, see A. Cavigneaux – M. Krebernik, *RIA* 9 (1998-2001) 614.

⁴² J. M. Durand, *Archives épistolaires de Mari*, I/1 (ARM 26/1; Paris 1988) 475.

to the gods”, who raised Zimri-Lim to royal status (ll. 9-11)⁴³. These five epithets belong only to Enlil. The scribe of Mari does not fail to mention Enlil at the very start but he then transfers to Dagan those attributes which Sumero-Akkadian theology had assigned to Enlil. In this manner he creates a total assimilation between the two gods. This marks the culmination of a lengthy process that began with the comparison of Dagan with Enlil based solely on the dominating position enjoyed by each god within his own pantheon. In the 3rd millennium (as shown by the Ebla texts) the Syrian pantheons were not organised in line with the model relating to the birth of the gods. Hadda was not considered to be the son of Dagan and there is nothing to suggest that the god of a given city was perceived as being the son of the major god of the region.

Dagan continued to be seen as the principal god of the Middle Euphrates also during the Late Bronze Age, according to the texts from Emar. There are three elements which show how Dagan was equated with Enlil: *a*) The name Dagan was written, as well as phonetically, also as ⁴KUR, a simplified form of Enlil’s epithet ⁴Kur-gal “Great Mountain”, transferred to Dagan as a result of the assimilation of the two gods (see the letter by the scribe of Zimri-Lim quoted above). *b*) One of the most frequent epithets applied to Dagan/KUR was EN *buqāri* “Lord of the Offspring”, insofar as he was parent of the gods⁴⁴, a function which he originally did not have. *c*) The name of the city god of Emar is written with the Sumerogram ⁴NIN.URTA. It has been noted that “⁴NIN.URTA’s seal carries city authority on legal documents like Ninurta at Ur III Nippur... This similarity, with Ninurta’s identity as firstborn of Enlil, might be the basis for the Emar rendering”. ⁴NIN.URTA could be identified with the storm-god Addu⁴⁵. The highest point of the city was occupied by a pair of

⁴³ D. Charpin, in: M. de Jong Ellis (ed.), CRRAI 35 (Philadelphia 1992) 7-27; see, further, J.-M. Durand, *Documents épistolaires du palais de Mari*, I (Paris 1997) 103-110.

On the identification of Dagan with Enlil in the Old Babylonian period, see further W. G. Lambert, *RHA* 36 (1978) 132: “The Old Babylonian edition of the Anzū Epic from Susa uses the phrase ‘Anum and Dagān’ meaning Anu and Enlil (J. Nougayrol, *RA* 46 [1952] 90, line 45 and 94, line 14), and an inscription of Urdukuga of Isin gives Dagān the title ‘great lord of the lands’ (en gal kur.kur.ra; YBT IX 27-30 and duplicate), the similarity of which to Enlil’s standard title ‘lord of the lands’ (lugal kur.kur.ra = *bēl mātāi*) is hardly a coincidence.”

⁴⁴ D. E. Fleming, *Time at Emar: The Cultic Calendar and the Rituals from the Diviner’s House* (Winona Lake, Indiana 2000) 91 writes as it follows: “Even under the *zukru* festival’s royal sponsorship, Dagan is not celebrated as the king of the gods but as their parent. He is not made into a model for the ambitious human institution. The ‘father’ title suggests that the offspring indicated by the term *bu-ka-ri* may simply be the pantheon, and as ‘Lord of the Offspring’ Dagan is recognized as the ultimate procreative power”; see also, p. 90, for the epithet *abuma* “the very father”. The documentation from Emar concerning Dagan, included his epithets, has been discussed by Feliu, *The God Dagan* 214-263.

⁴⁵ D. E. Fleming, “Baal and Dagan in Ancient Syria”, *ZA* 83 (1993) 88-98. This explanation of the Emar rendering of the city god’s name was suggested to Fleming by P. Steinkeller. Against

temples which included the Storm-god, not Dagan. The city god was, therefore, the Storm-god. Dagan was, however, at the head of the regional pantheon, and he plays the role of the principal deity in the *zukru* festival.

3) Dagan, Kumarpi/Enlil and El

The texts from Ugarit offer scant evidence of the cult of Dagan. Five offering lists, a litany and two incantations place Dagan after El and Ba'l (six times) or between El and Ba'l (twice). Dagan was clearly a foreign deity, as is specified in an incantation and in a literary text ("Marriage of Yarah and Nikkal") which mention "Dagan of Tuttul"⁴⁶.

The epithet *bn dgn* "son of Dagan" is frequent for the Storm-god, Ba'l, in the literary texts (another epithet is *hik dgn* "lineage of Dagan")⁴⁷. Dagan, however, plays no role at all in the myths and legends of Ugarit. Head of the assembly of the gods and bearing the title of *mlk* "king", is El, who is also *bny bnwt* "creator of living things". He exercises authority over the gods insofar as he is an ancient and wise god. The Ugaritic pantheon is, therefore, organised on the lines of two generations. Although there is no mention of a theogony, some scholars have assumed that the form of the pantheon as reflected in the myths is the result of a conflict between El and his principal sons, Ba'l, Yam and Môt, who would appear to have deposed their father. El does not appear to have a friendly relationship with Ba'l⁴⁸.

There is, however, good reason to believe that the need to organise the gods into generations developed over the millennia. El, as the name of a god, is only known in Syrian environments, beginning with the texts from Ugarit. During the first millennium, the god El is attested in the Aramaic inscriptions of Zincirli (KAI, no. 214 and 215) and Sfire (KAI 222). Philo of Byblos identified El with Kronos. The Ebla texts of the 24th century B.C. do not know, however, El, but *-il* "the god" as an element of a

this hypothesis is the fact the Emar texts use the Sumerogram 𒀭KUR for the storm-god; see G. Beckman, "The Pantheon of Emar" in: *Fs. M. Popko* (Warsaw 2002) 39-54. In the Hurrian milieu, ⁴⁶NIN.URTA was a writing for the war-god Aštapi, who was identified with the Hittite god Šuwaliyat; see the literature quoted by van Gessel, *Onomasticon of the Hittite Pantheon* II, 741-742.

⁴⁶ See Feliu, *The God Dagan 266-267*, for the quotations and a table with the lists. See, further, B. L. Crowell, "The Development of Dagan: a Sketch", *JANER* 1 (2001) 32-83, who studies the different images of Dagan in his several centers of cult (the Ugaritic evidence is discussed especially on pp. 44-45, 64-65).

⁴⁷ The quotations are listed by Feliu, *The God Dagan* 264 notes 416, 417.

⁴⁸ On El, see in general, A. Caquot - M. Sznycer - A. Herdner, *Textes Ougaritiques*, I. *Mythes et Légendes* (Paris 1974) 55-68.

personal name, extremely frequent also in the Old Akkadian onomasticon⁴⁹. Moreover, we have no information suggesting that the Storm-god Hadda was considered to be the son of any other god⁵⁰. Hadda, the lord of the region of Ḫalab, was already portrayed at Ebla as the warrior who slays the dragon⁵¹. In the second millennium, the enemy of Hadda of Ḫalab is Tiāmat; just as Ba'1 defeats Yam in the Ugaritic myth⁵². We have no elements enabling us to identify the dragon of the Eblaite myth with the Sea. The mythologem, however, in all three variants narrates the struggle between the life-giving element and its opposite. Sumero-Akkadian influence could have suggested organizing the Ugaritic pantheon according to the generation model, where the three elements constituting the world of men: Ba'1, Yam, Môt, are sons of El (Ilu). It is a fact that the Akkadian model imposed a cosmological structure on the translator of the list *An* (*Ugaritica* V, 246). For An and Antum the Hurrian column gives, quite simply, the Sumero-Akkadian name: “Ani (and) the Spouse of Ani”⁵³. The Ugaritic interpretation is, instead: *Ša-mu-ma* and *Ta-a-ma-tum*, the primordial divine couple “Heaven (and) Sea”. Then comes Enlil who, being father of the gods, is equated with the Hurrian Kumarpi and the Akkadian common noun *Ilum* “god”, which stands for El.

Dagan is quite extraneous to this theological concept. He was, however, known as the great god of the Euphrates region, assimilated to the Akkadian Enlil, “the father of the gods”. For this reason, Ba'1 receives the epithet *bn dgn* “son of Dagan” in the myths, a literary formula deriving from a different tradition. Not only a number of offering lists, but also several god-lists, cite both El and Dagan⁵⁴. It was E. Laroche who noted that Dagan at Ugarit corresponded to Kumarpi, comparing the “Semitic

⁴⁹ On this topic, see A. Archi, “Il in the Personal Names”, *OLZ* 91 (1996) 133-151; R. A. Di Vito, *Studies in Third Millennium Sumerian and Akkadian Personal Names: The Designation and Conception of the Personal God* (Roma 1993) 235-271.

⁵⁰ An Eblaite incantation qualifies Enlil as “father of the gods”, *I-li-lu^o/I-li-lu a-mu dingir-dingir-dingir*, *ARET* V 1 V 2-4, VI 1-3, 10-12; dupl. 3 I 6 - II 2, 8 - III 2, according to the Sumerian tradition. This incantation has been studied by P. Fronzaroli, *VO* 7 (1988) 11-23. P. Steinkeller, in: K. Watanabe (ed.), *Priests and Officials in the Ancient Near East* (Heidelberg 1999) 114, note 36, has suggested that ^o*I-li-lu* should be explained as Semitic **il-ilī* “god of (all) the gods”. *Contra*: D. O. Edzard, in: *Fs. P. Fronzaroli* 173-184. ^o*I-li-lu* is not mentioned in any administrative document, not even in those concerning the cult-offerings. This fact proves that a supreme god called “God of (all) the gods” was unknown to the Semitic populations of northern Syria and Mesopotamia.

⁵¹ P. Fronzaroli, “Les combats de Hadda dans les textes d'Ebla”, *MARI* 8 (1997) 283-290.

⁵² J.-M. Durand, “Le mythologème du combat entre le Dieu de l'orage et la Mer en Mésopotamie”, *MARI* 7 (1993) 41-61.

⁵³ E. Laroche, *Ugaritica* V, 453.

⁵⁴ See Feliu, *The God Dagan* 269-270. The god-list are: RS 20.24 2-3: *Ilum / Dagan /* (several hypostases of Haddu), in *Ugaritica* V, 44; KTU 1.118 2-3 and 1.148 3-4: *il / dgn /* (several hypostases of Ba'1). These lists give the “Semitic pantheon”. The hymn in Hurrian KTU 1.42 6-8 = Laroche, *Ugaritica* V, 520 (the “Hurrian pantheon”) has *el* followed by *kmp*.

pantheon” with the “Hurrian pantheon”⁵⁵. The two gods were considered to be the same in Ugaritic society where, in the 14th and 13th centuries, the Hurrian element was closely integrated into the Semitic ones. The same was the case in Alalakh, Haleb and Qatna. Today we know from the documents of Emar and Ekalte/Munbāqa that in this period the cult of Dagan was still powerful in the area of the Middle Euphrates⁵⁶.

4) Kumarpi/NISABA/Halki

A ritual from Kizzuwatna, found in the archives of Hattuša, KBo 39.189 + KBo 34.59 + KBo 38.297⁵⁷, gives a standard list of Hurrian gods: Teššub, Hebat (of the Temple), Teššub (of the town), Tašmišu (brother of Teššub), Kumarpi, Kušuḫ (the Moon-god); Šimigi (the Sun-god), Aštabi (a war-god), Nubadik (a war-god), Hešue... The gods Teššub, Kumarpi, Kušuḫ and Šimige were well known throughout the Hurrian regions; Hebat “She of Ha(l)ab” and Aštabi were of north-Syrian origin, being already attested in the Ebla texts of the 24th century B.C.; it is not possible to determine the origin of Hešue⁵⁸. In the circle (*kaluti*) of Hebat we find, further, her son Šarruma, from Kizzuwatna, and Išhara, who was the goddess of Ebla already during the 3rd millennium B.C.⁵⁹. E. Laroche, who was the first to study the list of the Hurrian gods in the Hittite documents, maintained that “les Hourrites ... vers le milieu du deuxième millénaire, possèdent un panthéon emprunté à la Mésopotamie. Mais ils l’ont adapté en donnant au dieu de l’orage une place prépondérante. ... Il est probable que la présence d’Adad chez les Sémites occidentaux a joué ici un rôle capital”⁶⁰. Three decades later, in presenting a more in-depth picture, the same author states: “les grandes divinités fonctionnelles et cosmiques trahissent un emprunt direct au système suméro-babylonien”⁶¹. This

⁵⁵ Laroche, *Ugaritica* V, 524. For the Semitic and the Hurrian pantheons, see the previous note.

⁵⁶ See the article by Fleming quoted in note 45. The texts from Munbāqa have been published by W. Mayer, *Tall Munbāqa - Ekalte*, II, *Die Texte* (Saarbrücken 2001).

⁵⁷ I. Wegner, *Hurritische Opferlisten aus hethitischen Festbeschreibungen* II (ChS I/3-2; Roma 2002) no. 89, 191-195 (the god-list is at pp. 56-57); all the major god-lists from the Hurrian texts are collected on pp 53-65.

⁵⁸ For Eblaite *Ḫa-(l)a-ba-du* = Hebat, see A. Archi, *Or* 63 (1994) 249-252. On Aštabil in the Ebla texts: A. Archi, “The former History of Some Hurrian Gods”, in: S. Alp - A. Süel (ed.), *Acts of the 3rd International Congress of Hittitology* (Ankara 1998) 39-44; id., *Or* 66 (1997) 416-418.

⁵⁹ A. Archi, “Formation of the West Hurrian Pantheon: The Case of Išhara”, in: Yener-Hoffner, *Recent Developments* 21-33.

⁶⁰ E. Laroche, “Teššub, Hebat et leur cour”, *JCS* 2 (1948) 113-136 (quotation from p. 133). The study by W. G. Lambert, “The Mesopotamian Background of the Hurrian Pantheon”, *RHA* 36 (1978) 129-134 is on these lines.

⁶¹ E. Laroche, “Panthéon national et panthéons locaux chez les Hourrites”, *Or* 45 (1976) 94-99 (quotation from p. 98).

holds true for Ea (accompanied by his consort Tapkina/Damkina), who does not correspond to any Hurrian god. The fact that the names Kumarpi, Kušuḫ, Šimegi and Aštapi were usually written with the respective Sumerograms: ⁴NISABA, ⁴EN.ZU, ⁴UTU, ⁴NIN.URTA must not mislead us. These gods belonged to the first rank of the Hurrian pantheon thanks to their functions and clearly not as the result of a Sumero-Akkadian model⁶². It is, however, true, that the consorts of Kušuḫ and Šimegi, respectively Nikkal/Ningal and Aya, were taken directly from the Akkadian pantheon, while Šaluš was the spouse of Kumarpi in that he was equated with Dagan (above, § 1). These goddesses had no particular importance within the cult, with the exception of Nikkal⁶³.

The offering-lists of Hurrian origin, collected in ChS I/3-2, offer the following writings concerning the god Kumarpi⁶⁴:

CTH 698 “Cultes de Tešub et Hebat d’Aleḫ”, pp. 273 I 6, 278 I 5, 280 (no. 150), 6’: ⁴NISABA.

CTH 704 “Listes de divinités”, p. 68 II 5’: ⁴Halki; pp. 70 III 19’, 75 I 18’, 79 II 1’: ⁴NISABA; pp. 85 r. Kol. 2’ = 342, 4’: ⁴Halki.

CTH 705 “Fragments de listes”, p. 91 IV 13’: ⁴Halki.

CTH 706 “Fragments de fêtes”, p. 192 I 16’ (Hurrian): ⁴Kumarwe; pp. 201, 5’, 202 II 9’, 204, 7’ (sections in Hurrian): ⁴Kumarpi.

CTH 703 “Rituels à Manuzziya”, p. 209 I 12’ (Hurrian): ⁴Kumarpi.

CTH 786 Teššub of Šapinuwa, pp. 217 I 5, 220 VI 11’, 225, 9’ (Hurrian): ⁴Kumarpi.

CTH 705 Teššub of Durmitta, pp. 248 III 6”, 249 II’ 23’ (Hurrian): ⁴Kumarpi.

CTH 628 “Fête *hišuwāš*”, pp. 258 II 17, 260 IV 14, 262 II 9’, 267 IV 15’: ⁴Kumarpi.

The writing ⁴EN.LIL for Kumarpi does not appear in these religious texts. The habit of writing ⁴NISABA for Kumarpi is merely a play on the form of writing which originated in West Semitic contexts such as Ugarit, where *dgn* “grain” was homophonous with the god Dagan. This is further proof that, for the Hurrians of north-western Syria, Kumarpi was equated with Dagan, although possibly only because of the rank which the two gods enjoyed in their respective pantheons⁶⁵. It is only in appearance that

⁶² It is possible that the two astral gods Kušuḫ and Šimegi, like the Hittite Moon- and Sun-gods, had received some features of their Akkadian counterparts. According to a Hittite hymn, which follows an unknown Akkadian model, the Sun-god was son of Sin and Ningal; see A. Archi, in: *Fs. H. Otten* (Wiesbaden 1988) 30.

⁶³ On Niggal, see F. Imparati, “Il culto dell’dea Ningal presso gli Ittiti”, in: *Fs. P. Meriggi I* (Pavia 1979) 293-324; V. Haas, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion* (Leiden/New York/Köln 1994) 312 (on Nikkal and *’ib* in Ugarit, Hurrian and Hittite Umbu: an aspect of the moon), 375-377.

⁶⁴ Cfr. also H. G. Güterbock, *RIA* 6 (1980-1983) 326-327.

⁶⁵ According to the Hittite version of the song of the god LAMMA, the town of Kumarpi was Tuttul; see Hoffner, *Hittite Myths* 44, § 7.

the Hurrian and Hittite documents appear to ignore Dagan: ⁶⁶NISABA was the learned way of writing his name. The scribes of Ḫattuša received this habit from the scribal school of Halab: it is significant that in texts relating to the centres of eastern Anatolia, this Sumerogram is not used. Since ⁶⁶NISABA meant “Grain”, the Hittite scribes had the option to use, instead of this Sumerogram, the name of their deity of grain: ⁶⁶Ḫalki, disregarding the fact that Ḫalki was a goddess and that her functions were different from those of Kumarpi. This is another play on terms. The hieroglyphic symbol for Kumarpi in the Yazilikaya sanctuary is an ear of wheat, not used elsewhere⁶⁶.

Like Kumarpi, Dagan was not an agrarian god either. This god guaranteed the wealth of the land, not specifically agricultural activities⁶⁷. Nor did Dagan have an underworld character, even though he received the title of *bēl pagrē* “Lord of the funerary offerings” at both Mari and Ugarit⁶⁸. We can rule out his having assumed chthonic characteristics at Ugarit as a result of the equation Dagan – grain. Certain male figures are portrayed in Neo-Hittite funerary stelae bearing ears of wheat in their hands. This was not the symbol of rebirth (a concept foreign to Near Eastern cultures), but means that the deceased acted well during his life, thus ensuring the prosperity of his family, which is renewed generation after generation, like the annual agricultural cycle⁶⁹. Nor was Kumarpi merely a god of the Underworld, although he was connected with this sphere. He belonged to the “Primeval Gods” in the god-lists of the treaties. According to an incantation, a spring pours forth water that flows under the throne of Kumarpi and reaches the head of the Sun-goddess of the Earth⁷⁰.

5) Ḫalki//Kumarpi

Hittite *ḫalki* means generally “grain”, in some cases, specifically “barley”, as its logogram *šE*⁷¹. An OH invocation (*malteššar*), KUB 28.75

⁶⁶ The sign for the relief Yazilikaya 40 is no 149, in: E. Laroche, *Les hiéroglyphes hittites* (Paris 1960) 83. E. Masson, *Le panthéon de Yazilikaya* (Paris 1981) 17, thought he saw the divine determinative above it. Doubts on this are expressed by H. G. Güterbock, *Les hiéroglyphes de Yazilikaya: A propos d'un travail récent* (Paris 1982) 9 and 32.

⁶⁷ See the convincing reasoning in Felu, *The God Dagan* 281-285.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 305-306.

⁶⁹ D. Bonatz, *Das syro-hethitische Grabdenkmal* (Mainz 2000) 86-88, notes that two inscriptions “nennen Getreide als reales Sinnbild für Wohlstand und gutes Regime unter einem Herrscher”. Add the passages quoted by J. D. Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions I* (Berlin/New York) 59, under *karuna* – “granary”.

⁷⁰ See H. Otten, *ZA* 54 (1961) 124-125, ll. 36-43.

⁷¹ See H. A. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum* (New Haven, Connecticut, 1974) 60-67, *HWb*² III 51-62. For the goddess Ḫalki, see the study by A. Kammenhuber quoted above, in note 1.

iii 25'-28' (= StBoT 25 no. 113), equates Ḫalki with the Hattian goddess Kaīt (a feminine form), who receives the Hattian epithet *ḫāyamma* (both the terms are without the determinative for "god"): "When (the crown [?] prince) conjures Grain, the GUDU₁₂-priests says (in Hattian): 'Hail to thee, Grain (Kaīt)! For mankind Grain, and among the gods a *ḫāyamma*, a queen, (art thou)!'"⁷²

The OH KILAM festival quotes Ḫalki among deities of the house and fertility: KBo 17.21(+) Obv. 40 (= StBoT 25 no. 19, OH; dupl. ABoT 5[+] IV [1], OH) (followed by Zilipuri; StBoT 28, 90 and 37); Izmir 1270(+) ii 9" (preceded by Telepinu; StBoT 28, 73); KBo 25.66 II 6' (StBoT 28, 66). The goddess had a MUNUS_{AMA}.DINGIR^{LIM} as a priestess: KBo 27.42 ii 51 (StBoT 28, 58)⁷³. KBo 10.24 iv 21 (StBoT 28, 20) mentions the gate (*aška-*) of her temple (?)⁷⁴.

The writing ^dNISABA for Ḫalki could have already been used in the Old Hittite period: KBo 17.30 + KBo 25.87 ii 12 (= StBoT 25 nos 72+87; OH ?)⁷⁵: ...] ^dNISABA VIII-ŠU QA-TAM-MA ir-ḫa-a[-an-zi. ^dNISABA is mentioned in the festival celebrated by the MUNUS_{NIN}.DINGIR (CTH 649), KUB 51.52 Vs. 7'. Another manuscript about this festival, deriving from the Hattian traditions, mentions the temple of the goddess Ḫalki, KUB 56.46 + KUB 43.48: i 20'-21': ^dḪalkiyaš É-ri tianzi "(the priests) place (the loaves) in the temple of Ḫalki"⁷⁶; KBo 11.44 iv 2'-4': mān MUNUS_{NIN}.DINGIR-aš INA É ^dḪalkiyaš ari⁷⁷.

According to the Instructions for the ḪAZANNU "the mayor (of Ḫattu-sa)", the temple of Ḫalki was also a storehouse for cereals (undoubtedly

⁷² E. Laroche, *JCS* 1 (1947) 192-193, 213. M. Forlanini, *ZA* 74 (1984) 245-266, has demonstrated that the group of texts CTH 733 (to which KUB 28.75 belongs) concern rites for the gods of the land of Zalpa by the Black Sea.

⁷³ For other passages of the Empire period, see Kammenhuber, *Studies Mikasa* 154-155. For the ^{LU}SANGA ^dNISABA, see KUB 58.60 II 7'.

⁷⁴ For the temple of Ḫalki in texts whose original version could go back to the Old Hittite period, see below, note 77.

⁷⁵ See D. Groddek, *AoF* 23 (1996) 304.

⁷⁶ See F. Pecchioli Daddi, *OrAn* 26 (1987) 38-40.

⁷⁷ The temple of Ḫalki is mentioned also in KBo 10.27 iv 15' (the text mentions the MUNUS_{NIN}.DINGIR; CTH 649), followed by ^dTelepinu, ^dSUMUQAN and ^dParga in ll. 16'-18'. According to I. Singer, *The Hittite KILAM Festival* I (StBoT 27; Wiesbaden 1983) 28-29, this text could belong to the KILAM festival. The temple of Ḫalki (written ^dNISABA) at Ḫattuša is mentioned also in ABoT 14(+) iii 21, dupl. VS NF 12.27 iii 8 (CTH 568); see Singer, *The Hittite KILAM Festival* I, 136, who would like to refer this passage to the KILAM festival. KUB 25.27 (CTH 629), which mentions the temple of Ḫalki (^dNISABA) in ii 28'-29', seems to be also related to the oracle inquiry of CTH 568; see Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, in: *Fs. H. Otten* (1988) 191-194. KUB 25.27, as well as KBo 13.257 (in Rs. 10' É ^dNISABA) which concern a similar ceremony, have been transliterated by Nakamura, *nuntarriyašša-Fest* 73-77. The temple of Ḫalki is mentioned also in the oracular inquiry KUB 5.7 (CTH 574) Rs. 18: *ma-a-an-za-kán* ^dNISABA URU *Ḫa-at-ti šá É* DINGIR^{LIM}-ŠU' Ú-UL ku-it-ki TUKU.TUKU-u-an-za "If Ḫalki in his temple is in no way angry...".

É ^dNISABA is attested also in KBo 13.257 Rs. 10'.

not the only one in the capital). It would appear to have been located near the “gate of the (water) drawing”, possibly the gate which provided access to the citadel (Büyükkale), KUB 26.9(+) i 17-18: “[Moreover,] two gua[rds will stay] at the *ḥaniyaš*-[gat]e; [two guards] will [stay, further,] at the temple of Ḫalki.”⁷⁸

Ḫalki is connected with other deities of fertility and of the house. In the Telepinu myth (which goes back to the OH period) Ḫalki is preceded by the Parcae and followed by the genius of the growth, KUB 17.10 iii 30-32: ^d[*Papayaš* ^d*Išt*]uštaya ^d*Gulšeš* ^dMAH^{MEŠ} ^d*Miyatanzipaš* ^d*Telepinuš* ^dKAL ^d*Ḫapantal[iyaš]*⁷⁹. An OH text, KUB 43.30 (= StBoT 25 no. 30) iii 5'-11', lists: *annaš tagānzipaš* (Mother Earth) ^d*Mezullaš* ^d*Ḫalkiš* ^d*Išpanzašepaš* (the genius of the Night) ^d*Ḫilaššiš* (the genius of the Gate) ^d*Maliyaš* (a goddess of vegetation) DINGIR *pišeneš* (the Male gods)... A very late text belonging to the same group (CTH 645), KBo 11.32 Vs. 31-36, has: *ne-pi(š)aš* ^dU-aš *annaš* KI-aš (Mother Earth) ^dUTU-uš ^d*Mezullaš* ^dNIN.URTA (= Šuwaliyat) ^d*Ḫalkiš* ^dSIN-aš GE₆'-zašepa (the genius of the Night) GUNNI ^d*Ḫilaššiš* DINGIR.LU^{MEŠ}-aš ^d*Maliaš*...⁸⁰. The god Šuwaliyat precedes Ḫalki also in two parallel festivals, whose versions are to be dated to Tuḫaliya IV: KBo 19.128 ii 8 and 45: ^dIM ÉTM GAL ^d*Šuwaliyatti*, ^d*Ḫalki*, ^d*Miyatanzipa*. A similar festival, KBo 4.13 + KUB 10.82 (both belong to CTH 625) has in several passages, ii 19', iii 3', iv 1-2, 21-22, vi 17, 25-26: ^d*Telepinu*, ^d*Ḫalki*, ^dSUMUQAN⁸¹. Other lists includes Ḫalki among elements of the temple (and of the house), KUB 58.6 + KUB 28.91 15'-20': ^d*Ḫašammeli* ... ^dUD.SIG₅ ... *ḥašši* (the fireplace) ... ^d*Ḫalki* ... ^dKAL-ri ... ^{GIS}*ḥattalwaš* ^{GIS}-i (the lockwood of the gate) ... *ḥašši*⁸².

The ritual which “the lord of a house” celebrated for the Storm-god of the town Kuliwišna prescribes the preparation of dough in a vessel, with which the bakers had to make breads. On presentation of the vessel, the “lord of the house” “drinks” first the goddess Ḫalki; then, he libates to the Storm-god and Ḫalki, KBo 15.33 + 35 ii 22'-31'⁸³.

⁷⁸ H. Otten, *Or* 52 (1983) 136-137 and 141. For the *ḥaniyaš* gate, see *HWb*² III, 156. This could be the West Gate, much changed in the Phrygian period in order to build a way to a well, perhaps existing already in the former period; see P. Neve, *Büyükkale, die Bauwerke: Grabungen 1954-1966* (Berlin 1982) 87-88, 154-158.

⁷⁹ E. Laroche, *RHA* 23 (1965) 95.

⁸⁰ Cfr. Haas, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion* 274, and 410-411 for Maliya.

⁸¹ KBo 19.128 has been studied by H. Otten, *Ein hethitisches Festrival* (StBoT 13; Wiesbaden 1971); see in particular the lists on p. 29. Haas, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion* 478, remarks that another list of deities concerning prosperity, KUB 43.23 Rs. 48'-51', has: Telepinu of the garden, Maliya the mother of wine and barley (GEŠTIN-aš *ḫalki(aš)* AMA-ni); see V. Haas, in: *Fs. H. Otten* (1988) 136-137.

⁸² M. Popko, *Zippalanda: Ein Kultzentrum im hethitischen Kleinasien* (TH 21; Heidelberg 1994) 242-243.

⁸³ J. Glocker, *Das Ritual für den Wettergott von Kuliwišna* (Firenze 1997) 66-67; see, fur-

On the 6th day of the spring festival of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM, the hunting bag is brought into the temple of Ḫalki (the manuscript KUB 30.39 + KBo 23.80 + KBo 24.112, to be dated to Muršili II or earlier, has in Vs. 25: É^dḪalki, while the later KBo 10.20 I 33-34 has: É^dNISABA)⁸⁴. On the 11th day, the “burial of the preceding year” takes place in the É^hēšta, where Ḫalki receives offerings together with deities of prosperity as ^dParga, ^dSU-MUQAN and ^dTelepinu, IBoT 3.1, 91-92⁸⁵. The Hatti-Hittite rite and the sequence of these gods shows that Ḫalki is here the Hittite goddess “Grain”.

According to the later outline of the festival (to be dated to Tuthaliya IV) VS NF 12.1 Rs. 13', the 29th day concerned the celebration for ^dSIN (XXX) ^dUTU ^dḪalki⁸⁶. The earlier outline, KUB 30.39 III 41, lists for the same day the celebration for Ea. This celebration, as well as that for Teš-šub of Ḫalab (21st day), was introduced in Ḫattusa probably at the time of Šuppiluliuma I and included in the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-festival no later than Muršili II. The manuscripts of the 29th day use the writing ^dNISABA, by which Kumarpi (/Dagan) is meant, because the other gods are of Hurrian origin. KUB 20.59 I 23'-26': ^dÉ-A, ^dA.A ^dDAM.KI.NA, ^dÉ-A ^dDAM.KI.NA ^dAG, ^dNISABA ^dMāti ^dḪazzizzi; 28'-30': ^dÉ-A ^dDAM.KI.NA ^dAG ^dNISABA ^dMāti ^dḪazzizzi ^dMAḪ ^dGulšaš. KBo 9.140 I 3', 5'-7', 8'-10', 14'-15', 18'-20' has five times the sequence: ^dÉ-A ^dDAM.KI.NA ^dAG ^dNISABA, followed by other gods (the text is fragmentary). KUB 58.43 I 2'-4': ^dÉ-A ^dDAM.KI.NA ^dAG ^dNISABA ^dMāti ^dḪazzizzi¹ ^dGulšeš ^dMAḪ (LÜ.MIS.NAR URUḪurri). KUB 51.79 Vs.' III 15'-17': ^dÉ-A ^dDAM.KI.NA ^dAG ^dNISABA ^dMāti ^dḪazzizzi [^dIzzummi]. KBo 13.128 (+ KBo 45.25) IV 13'-14': ^dÉ-A ^dDAM.KI.NA ^dAG ^dNISA[BA ...]⁸⁷.

ther, the list: Storm-god of Ḫiššašḫapa, Storm-god of Ankuwa, Kattahḫa “the Queen” of Ankuwa, KAL, Ḫalki, Zinkuruwa, in KUB 41.9 (+) 10 iv 4'-6', at pp. 76-77.

⁸⁴ H. G. Güterbock, *JNES* 19 (1960) 81. See, further, KBo 20.44+ iv 8': LUGAL-ša ḫal-ki-aš [*pár-na pa-iz-zi* ...] “The King [goes in the temple] of Grain”, a text which belongs to those same days; see D. Yoshida, in: T. Mikasa (ed.), *Cult and Ritual in the Ancient Near East* (Wiesbaden 1992) 132.

⁸⁵ V. Haas - M. Wäfler, *UF* 8 (1976) 94-95.

⁸⁶ Ḫalki is followed by the Moon-god (^dSIN) and the Genius of the night Išpanzašepa in a list of Hittite deities, KBo 11.32 Vs. 31-36 (*CTH* 645), quoted above. Ḫalki follows the Moon-god in a ritual which presents Hurrian elements, *CTH* 442. Despite the several Hurrian deities, Ḫalki is here the Hittite Grain-goddess, not Kumarpi. KUB 9.28 I 3'-9', dupl. KBo 27.49, 4'-7': ^dJUTU-uš ^dU-aš ne-pi-ša-aš [^dŠKU(R-aš KUR-aš I LI-IM DINGIR)]^{MES}-mu-uš ne-pi-iš te-e-kân [^dTe-le-pi-nu]-uš (?) ^dEN.ZU (^dḪal-ki-iš ^dNIN.É.GAL “Sun-deity, Storm-god, Storm-god of Heaven, the thousand gods of Earth, Heaven (an) Earth, [Telepin]u (?), Moon-god, Grain, the Lady of the palace”.

^dNISABA mentioned in the Mitanni treaty of Šuppiluliuma together with the Moon-god should be also the Hittite Grain-goddess, because of Telepinu and the Genius of the gate, Aškašepa; see E. Weidner, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien* (Leipzig 1923) 30 l. 45-46, 50 l. 17-18: several Telepinus, Ištar *multarriḫu*, Aškašepa, NISABA, Sin *bēl māmīti*, Išḫara *šarrat māmīti*.

⁸⁷ These texts have been studied by M. Popko - P. Taracha, *AoF* 15 (1988) 82-113. KUB 20.59 I: pp. 88-89; KBo 9.140 I: p. 96; KUB 58.43 I: p. 101; KUB 51-79 Vs.' III: p. 102; KBo 13.128 + KBo 45.25: p. 104. Parallel to these AN.TAḪ.ŠUM passages is KUB 58.45 + KUB 59.42 iii 21': [^dÉ-A ^dDAM.]KI.NA ^dAG [^dN]ISABA; see Nakamura, *nuntarriyašha-Fest* 284.

The writing ^dNISABA stands, therefore, both for the goddess Ḫalki and Kumarpi in the texts about the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival, which lasted, in its latest version, 38 days.

The cult of Ḫalki was also attested in several regions of Hatti. The goddess appears in the texts relating to the reorganisation of the cults in the region of Ḫatti, to be dated to Tuthaliya IV: KUB 38.12 iii 21 (town of Karaḫna)⁸⁸. An image of NISABA (that is: Ḫalki) is described as “a statuette of woman of sil[ver/go]ld”, KUB 38.30 Rs. 3: ^dNISA]BA ALAM MUNUS KÙ.[BABBAR/GU[ŠKIN⁸⁹. The writing ^dNISABA for ^dḪalki is also used in two other “inventory documents”, KUB 38.6 i 7' (^dNISABA ^dPanzaš ^dPar[gaš ...]; KUB 30.10 iv 21' (^dU miyannaš ^dNISABA; ^dPargaš in l. 19')⁹⁰.

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⁸⁸ See, for other passages, J. Hazenbos, *The Organization of the Anatolian Cults During the Thirteenth Century B.C.* (Leiden/Boston 2033) 331.

⁸⁹ L. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 9 (1963) 189.

⁹⁰ See L. Rost, *MIO* 8 (1962) 186, 196. On Parga, a deity of fertility whose festival in the Old Assyrian period was connected with the harvest time, see H. Otten in: *Uluslararası 1. Hititoloji Kongresi Bildirileri* (Ankara 1993) 34-42.

THE SINGER OF KANEŠ
AND HIS GODS

in: M. Hutter – S. Hutter-Braunsar (edd.),
Offizielle Religion, lokale Kulte
und individuelle Religiosität (AOAT 318),
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The Singer of Kaneš and his Gods

Alfonso Archi, Rome

1. As Albrecht Goetze stated fifty years ago: “since the very beginning of Hittite studies it has been recognized that the Hittites worshiped gods of different origin, and that they felt it necessary to address foreign gods in their native languages (Forrer 1919; Hrozný 1920, 44-48.54). These languages are frequently defined. To some deities chants are to be recited *hattili* ‘in Hattic’, to some of them *hurlili* (*hurrili*) ‘in the fashion of a Hurrian’, and to still others *palaumnili* ‘in the fashion of a man of Palā’ or *luwili* ‘in the fashion of a Luwian’. In certain cases, finally, the ‘singer of Kaniš’ (^{LÚ}NAR ^{URU}*Ka-ni-iš/eš*) sings” (Goetze 1953, 263).¹

In one of his first studies, Emil Forrer was already able to list twenty-nine passages concerning the singer of Kaneš (Forrer 1922, 191.196-198).² Goetze collected and studied in his turn the gods to whom the singer of Kaneš sang, remarking that they are in general “closely related to the Luwian gods”. Since some of these gods appear as theophorous elements in Anatolian personal names known to us from the Old Assyrian tablets from Kaneš, he came to the conclusion that “(Proto-)Indo-Europeans were present in Cappadocia as early as the period of the Assyrian colonization” (Goetze 1953, 277).

This evaluation, which has found general agreement, has been severely criticized by Annelies Kammenhuber. According to her, these lists of gods are a “Konglomerat heterogener Götter und Vergöttlichungen des 13.Jh. (in das auch der hurrische und hattische Sänger gehören)” (Kammenhuber 1976a, 50-51).³

¹ On these adverbs, see Otten 1953a, 12-16. See, further, the following writings, ^{LÚ.MES}NAR *Ha-at-ti-li-uš*: IBOT 2.23, 5 and 25, 5; ^{LÚ}NAR ^{URU}*Ha-at-ti-uš* ^{SİR}^{RU}: KUB 25.22 iii 4.

² At that time, Forrer could not connect *našili* with the town Neša, being unaware of the variants *nišili*, *nešumnili*. The adverb *našili* was, therefore, for him just a way of speaking. Otten 1953b, 67 has produced a quotation of the adverb *kanišumnili* “in the fashion of a man of Kaniš”: Bo 6222 = KUB 41.14,8.

³ A. Kammenhuber goes on in the following way: “Das wegen der bewußten Kultklitterung de facto unlösbare Problem der sogen. Kaniš-Göttergruppe löst sich nicht durch ... eine Gleichsetzung der ^{LÚ.(MES)}*Nešumneš* ‘Neša-Männer’ aus den aeth. (bzw. auf aeth. Zeit zurückgehenden) EZEN mit dem Sänger von Kaniš des 13.Jh., sondern durch – heute mögliche – Untersuchungen, die von den aeth. Texten ausgehen.”

2. “The men of the town Neša” are attested in only an Old Hittite manuscript of a festival (EZEN), [1] KBo 20.10 [= StBoT 25, no 59; duplicate no 60] ii 11-14 [// i 14-17], where they “sing” Inar:⁴

- 11 ^DUTU ^DMe-iz-zu-ul-la GIŠ ^DINANNA TUR
 12 ^DU ^DU ^{URU}Zi-ip-la-an-da GIŠ ^DINANNA TUR IGL.DU₈.A
 13 ^DZa-li-ú-un ^DZu-wa-ši-in GIŠ ^DINANNA TUR
 14 ^DI-na-ar ^{LÚ.MEŠ}Ne-šu-me-ni-eš⁵ ŠÌR^{RU}

In later tablets the singers sing usually on the occasion of the ceremony of “drinking a god” performed by the king, sometimes together with the queen. This does not seem to be the case here. The same list of gods appears in a manuscript which had an Old Hittite model, [2] KBo 20.28 (CTH 670) Vs. 12-26, where, however, the old form ^{LÚ.MEŠ}Nešumeneš is replaced by ^{LÚ.MEŠ}NAR ^{URU}Kaniš, which is the expression used in Middle and New Hittite: ^DUT]U ^DMezzulla [...]; ^DU ^DU ^{URU}Ziplanda [... [^DZaliya]nū ^DTazzuwašili GIŠ ^DINANNA TUR; [^DInar] ^{LÚ.MEŠ}NAR ^{URU}Kaniš [ŠÌR^{RU}].

The old formulation is found in few other texts. [3] KBo 21.70 (CTH 670), a copy of an Old Hittite tablet, has again Inar, i 15-26: ^DUTU Û ^DMezzulla GIŠ ^DINANNA GAL; ^DIM Û ^DIM ^{URU}Ziplanta GIŠ ^DINANNA GAL; ^DInar ^{LÚ.MEŠ}Nešumeneš ŠÌR^{RU}. The name of this deity has, further, to be restored in the following passage, [4] KBo 21.71 (CTH 670), 6: [^DInar] ^{LÚ.MEŠ}Nešumeneš ŠÌR^{RU}].

[5] KBo 7.38 (CTH 670) presents also “the men of Neša” who sing this time for a triad of another cult tradition, which is usually connected with “the singers of Kaneš” beginning with the Middle Hittite period, r. Kol. 8-10: [^DAškašepa] ^DMUNUS.LUGAL ^DPirua [...] ^{LÚ.MEŠ}Nešumeneš ŠÌR^{RU}]. This fragment (with some old forms of signs) could go back to that period.

Fragmentary passages which present this old expression, but do not preserve the name of the gods, are [6] KBo 21.73 (CTH 670) lk. Kol. 2: [...] ^{LÚ.MEŠ}Nešumenieš [...]; [7] KBo 30.80 Vs. 3: -u]n ^{LÚ.MEŠ}NAR ^{URU}Nešumeneš ŠÌR^{RU}; [8] KBo 14.25, 9 (CTH 500): n]u ^{LÚ}NAR neš[umnil]i ŠÌR^{RU}].

⁴ Basing himself on this passage, F. Starke reached the same conclusion presented by A. Kammenhuber: “... das sogenannte Pantheon von Neša basiert ausschließlich auf jh. Textzeugnissen. Zweifellos ist hier ein fester Kanon festzustellen, aber es ist der Kanon des 13. Jahrhunderts, der auf die ältere Zeit nicht ohne weiteres zurückgeführt werden kann. ... Die Götter, die hier (KBo 20.10) im Zusammenhang mit den ^{LÚ.MEŠ}Nešumeneš genannt werden, sind nicht nur andere als in den bisher herangezogenen Texten, sie sind auch ausnahmslos ‘protohittisch’!” (Starke 1979, 66f). – Contrary to what Starke thinks, however, the “men of Neša sing” here only the deity Inar, while the Hittian gods receive (chants with the music of) the “small kithara”, GIŠ ^DINANNA TUR; see already Klinger 1996, 8-10.

⁵ For the ethnic suffix *-uman-*, *-umna-*, very productive according to the personal names (PN) in the Old Assyrian tablets from Kaneš, see Kronasser 1966, 112-117. Cf., e.g., KUB 44.60(+) ii 9-11: ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SANGA-uš ^{URU}Hattušumneš / ^{URU}Ziplantumneš / ^{URU}Neriqq[aumneš].

3. In the later documents, the deity most usually connected with the singer of Kaneš is the Tutelary-god of the open country, of the wilderness, ^DKAL(/LAMMA) (*ŠĒRI*), that is to say, the god on the stag. The Sumerogram KAL (Akkadian *dannu* “strong”), introduced as the name of a god at the beginning of the 14th century, stands for **alinnar*- “strong”, cf. Hitt. *innarā* “on one’s own”, *innarawatar* “strength, virility”; Luw. *annara/i*- “forceful, virile”, *ānnari*- “strength, virility” (HED 1-2, 62f: *annari*-; 366-373: *innar*-; Melchert 1993, 14-16). The god is called, therefore, with his epithet: “the Virile, Mighty”, as is made clear by ^DKAL *innarawant*- (VBoT 24 i 29. ii 30.34.44. iv 35); ^DKAL *Annariš*-(š)*a* (KUB 30.11 Rs. 18); ^D*Annarummenzi* “the Viriles” (KUB 9.31 ii 22).⁶

The resemblance between the Hittite-Luwian word and the name of the Hattian goddess Inar provoked a kind of assimilation between the two deities (notwithstanding the difference of sex), also because Inar had probably similar functions (Kammenhuber 1976b, 68-88; Klinger 1996, 9f.159-162). The Hittite god consequently took the name of ^D*Inar-a*- (Kammenhuber 1976-1980; Laroche 1980-1983). The Myth of Inara (CTH 336; Laroche 1965, 147-156) concerns the Hittite male god, as is shown by the episode concerning the “hunting bag”, ^{KUŠ}*kurša*-, KUB 33.59, an attribute which characterizes this god (McMahon 1991, 250-254).

In OH StBoT 25, no 12 [KBo 17.9] ii 13-14 (KILAM festival; LÚ.MEŠ *halliyareš ŠĪR^{RU}*), Inar is linked to Ḫabantali, who belongs to the group of the seven main ^DKALs of the MH and NH lists (see, e.g., text no [26]). According to StBoT 25, no 19 [KBo 17.21+] Vs. 13 Ḫabantali seems to have been worshipped in the temple of Inar, during the OH period. Ḫabantali should be “the Goddess (?) of the irrigated land”, from Hittite and Luwian *ḫāpa/i*- “river” (Haas 1994, 441).⁷ Therefore, this Inar would also have been a deity connected with the realm of nature and thus, possibly, the Tutelary-god of the open country. In a later small fragment which mentions ^DKAL with Ḫabantali, the singer sings, however, in Hattian, [9] KUB 20.100 (CTH 670) Vs. iii 1-7: [^DU^D ^{URU}Zi[planda] ... LÚN[AR^{URU} *Ḫattiliš ŠĪR^{RU}*]; ^DKAL ^D*Ḫabant[aliya]* ... LÚNAR^{URU} *Ḫatt[iliš ŠĪR^{RU}*].

It is, therefore, somewhat uncertain as to whether the OH passage [1], together with the others which preserve the old expression “the men of Neša” ([2]-[4]), already present the Hittite *interpretatio* of this deity (Klinger 1996,

⁶ Inar was a well-known PN in the Old Assyrian period, which belonged also to a ruler of Neša (Kārum Kaneš Ib), the father of another ruler, Wašama; compound names were Inaraḫšu, In(n)arawa and Inarawada (Laroche 1966, 79). It can only repeat the name of the male Hittite-Luwian god. Similar cases are those of Peru(w)a, Pirwa and Ḫapatali (Laroche 1966, 59.146). The tutelary function of this god and his spouse Ala extended later on all the human activities, as a text of Tuthaliya IV shows, see Archi 1975; Kammenhuber 1976-80; McMahon 1991. Klinger 1996, 161 fn. 140 has remarked that KUB 43.23 (mentioning ^DKAL and ^D*Ala* in Rs. 42) is a MH text (not an OH one), contrary to McMahon 1991, 25.

⁷ On Luwian *ḫapāt(i)*- see, recently, Melchert 1993, 55.

161), as one could deduce also from the connection between Inara and Ḫabantali. The Inar of Ḫattuša of the Old Hittite period, StBoT 8 (= StBoT 25, no 5 [KBo 17.5]), 22 ii 6 (Dat. ^DInari), KBo 18.151 Vs. 11 (Nom. ^DInareš), adds nothing in favour of this thesis. In the Old Hittite texts, Inar follows: a) the Weather-god and Wašezzili, StBoT 12, 22 [KBo 17.11+] ii 46; b) ^DUTU, Weather-god and Mezzulla, StBoT 25, no 30 [KUB 43.30] ii 17. Later texts of the Hattian tradition seem to present a kind of contamination, associating ^DKAL with “the singer of Kaniš”, as in [10] KUB 28.101 (CTH 744), which has Hattian songs in ii 5-8, and then, in iv 5f: ^DKAL ṛxṛ[...]^{LÚ.MEŠ}NAR^{URU} Kaniš S[İR^{RU}]. In general, however, Inar is still well embedded in the Hattian tradition also in the later documents of this kind. In [11] KUB 30.42 iv 8-10 (CTH 163), she receives songs in Hattian: ... mān^{LÚ}NAR É ^DInar ... ta kiššan mālti ḫattili. In a later manuscript of a festival belonging to the Hattian-Hittite tradition, Inar is ranged among the Hattian gods, with the ḫalliyareš who sing for them, while the singers of Kaneš sing, instead, for the well-known “Kaneš” triad, [12] KBo 30.56 iv 6-10: ^DUTU^DU^DMezzulla^DInar^DḪulla^DTelipinu ... GIŠ^DINANNA^{LÚ.MEŠ} ḫalliyareš SİR^{RU}; iv 20-22: ^DAškašepa^DMUNUS.L[UGAL]^DPirwa^{LÚ.MEŠ}NAR^{URU} Kaneš SİR^{RU}].

In text [1] Inar is preceded by Zaliu and Zuwaši, two deities of the Hattian region. Zaliu / Zali(ya)nu was a Mountain-god of the town Kaštama (in the northern region, not far from Nerik), whose consort was Za(š)ḫapuna and his concubine Tazzuwaši (cf. text [2]), to whom Zuwaši has to be identified.

Another Old Hittite text, [13] StBoT 25, no 12 [KBo 17.9+ABoT 5(+)], a KLLAM-Festival text (CTH 627), has in ii 21f: “(king and queen drink, seated, twice) the Moon-god (and) Kuzanišu; the players of the kithara sing (in the language of) Kaneš”, or “the players of the kithara (play); (the men of) Kaneš sing”, ^DEN.ZU K[(uzanišu)]n [LÚ^{MEŠ} G)]IŠ^DINANNA ṛKa¹-n[i-i]š [(SİR^{RU})]. Of the two later duplicates, KBo 22.195 ii¹ 18 has the same wording, while KBo 21.68 i 7 has: LÚ^{MEŠ}URU Kaniš (StBoT 28, 35.39). Here, too, the men of Kaneš are connected with Hattian deities. Kuzanišu is the deified Hattian fireplace (Pecchioli Daddi 1998, 132f.137); the Moon-god is, therefore, the Hattian Kašku. These two deities are listed together and receive a chant from “the men of Kaneš” also in a Middle Hittite manuscript concerning the festival for the Sun-goddess of Arinna, [14] KBo 21.69(+) ii¹ 6-10 (CTH 608.2): ^DTaurit (l. 6); ^DUTU^DMezzulla (l. 7); ^DIM^{URU} Zippalanda (GIŠ^DINANNA GAL, l. 9); and then: ^DEN.ZU^DGUNNI LÚ^{MEŠ} Kaniš SİR^{RU} (l. 10).

[15] KUB 1.17 v 11-13 (CTH 591 II.A.: Fête du mois; StBoT 37, 434f) presents also the singer of Kaneš in an unusual connection: LUGAL-uš GUB-aš^D Kapukuzzi ekuzi^{LÚ.MEŠ}NAR^{URU} Kaniš SİR^{RU}]. This tablet has to be dated just before Muršili II; the festival, however, has several Hattian passages and its origin goes back to before the Old Hittite period. The nature of Kapukuzzi,

known only from this passage, is obscure.⁸ The reason why “men of Neša” (in later texts: “of Kaneš”) sing for Hattian gods escape us.

4. The situation changes radically at the beginning of the Empire (usually called Middle Hittite period). A. Kammenhuber was perfectly right when she wrote: “Der Streit um das Pantheon von Kaniš nebst dessen Sänger entpuppt sich m.E. als ein Datierungsproblem. Alt sind der ‘Sänger’ (hatt.-heth. Schicht) und (?) der ‘Sänger von Kaniš’; jung hingegen die verdeutlichenden Ausdrücke ‘Sänger auf hattisch / auf hurrisch’, die erst im 14.Jh. nötig wurden, als Kulttexte der hurrischen Schicht über Kizzuwatna eingeführt wurden” (Kammenhuber 1971, 101).

The ritual for the Weather-god of Kuliwišna shows it clearly. In the Middle Hittite manuscript [16] KBo 15.33+35, it is first “the Hattian singers”, ^{LÚ.MEŠ}NAR *ḫattileš*, who play the *arkammi* and the *galgalturi* instruments and sing (ii 10-11); then, “the singers of Kaneš” play the kithara and sing an offering for the Weather-god of Kuliwišna in his temple (iii 6: ^{LÚ.MEŠ}NAR ^{URU}K[*ani*]š ^{GIŠ} ^DINANNA *ḫazziškanzi* ^{SİR^{RU}}-*ya*) (Glocker 1997, 64f.68f, and 13-15 for the datation of the manuscripts). [17] KBo 17.55 ([+] KBo 21.75), which could belong to the same manuscript (Groddek 1999, 89), has in col. iv 3-8: ^DPirwa [...] ^{LÚ.MEŠ}NAR ^{URU}*Kaniš* S[^{SİR^{RU}}]; ^DÉ.A [...] / ^{LÚ.MEŠ}NAR ^{URU}*ḫurlili* [^{SİR^{RU}}]. According to a later manuscript, [18] KBo 15.36(+), “the singers of Kaneš” sing for ^DIM KARASŠ and ^{KUŠ}*kurša*<š> ^D*Inar* (iii 10f.17f), while the singers sing “in Hurrian”, ^{URU}*ḫurlili*, for ^DLAMMA *ŠĒRI* (which is anomalous) and ^DIŠTAR *ŠĒRI* (iii 14f) (Glocker 1997, 102-105).⁹ Usually, the Tutelary-god of the open country is connected with the singer of Kaneš. Here, instead, it is the Hurrian singer who sings for him because of the proximity of Šawuška of the open country!

In the texts concerning the rites from Kizzuwatna, the “Hurrian singer(s)” sing(s) the Hurrian gods, while the singer(s) of Hatti are related to the gods of the Hatti-Hittite layer. This procedure is consequently applied in the festival for Ištar of Šamuḫa (in the later redaction of the time of Ḫattušili III), [19] KUB 27.1(+) (CTH 712). There are Hurrian gods with Hurrian singers, ^{LÚ.MEŠ}NAR *ḫurlaš* / *ḫurli*<*li*> / *ḫurri*, in iv 19-24.31-45. The singers sing in Hattian, ^{LÚ.MEŠ}NAR *ḫattili*, for gods as: ^DU ŠAMĒ, ^DINGIR^{MES} ^{LÚ}*ḫūmanteš*, ^DZA.BA₄.BA₄ (iv 25-30). Similarly, in [20] KUB 44.12 (CTH 670) v², the ^{LÚ}NAR sings *ḫattili* for ^DZitḫariya; ^DU KARASŠ; ^DU ^{URU}*Nerik* (ll. 4-12); while the ^{LÚ}NAR sings *ḫurri* for ^D*Hepat* (ll. 13-15) (Lebrun 1976, 73-143; a new

⁸ According to Klinger 1996, 180 Kapukuzzi does not belong necessarily to the Hattian pantheon.

⁹ Two fragments which could also belong to this ritual mention the singer(s) of Kaneš. KBo 21.67 i 10-12: *mallanzi* [...] / *nu* ^{LÚ.MEŠ}NAR ^{URU}*Kanleš* [...] / ^{GIŠ}*ḫuḫupal ḫazz[iškanzi]* (see also iv 9). KBo 23.7 i 11-12: *karūliyaš* ^DINGIR^{MES}-*aš* *āpi(-)ya kinuw[a ...]* / *EGIR-ŠU-ma* ^DGEŠTIN *šipanti nu* ^{LÚ}NAR *ka[nišumnilī (?)]* / ^DINGIR^{MES}-*aš ḫalziyauwaš* ^{SİR} ^{SİR^{RU}}.

transliteration of the main text with the duplicates is given as ChS I/3.1, 31-79, nos 1-11).

Another festival for Ištar of Šamuḫa, [21] KBo 11.28 (CTH 711), follows the same pattern. The Hurrian singer sings for the Hurrian gods, “the Hattian singer”, ^{LÚ}NAR ^{URU}*Hattiliš*, sings for the gods of the Hattian-Hittite layer: ^DNIN.É.GÁL, ^DU ^{URU}*Hatti*, ^DU ^{URU}*Nerik* (v 19-24.29-31), while “the singer of Kaniš”, ^{LÚ}NAR ^{URU}*Kaneš*, sings for ^DKAL (iii 34-36; see further v 16-18, where the DN has to be restored). The Hattian god ^D*Waḫiši* is, however, wrongly connected with the Hurrian singer (iii 44-46; KUB 20.26 i 3-5 is a duplicate; Lebrun 1976, 151-166).

The case of this god is eloquent in showing how the scribes can be not only mistaken, but may also persist in their mistakes. The cult of the Hattian *Waḫiši* enjoyed a certain continuity from the Old Hittite period.¹⁰ The god is, however, connected with the Hurrian singer even in the KILAM festival, which had a good textual tradition from Old Hittite times: KBo 10.25 v 2 with duplicate KBo 11.42 lk. Kol. 2 (StBoT 28, 51; CTH 627).¹¹ KUB 25.9 v 10-12 (CTH 634) and KUB 44.9 iii 11-12 (CTH 670) present the same connection (as has been noted by Otten / Rüster 1974, 48 no 9).

Sometimes the scribes proceeded in an automatic manner. [22] KUB 25.41 (CTH 706), concerning the cult of *Hepat*, lists in v 6-7: ^DJU NIR.GÁL /]x ^D*Hepat*. Both deities receive meat and bread offerings. The king “drinks three times the valiant Weather-god”; then, “the singer of Kaneš sings” (v 13-15). A parallel text is [23] KUB 44.47 v 1-6: ^DU [NIR.GÁL] ... ^{LÚ}NAR ^{URU}*Ka-ni-eš* [*SİR^{RU}*] (^DU NIR.GÁL appears also in ii 3.9.12. vi 7). Although the partner of *Hepat* is *Teššup*, the presence of a singer of the language of Kaneš (Hittite) is required here presumably because the Weather-god receives the epithet NIR.GÁL,¹² which is *muwatalla/i* in Hittite and Luwian!¹³

There are several other anomalies, as the singer of Kaneš who sings for the Hattian Weather-god of Nerik, [24] KBo 17.75 (CTH 631.6) iv 28-36: ^DIM ^{URU}*Nerik* ... ^{LÚ}.MES^S ^{NAR} ^{URU}*Kan[eš] SİR^{RU}*, or the singer of Hatti who sings for the Hurrian *Šawuška* of Šamuḫa, [25] KUB 1.12 (CTH 669) i 1-6: ^Dx[...] ... ^{LÚ}NAR ^{URU}*Kan[eš] SİR^{RU}*; DINGIR É.DIN[GIR^{LM}] ... ^{LÚ}NAR ^{URU}*Ḫurri*

¹⁰ StBoT 26, 349 lists four passages with this god.

¹¹ The KILAM festival mentions the “singer of Kaneš” in a peculiar passage, KUB 48.9 ii 8f (StBoT 28, 95): ^{LÚ}.MES^S *IN-BI* *GIDIM tianzi* ^{LÚ}.MES^S ^{NAR} ^{URU}*Kaniš SİR^{RU}* “the fruit men place the Manes; the singers of Kaneš sing.” See further KBo 30.9 ii 2 (StBoT 28, 29): ^DKAL ^{LÚ}NAR ^{URU}[*Kaniš SİR^{RU}*].

¹² For the pair ^DU NIR.GÁL ^D*Hepat*, followed by ^DU ^{URU}*Šatpina*, all of the town *Katapa*, see *Muwatalli's Prayer*, Singer 1996, 10 ii 11. Notice that it is “the Hattian singer”, ^{LÚ}NAR ^{URU}*Hattiliš*, who sings for ^DU ^{URU}*Šatpina* in KBo 11.25 ii 8-10 (CTH 656.3). On ^DU NIR.GÁL, see, in general, Popko 2001.

¹³ On *muwa-*, *muwatalla/i-*, see Starke 1989, 667-669, and CHD L-N, 314-317 (a passage from the same text, KBo 11.28 ii 6-9, where this epithet is given to the weapons of Ištar, is quoted at p. 316b).

SÌ[R^{RU}]; ^DIŠ^{RU}STAR ^{URU}Ša[muḫa] ... ^{LÚ}NAR ^{URU}Hattili [SÌR^{RU}] (Lebrun 1976, 172).

5. Some of the many manuscripts concerning the Month-festival are tablets to be dated to about the period of Muršili II; others were copied in the latest decades of the 13th century. Many of them could go back to originals of the Middle Hittite period. They preserve several aspects of the Hattian cult tradition.¹⁴ This corpus of documents is therefore suitable for showing how far cults spread at a later time and were inserted into festivals of the old Hattian-Hittite tradition.

[26] KUB 2.13 (CTH 591.IV.A: Fête du mois; StBoT 37, 299.544-571) is a tablet of the end of the 13th century. Most of the gods in coll. v-vi belong to the Hattian-Hittite layer and receive a chant in Hattian: ^{LÚ}NAR ^{URU}Hattili. Some Hurrian gods are, however, introduced in this old festival. After several KAL-gods, with Ḫabantali among them (v 4-9) and ^DU ^{URU}Nerik (v 10-13), ^DḪepat and ^DḪepatšarruma are listed, and the singer sings also this time in Hattian (v 14-17). These two Hurrian deities are inserted here for analogy with the preceding gods. According to the theology of the time of Ḫattušili III and Tuḫaliya IV, the Weather-god of the town Nerik was the son of the Weather-god, whose spouse was the Sun-goddess of Arinna. Similarly, Šarruma was the son of Teššup and Ḫepat in the Hurrian pantheon from Kizzuwatna. Being inserted here, in the form of the typical Hurrian dyad of Hepatšarruma, as the Hurrian equivalent of the Weather-god of Nerik, he receives a chant in Hattian together with Ḫepat! The singer of Kaneš sings only by the drinking ceremony for ^DPirwa of the town Šippa (vi 8-12), and the Hurrian singer sings for that of ^DIŠ^{RU}STAR of the towns of Šulupašši and Šamuḫa (vi 13-18). The singer of Kaneš sings for ^DPi-i[r-wa-an (?)] also in [27] KUB 1.17 vi 40f (CTH 591.II.A; StBoT 37, 438f).¹⁵

The sections concerning the food offerings are not well preserved. A he-goat is sacrificed to eleven gods or groups of gods, [28] KUB 2.13 iii 2-4, duplicate KUB 56.45 ii 4-8 (CTH 591.IV.A and IV.C; StBoT 37, 556f.594f): ^DPirwa, ^DMUNUS.LUGAL (^DḪaššušara), ^DAškašepa, ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI, ^DŠuwaliyat, DINGIR.MUNUS^{MEŠ}-ya ^DŠiwat, ^DḪašammeli, DINGIR^{MEŠ}_{URU} Kaniš, ^DḪilašši, ^DU.GUR, ^DZuliya. A loaf is broken for a similar list of gods, [29] KUB 2.13 iii 14 - iv 3, duplicated by VS NF 12.28 ii 7-14 (CTH 591.IV.A and IV.C; StBoT 37, 556-561.608f): ^DAškašepa, ^DMUNUS.LUGAL (^DḪaššušara), ^DPirwa, ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI, DINGIR.LÚ^{MEŠ} ^DMaliyaš, DINGIR.LÚ^{MEŠ} ^DKAL-aš, DINGIR.LÚ^{MEŠ} ^DUD^{KAM}-aš (^DŠiwattaš), DINGIR^{MEŠ}_{URU} Kaniš, ^DḪašammeli, ^DḪilašši, ^DU.GUR, ^DÍD^{MEŠ}. The same gods receive libations according to iv 12-29. This second list of twelve deities has: the male

¹⁴ An accurate edition of this corpus has been given by Klinger 1996, 285-614; the new order of the texts and a discussion on the datation of the manuscripts are at pp. 286-300.

¹⁵ The singer of Kaneš appears also in the fragmentary passage KUB 2.10 v 16-22 (CTH 591.II.B; StBoT 37, 472f).

deities (instead of the female ones) of the Day-god ^D*Šiwat*; ^{ÍD}^{MES} could include the River-goddess ^D*Zuliya*; the gods of ^D*Maliya* and the gods of ^D*KAL* appear in the place of ^D*Šuwaliyat*. The general wording “the gods of Kaneš” means here: the gods of Kaneš mentioned above and all the unmentioned gods of that town; Aškašepa, Haššušara and Pirwa make up the well-known triad of the singer of Kaneš. All these manuscripts are late, but KUB 2.13 is probably a copy of an older tablet. These gods of Kaneš could have been included, therefore, in the Month festival already in the 14th century.

The ceremony is concluded by the king who “drinks” the following gods, [30] KUB 2.13 vi 22-31 and its duplicate KUB 56.45 vi 2-12 (CTH 591.IV.A and IV.C; StBoT 37, 568-571.600f): DINGIR^{MES} *ABI-ŠU* ... ^{LÚ}NAR^{URU} *Hattili ŠÌR^{RU}*; DINGIR^{MES} URU^{LIM} ... ^{LÚ.MES}NAR^{URU} *Kaneš ŠÌR^{RU}*; DINGIR^{MES} ^É^{TIM} DINGIR.MAḤ^{HIA} ... ^{LÚ}NAR^{URU} *Hattili ŠÌR^{RU}*. Notice that the gods of the king’s father, those of the house and the Mother-goddess receive a chant in Hattian, while the gods of the town (probably, Ḥattuša, Otten 1971, 47f) receive a chant in Nešili.

Another mention of the male gods of Kaneš is in [31] IBoT 2.20 + IBoT 1.22 + KUB 20.60 (CTH 656: Fêtes ‘mixtes’), 8-9: ^D*KAL* ... [^{LÚ}NAR^{URU} *Kaniš ŠÌR^{RU}*]; 28f: DINGIR^{MES} ^{LÚ}^{MES} [^{URU} *Kaniš*] ... ^{LÚ}NAR^{URU} *Kaniš ŠÌR^{RU}* (Goetze 1953, 276).

6. The largest group of religious texts related to the region of Ḥattuša are those of the AN.TAḤ.ŠUM^{SAR} festival (CTH 604-625). Two late tablets with several parallel sections, KUB 4.13+10.82 (A) and KBo 19.128 (B) (StBoT 13; CTH 625), concern a festival “of the Palace (that) of springtime”, ^{ŠA} ^É^{TIM} GAL *ḥammešḥantaš*. The second manuscript was written “before Anuwanza”, that is at the time of Tutḫaliya IV; the colophon of the first tablet is missing. KUB 4.13 has in col. i 8 a long list of deities, where the major gods are missing because listed in the first twenty lines which are broken off. Twenty-four gods receive, then, offerings a number of times: A ii 9-23. iii 1-7. iii 28 - iv 4.14-25; B i 39 - ii 11.19-46 (StBoT 13, 29). Then, in the drinking ceremony, the singer of Kaneš sings the following gods: ^D*KAL* (A v 41f) / ^D*KAL ŠĒRI* (B v 16-20); ^D*GAL.ZU* (A vi 1-4; B v 39-44); ^D*Pirwa* ^D*Aškašipa* ^D*MUNUS.LUGAL(-ra-)* ^D*Maliya* (A vi 9-12; B [...]); DINGIR^{MES} *ABI ḥūmanteš* DINGIR^{MES} ^{URU} *Hatti ḥūmanteš* DINGIR^{MES} *KUR^{TI} ḥūmanteš* (A vi 13-16; B [...]). At the end of the second day, the king drinks “fifteen gods”, [32] (StBoT 13, 46-48; 453/d = KBo 38.47 Vs.):

KUB 4.13(+) vi 31-38

^D*Gulšuš*

DINGIR.MAḤ^{MES} -uš

^D*Kuzanašu*

^DU.GUR ^Ú ^DU.GUR^{URU} *Hāyaša*

^DXXX

MUL

išpant-

KBo 19.128 vi 18-24

DINGIR.MAḤ

^D*Gulšaš*

GUNNI

^DU.GUR ^Ú ^DU.GUR^{URU} *Hāyaša*

^DEN.ZU

MUL

GE₆-ant-

^D <i>Hašmaiu</i>	^D <i>Hašamili</i>
^D <i>Kataḥḫi</i>	^D MUNUS.LUGAL
^D <i>Ḥarištašši</i>	^D <i>Ḥareštašši</i>
^D <i>Ḥilašši</i>	^D <i>Ḥilašši</i>
<i>tepu pēdan</i>	<i>tepu pēdan</i>
EME- <i>a-ḫandant-</i>	EME- <i>a-ḫandant-</i>
ZI.PU <i>šarrumar</i>	<i>lammar tarta</i>
^D UD.SIG ₅	^D UD.SIG ₅

The gods of the darkness belong to this group: Moon, Star and Night. Notice that the deified fireplace is the Hattian Kuzanišu, who appears together with the Moon-god also in text [13], and not the Hittite (^D)*Ḥašša*. Also “the Queen” has here the Hattian name Kattaḥḫa, not the Hittite one, Ḥaššušara. The presence of ^DU.GUR is unusual among the “Kaneš” deities. It is also to be noted that another, later tablet copied under the supervision of Anuwanza, concerning the cults of an ancient Hittite town, Šarešša, has the singers who sing in Hattian not only for the male gods of the fireplace, but also for ^D*Hašamili* and ^D*Ḥilašši*, two Hittite gods who are usually connected with the singer of Kaneš, [33] KUB 20.99 (CTH 636.2: Fête à Saressa) iii 1-5: [^DX,] ^D*Hašamili*, [^DX, ^DX,] ^D*Ḥalki*, DINGIR.LÚ^{MES} GUNNI, ^D*Ḥilašši*, LÚ.MES^{RU} NAR DUMU^{MES} É.GAL^{TIM} *ḫattileš* SÌR^{RU} (Wilhelm 1997, 12).

Some of these gods or entities, introduced by ^DKAL^{URU} *Tauriš*, appear also in KUB 2.8 (a later copy; CTH 617: 32° jour, ^DKAL de Taurisa) in connection with the singer of Kaneš. They receive first bread offerings in i 18-27 and sacrifices of animals in ii 34-46. The singer of Kaneš sings, then, in the *auli*-liturgy (Kühne 1986) for [34] ^D*Hašamili* ... ^{ID} *Kuwannaniya* (iii 4-12; cf. i 37f). Then the king drinks the Tutelary-god of the town Tauriš and his circle and the singer of Kaneš sings, [35] v 17-32: ^DKAL^{URU} *Tauriš*, AMA ^D*Kalimma*, ^D*Hašamili*, ^{TUL} *Kuwannaniya*, ^D*Aššiyaza*, ^DU^{GIŠ} TIR, ^{ID} *Zuliya*, ^DKAL ^{ID}, ^{GIŠ} KÁ.GAL^{DINGIR.MES} *Talwaniš*, *tepu pēdan*, EME-*a-ḫantant-*, *annaris tarpiš*, ZI.PU *šarrumar*, *irḫanteš*, *ḫeššalanteš*,¹⁶ ^DUD.SIG₅ ... LÚ^{URU} NAR ^{URU} *Ka-ni-iš* SÌR^{RU}.

Two further fragments, belonging to the same festival, have similar lists. [36] KBo 13.176 Vs. 2-11: [^DKAL] ^{URU} *Tauriša*, ^{TUL} *Kalimma*, ^D*Hašamili* ^DKAL^{URU} *Tauriša*, ^D*Aššiyazi* ^DKAL^{URU} *Tauriša*, ^{TUL} *Kuwannaniya* ^DKAL^{URU} *Tauriša*, ^DU^{GIŠ} TIR ^DKAL^{URU} *Tauriša*, ^{ID} *Zuliya*, ^{ID}-*aš* ^DKAL, ^{GIŠ} KÁ.GAL^{DINGIR.MES} *Šalwaniuš*, ^{NA4} *ḫegur* DINGIR^{LIM}, *tepu pēdan*, EME-*a-ḫandant-*, [*annariš tar*]-*ri-iš* [ZI.PU *šarrumar*, ... [37] KUB 10.81, 1-13: ...] ^{TUL} *Kalimma*, ^D*Hašamili*, ^D*Aššiyazi*, ^{TUL} *Kuwannaniya*, ^DU^{GIŠ} TIR, ^{ID} *Zuliya*, ^{ID}-*aš* ^DKAL,] ^{GIŠ} KÁ.GAL-*aš* [DINGIR^{MES} *Šalwaniuš*,] ^{NA4} *ḫegur* DINGIR^{LIM}, *tepu pēdan*, EME-*a-ḫandant-*, *annaris tarpiš* ZI.PU *šarrumar*, ^DUD.SIG₅, *išpant-* ... LÚ^{URU} NAR ^{URU} *Ka-ni-eš* SÌR^{RU}.

¹⁶ For a discussion of this term, see McMahon 1991, 247f.

The ceremonies of the 28th day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} festival were celebrated for the mount Tapala.¹⁷ The king “drinks” the gods, [38] KBo 30.69 iii 22-30 (duplicate Bo 5480, 4-13): ^{HUR.SAG}Tāpala, ŠA ^{HUR.SAG}Tāpala ^DMaliya, ŠA ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI ^DKAL, Wāšuma, Kurtalli. Then, the singer of Kaneš sings. The singers of Kaneš sing also in [39] KUB 20.48 i 5-7 (CTH 593: Fête de printemps, au mont Tapala), by the slaughtering of the animals. The Hurri singer sings, then, for the drinking ceremony for Hepat, and the singer of Kaneš for that of ^DKAL ŠĒRI (vi 4-9).

The 29th day is devoted to the rites for the god Ea (CTH 616). The Hurrian singers sing for gods introduced in Hatti through the Hurrian cults: Ea, Damkina, Nabû, Nisaba / Kumarbi, Māti and Hazzizi [^DGulšeš and DINGIR.MAḪ^{HL.A}], KUB 58.43 i 1-6 (Popko / Taracha 1988, 101). The king and the queen drink later a long list of gods which begins with Ea and his court, to whom the day is devoted. These gods are followed by several deified local mountains, springs and rivers, and by the Tutelary-god of the river. At this point, the singers of Kaneš sing. [40] KUB 51.79 Rs.¹ iv 1-17: [^DÉ.A, ^DDA]M.KI.NA, [^DAG (Nabû), ^DNISABA, ^DMāti]i, [... ^{URU}Š]amūḫaš [... ^DU]lilī[ašši, ...] ^{HUR.SAG}Dāp[ala, ...] ^{HUR.SAG}... ^{TUL}Pinnāt[..., ^DKārepa], ^DKarepatti [anda tarna]nduš PA₅^{HL.A}-uš, [^{URU}Š]amūḫaš ^DHuwariyanzipa, [KÁ.GAL^{HL.A}]-aš ^DŠaliwanuš, [^{ID}N]akkiliya, ÍD-aš ^DInara ... ^{LÚ.MEŠ}NAR ^{URU}Kaneš ŠĪR^{RU} (Popko / Taracha 1988, 103.107f). A similar list is preserved by [41] IBoT 2.19, 1-8: ...] / [^{URU}Šamū]ḫaš ^DHuwariya[nzipa, KÁ.GAL^{HL.A}]-aš ^DŠaliwanuš, [^{ID}Nakkiliya, ÍD-aš ^DInara, DINGIR.LÚ(?)^{MEŠ} ŠA ^DÉ.A, GUNNI, ^DU[GUR, ^DU]līliašši, irḫand[uš, ḫiš]šallanduš, ^D[UD.SIG₅] ... ^{LÚ.MEŠ}NAR ^{URU}Kan[eš ŠĪR^{RU}] (Popko / Taracha 1988, 104.108). A different, shorter god-list, again with Ea and gods of the Hittite layer is [42] KBo 13.128 + 45.25 (412/s) iv 1-5: ... ^DÉ.A, [...] ^DZilipura, [^DḪilaš]ši, ^D[UD.SIG₅] ... [^{LÚ.MEŠ}NA]R ^{URU}Kaneš (Popko / Taracha 1988, 104.108).

7. Maciej Popko and Piotr Taracha have noted that deities of the circle of Mount Tapala as Wašum(m)a and Kurt/šalli appear also in the festival for the goddess of Huwaššanna of the town Hupešna (CTH 690-694) together with other deities, some of whom are of Luwian origin. The most relevant text is the following one.¹⁸ [43] KBo 29.33 + KBo 20.72(+) iii¹ 3-14: ^D[X], ... ^DGulšuš, [...] ^DWašaliya, ŠA ^DIM paratta ..., ^DMāliya, ^DWaššiya, ^DTarwayatinzi, ^DMimiya, ^DTūriyanta, ^Dḫurrannan[a(-x)] [DINGIR.LÚ^{MEŠ} ^DMāliyaš, ^DWašuma, ^DKuršali, DINGIR^{MEŠ} uranninza āllinenza, ^DUD.SIG₅, ^DḪarištašši, ^DGulšuš, ^DUD.SIG₅. The singer of Kaneš does not appear here, but he does in the following passage for one of the deities listed above, [44] KBo 21.66 iv 1-2: ...]x ^DTūriyan[ta ... ^{LÚ(MEŠ)}N]AR ^{URU}Kaniš ŠĪR^{RU}.

¹⁷ Popko / Taracha 1988, 84-87.110-113 have transcribed and commented this text.

¹⁸ Popko / Taracha 1988, 110-112 list few similar fragmentary passages.

8. A certain group of very late documents concern the cults of the Tutelary-god (CTH 682-685). While usually, the singers of Kaneš sing for the ceremony of “drinking a god”, in [45] KUB 40.107 + IBoT 2.18 these singers sing when the sacrificial animals are slaughtered, i 10f: [*ta* LUGAL-*uš e*]ša UGULA^{LÚ.MEŠ} MUHALDIM^{LÚ.MEŠ} MUHALDIM-*ya ħimanteš* [UDU^{ĤIA} ...] *ħukanzi*^{LÚ.MEŠ} NAR^{URU} *Kaniš ŠİR^{RU}* “[The king sits d]own. The overseer of the cooks and all the cooks slaughter [the sheep ...]. The singers of Kaneš sing” (McMahon 1991, 118f).

[46] KUB 9.31 (= A) (with the duplicate ABoT 3 = B) concerns the Tutelary-god of the River and other deities related to rivers, A 3 – B 5: *ÍD-aš*^DKAL, *ŠA* [ÍD DINGIR^{MEŠ}, DINGIR^{MEŠ} *ħantiyaššaš* ... *LÚ*N[AR^{URU} *Kaneš ŠİR^{RU}*]; *wappūwaš*^DGulše[š, DINGIR.MAĤ^{MEŠ} ... *LÚ*NA]R^{URU} *Kaneš ŠİR^{RU}*; *ÍD, ÍD-aš*^DKAL, <ŠA> *ÍD* DINGIR^{MEŠ}, [DINGIR^{MEŠ} *ħan*]tiyaššaš, *irħanduš*, *ħiššallanduš* ... *LÚ*N[AR^{URU} *Kaneš ŠİR^{RU}*] “(He drinks) the Tutelary-god of the River, [the gods] of the River, the gods of the *ħ*; (bread offerings;) the si[nger of Kaneš sings.] (He drinks) the fate deities of the riverbank, [the MAĤ deities]; (bread offerings); [the sin]ger of Kaneš sings. (He drinks) the River, the Tutelary-god of the River, the gods of the River, the gods of the *ħ*, the (gods who have been) offered to in sequence (and) (the gods whose offerings are) planned; (bread offerings;) the singer of Kaneš sings” (McMahon 1991, 190f).

[47] IBoT 1.2, 1-13 concerns the river Maraššanda and the Tutelary-god of the River again: *ÍD Maraššanda* ... *LÚ.MEŠ* NAR^{URU} *Kaneš ŠİR^{RU}*; ^DKAL *ÍD* ... *LÚ.MEŠ* NAR^{URU} *Kaneš ŠİR^{RU}* (McMahon 1991, 194f).

[48] IBoT 2.22 has, instead, the Tutelary-god of the hunting bag for whom the singer of Kaneš sings, 4-6: ^DKA[L^{KUŠ} *kuršaš ir*]ħauwār *irħanduš* [*ħiššallanduš* (?)] ... *LÚ.MEŠ* NAR^{URU} *Kaniš* [ŠİR^{RU}] (Goetze 1953, 276; McMahon 1991, 230).

The festivals of *Ĥiššašħapa*, a town east of *Ĥattuša*, also mention ^DKAL together with the singer of Kaneš. A first list maintains the order with the Weather-gods followed by ^DInar / ^DKAL. [49] KBo 17.83(+) (CTH 637 “Fête du dieu de *Ĥiššašħapa*”) iii 17f: (^DIM^{URU} *Ĥiššašħapa*; ^DUTU^{URU} *Arinna*; ^DU^{URU} *Zippalanda*; ^DU^{URU} *Nerik*;) ^DInar ... [^{LÚ}NAR^{URU} *Kaniš ŠİR^{RU}*]. Another text mentions ^DKAL with ^DPirwa, [50] KBo 21.64 (CTH 670; Festival of *Ĥiššašħapa*) ii 2-4: ^DMāliya (?) ... [^{LÚ.MEŠ}NAR^{URU} *Ka-ni-iš ŠİR^{RU}*]; ii 5-7: ^DKAL ... [^{LÚ.MEŠ}NAR^{URU} *Kaniš ŠİR^{RU}*]; iii 1-3: ^DPirwa ... *LÚ.MEŠ* NAR^{URU} [*Kaneš ŠİR^{RU}*]; iii 8-10: [... ^{URU}Ĥi]ššašħapa DINGIR^{MEŠ} URU^{LIM} *irħauwar* ... *LÚ.MEŠ* NAR^{URU} *Kaniš ŠİR^{RU}*.

[51] KUB 2.15 (CTH 678.1, Culte de Nerik; a late tablet) v 27f: ^DKAL ... *LÚ*NAR^{URU} *Kaniš ŠİR^{RU}*.

A festival celebrated by “the lord of the house”, EN ^ÉTIM, has the singer of Kaneš in connection with ^DKAL together with his spouse ^DAla, [52] KBo 29.211 i[?] 7f: ^DKAL *ŠĒRI* ^DAla ... *LÚ.MEŠ* NAR^{URU} *Kaniš ŠİR^{RU}* (cf. iv[?] 7); 10f: ^DKAL ... [^{LÚ.MEŠ}NAR^{URU} *Kaniš ŠİR^{RU}*].

9. Other passages where the singer of Kaneš is connected with gods are the following ones.

^DU: [53] KUB 44.33 (CTH 635: fête de Zippalanda) i 4f, offering of “a sheep to the Weather-god at the place of agitation”: ^DU *pidi nininkuwaš* ... ^{LÚ.MEŠ}NAR ^{URU}*Kaneš SÌR^{RU}* (Popko 1994, 232f). [54] KUB 60.23 Vs. 2-4: ^DU ... [^{LÚ}NAR] ^{URU}*Kaniš SÌR^{RU}*.

^DU *ŠAMĒ*: [55] KBo 30.77 (CTH 626: Fête de la ‘hâte’) iv 15f: ^DU *ŠAMĒ* ... [(^{LÚ.MEŠ}NAR)] ^{URU}*Kaneš SÌR^{RU}* (the singer of Kaneš is mentioned also in the fragmentary passage ii 8-10) (Nakamura 2002, 261-263).

tuzziyaš ^DIM: [56] KBo 8.158 (CTH 656: Fêtes ‘mixtes’) r. Kol. 4-6: *tuzziyaš* ^DIM ... ^{LÚ.MEŠ}NAR ^{URU}*Kaniš S[ÌR^{RU}]* (^D*Hepat* ^D*Mušni* ... ^{LÚ.MEŠ}NAR ^{URU}*Hurlili*; ^D*Zithariya* ... ^{LÚ.MEŠ}NAR [^{URU}*Hatili*]).

^DUTU and ^D*Kamrušepa*: [57] VS NF 12.33 iii 1-3: ^DUTU ^D*Kamrušipa* ... ^{LÚ}NAR ^{URU}*Kaneš SÌR^{RU}* (the singer of Kaneš is mentioned also in ii 3).

^D*Kamrušepa*: [58] KBo 11.22 (CTH 656: Fêtes ‘mixtes’) iii 5-8: (^D*Šuwa*[*liya*ti] ... ^{LÚ.MEŠ}NAR ^{URU}*Hurlaš*) ^D*Kamrušepa* ... ^{LÚ}NAR ^{URU}*Kaneš*.

^D*Telepinu*: [59] KBo 11.26 (CTH 670) Vs. 7f: ^D*Telepinuaš* ^{GIŠ}ZAG.GAR.RA-ni ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*hūkanzi* ^{LÚ.MEŠ}NAR ^{URU}*Kaneš SÌR^{RU}*.

^D*Pirwa*: [60] KBo 21.64 (CTH 670) iii 1-3: ^D*Pirwa* ... ^{LÚ.MEŠ}NAR ^{URU}[*Kaniš SÌR^{RU}*]. [61] KBo 21.65 Rs. 4f: ^D*Pirwa* ... ^{LÚ.MEŠ}NAR ^{URU}*Kaniš SÌR^{RU}*. [62] KUB 10.58, 1-4: ^D*Pirwa* ... ^{LÚ.MEŠ}NAR ^{URU}*Ka[niš SÌR^{RU}]*.

^D*Kammama*: [63] IBoT 1.21 (CTH 670) iv 6-8: ^D*Kammama* ... ^{LÚ.MEŠ}NAR ^{URU}*Kaneš SÌR^{RU}*. This goddess had the epithet “the magician”, (^{MUNUS})*haš(u)wanza*, and belonged also to the Palaic cult (Kammenhuber 1959, 85-86; Carruba 1970, 55.58).

^D*Izzištanu*: [64] KUB 2.15 (CTH 678.1, Cult of Nerik) concerns the cult of the Weather-god of Nerik in Hattuša during the period of the last kings; v 22f: ^DUTU^{ŠI} *kuit INA KASKAL* ^{URU}*Nerik ŪL pait*. The singer of Kaneš sings for ^DKAL in v 27f. When the king and queen sing the Hattian “Favourable Day”, the GALA-priests of Kaneš sing instead of the singers (!), vi 2-5: ^D*Izzištanu* ... ^{LÚ.MEŠ}GALA ^{URU}*Kaniš SÌR^{RU}* *walhanzi-ššan*. [65] KUB 57.65, 3f is a duplicate of the preceding passage: [LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL] ^D*Izzištanu akuwa[nzi* ^{LÚ.MEŠ}GALA / NAR ^{URU}]*Kaneš SÌR^{RU}*. KBo 8.115, 4-7 has a parallel passage without the singers of Kaneš. In [66] IBoT 2.21 (which also belongs to this group of texts, CTH 678.8) vi 5 the DN is lost, then: ^{LÚ.MEŠ}NAR ^{URU}*Kaneš SÌR^{RU}*.

^DUD^{AM}: [67] KBo 34.207, 3f: ^DUD^{AM} ... [^{LÚ}NAR ^{URU}*Ka*]-*ni-iš SÌR^{RU}*

Fragmentary passages:

[68] KBo 14.34 (CTH 670) iii 2-5: KUR-*eaš* [DINGIR^{MEŠ}] ... [^{LÚ.MEŠ}NA]R ^{URU}*Kaniš SÌR^{RU}*; KBo 17.85, 15 (CTH 670); KBo 20.46 iv 10 (CTH 738: Fêtes de Tetešhahi); KUB 41.28 (CTH 670) ii 1; IBoT 2.137 (CTH 670) v 5.11.

10. We come to following conclusions:

a) In Old Hittite the usual expression was ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*Nešumeneš SÌR^{RU}* “the men of Neša sing”, see text [1] and the later copies of OH tablets [3]-[8]. An OH

manuscript of the KI.LAM-festival has instead, however, *Ka-ni-iš ŠĪR^{RU}* “(the men of) Kaneš sing”. We must therefore deduce that, whilst the chants prescribed for the cults in Ḫattuša during the OH period were usually in Hattian, in a few rare cases chants were instead required in Hittite. This language was widespread to the east and south-west of the Kızılırmak, at least from the last centuries of the 3rd millennium B.C. onwards. It became known by the name “language of Neša” when a Hittite dynasty (prior to Piḫana from Kuššara) took control of the town, which was one of the dominant centres of the “land” (*mātum*) even before Anitta made it his capital. It was confronted by another linguistic area, Ḫattum, corresponding to the territory enclosed by the bend in the Kızılırmak (Dercksen 2001, 57-60).

b) The deity for whom the chants of the men of Neša are requested is ^D*Inar*, [1]-[4]. When the Hittites, having established themselves in Ḫattuša, absorbed the Hattian pantheon and integrated it with their own, they brought about a kind of assimilation between the Hattian goddess ^D*Inar* and the Hittite god of the open country ^D*In(n)ara*, on the basis of similarity between their names and, most probably, their functions, notwithstanding the difference in sex. This is only a hypothesis, but one made quite likely by the fact that the Hittite Tutelary-god of the open country, ^DKAL *ŠĒRI*, is frequently linked to the singer(s) of Kaneš also in the MH and NH documents.

c) According to the OH text [13], the singers sing “in the language of the town Kaneš” for two other Hattian gods: the Moon-god (^D*Kašku*) and the deified Hattian fireplace, ^D*Kuzanišu*. As in the preceding case, here too the connection between these two deities and the singers of Kaneš continues into the later periods, as shown by the MH text [14] and two NH manuscripts of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} festival, [32]. One would expect to see a preference for chants in (Old) Hittite for a tutelary god of the home (or the palace) such as that of the Fireplace (should it be assimilated to the Hittite deity, notwithstanding his Hattian name), but it is more difficult to justify such a choice for the Moon. We must remember that also the Hattian Taru was assimilated to the Weather-god Tarḫun(t)-, but he did not receive chants during the Old Hittite period sung by the singers of Neša / Kaneš, or, at least, there is no record of this occurring.

d) The Hurrian gods introduced in central Anatolia at the start of the 14th century received chants “in Hurrian” (*ḫurlili*) as they preserved their cultural identity. From this point on it was considered necessary to specify on certain occasions that the gods of Hattian origin received chants “in Hattian” (*ḫattili*), whilst the formula “in Hittite” (*nešili*), was not used for the gods of the Hittite tradition, possibly because all the gods worshipped at Ḫattuša (including the Hurrian deities) were considered to belong precisely to the Hittites themselves. The term “singer(s) of the town Kaneš” is used instead for the gods of the Hittite tradition, a pseudo-archaic formula since it was not used in the OH texts (only a single text, [13], has just: *Kaniš ŠĪR^{RU}*), and the glory of Kaneš by that time existed only in memory. This triple partition occasionally, and understandably, results in some odd incongruity.

e) The god who appears most frequently in connection with the “singer of Kaneš” is ^DKAL / Inara “of the fields / of the hunting-bag”. Numerous Hittite rituals are dedicated to this deity. He was, therefore, the god considered closest to the daily affairs of the people. We then have Pirwa, who also goes back to Neša of the Old Assyrian period. Two other deities are often linked to him: Aškašepa, “the tutelary god of the gate”, and ^DMUNUS.LUGAL (Ḫaššušara, called in later documents also by her Hattian name Kattaḫḫa) “the Queen”. Kamrušepa was a goddess of magic and thus came to the aid of humans. Kammama (§ 9) is somewhat similar and analogous functions were also ascribed to the Gulšeš and the Mothergoddess(es) Ḫannaḫanna / DINGIR.MAḪ^(MEŠ). They are all deities who relieved the human beings in their more common needs.

Very late documents (dating to the last decades of the 13th century) have rather long lists of the gods connected with the singer(s) of Kaneš. These are mainly minor deities with Hittite names (Šuwaliyat, Ḫilašši), but there are also Hattian examples such as Ḫašameli. A late tablet of the Month-festival mentions the Hittite Day-god, Šiwat [28]; some tablets of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} festival have, instead, “the Favourable Day”, ^DUD.SIG₅, who appears then with his Hattian name, Izzištanu, in festivals concerning the region of Nerik, together with “singer of Kaneš” (§ 9). As with the alternation between Ḫaššušara and Kattaḫḫa, what counted was the concept and not the name by which it was expressed. Tarwayatinzi is Luwian, and Maliya is also of the Luwian context. There were then entities whose positive aspects were invoked in order to neutralise their negative qualities, such as “Little Place, Tongue Fit, Strong *t.*”, *tepu pedan*, EME-*aš ḫandanza, amariš tarpiš*. In recording the latest version of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} festival, the local deities were also included, such as springs and rivers, since these came into the sphere of tutelary gods. These are the springs of Kalimma and Kuwananiya and the river Zuliya, to be identified with the Çekerek. They all lie to the north of Ḫattuša and have no connection whatsoever with the region of Kaneš.

On the basis of the names of some gods, for whom the “singer(s) of Kaneš” sing(s), which appear in the Old Assyrian tablets, A. Goetze correctly deduced the presence of people speaking Hittite and Luwian in the area of Kaneš already in the Old Assyrian period. Over the course of time, however, “the singer of Kaneš” came to mean gods who do not normally appear in the principal pantheons (if we exclude Inara), but also local deities who were held to be close to the most immediate needs of the Hittite speaking population.

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THE HEPTAD IN ANATOLIA

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THE HEPTAD IN ANATOLIA

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ABSTRACT

The “terrifying”, *hatuka-*, “dark”, Luwian *mar(k)uwa-*, Heptad assists Iyarri, the god who brings pestilence shooting his arrows. The Heptad is associated also to the Tutelary-god of the hunting bag, because of his opposite role. The repetition of “seven” in the Sumerogram ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI is an Hittite invention. The phonetic reading is probably *Sepitta-*, derived from Akk. *ilū sebitti*, a reception favoured by the assonance with PIE *septm*. The Emar “rituel anatolien” follows instead the Babylonian tradition: ^DIMIN.BI. Although two texts quote explicitly “a pair” of Heptads (“fourteen male gods”), this seems to be a particular case.

Notwithstanding the assonance of Iyarri with Erra, and the similar appearance of the Babylonian Heptad, Iyarri (in some cases paired with the Luwian war-god Sanda) and the Anatolian Heptad are deeply rooted in the Hittite and Luwian regions. In particular, the Heptad was diffused in many minor centers of Central Anatolia; its cult and association to other deities do not show Hurrian elements, although a Heptad belonged also to the Hurrian *kalutis* (under Babylonian influence). The *ilū sebitti* may have, however, directly influenced the process of conceptualising demons and negative forces at a Heptad. A Heptad was related also to several other gods as the Sun- and the Weather-god, probably also in terms of opposition.

The Heptad has no relation to the Pleiades.

1. *The Heptad in the rituals of the Hittite – Luwian tradition*

Iyarri, the god who brings pestilence, shoots his arrows like Apollo against those whom he hates. The ritual of Dandanku against the plague in an army, ŠA KARAŠ KALA.GA-za *akkiškattari* (CTH 425b), had the purpose of convincing Iyarri to attack the enemy country, rather than the land of Hatti, KUB VII 54 III 22-23: DINGIR^{LUM}-wa KUR LÚ KÚR *kēzza IŠTU* GIÚ.TAG.GA *šīyeški* “Oh god, pierce the enemy land with this arrow!”¹.

¹ This study was written in 2002. Only some passages published later have been included. Recently, A. M. Polvani, “The Deity IMIN.IMIN.BI in Hittite Texts”, *Orientalia* 74 (2005), 181-194, came also to the conclusion that the IMIN.IMIN.BI are “void of any astral feature; therefore an identification with the constellation of the Pleiades would not be justified”. The occurrences of the DNs are collected in the very useful work by B. H. L. van Gessel, *Onomasticon of the Hittite Pantheon* I, II, Leiden, 1998.

In his malevolent acts, Iyarri is assisted by the Heptad, ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI: [1] KUB 7.54 II 16 and 22, III 3 and 5, IV 7-8. Instead of: *ŠA* ^DI-ya-a]r-ri ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI / [... (III 5) “the Heptad of [Iyar]ri”, the duplicate [2] IBoT 4.16 + KUB 54. 65 + 56.59 III 29 has: *ŠA* ^DI-ya-ar-ri DINGIR^{MEŠ} *mar-wa-a-in-z[i* ..., a name which appears also in the ritual of Malli from Arzawa, as H. Klengel has pointed out². The Malli ritual, [3] KUB 24.9 II 27 has ^DMar-wa-ya-an<-za>, with the correct form in the duplicate, KUB 24.11 II 10³.

It was F. Starke who explained this Luwian term as “dark”, therefore “the Dark-gods of Iyarri” (N. Pl. C.) in [2]; “to the Dark ones” (D.-L. Pl.) in [3]⁴. The Hittite form is ^DMarkuwaya- : [4] KUB 7.38 I 6: ^DMar-ku-wa-ya-aš apēdani [... (CTH 433,3: Ritual for ^DLAMMA ^{KUŠ}kuršaš); see, further [5] KUB 54.78 (belonging to the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} festival); Rs. 5-6: ^DLAMMA ^{KUŠ}kuršaš [(...) ^DINGIR.MEŠ *Mar-ku-wa-ya*[-...]; [6] KUB 59.18 (festival) Vs. 19-24: *gimraš* ^DLAMMA ... ^DMar-ku-wa-y[a-...] ^DIM; [7] KUB 59.26 (festival) IV 5: *nu-za* ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI ^DMar-ku-wa-y[a¹-...]; [8] IBoT 3.50 (CTH 670) r. Kol. 7: ^{LÚ}NAR ^DMar[-...].

“The Dark ones” (“The Heptad, the Dark ones”, i. e. “the dark Heptad” in [7]) is not merely an awesome appearance, but has a clearly negative connotation. The ritual [4], as well as [9] KBo 34.48, which belongs to the same ritual of text [4] (in lines 9-10: ^DLAMMA ^{KUŠ}kuršaš ... ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI-uš), and the festivals [5]-[7], however, associate the Heptad with a favourable god: the Tutelary-god of the hunting bag. The reason for this is clear from [10] KBo 17.105 + 34.47 (CTH 433, 3), another ritual for the Tutelary-god of the hunting bag. The gods ask the hearth, which is the symbol of well-being and of the family’s unity, why those performing the ritual have turned to the Tutelary-god of the hunting bag, II 17-22: “If the gods ask you (O hearth): ‘What did they (men and women) do, that they have invoked the Tutelary-god of the hunting bag and the Heptad?’, then you, O hearth, speak favourably to the Tutelary-god of the hunting bag, the Heptad and all the gods, (saying): ‘Be (pl.) favourably inclined toward the king, queen and princes! Give them life (and) vigour!’”⁵. These gods must eliminate evil, lines 32-33: “You, Tutelary-god of the hunting bag and Heptad, cast off again evil, anger, rage”. On closer

² H. Klengel, *AoF* 11 (1984), 175 note 10. See also *CHD* L-N, 201 (Bo 1582 = KUB 54.65).

³ See L. Jakob-Rost, *Das Ritual der Malli aus Arzawa gegen Behexung*, TH 2, Heidelberg, 1972, 34-35, and 82, where she explains ^DM. as a deity connected with the Dark Earth, because, according to the preceding section of the ritual, the Dark Earth has to hold in its depth “witchcraft and adverse dreams”.

⁴ F. Starke, *BiOr* 43 (1986), 162-163. Cfr. C. Melchert, *Cuneiform Luwian Lexicon*, Chapel Hill, 1993, 142. E. Forrer, *SPAW* (1919), 1039, had proposed “red”.

⁵ See *CHD*, L-N, 260a.

inspection, however, the Tutelary-god and the Heptad have different roles, according to III 30-32: “We have now given offerings to you, the Heptad. Eat and drink. But let the terrifying Heptad (*ḥadugaēš* ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI) step off the road again. Give gentleness to the Tutelary-god of the hunting bag!”⁶. The gods of the Heptad are “terrifying” because they are negative; they must, therefore, be kept at bay. It is, instead, necessary to curry favour with the Tutelary-god, as is the case with all the other favourably-minded gods.

In the ritual of Uhamuwa from Arzawa, [11] KUB 9.31 and dupl. HT 1 (CTH 410), the plague is caused by an unknown “god of the enemy land”, DINGIR^{LIM} ŠA KUR ^{LÚ}KÚR. Here also the Heptad represents adverse forces, whilst the Sun deity is involved possibly as a witness to the sacrifice of appeasement, III 9-10 and dupl. II 43: MÁŠ.GAL ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI *šipanti* I UDU-*ma-kan* ^DUTU-*i šipanti*. A similar situation is found in [12] KUB 17.16 I 17-18 (CTH 458,3), a ritual celebrated when (line 4): “Mankind, oxen, and sheep are dying frightfully”. Various gods are invoked, but it is the Heptad who is held to be responsible for the plague: *kāša ANA* ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI TUKU.TUKU-^rx¹[-] / UGU₆-*ni šer* “Behold, to the angry Heptad concerning the plague ...”. The meaning of [13] KUB 7.13 Rs. 25 (CTH 456,4) is obscure as the passage is fragmentary: [..]^rx¹(-)*ŠA* ^DU ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI.

2. *Sebitta*

The repetition of “seven” in the Sumerogram ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI seems to be a Hittite invention. It could point to the fact that Heptad of the Hittites was (or could have been) a double Heptad⁷. This is explicitly stated in [30] and [40]. The last passage proves that (at least in the ritual) the group was made up of fourteen *male* gods. The phonetic complements are the plural endings *-eš* / *-uš* / *-aš* (respectively: KBo 17.105 III 31; KBo 34.48, 10; KBo 17.105 III 26, 30 and KUB 57.61 I 6). The reading of the Sumerogram is probably ^DŠe-*e-(ep-)* *pí-it-ta-*, derived from Akk. *ilū sebitti*. This term is used also because of the assonance with PIE *septm* (therefore: seven, not its double!). This does not, however, necessarily mean that the Heptad had been received from Babylonia. This writing is used only twice in a later festival celebrated by a prince, DUMU. LUGAL, concerning the restoration of cults in the region of Nerik (CTH 647), [14] KBo 30.120 lk. Kol. 4-5: [^{LÚ}SA]NGA ^DŠe-*e-pí-it-ta* / [... ^{LÚ}SA]NGA

⁶ See CHD, L-N, 292b.

⁷ W. R. Mayer apud Polvani, *Orientalia* 74 (2005), 182. Notice that in the “rituel anatolien” of Emar the writing is ^DIMIN.BI.

^DIMIN.IMIN-*ta* ^DTa-at-ta-an⁸; [15] IBoT 1.10 III 5 and 9: ^{LÚ}SANGA ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI, 13 and 17: ^{LÚ}SANGA ^DŠe-e-(ep-)pí-it-ta[- (the ^{LÚ}GUDU₁₂ ^{DU} also takes part in this cultic action). The phonetic complement -*ta* argues in favour of an identity between ^DŠe-e-pí-it-ta and ^DIMIN.IMIN(-*ta*), even though both forms appear in the same text within one or very few lines of each other.

A text concerning the same festival shows that a ^{LÚ}SANGA ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI acted in the temple of his god, [16] KUB 20.45 IV 13, 17-18: *an-da I-NA É* ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI *pa-iz-zi* ... ^{LÚ}SANGA ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI ... ^{LÚ}SANGA ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI.... This festival concerns favourable gods such as the Weather-god, Telepinu, Kattahha, Halki, Hasammili. The “priests”, ^{LÚ}SANGA, of ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI, Telepinu and Kattahha act together in [17] KUB 20.88 I 14-17; that of ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI is mentioned again in [18] KBo 20.86 II 7, 10, 14 and 17. These two texts belong to the same festival (CTH 647, 5)⁹.

3. Nature of Iyarri

Few lines by M. Popko focus on problems relating to the nature and origin of Iyarri and, indirectly, of the Heptad: “The chief Luwian war-god was Iyarri. It would seem that he was conceived partially under the influence of the Mesopotamian Erra, a god of the plague with a similar name. For this reason Iyarri is referred to as the ‘Lord of the Bow’ who strikes with his deadly arrows”¹⁰.

The awesome appearance of Iyarri, the god of the plague, accompanied by the Heptad, is identical to that of Erra and the Sibitti¹¹. The suspicion that the name of Iyarri derives from that of Erra could thus be founded, especially as the Heptad was known by the Babylonian name of Sebitta¹².

Both Iyarri and the Heptad were, however, firmly rooted in the Hatti land. Iyarri was a war-god, sometimes associated with ^DZ.A.BA₄. BA₄; he follows

⁸ Another fragment concerning this group of festivals is [58].

⁹ See further KBo 54 r. Kol. 5-7: ^{LÚ}SANGA ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI-y[a.....] Û ^{LÚ}GUDU₁₂ ^DKa[attahha] *kuwaššanzi*.

¹⁰ M. Popko, *Religions of Asia Minor*, Warsaw, 1995, 93. On this god, see also H. Otten, *RIA* 5 (1976-1980), 267-268.

¹¹ L. Cagni, *L'epopea di Erra*, Roma, 1969, col. I 8-39. On the god Erra see D. O. Edzard, *RIA* 5 (1976-1980), 166-170. On the appearance of Heptad, see R. Borger, “Die Inschriften von Asarhaddons König von Assyrien”, *AfO* 9 (1956), 79, line 12: “die ‘Siebengötter’, die kriegerischen Götter, die Bogen und Pfeile führen, deren Aufstehen Kampf und Streit bedeutet”.

¹² V. Haas, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion*, Leiden, 1994, 368-369, writes: “(Iyarri,) der in Südanatolien beheimatete Gott scheint mit dem babylonischen Pest- und Kriegsgott Erra identisch zu sein”.

^DIŠTAR LÍL among the tutelary deities of Mursili II in battle¹³. In the prayer of Mursili (?) KUB 31.121(+) I 17, ^DPirwa, ^DAMAR.UTU and ^DIyarri are invoked together¹⁴. Here, Iyarri is paired with another Luwian war-god: Sanda (^DAMAR.UTU), who is armed with a bow¹⁵. The similarity between Sanda and Iyarri is confirmed by the fact that, in a hieroglyphic document of the eighth century, Sanda is associated with Marwainzi, the “Dark-gods”, as is Iyarri in the rituals of the second half of the second millennium¹⁶. The rituals (SISKUR) for Iyarri and the Heptad belong to the Luwian and Hittite tradition, without containing a single Hurrian element.

This shows that, even if Iyarri had been of foreign origin, he did not reach Anatolia by means of the Hurrian rites¹⁷. The populations of the Hittite and Luwian regions were on familiar terms with this god, which means that he responded to real deeply-rooted needs.

4. Nature of the Heptad

4.1 The Heptad also appears in a few Hurrian rituals from Kizzuwatna. This simply means that also the Hurrians had a Heptad which, in one case, was part of the circle of Teššub together with Šarruma and the vizier Tenu. [19] IBoT 3.148 (CTH 485, 1) I 34-36: DINGIR^{MEŠ} LÚ^{MEŠ} ^DŠarruma(š) ... ^{DU} GIŠNA' ^DNA₄-ya ... ^DTenu ... [DINGIR^{MEŠ}] ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI ... ^{DU} hamri ; II 41: DINGIR^{MEŠ} ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI; II 46-48: I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ} LÚ^{MEŠ} ^DŠarrumaš I UDU ^DTenu I MÁŠ.GAL DINGIR^{MEŠ} ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI I UDU ^{DU} hamri ; III 40: ^DTenu ... ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI ... ^{DU} hamri ; IV 6: IV MÁŠ.GAL DINGIR^{MEŠ} ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI; IV 18-19: ^{DU} DINGIR^{MEŠ} LÚ^{MEŠ} ^DŠarrumaš ... ^DTenu ...

¹³ A. Götz, *AM*, 322. The list is: ^{DU} NIR.GÁL ^DUTU ^{URU}Arinna ^{DU} ^{URU}Hatti ^DLAMMA ^{URU}Hatti ^{DU} KARAS ^DIŠTAR LÍL ^DIyarriš. On Iyarri, see, in general, H. Otten, *RIA* 5 (1976-1980), 267-268.

¹⁴ See R. Lebrun, *Hymnes et prières hittites*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1980, 242.

¹⁵ On the god Sanda see H. C. Melchert, in: *Silva Anatolica. Studies Presented to M. Popko*, Warsaw, 2002, 241-251.

¹⁶ This fact has been noted by Popko, *Religions*, 93 with note 252. The text is KULULU 2 §6, see J. D. Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, I,2, Berlin, 2000, 488-490.

¹⁷ The cult places related to Iyarri are all in Central Anatolia and in the Luwian regions: Alauna, Arta[...], Haranasi, Hartana, Hawalkina, Karahna, Kursamasa, Malita, Parmashapa, Sapakurwanta, Sapita, Ura, see van Gessel, *Onomasticon* I, 180.

The personal names which present Iyarri as a theophorous element (e.g. Iyarra-muwa, Iyarra-piya, Iyarra-zalma, Iyarra-ziti) are all Anatolian. This merely indicates that people who gave these names considered the god as belonging to their own culture. We find, in fact, also Hittite personal names with Hurrian theophorous elements, such as Šauška and Hepat (Šauška-muwa, Šauška-ziti, Hepa-muwa, Hepa-piya), see E. Laroche, *Les noms des Hittites*, Paris, 1966, 291.

DINGIR^{MEŠ} D¹IMIN.IMIN.BI¹⁸. Note the Hurrian formula: “gods of the Heptad ... male gods of Šarruma”. A parallel list is [20] KBo 35.203, 9-12 (offerings of birds): ^DŠarru[ma] / ... ^DTe[nu] / ... ^DIMIN[.IMIN.BI].

Another text of Hurrian origin, [21] KBo 35.160 (*ChS* 3, 1 no 11), mentions a Heptad of Ištar, Rs. 3 and 10: (1. 2: Ištar of Samuha) ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI ŠA ^DIŠTAR (1. 4: ^DIŠTAR.LÍL *anna[lli]* ; ll. 5 and 9: ^DIŠTAR *walliwalliaš ŠA Mur-šili*) ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI ŠA ^DIŠTAR. [22] 57.52 (very fragmentary), concerning offerings of birds and breads, lists in I 5: ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI, and in I 8 the Hurrian god ^DHašulathi. The following fragmentary text shows a contamination between Hittite (Tutelary-god of Taurisa) and Hurrian cults, [22] KUB 60.45 Vs. 2-7: ^DUTU ^{URU}PÚ-na / [^DU ^{URU}]Halap / ... / ^DLAMMA ^{URU}Tau[riša] / ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI / ^DU ŠAMĒ.

Two fragments mention “the daughter of the Heptad”, [23] KBo 12.75, 3, and KBo 12.74, 5 (*CTH* 353): ŠA ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI DUMU.SAL. These possibly belong to a Syrian-Hurrian mythological narrative.

4.2 Generally, the ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI are considered to be the Pleiades¹⁹. The only one who has made the effort to gather elements in favour of this identification has been A. Kammenhuber, studying the tradition of the celestial *omina* from Babylonia to Anatolia²⁰. The starting point of her argument is the ritual [24] KBo 13.101 (*CTH* 435,2), dedicated to the Sun deity of ominous signs, ^DUTU GISKIM, so as to neutralise certain “unfavourable signs”, ^HUL-lun/š GISKIM (Rs. 19-20). In Vs. I 16, the Heptad is associated with different forms of the Sun deity: *n-at ANA* ^DUTU ^DUTU GISKIM KI-aš ^DUTU-i ANA ^DIMIN.IMIN[.BI ŠA ^DUTU “and I [give] them (i. e. the pieces of bread) to the Sun deity, the Sun deity of the ominous signs, the Sun-goddess of the Earth, the Heptad [of the Sun (?)]”. In reality, the Sun is the star which obscures the Pleiades. One would expect the Pleiades to be associated, instead, with the moon, the ominous celestial body of the night (^DXXX *šakyahta* / GISKIM-*ahta* “the Moon has given an ominous sign”)²¹.

¹⁸ For this text, see V. Haas – G. Wilhelm, *Hurritische und luwische Riten aus Kizzuwatna*, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1974, 212-231.

¹⁹ See E. Laroche, *RHA* 46 (1946-1947), 108. J. Puhvel, “Names and Numbers of the Pleiad”, in: *Semitic Studies in Honor of W. Leslau*, Wiesbaden, 1991, vol. 2, 1243-1247 = J. Puhvel, *Epilecta Indoeuropaea*, Innsbruck, 2002, 152-156. Haas, *Gesch. heth. Religion*, 482-487, ignores this equation.

²⁰ A. Kammenhuber, *Orakelpraxis, Träume und Vorzeichenschau bei den Hethitern*, TH 7, Heidelberg, 1976, 45-58.

²¹ H. M. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale für den hethitischen König*, *StBoT* 3, Wiesbaden, 1967, 8-13, 25-27.

The Heptad appears, moreover, in a list of manifestations of the Weather-god and of deified objects belonging to him, for which the ceremony of drinking *eku-*, and of breaking the bread, *paršiya-*, is performed, in a ritual to which is linked the Hattic myth (with Hittite translation) of the “Moon that fell from Heaven”. According to this myth, the Moon fell from the heaven because it was frightened by the thunder, lightning and rains of the Weather-god. A section of the ritual, [25] KUB 28.5(+) III 3-19, dupl. KUB 28.4 III 2-19, lists: “the two oxen, the cart and the weapons of the Weather-god”, 2⁷ GUD^{HLA} GIŠMAR.GÍD.DA [Ú UNUT] MÈ ŠA^{DU}; “lightning, [thun]der, clouds, rains of the Weather-god”, *tethimmuš* [wantem]uš alpūš hēuš [ŠA^{DU}]; “fears and terrors (caused) by the Weather-god”, *naḥšaradduš weritemuš* ŠA^{DU}; “the Heptad of the Weather-god”, ŠA^{DU} D^{IMIN}.IMIN.BI²².

A. Kammenhuber rightly noted how this list follows the structure of a *kaluti-* of the Hurrian-Kizzuwatnean tradition. The listing of the possessions and objects of a god is typical of this tradition, which spread at Hattusa especially under Tuthaliya IV²³. The Hattian myth was, therefore, incorporated into a late ritual. The faultless conclusion was that “mit obigem *kaluti* entfällt zugleich der einzige ‘hattische’ Beleg für die Siebenergottheit”²⁴.

A similar list is to be found in the AN.TAḤ.ŠUM^{SAR} festival (18th-19th days), [26] KBo 13.245 Rs. 4-22 (CTH 613), where the Hittite Weather-god and Teššub clearly merge one in the other. The offerings are for “the cart, all the wea[pons], the thunder, the clouds of the Weather-gods (!), the dew, the rains”, GIŠMAR.GÍD.DA U[NUT MÈ] / *hūmandaš tethimi* / ^{DU}HLA-aš alpaš waršaš / hēuš; “the Father-gods of the Weather-god”, DINGIR^{MEŠ} ABI^{DU}; “the vizier of the Weather-god (Teššub, i. e. Tenu)”, LÚSUKKAL^{DU}; “the Heptad *p.*”, ANA^DIMIN.IMIN.BI *pa-aš-ti-iš-ti-la-aš*²⁵. For this last term, see [27] KBo 22.169, 3-7 (CTH 670), also with Hurrian elements: ^{DU} *piḥaššaššin* DINGIR^{MEŠ} [(...)] / *hūmanteš* ·UR.SAG^{HLA} ÍD^{HLA} / [h]ūmanteš šarkun^{GUD} [AMAR[...] / [DIN]GIR^{MEŠ} *hūmanteš* D^P*i-iš-ti-iš-...*] / [ir]hāizzi.

[28] KBo 17.85 (CTH 670) is parallel to [25] and [26], with the same attributes of the Weather-god, 2-15: GIŠMAR.GÍD.DA^{HLA} (!) (LÚ-aš^{URU} *Hattili* Ì SÌR^{RU}); GIŠTUKUL UNUT MÈ (LÚ-aš^{URU} *Hattili* SÌR^{RU}); *tethima wantem*[a ...]; [DINGIR^{MEŠ}] ŠA ABI^{DU} (LÚ-aš^{URU} *Hattili* SÌR^{RU}); -J^x¹MEŠ ABI LUGAL.GAL; ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI D^P*i-iš-ti-iš-...*[...] (LÚ-aš^{URU} *Hattili* SÌR^{RU}). The cart of Teššub is mentioned in connection with his weapons also

²² E. Laroche, *RHA* 77 (1965), 77.

²³ See V. Haas, *Die hurritische Ritualtermini in hethitischem Kontext*, ChS 9, Rome, 1998.

²⁴ Kammenhuber, *Orakelpraxis*, 49. Notice that the fragment KUB 28.78, with ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI in I 3 (CTH 729), has in Rs. a Hattian-Hittite bilingual text.

²⁵ Kammenhuber, *Orakelpraxis*, 52-54.

in [29] KUB 20.65 3-10: *Šuwaliaz* [...-i]š / ^DGUDŠeriš [^DGUDHurri]š / *hantez-ziaš-šiš-a* ^{DU}NIR.GÁL *kuiēš-kan* / *ANA LUGAL zahḫiya* / *ueriyanteš* ^DNamni / ^DHazzi ^{GIŠ}MAR.GÍD.DA / ^{GIŠ}ŠUKUR *UNUTUM alpaš*.

^{GIŠ}MAR.GÍD.DA, Akk *ereqqu*, means “wagon”, and “(the constellation) Ursa Major”²⁶, whilst the Hittite Weather-god / Teššub was attributed with a “chariot”, ^{GIŠ}GIGIR, as is shown by the iconography of the god in both Anatolia and in Syria²⁷. A. Kammenhuber maintained that the term ^{GIŠ}MAR.GÍD.DA, in [25]-[26], [28]-[29], derived from the lexicon of astronomical observations, insofar as such lists (of Hurrian origin) relate to the celestial manifestations of the Weather-god (Teššub), such as thunder, lightning and clouds. Consequently, it would be likely that ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI meant “the Pleiades”²⁸. In literary texts of Hurrian origin, however, the chariot of Teššub is always ^{GIŠ}MAR.GÍD.DA, Hitt. ^{GIŠ}*tiyarit*!²⁹ If we abandon the hypothesis that ^{GIŠ}MAR.GÍD.DA of the Hurrian-Hittite lists [25]-[29] may be derived from astronomical terms, there is no reason to believe that ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI in these particular texts also refers to a constellation! In fact, according to text [25], ^{GIŠ}MAR.GÍD.DA was a real means of transport, pulled by two bulls. Further, there is no sense in placing Ursa Major or the Pleiades under the jurisdiction of the Weather-god³⁰.

4.3 The Hittite and Luwian rituals define the Heptad as “the Dark-gods”, DINGIR^{MES} *marwainzi*; “the Dark ones”, ^D*Marwainzi*, ^D*Markuwayeš* (texts [1]-[8]) which has a negative sense. More explicit are the epithets such as *hadugaēš* ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI-*eš* “awesome Heptad”, in KBo 17.105 III 31 (text 10), and “evil Heptad”, ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI *hūwappaēš*, in [30] KUB 46.54 Vs. 10-11:]ŠA LUGAL-*wa-aš* ŠA ^{DU}URU*Ne-ri-ik* / II] *TA-PAL* ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI *hu-u-wa-ap-pa-e-eš* “a pair of evil Heptads”³¹.

²⁶ For ^{GIŠ}MAR.GÍD.DA in a Hittite celestial omen, see KUB 34.16 III 10.

²⁷ Also the Akkadian gods had a *narkabtu*, ^{GIŠ}GIGIR.

²⁸ Kammenhuber, *Orakelpraxis*, 45-49.

²⁹ See *RHA* 82, 32 (The Song of the God KAL), I 9 (^{GIŠ}*tiyarit*), and 32, IV 15 (^{GIŠ}MAR.GÍD.DA); 46 (The Song of Kumarpi), IV 2-8 (^{GIŠ}MAR.GÍD.DA); 70 (KUB XXXIII 97) I 8, and 76 (Atramḫaši) IV 15 (^{GIŠ}MAR.GÍD.DA); *JCS* 6 (1952) (The Song of Ullikummi), 34, III 13 and IV 10 (^{GIŠ}MAR.GÍD.DA), 36 I 3 and 5 (^{GIŠ}MAR.GÍD.DA), 6 (^{GIŠ}*tiyarit*). For a list of occurrences of these two terms, see, in general, Kammenhuber, *Orakelpraxis*, 51-52 note 119. The Hittite ritual KBo 17.90 against an “adverse omen”, *idaluš sagaiš* (II 11), needs a real wagon, II 8 and 13.

³⁰ This point has been noted also by U. Koch Westenholz, in: H. D. Galter (ed.), *Die Rolle der Astronomie in den Kulturen Mesopotamiens*, Graz, 1993, 237. On the Pleiades: MUL-MUL, Akk. *zappu*, see H. Hunger, *RIA* 10 (2003-2005), 592. Concerning the Pleiades in the Old Testament, see H.-P. Müller, “Der Mond und die Plejaden: griechisch-orientalische Parallelen”, *VT* 51 (2001), 206-218.

³¹ The epithet *pa(i)štištila*, nos [26] and [27], is obscure. See *CHD*, P, 211a,

The Heptad was not merely metaphorically a deity of darkness: it was a deity of the night. The expression “by night” occurs in the small fragment [31] KBo 13.220, (CTH 670) (lines 4 and 5: *nekuza meḥ[ur]*), while in line 7 the Weather-god and the Heptad appear together:] ANA ^{DU} ^DIMIN.[IMIN.BI. A festival of the region of Nerik, [32] KUB 58.39 (in Rs. 7: KUR *Ḥaḥarwa ḥalenzu[...]*), confirms that rites of the night were related to the Heptad, I 2: ANA ^DEREŠ.KI.GAL [...; 10-14: *šašannuṣ-kan tianzi ... / GE₆-an lugganuwanzi ANA ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI / NINDA.KUR₄.RA NINDA.Ì.E.DÉ.A memal parian pēdanzi / lukkatti-ma* “They arrange the lamps. ... They pass the night (during which) they carry in front (?) of the Heptad a thick bread, an oil bread, meal. The following morning ...”.

This, however, is not an adequate reason to identify the Heptad with the Pleiades. Also a god of agriculture, as Telepinu, receives a nocturnal sacrifice, together with the Heptad, ([52]). An Heptad, ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI, is attributed to the Weather-god ([13], [64]); to the Sun deity ([24], [64]); and to the Tutelary-god ([64]; see also [35]); to the Tutelary-god of the hunting bag (see also [4]-[6], [9], [10]); and the war god Iyarri ([1]) (see also [36]). There were Heptads of the mountains, all in the central Hittite region, such as Parnassa (? [43]), Piškurunuva ([59], [60]), Suranhapa ([42]), Taha ([63]), Tapala ([61]), and Ziwana ([34]). According to [38], there was perhaps a Heptad of the spring Ta[...]. The cult of the Heptad was known at Karahna ([53]), a town which, for some time, came under the control of the Kaska people, and smaller towns such as Isanasa, Sapakurwanta, Sapitta, Tahpita, and ^{URU}DU₆ (?) ¹Hūrlušša³².

If ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI were the Pleiades, it is difficult to explain why their cult was linked with modest places in central Anatolia, and not important centres, receptive to echoes of Babylonian culture. It would not explain the relation developed between ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI and the mountains of the region of Hattusa, nor the specific link with the Tutelary-god.

In Mesopotamia, the Heptad was a group of minor divinities or demons who constituted the court of a greater god³³. The evidence from Hittite sources leads us towards a similar situation.

In Anatolia, the number “seven” could relate to beneficent gods. In the ritual KUB 9.28 (dupl. KBo 27.49; CTH 442) some of the major gods, starting with ^DIM and ^DUTU, are associated in groups of seven, and receive offerings at seven hearths and libations from seven cups.

³² See van Gessel, *Onomasticon* II, 908.

³³ See J. Black – A. Green, *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia*, London, 1992, 162-164; Haas, *Gesch. heth. Religion*, 482-487.

^DIMIN.IMIN.BI, instead, indicated demons and adverse forces: the epithets leave us in no doubt here. The fact that, in the month festival [45] all the gods received a libation inside the temple, except the Heptad, for which “the steward pours a libation out of the window”, makes sense in that this serves to exclude a dreadful entity from the sacred interior of the temple. The Heptad could, however, have its own chapel, according to [16] and [33] KBo 43.82, 5: É ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI; in 8 and 10: ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI³⁴. It is probably due to this unruly nature of the Heptad that it received a billy-goat in sacrifice, MÁŠ.GAL, whilst the other gods received usually a sheep, UDU³⁵. If the Heptad was associated with the Tutelary-god, generally in his role as the provider of abundance (^{KUŠ}kurša- was a kind of cornucopia filled with every variety of goods)³⁶, this was in terms of the principle of opposites. Ritual [10] states this clearly: “Let the terrifying Heptad step off the road again. Give gentleness to the Tutelary-god of the hunting bag!”.

The Babylonian analogy of the *ilū sebitti* directly influenced the process of conceptualising demons and negative forces at a Heptad. The Hittite name was the same as the Babylonian for a case of assonance: Sebitta. This process can be dated to the period of Suppiluliuma I and Mursili II. The Heptad was one of the gods who “went before” Mursili in battle, opening the way with its terrible thrust. The god became more widely known in a relatively late period, but it reflected a reality that was already deeply-rooted in Anatolia. This is why it appears amongst the gods of the “singer of Kaniš”, and was worshipped in numerous minor centres³⁷. Sometimes these demons formed a double Heptad ([30] and [40]). The Hurrians also occasionally associated the Heptad with some of their principal gods: Šauška and Teššub ([21], [25]). The cult of the Heptad in Anatolia is not, however, a Hurrian loan.

³⁴ S. Alp, *Beiträge zur Erforschung des hethitischen Tempels*, Ankara, 1983, 310-313.

³⁵ In some cases, a billy goat was given to a male god and a sheep to a goddess: [11] (Heptad – Sun goddess), [59] (LAMMA, the Heptad and the male gods of Maliya – Sun goddess, Askasipa and Kattahha). In other cases, several gods received a sheep, but the Heptad a billy goat: [19] (male gods of fiarruma and Tenu – gods of the Heptad), [35] (Weather-god and LAMMA – the Heptad). The Heptad receives a billy goat in [48], stags and a billy goat in [54].

³⁶ See M. Popko, *AoF* 2 (1975), 65-70; G. McMahon, *The Hittite State Cult of the Tutelary Deities*, Chicago, 1991, 250-254 (with previous literature); C. Watkins, in: K. A. Yener – H. A. Hoffner (eds.), *Recent Developments in Hittite Archaeology and History*, Winona Lake, Indiana, 2002, 169-176.

³⁷ See A. Goetze, *Language* 29 (1953), 266-267. On the nature of the gods of the “singer of Kaniš”, see A. Archi, in: M. Hutter – S. Hutter-Braunsar (eds.), *Offizielle Religion, lokale Kulte und individuelle Religiosität*, Münster, 2004, 22-24.

We cannot exclude, perhaps, that someone, searching heaven for a reflection of earthly realities, may have seen in the Pleiades, a representation of adverse spirits. The Anatolian Heptad, however, were not the Pleiades³⁸.

5. The cult lists with the Heptad

5.1 The restoration of the cults in central Anatolia (CTH 501-530) is dated to Tuthaliya IV³⁹, and concerns numerous smaller centres. The Heptad appears alongside the Weather-god, the Tutelary-god and Iyarri. These later lists preserve not only the ancient local gods. The political interests of the period are reflected in the cults, so that gods as the Weather-god of Assur and Ištar of Nineveh appear in the texts [37]-[39].

[34] KUB 38.32 (CTH 508) I 21 and 26 (cult of mount Ziwana): ^DIMIN. IMIN.BI ŠA ^{HUR.SAG}Ziwana ; IV 16: I UDU ANA ^DU ^{URU}Lihzina I UDU ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI.

[35] KBo 2.7 Vs. 12 (CTH 505; festival of mount Sidduwa, by Kuliwisna): I GUD I UDU ^{HUR.SAG}Šidduwa I UDU ^DU I UDU ^DUTU I UDU ^DLAMMA I MÁŠ.GAL ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI.

[36] KUB 17.35 (CTH 525; festivals for ^DU; in II 37: Iyarri of Gursamassa, perhaps by Tuwanuwa) I 20: I UDU ^DU I UDU ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI; III 4 and IV 27 (?): (^DU ...) I UDU ^DIyarri I UDU ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI.

[37] KUB 38.6 (CTH 510) I 19 (cult of 15 DINGIR^{MEŠ} in ^{URU}DU₆ ¹Hürlušša): (^DLIŠ ^{URU}Nenuwa ...) ^DHūwadišši ^DU ^{GIŠ}TIR ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI [...; I 22 (23 DINGIR^{MEŠ} in ^{URU}Šappitta): ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI ^DIyari [^DU ^{URU}Neriqqa ; I 34-35 (20 DINGIR^{MEŠ} in ^{URU}Iššanašši): ^DU ^{URU}Neriqqa ^DLIŠ [^{URU}Nenuwa] / ^DIMIN. IMIN.BI ^DU ^{URU}Harana ; IV 9 (^{URU}Šapurguwanta): ^DHūwadišši ^DIMIN.IMIN. BI ^DU ^{URU}Harana.

[38] KBo 42.27 Rs. 1-5: ^{NA4}Z]I.KIN ^DU ^{URU}Neriqqa ^DU UR.S[AG] / [...] ^DTarupšaniš annalliš / [^DP]ihaimiš ^DIyariš ^DU ^{URU}Aššur / [... ^DLIŠ ^{URU}Ninuwa ^DU haršharši ^{HUR.S}[AG] ...] / [...] ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI ^PU¹Ta-x'[-...].

[39] 57.106 II 30: ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI; in II 16-21, several gods are listed; among them: ^DPihaimiš, ^DU ^{URU}Neriqqa, ^DIyarriš, ^DLIŠ ^{URU}Nenuwa, ^DLIŠ MÈ.

[40] KUB 44.1 (CTH 509) Vs. 5: XIV ALAM LÚ KÙ.BABBAR TUR ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI ANA ^DU ^{URU}Hūlaššiya : these “fourteen small statues of men

³⁸ As a matter of fact, the Pleiades were said to be *umbrosi* because of the dimension of the stars. In Classical Antiquity, their influence was seen as unfavourable only in particular situations, see H. Gundel, *RE* 21, 2512-2519.

³⁹ See Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, in: D. J. W. Meijer (ed.), *Natural Phenomena*, Amsterdam, 1992, 100-109.

in silver” concern two groups of Heptads of the Weather-god of Hulassiya, as the pair of Heptads in [30] (see above § 2); Rs. 9: ^DUR.MAḪ ^{LÚ}SUKKAL ... ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI; 11-12: ^DU ^{URU}Hū[*laššiya* (...)] / [...-]r^x-an ^{MUNUS}SUHUR. LÁ ^DLAMMA-aš ^DUR.MAḪ ^{LÚ}SUKKAL ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI ^DMaliya[(the god Lion seems to be the vizier of the Tutelary-god).

[41] KUB 38.10 (CTH 510) IV 19: ...] ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI ^DPanza ^DParga.

^DIMIN.IMIN.BI occurs also in the following fragmentary texts: KBo 13.235 I 13 (CTH 509); KBo 26.223, 3; KUB 38.1 II 13.

[43] KBo 2.16 (CTH 509) obv. 7: (^{URU}Suranhapa)... ^{HUR.SAG}Suwaras ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI ^DUtiyaunenzi...

[44] KBo 2.8 (CTH 519) II 20: (^{URU}Parnassa?)... ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI

5.2 The Month festival (CTH 591) is documented in late texts, some of which could be copies of versions from the first decades of the fourteenth century. The following three manuscripts can be dated approximately to Tuthaliya IV, and may therefore contain late variations⁴⁰. The Heptad appears alongside gods such as Askasepa, Maliya and Pirwa, who belong to the circle of the “singer of Kaniš”, ^{LÚ}NAR ^{URU}Kaniš. This does not, however, guarantee that all of these gods belonged to the ancient Hittite pantheon⁴¹.

[45] KUB 2.13 III 17-IV 3: ^DAšgašepa – ^DMUNUS.LUGAL – ^DPirwa – ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI – DINGIR.LÚ^{MEŠ} ^DMaliyaš – DINGIR.LÚ^{MEŠ} ^DLAMMA-aš – DINGIR.LÚ^{MEŠ} ^DUD.KAM-aš – DINGIR^{MEŠ} ^{URU}Kaniš – ^DHašammeli – ^DHilašši – ^DU.GUR – ÍD^{MEŠ}; IV 12-26: ^DAšgašepa ^DSAL.LUGAL ^DPirwa – ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI (^{GIŠ}AB-az arḫa ANA ^DI. 12-ŠU šipanti “(The steward) pours a libation to the Heptad out of the window”) – ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI – [DINGIR.LÚ^{MEŠ}]-aš ^DMaliyaš [DINGIR.LÚ^{MEŠ} ^DLAMMA-aš DIN]GIR.LÚ^{MEŠ} ^DUD-KAM-aš [DINGIR^{MEŠ}-aš ^{URU}Kaniš ^DHašammeli ...]⁴².

[46] 56.45 II 4-8 (StBoT 37, 594) (CTH 591): ^DPirwa ^DMUNUS.LUGAL ^DAškašepa ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI ^DŠuwaliyatti DINGIR.MUNUS^{MEŠ}-ya ^DŠiwatti ^DHašammeli DINGIR^{MEŠ} ^{URU}Kaniš ^DHilašši ^DU.GUR ^DZuliyā⁴³.

[47] VS NF 12.28 III 9-14: ^DAškašepa ^DMUNUS.LUGAL ^DPirwa ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI DINGIR.LÚ^{MEŠ}-aš ^DMaliyaš DINGIR.LÚ^{MEŠ}-aš ^DLAMMA-aš

⁴⁰ J. Klinger, *Untersuchungen zur Rekonstruktion der hattischen Kultschicht*, StBoT 37, Wiesbaden, 1996, 294-300.

⁴¹ According to A. Kammenhuber, *Orakelpraxis*, 50, the lists of “the singer of Kaniš” “dürften ... als Konglomerat heterogener Götter und Vergöttlichungen des 13. Jh. (in das auch der hurrische und die hattische Sänger gehören) durchschaubar sein”. See, further, the study by Archi quoted in note 37.

⁴² See J. Klinger, *Untersuchungen*, 558-563.

⁴³ Klinger, *Untersuchungen*, 594-595.

[DINGIR.]LÚ^{MEŠ}-aš^{DUD}KAM-aš^{DINGIR}MEŠ URU^{Kaniš} D^{Hašammeli} D^{Hilašši}
DU.GUR Ū ANA ĪD^{MEŠ}⁴⁴.

[48] KBo 49.305 (CTH 593?) Vs. lk. Kol. 5-9: D^{LAMMA}-ya ŠA^{HUR}.
SAG^{Dapala}... – D^{IMIN}.IMIN.BI [D^T]a/š^{ja}?liya / ŠA^DIMIN.IMIN.BI
D^{LAMMA}.

5.3 Lists in other groups of texts confirm that the Heptad belonged to this circle of gods, at least in the later period.

[49] KUB 41.14, 12-13 (CTH 470): D^{Pirwa} ... D^{IMIN}.IMIN.BI (l. 8: *kan-išumnil*).

[50] KBo 12.135 (CTH 664,4) VII 8: D^{UTU} D^{LAMMA} D^{IMIN}.IMIN.BI (line 3: mount Asgasepa).

[51] KBo 14.21 (CTH 565) I 21-22, 50, II 20-21: oracular inquiry concerning the cults of D^{Pirwa} and D^{IMIN}.IMIN.BI.

[52] KBo 45.129 I 6-8: GIM-an-ma GE₆-anza / [kiš]ari I MÁŠ.GAL ANA D^{IMIN}.IMIN.BI / [I UDU (?)] D^{Telepinu} SUM-anzi⁴⁵; II 20-24: D^{ZA}-BA₄.BA₄ / D^{Tundurmiša} / D^{IMIN}.IMIN.BI / D^{Huwattašši} / DINGIR.MEŠ Š^{salawani}.

[53] KUB 53.22 II 7: EZEN D^{IMIN}.IMIN.BI; 10: PANI^{NA4}ZI.KIN ANA D^{IMIN}.IMIN.BI (in II 5 and 14: D^{Telipinu}).

[54] KUB 58.23 I 8 e II 3: D^{IMIN}.IMIN.BI (fragmentary; I 9: Maliya; I 3 and 5: the obscure gods Māriya and Lalla).

[55] KBo 39.293 Vs. 5-6: D^{UTU} ... / ... D^{IMIN}.IMIN.BI.

[56] KUB 44.12 (CTH 670) II 6: D^{IMIN}.IMIN.BI ŠA^D [; 15: ŠA^DIMIN.IMIN.]BI.

[57] KUB 27.70 II 2 (CTH 681; Festival of Karaḥna): D^{IMIN}.IMIN.BI [.

[58] KBo 45.69 (CTH 647) IV 1-9: D^{IMIN}.IMIN.BI... D^{Hašameli}.

5.4 The AN.TAḤ.ŠUM^{SAR} festival presents the Heptad of mount Piskuruwa and mount Tapala, [59]-[61]; text [63] has the Heptad of mount Daha. Text [61], concerning the gods of the singer of Kaniš, has the Heptad of LAMMA; the formulation: “the male gods of Maliya” is late. Text [26] reflects the Hurrian cult.

[59] VS NF 12.1 (CTH 604) Rs. 24-25: INA^{HUR.SAG} Piškurunuwa MÁŠ.GAL-ya D^{IMIN}.IMIN.BI ŠA^{HUR.SAG} Piškurunuwa ... LULIM^{MEŠ} MÁŠ.GAL-ya ANA D^{IMIN}.IMIN.BI

[60] KUB 25.18 (CTH 618, 1) I 15: D^{IMIN}.IMIN.BI ŠA^{HUR.SAG} [Piškurunuwa...] ^{HUR.SAG} Piškurunuwa....

⁴⁴ Klinger, *Untersuchungen*, 608-609.

⁴⁵ Alp, *Beitr. Heth. Tempels*, 316-319.

[61] KBo 30.69 (28th day) III 23-27 (dupl. Bo 5480 (28th day) 6-12): ^{HUR.}SAG *Tāpala* Û / ŠA ^{HUR.SAG}*Tāpala* / ^D*Maliyan* (dupl.: DINGIR.LÚ^{MEŠ} ^D*Maliya*) / ŠA ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI ^DLAMMA / ^D*Wāšummān kurtallin* / ... LÚ^{NAR} URU^{Kaniš} ŠĪR^{RU46}.

[62] KUB 20.48 (CTH 593; mount Tapala) I 9-10: ŠA ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI [*hu*] *wašiya ... šipanti*.

See [63] KUB 59.13 (CTH 635; festival of Zippalanda and mount Daha) III¹ 10: ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI ŠA ^{HUR.SAG}*Dāḥa* (l. 9: ^DLAMMA).

[64] KBo 4.13 (CTH 625) I 10-16: I UDU *āššau* MUL-*i* I UDU DINGIR.MAḪ [...] / I MÁŠ.GAL ANA ^DLAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš* EN-*i* š[*allai*] / I UDU *auriyaš* ^DUTU-*i* I MÁŠ.GAL ^DLAMMA ^rx¹[...] / I MÁŠ.GAL ^DUTU-*aš* ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI I MÁŠ.GAL ^DU-*aš* [^DIMIN.IMIN.BI] / I MÁŠ.GAL ^DLAMMA-*aš* ^DIMIN.IMIN.BI I UDU ^D*Aškaši[pa]* / I UDU ^DMUNUS.LUGAL-*ri* I UDU ^D*Pirwa* I MÁŠ.GAL ŠA DINGIR^{MEŠ} LÚ^{MEŠ} ^D*Maliya*.

[26] KBo 13.245 I 4-22 (CTH 613; 18th-19th days): *kaluti* of the Weather-god Teššub.

KUB 58.3 II 22 II 22, III 17 are fragmentary.

5.5 “Rituel anatolien” of Emar.

[65] *Emar* VI 472 8: *a-na* ^DIMIN.BI SISKUR^{MEŠ}; 17: ^dIM KUR *Ni-ri-ik-ka* ù ^dIMIN.BI; 24: ^dIM *piḥaimmi* ù ^dIMIN.BI; 27: ^dIM *pudalimi* ù [^dIMIN.BI]; 42: ^dIMIN.BI; 60: ^d*Madi* ^dNÈ.IRI₁₁.GAL ù [^dIMIN.BI].

[66] *Emar* VI 473 13: ^d*Madi* ^dNÈ.IRI₁₁.GAL ù ^dIMIN.BI.

[67] *Emar* VI 476 20:] ù ^dIMIN.BI.

[68] *Emar* VI 477 3 and 8:] ù ^dIMIN.BI.

[69] *Emar* VI 483 5: ^d*Madi* ^dNÈ.IRI₁₁.GAL ù ^dIMIN.BI.

⁴⁶ M. Popko – P. Taracha, *AoF* 15 (1988), 84-87.

THE WEST HURRIAN PANTHEON
AND ITS BACKGROUND

in: B.J. Collins – P. Michalowski, *Beyond Hatti.*
A Tribute to Gary Beckman.
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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., Gilgamesh), 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, Halki,” *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 (? 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.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 Hurrer 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 Tiginanu(?),” *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 Alalah: An Ethno-Linguistic Analysis* (Ph.D. diss.: University of Pennsylvania, 1959).

7. For the use of the Hurrian language in 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* ^{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 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, "Hurriter und Hurritisch 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 *Hattuša - Bogazköy. Das Hethiterreich im Spannungsfeld des Alten Orients*, ed. Gernot Wilhelm, Colloquium der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 6 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), 197–203. Richter ("Hurriter und Hurritisch 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.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)iperuḥḥe* “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* (< *parisu*; 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 *ensi₂* 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 *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 *ʾa-gal*) “palace”;¹⁷ *ḫalzi* (< *ḫalšu*) “fortress; district,” see also *ḫalzuḫlu* “commandant of a *ḫ*.”; to the echange activity: *tamkari* (< *tamkāru*) “merchant,” *tamkarašši* “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 Auda-lumma 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*).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,” *šarraššyaš* SİR^{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* (< *šangū*) “priest”; *šukkalli* (< *šukkallu*) “vizier (of gods)”; *arni* (< *arnu*) “guilt”; the epithet *hazzizzi* (< *hāsīsi*) “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 Hīdam,” 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. 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, *Ersatz-rituale 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 gods³⁸ 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 lexikalische 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 originally a goddess of the Upper Habur. Although *nawar* cannot be related with Nagar (*contra* Michael Guichard, “Zimri-Lîm à Nagar,” *MARI* 8: 334–37), it is probable that this goddess has to be identified with the Lady of Nagar and the Haburîtum 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;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 Porada⁴⁵) 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, "Kušuh," *RLA* 6 (1980–1983), 382–83.

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

43. The name is written ^dKIŠ.GAL in Tišatal's inscription, ^dKIŠ.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 read Kumarbi. In favor of the identification with Nergal is the presence of ^dU.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 Baliḥ-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 principles⁴⁸). 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 Šuppiliuma 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 ^dḤa-a-ba-du, /ḥa(l)abājtu/, "She of Halab," the parda 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 (Šin)	~ 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 ḫašīsi* (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 ^dAya ^dE/Ikalti / ^dE/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: ^dA-ya e-ni-kal-d[u(-); 23.13 I 19: ^dA-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 (^d*Lu-ba-da-ga*); the texts from Hattuša offer the forms Lubadig/Nubadig (in Ugarit: *Nbdg*).⁵⁴ It is possible that the natures of Šimeki (the Sun)⁵⁵ 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,⁵⁶ 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?).⁵⁷ 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,⁵⁸ since her cult was already widespread in Syria. It reached Mari as early as the last century of the third millennium,⁵⁹ and, further, Ugarit.

54. Initial *lu-* and *nu-* alternate also in Sumerian (D. O. Edzard, *Sumerian Grammar* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 18. Note the OB misinterpretation: ^d*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.⁶⁰ Umbu is another name for the moon received by the Hurrians.⁶¹

7. Teššub received some traits from the Syrian Hadda. The Mountain-gods Hazzi (> Gr. Kasion, the Jebel al-Aqra⁶²; Šapuna, the mountain of the Ugaritic Ba¹, was the Kasion: *ks*)⁶² and Namni (the Anti-Cassius?) are associated with him.⁶³ It is quite possible that these two mountains were included in the cult of Teššub at Aleppo, although there is no evidence for it.⁶⁴ 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.⁶⁵ Teššub inherited also Hebat, the spouse of Hadda of Halab from the third millennium.⁶⁶

Kumarbi was equated with Enlil (the Sumero-Akkadian father of the gods) and Dagan, the Syrian god of the Middle Euphrates region.⁶⁷ 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.⁶⁸

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;⁶⁹ 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: ^d*Pithanu* Û ANA ^dNIN.É.GAL ŠA ^dU ^{uru}*Halap*. She is qualified as concubine of

60. Manfred Weippert, “^dNINGAL/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, *Wettergottgestalten*, 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, *Wettergottgestalten*, 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: Kumarpi, 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: ^dNIN.É.GAL *na-šar-ta-aš-ša / na-šar-ti-ya ŠA* ^dIM/U;⁷⁰ *KBo* 35.155 IV 5 (*ChS* I/3.2 no. 151):⁷¹ [A-NA] *E-ŠE-ER-TI* ^dU-ub-bi-na. For Pithanu, see also *KUB* 45.28+39.97(+) I 5: GAM ^{gš}ŠŪ.A ^dU ^d*Pithānuš 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*, ^d*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).⁷² The Hurrian writing is ^d*Pi-en-ti-kal-li*, *KUB* 27.13 I 20; Ug. *pdg*.⁷³

(^d)*Ur/Úr-šu-u/ú-i/e* / (^d)*U-ur-šu-u/ú-i/e*, followed always by (^d)*Iš-kal-li*, belongs to the court of Hebat. Very few passages have only (^d)*Iškalli*.⁷⁴ 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: ^d*Uršui* ^d*Iškalli* ^d*Ḥu-u[-ur-ni(?)]* / *a-am-ma-na* (^d)*Iškalli*, where *āmma* 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* ^d*Ḥu-ur-ni-iš e-eš-zi* GAM-*ma* ^d*Iš-ḥa-aš-ḥa-ar-na ŠI-PU* / DINGIR^{MES} LÚ^{MES} *e-eš-zi* EGIR-ŠU-*ma Iš-kal-li ŠI-PU* DINGIR^{MES} MUNUS^{MES} *e-eš<-zi>* “behind sits *Ḥušurni*, next sits *Išhašarna* witness of the male gods; behind sits *Iškalli* witness of the goddess” (in III 10–11: ^d*Iškalli kutruaš* “*Iškalli* witness”).⁷⁵ 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 ^d*Ḥi-in-kal-lu-uš* (*KUB* 17.20 II 8), ^d*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* 492.⁷⁶

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 (-*l̥i*) which refers to the name of a mountain god, who, in the Hurro-Canaanite myth *KUB* 33.108, rapes Ištar/Šawuška.⁷⁷ Mount Pišaiša appears in the lists of the oath deities following Mt. Lebanon and Mt. Šariyana (Hermon); it was therefore close to the coast.⁷⁸

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.⁷⁹ Among them there are Adamma; Aštabi(l); Hebat;⁸⁰ Išhara; Rašap, who received a prothetic vowel before *r*:- ^d*Aršappa*, ^d*Iršappa*,⁸¹ in the Hurrian pantheon of Ugarit: *eršp*.⁸² 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.⁸³ At Mari LUGAL / *Bēl mātīm* (Dagan) is followed by Šalaš (written also NIN.ḪURSAGA). According to the Hurrian-Hittite

77. The texts *KBo* 14.142 I 10 and *KUB* 27.13 I 7 list Ištar followed by ^d*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 Virolleaud 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.⁸⁴ Šalaš receives the epithet ^dPitinhi “of Bitin” and follows Kumarbi, for example, *ChS* I/1 no. 9 I 16–18.⁸⁵ This epithet: *bi-di-en-ḫi-(ni-da)* is attested to already in an OB Hurrian document from Mari.⁸⁶ Bitin is a city attested to in the Alalah tablets.⁸⁷

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 name to the ninth month of the local calendar: ^d*A-dam-ma-(um)*.⁸⁸ 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 ^dÁš/Aš-*da-bíl* was fairly widespread in the period of Ebla. This name is written ^d*Aš-ta/da-(a)-bi* at Hattuša and Alalah (a month name), *Ašt* in the Hurrian god lists of Ugarit. In the Hurro-Hittite texts he is considered a warrior god. The writing ^d*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

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] / [^dEN-LÍL] / [LUGA]L *ma-tí-in* / [^dD]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: ^d*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.⁸⁹

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.⁹⁰ 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.⁹¹ 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.⁹²

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*.⁹³ The proem of Kingship in Heaven, which narrates the succession of kingship from Alalu to Anu, Kumarbi, and Teššub, invokes these gods: “[...] Let the primeval

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,⁹⁴ 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^{MES}-*na attanni=wena ašḫuškunni=na*); similarly, in the *kaluti* of Hebat,⁹⁵ 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.⁹⁶ A list of the passages where the gods of the father occur is given by van Gessel,⁹⁷ *ad/t-d/ta-aš* DINGIR^{MES}; 999: DINGIR^{MES}*A-BI*; 1002–6: *e-en-na / DINGIR^{MES} 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.⁹⁸ An echo of this can be found also in the Tale of Appu and the Romance of Kešši, which the Hurrians composed in Syria.⁹⁹ 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: attāš-miš* DINGIR^{MES}-*aš*; *Romance of Kešši: Kīššiyaš attāš* DINGIR^{MES}. 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^{MES} *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.¹⁰⁰

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 ‘ingènue’ 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.”¹⁰¹

The Ugaritic pantheon opened with a genealogy, probably reflecting a need to systemize resulting from the influence of Babylonian theology: Ilib - El - Dagan - Ba’l. Dagan only played a marginal role in mythopoetic thought (he usually appears in relation to his son, Ba’l: *bn b’l*) 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.¹⁰² 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.”¹⁰³

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.”¹⁰⁴

100. Laroche, “Textes hourrites en cunéiformes alphabétiques,” 519); “La syntaxe du hourrite n’autorise aucune hésitation: *atta-nmi* “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, “El 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.¹⁰⁵

E. Laroche has analyzed the name Hutellura as *hute=ll=ur^o=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^{MEŠ}, 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.¹⁰⁶ Hutena is “Those of favoring:” *hud=we=na*. In the Hurrian birth ritual *KBo* 27.1:10 (= *ChS* I/5, no. 98): ^{MUNUS}*Ši-in-ti-ma-a-ni hu-ti-il-lu-r[i]*, *hutilluri* means “midwife,” being apposition of the personal name Šindimani.¹⁰⁷

The Ugaritic pantheon has *kṛrt* (Kotharāt) translated ^d*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.¹⁰⁸ The Kotharāt were seven in number.¹⁰⁹ The Kūšarātum were known also in the region of Mari.¹¹⁰

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: ^{MUNUS}*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,¹¹¹ 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, Arabe*, 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.¹¹² 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 queensheep 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),¹¹³ 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.¹¹⁴ 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

112. Horst Klengel, “Nochmals zum Rolle der Herrscher von Ḫalab und Karkamiš in der hethitischen Großreichzeit,” in *Kulturgeschichten. 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 (*h*)*išuw*a-festival had instead a different pantheon (*ChS* I/4, 143–55, 3rd tablet).¹¹⁵

A shortened version of the Aleppo pantheon is that found in the Hurrian texts from Ugarit.¹¹⁶ 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 Adammatara and Šuwala appear in some local rituals.¹¹⁷

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.

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

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

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

HITTITE RELIGIOUS LANDSCAPES

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HITTITE RELIGIOUS LANDSCAPES

Alfonso Archi

Abstract

Hittites had longer periods of time devoted to fulfilling religious duties. The crucial ceremonies of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM and the *nuntarriyašša*-Festivals, concerned yearly renewal in a cosmic dimension. Their geographical setting was more or less within the territory of Hattian Hattus(a). The restyling of the Spring and Autumn festivals at the time of Suppiluliuma and Mursili II extended the celebrations over many days, introducing major Hurrian cults according to the customs of the towns of Halab and Hattarina. Particular aspects of the Hittite festivals, especially their economical, political, and geographical implications in light of written sources of the late Imperial period will be addressed in this article.

1. Another concept of time

The rhythm of seasons, assuming the character of religious cycle, receives a metaphysical meaning¹. 'Sacred time' is marked by exact anniversaries and may include elements of social and historical origin: Israelitic festivals commemorate fundamental events of the history of salvation.

The only sacred dimension of time which interferes strongly in contemporary daily life is Ramadan in the Islamic societies, which falls in the 9th month of the traditional Muhammadan year. Christian Lent (which is ten days longer) originally had even stricter prescriptions, but these have generally been abolished. Traditional societies usually had much longer periods of time devoted to fulfilling religious duties. This is also the case of the Hittites. The Festival of Spring, which received the name of AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} from a crocus deposited in the temple of certain gods, lasted 35/38 days in the early period of the Empire, and was extended to 40 days in the time of Tuḫaliya IV. Correlated with this was the Festival of Autumn, named «of Haste», *nuntarriyaššaš*, which also lasted about 40 days under the same king. The king and queen had the duty of celebrating in person most of the rites for all the prescribed days.

The festival of *purulli*, related to the New Year, must have been rather long in the form celebrated at Nerik, whose prescriptions needed 32 tablets (KBo 31.8+KUB 30.42(+ I 5-7; Dardano 2006: 22-23). Another version was celebrated directly by the king at Ḫattusa (Götze 1933a: 188-191, ll. 38-47). The annual *hišuwu* festival, addressed to the gods of Kummani, in the version introduced from Kizzuwatna by request of queen Puduḫepa, Ḫattusili III's wife, lasted nine days. There are several other festivals celebrated by the king, the queen, and the (heir) prince (in part preserved in fragmentary state); some of these, however, were probably included in the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM or *nuntarriyaššaš* festivals already in the early Empire, although this is not explicitly stated. Another festival was celebrated in cycles of six years (Götze 1933a: 138-139, ll. 40-41: «I wintered in Ḫattusa, and I celebrated the festivals of the sixth year»). Moreover, besides the yearly festivals, the Month festival at Ḫattusa also required the royal couple perform as officiants².

¹ See, in general, Berlejung 2003; Rüpke 1996. For some remarks concerning the sacralization of time by the Hittites, see Hutter 2008.

² The Month festivals are studied by Klinger (1996: 286-614).

It is not possible to calculate even in an approximate way the number of days required of the king and queen for these religious duties. Already the fact that the Spring festival needed more than one month before the king moved to war (another of his yearly duties), and that so many days had to be devoted to the Autumn festival, when he returned to the capital, gives a clear perception of the burden of the cultural obligations bound to the Hittite kingship, considering also the climatic conditions together with the morphology of most of Anatolia, which rendered military operations difficult in all seasons of the year (Klengel 2010: 180-181). No wonder that when the king was engaged in demanding campaigns in far away Syria, he had to neglect such duties. At the beginning of his *Ten-Years Annals*, Mursili II states: «Because my father was garrisoning in Mittanni, he tarried in garrison; the festivals of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, were being therefore neglected (i.e. not celebrated)» (Götze 1933b: 20-21, ll. 16-18; *CHD* Š: 59).

2. An administrative landscape: the KILAM Festival

The KILAM Festival (a pseudosumerogram for Hittite *hīlammar*, «gatehouse») took place in Ḫattusa and was addressed to the gods of the capital, including the Sun-goddess of Arinna and the Storm-God of Zippalanda, the two major holy cities. The exemplary edition by I. Singer (1983, 1984a) has to be completed in some parts by a certain number of small fragments published in later years. The festival, which lasted three days, goes back to the Old Kingdom period (several manuscripts are in old and middle Hittite script); a new version was drawn up in the 13th cent. It was addressed exclusively to Hittian gods (listed in Archi 1993: 5) and includes several invocations in Hittian (Groddek 2004)³. Although this festival is perhaps the best attested in terms of the number of manuscripts, it is not mentioned among those listed in the Instructions for Temple Officials (Stiel 1985; Taggar-Cohen 2006: 33-107). This is a good indication, therefore, that it was included in a seasonal festival. In fact, the KILAM is mentioned in the 25th, 26th and 27th days of the *nuntarriyašhaš*, whose rites were celebrated in part in the temple of Halki, the Grain-goddess (Nakamura 2002: 80-81; 127-130)⁴. The king sits first outside the gate of the palace to inspect the procession of cult symbols and ‘animals of the gods’ made of precious metals, introduced by the priest of Inar(a) (later manuscripts: ^DKAL), the tutelary deity of nature and the wild animals. The royal couple then rides in chariots to the gate of the temple of the goddess Halki. The following ceremony is that of the «administrators», ^{LU}AGRIG^{MES}, of several towns, which takes place in the vicinity: they stay at ‘the gate of (their) houses’, KÁ É, and offer victuals as breads, beverages and livestock (Singer 1983, 59-63, 157-167). Another station of the royal procession was the gate of the goddess of growth Miyatanzipa (Singer 1984a: 78, rev. V 3’-8’). While those deliveries were presumably consumed by the participants to the festival, this ceremonial procedure by the temple of the Grain-goddess clearly symbolises the supply of victuals to the capital by the towns of central regions of the kingdom through the administrators at the head of «storehouses», É^{NA4}KIŠIB, located in those same towns. It is quite uncertain as to whether this administrative organization had at its disposal real ‘houses’ in Ḫattusa, or whether these were just symbolized in some way on the occasion of the celebration of the festival at Ḫattusa⁵.

The preserved names of the towns whose «houses», É, (with their administrators) supplied victuals are:

- a) 2nd tablet: KBo 10.24 IV 18-V 28; 3rd tablet: KUB 10.1 I 2’-4’ (and duplicates; Singer 1984b, 20-22)
^{URU}A-an-ku-wa (*Ha-ni-ik-ku-i-il*: Hittian «he of Ankuwa»)
^{URU}Ne-na-aš-ša
^{URU}Tu-u-wa-nu-wa

³ A synopsis of the KILAM festival is given by Singer 1983: 58-64; see, further, the descriptions by Haas 1994: 748-771 (the sections concerning Arinna and Zippalanda at pp. 767-771, belong, however, to the AN.TAḪ.SUM Festival), and Görke 2008: 51-57.

⁴ An oracle account (ABoT 14(+) III 8-19; duplicates are KBo 30.22 and KBo 30.23) concerns the provisions for the KILAM Festival celebrated in the temple of Halki, see Singer 1983, 134-135. It was Houwink ten Cate (1988, 191-193 with nt. 53) who has suggested that the KILAM festival was performed during the Autumn Festival of *nuntarriyašhaš*, not excluding, however, the possibility that it may have been included in both the big seasonal Festivals.

⁵ On the supply system, in particular in relation to the religious festivals, see Archi 1973a. The AGRIG officials have been studied extensively by Singer 1984b.

URU *Hu-u-pi-iš-na*
 [URU]a
 [URU]
 URU *Ka-at-ti-la*

- b) KBo 30.8 6'-13' (and duplicates) (Singer 1984b: 26-27)
 URU *Ka-ra-aḫ-na*
- c) KBo 16.82 Obv.³ 4'-6' (Singer 1984b: 27)
 URU *Šu-uk-z[i-ya]*
 URU *A-an-ku-wa* // KBo 30.9 III 1'-6'; and Bo 5005 rev. 5'; Singer 1984b: 30
- d) KBo 23.91 + KBo 16.82 + KBo 34.15 IV 10-15 (Singer 1984b: 29)
 URU *Za-al-la-ra*
 URU *Ka-aš-t[u-wa-ra]*

Towns whose administrators supply victuals (ration lists):

- a) KBo 10.30 + KBo 16.77 III' 13'-36' (Singer 1984b: 106-107)
 URU *Šu-uk-zi-ya*
 URU *Zi-nir-nu-wa*
 URU *Ne-na-aš-ša*
 URU *A-li-ša* // KBo 30.20(+) II 5'
 URU *Ka-ra-aḫ-na*
 [.....]
 [URU *Ḫar-ḫar-n*]a
 [URU *Wa-at-ta-ru-wa* // KBo 10.30(+) III 4'
 [URU *Zi-ik-kur-k*]a // " " III 9'
 [URU *Šu-uk-zi-y*]a
- b) KBo 16.68(+) (and duplicates) (Singer 1984b: 108-111; KBo 34.21(+); Groddek 1994: 334)
 URU *A-li-ša* (I 9'; II 3'-8'; 14'-20'; 26'; 32')
 III 4'-13'
 URU *K[a-ra-aḫ-na]*
 URU *Ḫar-ḫar-na*
 URU [.....]
 URU *Šu-uk-zi-ya*
 [URU *Zi-ik-kur-ka*] (?)
 URU *U-wa-at-tar-wa*
 URU *Zi-nir-nu-wa*
 URU *Ni-i-na-aš-ša*
 III 14
 URU *Ka-ra-aḫ-na*

The AGRIGs usually appear in function of their administrative duties in religious documents (the number of the administrative documents from the archives of Ḫattusa is minimal). VBoT 68 contains in the preserved part of the tablet three lists of AGRIGs who are presented to the king by the herald, who names them by the town to which they belong, adding the Hattic derivational suffix *-il* (e. g.: URU *Zalpuil* «that from Zalpa») (Götze 1930). The introductory formula of the first list is not preserved; the second and the third ones have respectively: «When the king goes out from Arinna to Ḫattusa the herald calls out the *telipuri* as follows / When the king goes from Ḫattusa to Matilla the herald announces the AGRIGs to the king as follows». The *telipuri* was therefore the administrative 'district' within which each AGRIG was active (Singer 1984b: 118-119). This document undoubtedly preserves a structure of the Hattian administrative organization: not only that of the ancient city-state of Ḫattusa but that of the Hatti region (*Ḫattum*, according to the Assyrian), that is the region inside the bend of the Kızılırmak. In fact, among the cities listed in VBoT 68 there are Zalpa (on the Black Sea), Ḫurma, Durmitta, and several others independent cities of the time of the Assyrian merchants.

The KI.LAM Festival proves that this administrative system had assumed a religious dimension already at the time of the Hattians, which the Hittites preserved and adapted for the core of their kingdom: in autumn the administrators delivered personally in Ḫattusa the victuals for celebrating the festivals of the ancient deities of the official pantheon. It is meaningful in this respect, that the AGRIGs were presented to the king and the queen in front of the temple of Halki. The name of this goddess is the common term for 'grain' in Hattian (and Hittite): she represents therefore the basic form of nourishment. Significantly, the AGRIG of Arinna does not appear in these documents: it was the duty of all the other cities to provide the victuals for the Sun-goddess of Arinna, the deity at the head of the pantheon, at the great temple of the capital, Ḫattusa, as well as in her sanctuary at Arinna.

The AGRIGs of the KI.LAM festival (whose list is probably not complete) belong not only to the central area (Ankuwa is Aliṣar; Ḫarḫarna ?), the Upper Land (Karaḫna) and the eastern region (Sukziya, Wattaruwa ?), but also to the Lower Land: Ḫupisna, Nenassa, Tuwanuwa, Zallara (the localization of many other cities remains uncertain, as for Kastuwara, Kattila, Zikkurka, Zinirnuwa). The geographical extension is very large, and the towns of the Lower Land were later provided with a «storehouse», É NA, KIŠIB, at whose head was an administrator (AGRIG) according to the Edict of Telepinu. Several other AGRIG lists and ration documents in old script are related to religious celebrations (not necessarily the KI.LAM Festival), confirming the religious dimension of the system which provided victuals⁶.

The Assyrian document from Kanesh do not depict Hattum as a unified kingdom, but, on the contrary, as a region with several rival cities, Zalpa and Ḫattusa being the two most important kingdoms, at least at the time of Anitta. The Hittites, therefore, extended the originary Hattian administrative system to the regions included in their kingdom, and it is this state of affairs which is reflected in the Hittite version of the KI.LAM Festival.

The Hittite received from the Hattians not only the gods for their official pantheon together with the related cultural ceremonials, but also the belief that the land had to supply its gods with food consigned yearly by those who represented the central administration in each of the major centres. Similarly, all the provinces of Assyria in the 12th and early 11th cent. (and also later) had to feed their god Assur with «regular offerings», *gina'u* presented in his temple in Assur (Maul 2013).

3. A political landscape: the Festival for the Storm-God of Zippalanda (CTH 625) (37th day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM Spring festival)

3.1 The texts

The tablet KBo 4.13+KUB 10.82, although rather well preserved, lacks about the first 5 / 8 lines in col. I, and the colophon, which makes it difficult to classify it exactly. It belongs to the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM Spring festival because of an offering of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} plant (together with breads, a stewed dish, beer and wine)⁷; consequently, E. Laroche classified it as CTH 625. V. Haas (1994, 775-781) has suggested that this text could concern the rites of the opening ceremony of the Spring festival, celebrated at Ḫattusa (as 'Day 0'). This is, however, not in agreement with the incipit of this festival (which started, of course, with 'Day 1'): «If the king spends the winter up in Ḫattusa, then, when the king sets out from Ḫattusa, the king and queen go from Ḫattusa to Taḫurpa. But if the king spends the winter anywhere else, in another town [e.g. Mursili II used to spend the winter in Ankuwa (Aliṣar Höyük)] [...] from that town he goes to Taḫurpa», KBo 10.20 I 2-10 (Güterbock 1960: 80, 85)⁸. In this second case it is clearly stated that the king did not have to go to Ḫattusa to open the Spring festival, which, having a cosmic value, started with an *inauguration act: the entering of the royal couple into the capital*.

KBo 4.13(+) cannot be even the celebration in Taḫurpa («in the *ḫalentu* house (of Taḫurpa) (where) the great assembly (takes place)» (ll. 17-18), or that held «in the *ḫalentu* house» in Ḫattusa (l. 23; 'Day 2'). This is because in KBo 4.13(+) the Storm-God of Hatti, the major male god of Ḫattusa (and of the Hittite pantheon) is never mentioned, The three principal gods of the festival are the Sun-goddess of

⁶ For a geographical distribution of the AGRIGs mentioned in the religious documents, see Singer 1984b: 120-127.

⁷ Vs. III 18-20: *ta IŠ-TU NINDA KU₆ NINDA pu-un-ni-ki-it UTULḫu-ru-ti-li-it AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} IŠ-TU KAŠ GĒŠTIN AŠ-RIB^{BI.A} ir-ḫa-an-zi* "Then with sweet bread, p.-bread, h.-stew, AN.TAḪ.ŠUM plant, beer (and) wine they make the rounds of the (Holy) Places («of the temple») (cfr. the parallel passages in KUB 2.8 II 1-21, CTH 617; for KAL of Taurisa, celebrated on the 32nd day).

⁸ Schwemer (2004) has discussed in length the ordering of the fragmentary documentation for the beginning of the festival, supporting Haas' thesis.

Arinna, the Storm-God of Zippalanda (in the second place) and the Tutelary-god (^PKAL) of Hatti, who are followed by a long list of other deities, as M. Forlanini (2007: 259) has stressed.

The position of the Storm-God of Zippalanda immediately after the Sun-goddess of Arinna (the major deity of the pantheon), in the place of the Storm-God of Hatti, can only mean that this celebration took place in Zippalanda⁹. This is in agreement with the outline *F* of the Spring festival. The king's journey was in a southerly direction from Ḫattusa (as Güterbock 1961: 92 has already remarked) according to the colophon of the text concerning the journey of the divine Hunting bag of the Storm-God of Zippalanda, KUB 20.25+10.78 VI 11: A-NA KASKAL IM.U₁₉ LU *pa-iz-zi* (cfr. Popko 1994: 308-309).¹⁰ On the 36th day, the king arrived in Zippalanda from Hurransassa: cult action «at the *eya*-tree of Zippalanda».

The (following) morning (i.e. on the 37th day) the king celebrates [the festival of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM plant] to the Storm-God of Zippalanda in his temple; (to) the Sun-goddess of Arinna and the Storm-God of Hatti at the *eya*-tree [of Zippalanda]. The (following) morning (i.e. on the 38th day), on the Mount Daha: festival of the invocation (*halziyauwas*) (Rs. 29-30; Howink ten Cate 2003: 210).

The deities listed in KBo 4.13(+) (excluding those of the long god-list in Vs. I) are the same as KBo 19.128, as H. Otten has noted (1971: 27-48), whose colophon reads: «Second tablet; complete. Concerning the Great House (^ÉTM GAL): of the Spring (festival). (With this one) the 2nd day is ended. According to the wooden tablet (^{GIS}ḪUR *ḫandan*). (This is) the tablet (*TUP-PU*) of Ḫattusa. Written by Arma-ziti, the scribe, under (the supervision of) Anuwanza, the ¹⁰SAG».

This tablet, in clay and written for the archives of the capital, is to be dated, therefore, to the time of Tuḫaliya IV, as is also KBo 4.13(+), since both share several similar elements. The god-lists in KBo 19.128 I 39 ff., II 19 ff. and KBo 4.13(+) II 9 ff., III 28 ff., IV 14 ff. are the same, all opened by the Sun-goddess of Arinna with her daughter Mezzulla, the Storm-God of Zippalanda and KAL (Inara) of Hatti. The Storm-God of the Great House appears in KBo 19.128 II 7, 44 as well as in KBo 4.13(+) II 18, IV 1, 21 (Otten 1971: 29). The long list of gods which opens KBo 4.13(+) (col. I) must have been in the missing first tablet of the other manuscript.

One has to infer that: 1) both texts concern the Spring festival celebrated in the 'Great House', a building which the king reached by a light chariot (^{GIS}*ḫuluganni*-) from the rest-house (^É*halentuwa*)¹¹; 2) the festival was celebrated in Zippalanda for the Storm-God of this town, with whom the Sun-goddess of Arinna was associated for that particular occasion. According to its colophon, KBo 19.128 was the celebration of 'the 2nd day'. This difficulty may be overcome if one considers that Outline *F* says that the king (surely with the queen) arrived in Zippalanda the previous day (as said above): «The (following) morning the king celebrates the Sun-goddess of Arinna in Hurransassa (where they had arrived the previous day). (Then they go) to the *eya*-tree of Zippalanda. 36th day» (Howink ten Cate 2003: 210). The 'Great House' (^ÉTM GAL) should be, therefore, the temple of Zippalanda, possibly renewed by Tuḫaliya IV, for which the neologism ^ÉTM GAL was used. Similarly, in a text written at the time of Tuḫaliya IV (see here below), ^ÉTM is the writing used for a temple in Ankuwa, KUB 11.27 (+) KUB 41.55 I 15': ^DU ^ÉTM URU *An-ku-wa* "the Storm-God of the house (i.e. of the temple) of Ankuwa" (Archi 2006: 157).

The Autumn and Spring festivals of the Storm-God of Zippalanda, celebrated at Zippalanda and at Mount Daha has along textual history, going back to the Old Kingdom, and collected by Popko (1994: 92-218). As the celebration for Kattaḫa («the Queen») in Ankuwa (KUB 11.27(+)-41.55 // ABoT 24) was totally changed at time of Tuḫaliya IV (see here below), it is quite possible this was also the case of the festival for the second Storm-God of the pantheon.

3.2 The sequence of the gods in the opening list and the growth of the kingdom

M. Forlanini (2007) has noted with insight that part of a long list of deities in the 48 preserved lines in col. I of KBo 4.13(+) follows a geo-political order given by the historical growth of the Hittite kingdom.

⁹ Popko (1994: 34) remarks that «in seinem zipländäischen Tempel wird er (the Storm-God) samt der Sonnengöttin der Erde und dem himmlischen Wettergott mit Opfern versehen».

¹⁰ The following leg of the Hunting bag was Ankuwa, KBo 30.155 VI 2-5: «While the Hunting bag goes by the southern road (KASKAL IM.U₁₉ LU *pa-iz-zi*), and while it reaches Ankuwa from Zippalanda [...]» (Popko 1994: 310-311). The king travelled by a chariot (^{GIS}GIGIR); he reached Mount Daha from Zippalanda by a light chariot (^{GIS}*ḫuluganni*-), KUB 20.96 XX 19-21, Popko 1994: 192-193.

¹¹ The ^É*halentuwa* of Zippalanda is quoted e.g. in VSNF 12.215 II 7, see Popko 1994: 238-239.

The missing first 5/8 lines at the top of the column should have had a kind of introduction to the festival. The following 16 lines have an unparalleled list of gods opened by [Heaven] and Earth; the Fate-goddesses; the Hattic dyad Tašammat and Tašimmet; three tutelary spirits: of the Forehead, of Speaking, of Sin (Hantassa, Lalassa, Wasdulassa, all presenting a Luwian suffix). There then follow three aspects of the Storm-God assuring three kinds of favourable (*aššauwaš*) conditions; the courts («the Seven», ^PVII.VII¹²) of the Sun-goddess, the Storm-God and the Tutelary god; several other minor deities. This splitting of the divine powers is typical of the period of Tuḫaliya IV (cfr. KUB 2.1)¹².

For our understanding of the religious climate of the time of Tuḫaliya IV, and how different constituents coexisted and were taken in account in reorganizing the cults in different centres, it is useful to compare this text concerning Zippalanda, which preserves the Hattian-Hittite tradition both in the rites of 'drinking' and breaking bread to the gods as well as in the pantheon listed in coll. II-IV¹³, with the celebration for the temple of Kattaha («the Queen») in Ankuwa, KUB 11.27(+41.55 // ABoT 24), on the 38th / 39th¹⁴ and last day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival (also introduced by Tuḫaliya IV), which shows instead an extremely marked Hurrian influence (Archi 2006: 156-158).

The list in ll. 17-48 follows a quite different principle¹⁵. At its start there is the Storm-God of Heaven (^PU ŠA-ME-E), followed by the Storm-God of Zippalanda. Since this god «occurs alone, i.e. without the gods of Hatti and Arinna, his presence here could reveal something about the shrine, where our ritual was intended to be performed» (therefore: Zippalanda!) (Forlanini 2007: 263). Wahisi, who follows, was a god of the towns of Kartabaḫa, Salma/Salamba and Kadaba, which sent their representatives «to the ritual of Zippalanda according to an old Hittite tablet of the KILAM festival»¹⁶. From this point on, the towns mentioned in relation with the deities are considered. Hurma (known also from the documentation of *karum* Kaneš Ib) was connected with Zippalanda; Sallaḫasuwa had been under the direct administration of Kaneš Ib for some time.

The second section of the list (ll. 20-33) – from Hatti to the town of Uḫḫiwa – refers to Hatti proper («in its ethnic and political meaning»): the land inside the bend of the Halys. The sequence of the towns is almost the same as that in the Old Hittite AGRIG-list VBoT 68 III 1-9 (Götze 1930: 20-23).

The third section (ll. 34-39) concerns the «land of Kaneš», a denomination «still used by Ḫattusili III to define the large geographical area south of the upper Halys». Many of these towns are mentioned in the Old Assyrian Kaneš documents. The Legend of Zalpa «shows that the rivalry between a northern (Hattian) and a southern (Nesite) power was felt by the local population as the result of a long history». This political and cultural distinction was still felt at the end of the Empire period, although the capital of the Hittites (who called their language «the language of Nesa/Kaneš», *nesili*) had been located in the heart of Hatti for about four centuries.

The fourth section (ll. 40-43) «defines the region to the north-west of the Salt-Lake. [...] (It) corresponds to the borderland between Hatti and Arzawa, conquered by Hatti for the first time when Salatiwara was still an important center», actually one of the major ones during the *karum* Ib period (Barjamovic 2011: 350-357). Among the other cities, Lalanda and Ulma are mentioned.

The fifth section (ll. 44-45) includes Ḫassuwa and Tawanaga «east of Maraš», Hatra and Sinuwa «near Malatya». These were «the first Hittite conquests towards the east».

The sixth section (ll. 46-48) concerns «four countries at the periphery of the kingdom». The first is that of Halpa, conquered by Mursili I and later by Suppiluliuma I. There then follow Pala (corresponding to Paphlagonia); and Paršunta (Purushanda), also the name of a country, the major state west to Kaneš (in the region of Konya), according to the Anitta text. Ussa, the last town, hosted a *wabartum* of the Assyrian merchants; it is likely to have been independent from Purushanda and located further west of it, probably in the environs (or to the north) of Konya.

For the origin of this list of gods in the celebration for the Storm-God of Zippalanda, Forlanini notes that the town of Kappurnanta (I 27) is «unknown to other Hittite texts but frequently mentioned, as Kapurnat, in the Old Assyrian documents». Moreover, ^{URU}U-ús(UŠ)-sa (I 48) is an anomalous writing found also in an Akkadian text, KBo 19.95 Vs. 4, and in a single passage in the Palace

¹² This section of the text is discussed in detail by Haas 1994: 776.

¹³ See the tabulation in Otten 1971: 29.

¹⁴ 38th day according Outline A; 39 in F.

¹⁵ For a transliteration, and comment, see Forlanini 2007. I follow, from here on, Forlanini's analysis, where textual references and literature are given.

¹⁶ KBo 16.71+ I 59; KBo 20.3 II 1-12; Popko 1994, 102-103, 108-111. For passages which mention these towns in relation with the cult of the Storm-God of Zippalanda, see Popko 1994: 327.

Chronicle (both referring to the Old Kingdom), while all the other occurrences of this name use signs not of the *sin* but of the *šin* series. For these two elements, and other names of towns mentioned above, the list «should go back to a very ancient, independent document, written in Akkadian» (Forlanini 2007: 262-263)¹⁷.

4. A geographical landscape: Muwatalli Prayer (CTH 381)

The very long list in the Muwatalli's prayer KUB 6.45(+) // 6.46, is mostly geographically ordered; it includes the deities of Hatti (the Halys bend); the Upper Land; (Pala-Tumanna, beyond the northern course of the Halys, is missing); Išūwa (II 64-65); Kizzuwatna (represented by its two foremost cult centres, Kumanni and Lawazantiya, but not by other centres in the Cilician plain); the Lower Land (Singer 1996: 172-177), while the first list of the invocation (I 10-18) has to give a theological solution to the Hurrianization of the Storm-God, and, therefore, places Ḫebat, Teššub's spouse, among the first deities.

This prayer defines therefore the geography of the kingdom of Hatti from the religious point of view, ignoring the vassal states, although some gods had been introduced from those countries, as the important Teššub of Ḫalab¹⁸.

5. The creation of a sacred landscape: the major seasonal festivals

Some god-lists reflect a theological speculation or a geographical order (section 4). Other lists in festivals address gods with their major cult places according to geo-political principles determined by historical developments (section 3). In the case of the KILAM festival, landscape was determined by a social-administrative order (section 2).

The two most demanding festivals of the imperial period: the Spring and Autumn Festivals, which lasted about 38 days each, combined some basic cult elements which went back to the Hattian period, requiring a quite restricted landscape, together with an imperial theology. These two festivals were the pivotal events of the religious year. Tuḫaliya IV addresses the Sun-goddess of Arinna in the following terms: «I shall [confess] my sin [before you] and never again [shall I omit] the festivals. I will not again interchange (*namma waḫnummi*) the spring and [autumn festivals]. [The festivals of spring] I shall perform only in the spring, [and the festival of] autumn I shall perform only in the autumn» (KBo 12.58 + 13.162 obv. 7-9; Singer 2002: 108).

5.1 The AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} Festival

The festival prescribes that in spring the king must enter Ḫattusa, as he has to take possession of the capital of the state for the inauguration of the new yearly cycle.¹⁹ Therefore, «if the king spends the winter up in Ḫattusa, then [...] the king and queen go from Ḫattusa to Taḫurpa», where the «great assembly», *šalli ašeššar*, takes place (1st day). Taḫurpa had no particular religious relevance but functioned simply as the starting point of the festival²⁰. Moving from Taḫurpa, the king reaches Tippuwa, which was in sight of Ḫattusa, towards which the king bows. Wine is offered to a stele (*ḫuwaši*) (of the Storm-God?), which the king reaches by chariot whose reins are taken by a man of the bodyguard, in a ritual race (KUB 10.18 I 6-21 // 17 I 2'-15'). The king enters Ḫattusa and descends from his light chariot at the stele of the Sun-goddess (of Arinna) (KUB 10.17 I 26'-28'). Dispositions for receiving the Hunting bag (^{KUS}*kurša*) of god Ziḫariya in the temple of the goddess (KUB 10.18 II 1-12 // 10.17 II 2'-8') (2nd day).

¹⁷ Forlanini (2007: 274) suggests that part of this list may go back to a tablet coming from Hurma (a town mentioned in I 34).

¹⁸ Some aspects concerning the introduction of foreign gods by the Hittites have been discussed by Schwemer 2008.

¹⁹ The Outline of the festival was first treated by Güterbock 1960; presented again in Güterbock 1964: 62-68, and reprinted in Güterbock 1977. A transcription which considers all the duplicates is in Alp 1983: 136-149. A detailed description of the festival is in Haas 1994: 772-826.

²⁰ Notice, however, that according to KUB 25.14 the Sun-goddess of Arinna receives offerings there; in particular, the queen offers a lamb and breads to each of the Sun-goddesses of five previous queens (obv. 23'-32', 41'-49').

The next four days concern the journey of Zithariya's Hunting bag. It arrives from the holy city of Arinna (Alaca Höyük) (3rd day), and the next day it goes to Tawiniya (Tonea?)²¹, east to Ḫattusa. Then (5th day), it goes to Ḫiyasna; on the same day, in Ḫattusa, the king goes to the roof (presumably in order to look for the new moon; Howink ten Cate 1992: 97-98), while the pithos (^{BUG}*ḫaršiyalli*) of the Storm-God of Zippalanda is brought there. On the 6th day the Hunting bag arrives at Ḫattusa and is taken to the temple of the Grain-Goddess, Ḫalki. The priests of Arinna take part in the celebration with bread offerings, as well as a lamb from Kasaya. During the year, Zithariya's Hunting bag was kept in a temple in Ḫattusa. It is evident, therefore, that – as the king – also this tutelary god of kingship had to inaugurate the new year cycle by arriving from outside.

It is on that day that the pithos of the Storm-God of Zippalanda is opened by a great assembly in the palace of the intendants (*abu bitī*). It is important for our understanding of this ceremony to note that it takes place in the residence of the officials in charge of providing victuals. The pithos of the Storm-God of Hatti is opened on the 12th day.

The central performances required by the spring and autumn festivals were the filling (*šuhḫa-*) of the storage vessel or pithos (*ḫaršiyalli*) with grain in autumn and its «opening» (*kinu-*) in spring. These were the basic cultic actions of the two festivals, because «avec cette cérémonie, durant laquelle on transformait en pain la céréale de l'année précédente, le nouveau produit, à peine germe, était lié à l'ancien unissant ainsi le cycle agricole d'une année à l'autre, et favorisant ainsi la croissance de la nouvelle récolte» (Archi 1973: 15).

The ceremony of the pithos and its grain, attested by numerous local communities in many cult inventories (CTH 501-530), was a common pattern of the central Anatolian cults, in use since immemorial time, being a practice which in some cases had to be restored (not introduced for the first time) in the second half of the thirteenth century. On that occasion, the cult of a few, and not local gods was introduced. IBoT 2.131 obv. 15'-20':

The vineyards for the god Pirwa are neglected. (There are) 2 *ḫaršiyalli*-vessels: 1 *ḫaršiyalli*-vessel of Pirwa and 1 *ḫaršiyalli*-vessel of [the god Hasgala(?)]. And when Urhi-Teššub reestablished (the cult of) Pirwa, he spoke (as follows): 'As long as they rebuild the vineyards, let the wine be provided by the temple!', and from that day on the *ḫaršiyalli*-vessel of Hasgala is (there). But they do not (longer) provide it (lastly treated by Cammarosano 2012: 11).

These cult inventories were not related to a religious reform, as has often been believed, but to a re-organisation of the cults²².

5.1.1 The core of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} Festival

The crucial ceremonies of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM Festival, which went back without any doubt to the Hattian period, concerned yearly renewal in a cosmic dimension. They were:

- 1) the opening of the pithos of the two main Storm-Gods: those who determined the agricultural cycle through the alternation of the seasons. In the case of the pithos of the Storm-God of Hatti, it was full with *šepitt-* grain (KBo 10.20 II 16) (the choice of this kind of grain is probably a sign of archaism). In a later version of the festival, VS NF 12.1 rev. 10'-14', the pithos ceremony is related also to the Storm-God of Halab (whose cult was introduced in Ḫattusa by Suppiluliyuma I) and that of [the Storm-God (?) of ...-š] *andaya* (Houwink ten Cate 2003: 209, 213-214)²³. In autumn, during the *nuntarriyašḫaš* Festival, the Storm-God of Zippalanda was venerated at Ḫattusa on the 9th day (instead of the 6th day), while on the 10th day Zithariya was venerated in the temple of the Hunt-

²¹ This equation, together with the identification with Eski Yapar has been suggested by Güterbock 1961: 87. Forlanini (2008: 163-164) prefers instead a location to the south-west of Ḫattusa. Tawiniya cannot be to the south of Ḫattusa, because it was reached in one day from Arinna (Alaca Höyük). For the Old Assyrian sources concerning this town, provided with a *kārum*, see Barjamovic 2011: 297-305.

²² This was the thesis by Götz 1933: 159-160 = 1957: 169. He has been followed by Archi 2006: 150-153; and now by Cammarosano 2012, who gives a detailed account of the interpretations by Ch. Carter, E. Laroche, Ph. Howink ten Cate, and J. Hazenbos, all in favour (to differing degrees) of a reform by Tuḫaliya IV. Cammarosano believes, on the contrary, that the majority of these inventories are not to be attributed to that king.

²³ Hattusili III, establishing the cult of Ishtar of Samuḫa in the property which belonged to Arma-tarhunna, had a stele representing the goddess erected in each town and village, and provided it with a pithos for the seasonal festivals of renewal, IV 72-73: *humanti(a)-pat EGIR-an* ^{NAM}ZI.KIN *tittanuškanti* ^{BUG}*ḫaršiali-ya-kan išḫiškanti* (Ottén 1981: 28-29).

- ing bag (INA É^DKuršaš) (Howink ten Cate 1992: 98; see the *Übersichtstafel* 4, KBo 14.76 obv. 5'-11'; Nakamura 2002: 61-62);
- 2) the transferring of the (Old) Year in the *hešta*-House, the temple of the goddess Lelwani and other deities of the Netherworld. All the images representing the former years, MU.(KAM)^{HI.A}, were kept in this temple (e.g. KUB 58.28 IV 8; IBoT 2.1 VI 4'). Those years had to be represented by a symbol, surely a pithos, because the sign for year in hieroglyphic writing (ANNUS) was a pithos (as has been noted by D. Hawkins apud Howink ten Cate 1992: 137, note 23). ANNUS, L(aroche) n. 336 / M(eriggi) nn. 330, 333, is represented by a pithos *closed by a lid*, which means that one year was symbolically the period during which the pithos remained closed, full of grain. PITHOS, L. 337, is instead a pithos with its *mouth opened* (Hawkins, Morpurgo Davis 1982: 91, 97)²⁴. Howink ten Cate (1992: 99) has noted that Mursili II (presumably referring to the spring of the 22th year of his reign) related the celebration of Lelwani in the *hešta*-house with those of the Storm-Gods of Hatti and Zippalanda, which shows that the core of the Spring Festival concerned the rituals of the 6th-12th days: «When it became spring, whereas I had celebrated the New Year Festival, the great festival, in honour of the Storm-God of Hatti and the Storm-God of Zippalanda, but I had not celebrated the New Year Festival, the great festival, in honour of Lelwani in the *hešta*-house, I therefore came up to Hattusa and celebrated the New Year Festival, the great festival, in honour of Lelwani in the *hešta*-house» (Götze 1933: 188-191, ll. III 38-44);
 - 3) the act of bringing dust (SAHAR^{HI.A}-uš) from the temple of the Netherworld, the *hešta*-house, by an intendant (*abu bitī*), on the occasion of the opening of the pithos of the Storm-God of Zippalanda (KBo 10.20 I 42-43). Although the symbolic meaning of this action is obscure, it connects the beginning of the new year (the preparation of the bread with the grain of the pithos) with the temple to which the (Old) Year was brought. The rites performed in the *hešta*-house had the aim of guaranteeing the continuation of the dynasty under the protection of the ancestors. The 32nd day of the *nuntarriyašhaš* Festival was devoted to the cult of male and female ancestors, of whom a long list is provided. Each of them received a wicker table for offerings, and each name was pronounced in providing the offerings (Archi 2007: 50-52; texts in Nakamura 2002: 267-275);
 - 4) the journey of Zithariya, the tutelary god of kingship, who in six days moved from Arinna to Hattusa, the two main cultic places.

5.1.2 Zithariya's Hunting bag

Zithariya takes his name from the town of Zithara, one of those places close to Hattusa where the king could choose to spend the winter (del Monte, Tischler 1978: 513-514). The god lists of the political treaties list him usually immediately after the Tutelary-god (P^{KAL}) of Hatti and before the Tutelary-god of the town of Karahna (see the treaties with Hukkana, Manapa-Tahhunta, and those with the Syrian kings Tette, Duppi-Teššup, Niqmepa, in the tabulation by del Monte 1986: 101). «Tutelary-god of Hatti» was just a general concept. Zithariya was instead the ancient tutelary-god having his origin in the Hattusa territory, as can be deduced from the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM Festival. In(n)ar(a) (the Hittite reading of KAL; Luwian Kurunta, later Runta) was the lord of wild animals and the hunt, therefore the tutelary-god of uncontaminated nature. For this reason he could also be represented in the form of a Hunting bag made from the fleece of several sheep (Güterbock 1989; Popko 1978: 108-115, especially 109). The god lists, having the aim of including every divine expression (*siue deus siue dea*), add P^{KAL} KUS⁵kuršaš to P^DZithariya. It seems, however, probable that it was Zithariya (i.e. «Inar of the town of Zithara», URU⁵Zi-it-ḫa-ra-aš^DI-na-ar, KBo 52.20 Vs. 3) who was the In(n)ar(a) of the Hunting bag par excellence²⁵.

The symbol of Zithariya and that of the Tutelary-god of Hatenzuwa (a town not far from Nerik), both in the form of a Hunting bag, were kept in Hattusa in the «Temple of the Hunting bag» (É^{KUS}kuršaš), and had to be renewed roughly every nine years, the old bags being sent to a temple outside the capital:

²⁴ The restoration in the Outline, KBo 10.20 II 11-12: I-NA É⁵hé-eš-ti[-i] MU.KAM-a)n was suggested by Güterbock, on the basis of the colophon in IBoT 2.1 VI 8'-10': mān MU-an INA É⁵hešta ḫamešhi INA EZEN, AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} [pē]danzi, and provided with a wise comment (Güterbock 1964: 67). This text is a fragment concerning the prescriptions for that day (CTH 609). For the celebrations of the Year, see also Haas 1994: 792-793; Torri 1999: 21-29.

²⁵ According to the invocation KBo 52.20 Vs. 3, Inar of the town of Zithara was «brother [of the Storm-God of Hatti(?)], see Wilhelm 2010: 270-271.

[When] they renew the [two] Hunting bags [of] Zithariya and the Tutelary-god of Hatenzuwa, whether in the ninth year, or whenever they renew them, the time is not prescribed. When they bring the two new Hunting bags of Zithariya and the Tutelary-god of Hatenzuwa, they take them into the Temple of the Hunting bag. The place is prescribed: just below the place of the god(-image) the pegs are driven in: they hang them there (KUB 55.43 I 1-10)²⁶.

An oracle inquiry concerning the return of the king from a military campaign and the delivery of Zithariya in his temple (referring certainly to the second day of the *nuntariyašhaš* Festival), shows that this god (certainly in form of a ^{KUS}*kuršaš*) accompanied the king on his military campaigns as his tutelary god in war: «When His Majesty (re)turns from the (military) campaign and when they release Zithariya to his temple, with respect to the festival which (on that occasion) will be performed for him, 10 bucks [...]» (ABoT 14+ V 12'-16'; Howink ten Cate 1988: 180-181). Zithariya had therefore the function of protecting the king in war, as well as in his daily life: even the long list of Hurrian gods in the festival for Ištar of Samuha, as it was fixed for Mursili II, includes exceptionally a section with 'tutelary-gods' (^PKAL) (KUB 27.1 I 64-67), opened by Zithariya of the king and Zitharya of the queen» (Wegner 1995: 34, 38, l. 64).

The Hunting bag, made from fleeces, symbolizes prosperity in the Telepinu Myth of Hattian origin, being full of «sheep fat, animal fecundity, wine, cattle and sheep, longevity and progeny». This symbolism, together with the idea of protection in war, goes back to the Hattian culture: Hattian gods, such as Kappariyamu and Kantipuitti, were also represented by a ^{KUS}*kuršaš* (Popko 1978: 112; Haas 1994: 450). How may these two aspects (war and realm of nature) be reconciled? The noble art of hunting was an activity characterizing kingship (Hawkins 2006). It needed strength and courage; moreover, it involved direct contact with the mystery of uncontaminated lands. For this reason the king and princes were preferably portrayed with bow and spear²⁷.

5.1.3 The journey of Zithariya's Hunting bag and that of the royal couple

Similarly to the king, who had to enter Ḫattusa to start the celebrations of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM Festival, Zithariya, the tutelary god of kingship, also had to inaugurate the festival coming from outside. In form of a Hunting bag, he starts his journey at Arinna, arriving at Ḫattusa in four days, touching upon these towns (as noted above):

king's and queen's arrival: (1) to Taḫurpa, great assembly (no rites in Katapa, where the Autumn Festival begins) [1st day] – (2) to Ḫattusa through mount Tippuwa [2nd day]
Zithariya's journey: (1) from Arinna (to Katapa?) [3rd day] – (2) to Tawiniya [4th day] – (3) from Tawiniya to Ḫiyasna [5th day] – (4) (to Ḫattusa) [6th day]

Also in the *nuntariyašhaš* Festival, the royal couple and the god Zithariya had to enter Ḫattusa from outside (*Übersichtstafel* 1, to be dated to Tutḫaliya IV) (Nakamura 2002: 15-33, 78-139):

king's and queen's arrival (1st journey): (1) at Katapa, great assembly [1st day] – (2) (at Katapa for the arrival of Zithariya) [2nd day] – (3) (at Katapa) celebration of the Valiant (NIR.GAL) Storm-God [3rd day] – (4) to Taḫurpa through Ḫisurla (by the river, the king goes through two burning heaps of wood), great assembly [4th day] – (5) the king to Arinna (rites for the Sun-goddess)²⁸; the queen at Taḫurpa: celebration for the Sun-goddess of Arinna and Mezzulla [5th day] – (6) the king and the queen(?) go to Ḫattusa through Tatisga [6th day]²⁹.
Zithariya's journey: (1) the god enters «the house of the grandfather» (É *huhḫaš*), that is of Mursili II, at Katapa³⁰; the (heir) prince is also present [2nd day] – (2) the god goes to Hakura(/Hamara), then to Tatasuna [3rd day] – (3) (arrival at Ḫattusa on the 4th day?) (the king enters the *hešta*-house; celebration in the temple of the tutelary god, É ^PKAL) celebration for Zithariya in the Temple of the Hunting bag, É ^{KUS}*kuršaš* [10th day].

²⁶ The text, edited partially by Otten 1959, has been reedited by McMahon 1991: 143-188, with some pertaining fragments. On the ^{KUS}*kuršaš* gods, see, further, Güterbock 1964: 67-68; Haas 1994: 454-456.

²⁷ Several drawings of Hittite monumental representations are collected by Seeher 2009.

²⁸ See the day festival concerning Tutḫaliya IV in Nakamura 2002, 172-189.

²⁹ On the *Übersichtstafel* 6, KUB 51.15 (Nakamura 2002: 68-72), and the problem in reconstructing a general Outline of the festival, see Howink ten Cate 1988: 169-171.

³⁰ ^DUTU^{SI} *Mur-ši-DINGIR*^{LIM} is mentioned directly in the colophon 1.A.

The AN.TAḪ.ŠUM Festival foresees that the royal couple leaves Ḫattusa only on the last days:

Festival for Mount Tapala; back to Ḫattusa [28th day; Outline G: 30th day; day festival: CTH 593]; (1) at Haitta (at the foot of Mount Piskuruḫa): celebration for the Tutelary-god of the field; offerings are prepared on Mount Piskuruḫa [34th day] – (2) king and queen go up to the Mount Piskuruḫa (the Akca Dağ, 1689m., south to Ḫattusa?): animal offering to the Heptad of Mount Piskuruḫa they sleep at Ḫarranassa [35th day] – (3) celebration for the Sun-goddess of Arinna and [the Storm-God of Hatti?] at the *eyan*-tree of Zippalanda at Ḫarranassa; the majordomo goes to Zippalanda [36th day] – (4) the royal couple is in Zippalanda (Uşaklı Höyük): celebration of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM Festival, for the Sun-goddess of Arinna and the Storm-God of Hatti at the *eyan*-tree of Zippalanda [37th day] – (5) celebration at Mount Daha (Kerkenes Dağ, ca. 1500m.; day festival: CTH 635³¹); to Ankuwa (Ališar Höyük), great assembly [38th day] – (6) celebration of the Rain Festival [39th day; day festival: KUB 59.1]

The *nuntarriyašhaš* Festival foresees, instead, another two journeys for the royal couple³²:

(2nd journey) (1) from Ḫattusa through the Zippalanda Gate (King's Gate, Yerkapı or the gate in the lower city leading up to Yazılıkaya and then to Yozgat) to Ḫarranassa (offerings are provided from the 'palaces' of three towns of the Lower Land: Nenassa, Tuwanuwa and Hupisna, as in the KILLAM festival) [12th day] – (2) Zippalanda (Uşaklı Höyük), celebration of Zippalanda Festival [13th day] – (3) back to Katapa: celebration for the Storm-God of Nerik, great assembly [14th day] – Taḫurpa: great assembly [15th day] – towards Ḫattusa on the road of Tippuwa; at Nirhanta, by the river the king goes through two burning heaps of wood; Ḫattusa [16th day].

The itinerary Ḫarranassa – Zippalanda was prescribed also for the journey of the last days in AN.TAḪ.ŠUM Festival (34th-37th days), including, however, a celebration for Mount Piskuruḫa near the first town. The return journey of the *nuntarriyašhaš* Festival: Katapa – Taḫurpa – river – Ḫattusa, follows the same route (in the opposite direction) as the outward journey. It is to be noted that at Katapa there was an offering to the Storm-God of Nerik, probably introduced by Tuḫaliya IV.

The Überichtstafel 3 III 21'-23' of the *nuntarriyašhaš* Festival has a third journey of the king: to Tawiniya, for the 20th day, equivalent to the 31th day of the long list (Nakamura 2002: 51 and 81).

5.1.4 The imperial dimension of the religious landscape of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM

The gods to whom the day celebrations were devoted belong mostly to the Hittian tradition. Some gods were introduced later, enlarging this list in relation with political events and the expansion of the kingdom, so that other regions and traditions were represented, particularly as regards Hurrian cults.

17th day: [the Storm-God *piḫaššaš*]*ši*, the Sun-goddess of Arinna is followed by the Storm-God of Samuḫa, a town promoted as religious centre already by Tuḫaliya II/III.

18th day: Storm-God *piḫaššaš* (whose cult could be introduced from the Lower Land probably by Muwatalli II, if not later), and the Sun-Goddess of Arinna (PUTU^{URU} Arinna). His cult was here Hurrianized, because although these two names appear in the colophon of the day festival, KUB 11.13 VI 8'-12' (CTH 613), in IV 10'-23' the Storm-God *piḫaššaš* is followed by Ḫebat, who receives an invocation in Hurrian (Archi 2006: 155).

21st day (Outline G.: 27th day): in the temple of the Storm-God of Halab, whose cult was introduced in Ḫattusa at least by Mursili II, or, more probably, by his father Suppiluliuma I. Day festival: CTH 698 (Archi 2006: 155-156, 158-160). The Storm-God of Ḫalab is celebrated also on the 28th day of the *nuntarriyašhaš* Festival.

22nd-26th days: Istar of Ḫattarina. 24th day: ^D[URAS̄/NINURTA], and in Outline G: Istar of Nineveh. Istar of Ḫattarina is attested from the early Empire period onwards (Houwink ten Cate 2003: 213, 215). In the *nuntarriyašhaš* Festival, the celebration for URAS̄ falls on the 30th day (Nakamura 2002: 135).

27th day: Ninatta and Kulitta, Istar's servants.

29th day: in the temple of the god Ea. The Hurrian pantheon related to Ea in this temple is listed

³¹ A Middle Hittite manuscript with the festival for Mount Daha is KUB 34.118 + KBo 20.58, see Popko 1994: 252-256.

³² A tabulation of the journeys in the *nuntarriyašhaš* Festival is given by Nakamura 2002: 438-439.

in the day festival (Popko, Taracha 1988). Outline G for the 29th day has the Moon-god SIN, the Sun-god UTU and Dagan (written: ^D*Hal-ki*).

The most impressive evidence of the late Hurrianization of some celebrations in the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM Festival is the concluding day festival (38th day) according its late manuscripts (CTH 620) (Archi 2006: 156-158).

6. The dimension of the sacred landscape of the Spring and Autumn Festivals

Geographically, both seasonal festivals took place in an area whose outer limits were within three days' walk from Ḫattusa.

Arinna is identified with Alaca Höyük, 40 km to the north by modern vehicular road. Tawiniya, reached in one day from both Arinna and Ḫattusa (the Tawiniya gate of which must have been in the lower city, facing north), should be located somewhere to the west³³.

From Taḫurpa one could also reach both Ḫattusa (the road ran along the foot of mount Tippuwa) and Arinna in one day. Katapa, the starting point of the *nuntarriyašhaš* Festival, was also one day from Taḫurpa. Katapa lay surely to the east, in the direction of Sapinuwa and the Kaska territory, which also determines the position of Taḫurpa (Forlanini 2008: 151-153; Gavaz 2012 and 2014).

The king's journey concluding the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM Festival was towards the south, if we accept the identifications of Zippalanda with Uşaklı Höyük³⁴, and Ankuwa with Ališar Höyük. The royal train, going through the Zippalanda gate, reached Ḫaitta, at the foot of Mount Piskuruuwa, the most important mountain of the festival together with Mount Daha, near Zippalanda. The second day was devoted to the festival of Piskuruuwa, which was followed by a stop for the night in Ḫarranassa. Third day celebrations in Ḫarranassa. Fourth day: arrival at Zippalanda. For the *nuntarriyašhaš* Festival, the royal train needed only two days' march, not 3. From Kerkenes Dağ (ca 1500 m), supposed to be Daha, it is possible to see the Akca Dağ (1689 m), perhaps Mount Piskuruuwa. G. Summers (2014: 42-43) writes:

Using nothing but a GPS which indicated the direction of our final destination and our own assessment of the topography we walked from Şahmuratlı Köy at the foot of Kerkenes via Kuşaklı Höyük. In two long days 73 kilometres were covered without difficulty. Had we begun from Kuşaklı rather than the eastern side of the Kerkenes Dağ we would have walked some 30 kilometres per day without having to cross any difficult terrain. The route was always obvious, although sometimes with alternatives, and we often seemed to be following broad pre-modern tracks. In the later second millennium much would have been forested with cleared roads and tracks. Had we walked the same route in reverse we would have seen the peak of Kerkenes from the first high ridge after leaving the King's Gate at Ḫattusa. The distinctive and imposing landmark would have loomed ever closer from each ridge thereafter. Somewhere, in exceptionally clear conditions even perhaps from that same first ridge, the perennially snow-covered peak of Erciyas Dağ would have appeared more or less directly in line. If the Great King, for war or peace, royal emissaries or merchants were setting out for the Kayseri region, whether to proceed through the Cilician Gates to the Mediterranean ports or through the Anti-Taurus mountains to the Amuq and thence to North Syria and Mesopotamia, the direct line to be followed was highly visible and never in doubt. During the Spring Festival, as noted above, the Great King spent the night at Zippalanda, surely Kuşaklı Höyük. On the following morning, the party went up onto Mount Daha, surely Kerkenes Dağ. After celebrating the mountain, the royal party proceeded in a vehicle to Ankuwa. Ankuwa is almost certainly to be identified with the excavated site of Ališar Höyük by tablets dating to the Middle Bronze Age. From the southern ridge of Kerkenes, below the barren tor, a broad road leads gently down the hillside in the direction of Çadır Höyük some 10 kilometres distant. About as far again in the same direction lies Ališar/Ankuwa. This road was certainly in use in the later Middle Iron Age when an imposing capital was constructed on the Kerkenes Dağ. It leads out of what we have named the Cappadocia Gate, the most imposing of the seven city gates.

The geographical topography of the two big festivals was therefore more or less within the territory of Hattian Hattus(a) (during the period *kārum* Ib Ankuwa was governed by a prince who rebelled

³³ See above, note 8.

³⁴ This identification was suggested by Gurney 1995, commenting the survey by Summers, Summers, Ahmet 1995. The geographical situation and the recent archaeological operations conducted by the Università di Firenze are in favour of this.

against Ḫattusa)³⁵. It included Arinna and Zippalanda, two of the three holy towns of the Old Kingdom, Nerik (mentioned together with the other two in an Old Hittite manuscript of the *Laws*, § 50)³⁶ being lost until the second half of the 13th century. The redaction of the *nuntarriyašḫaš* Festival of the time of Tuḫaliya IV prescribed a celebration for the Storm-God of Nerik at Katapa on the 14th day (Nakamura 2002: 21, l. 12; 61, l. 3').

The basic rites: the filling and opening of the pithos, the journey of Ziḫariya's Hunting bag (a tutelary god of kingship), perhaps also the connection of this god with the *ḫešta*-house and the cult of the ancestors, were Hattian.

The restyling of the Spring and Autumn festivals at the time of Suppiluliuma and Mursili II extended the celebrations over many days, introducing major Hurrian cults according to the customs of the towns of Halab and Hattarina.

For Tuḫaliya IV, at the end of the Empire period, the basic cultic prescriptions were still those of Ḫattusa, Arinna and Zippalanda, going back to the formation of the Hittite state: «Those cultic prescriptions (A-WA-AT DINGIR^{LIM}) which the king of Tarḫuntassa provides, they are arranged according to the prescriptions concerning Ḫattusa, Arinna and Zippalanda» (*Bronzetafel* III 61-64).

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³⁵ KTK 10, ll. 3-8, Larsen 1972. According to Kryszat (1999: 130), the Assyrian document OIP XXVII 1, ll. 1-2, has to be read: 'The seal of Anitta, prince (*ru-ba-e*) of A(n)kuwa'.

³⁶ Note that the priests (^LSANGA) of Arinna, Ḫattuša, Zippalanda and Nerik are listed in this sequence already in a Hattian text, KUB 40.60 + KUB 29.8 (Soysal 2007: 654).

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Alfonso Archi ha mosso i primi passi nel mondo del Vicino Oriente antico presso l'Università di Firenze grazie agli insegnamenti di Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli, docente di Storia greca e dell'Asia anteriore antica. Dopo la laurea in Lettere Antiche ha perfezionato i suoi studi nei più grandi centri dell'orientalistica tedesca: Marburg-Lahn, alla scuola di Heinrich Otten, Münster, presso Wolfram von Soden, Monaco di Baviera, collaborando con Annelies Kammenhuber. Agli inizi degli anni Settanta dello scorso secolo è presso il Vorderasiatisches Museum di Berlino dove si dedica all'edizione testi ittiti di Boğazköy, che pubblica nella prestigiosa serie Keilschrifturkunden aus Boğazköy (KUB 49, KUB 50, KUB 52 e KUB 57). Nel 1977 diviene epigrafista della missione archeologica italiana a Ebla in Siria. Dapprima ricercatore presso l'Istituto per gli Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici (CNR), ha poi ricoperto il ruolo di professore di Ittitologia presso Sapienza - Università di Roma, carica che ha mantenuto fino al 2011, anno del suo ritiro dall'attività istituzionale e dalla docenza. I principali campi di ricerca di A. Archi sono senza dubbio la religione, in tutte le sue molteplici sfaccettature, la storia, i vari aspetti culturali e sociali della civiltà ittita. Ha insegnato come Visiting Professor all'Università di Aleppo, al Wolfson College di Oxford, all'École Pratique des Hautes Études, IVème section di Parigi e al Collège de France. È membro del comitato editoriale di alcune fra le più note riviste del settore ed è tra i fondatori della serie "Studia Asiana", è inoltre membro onorario della American Oriental Society e membro della International Association for Assyriology.

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